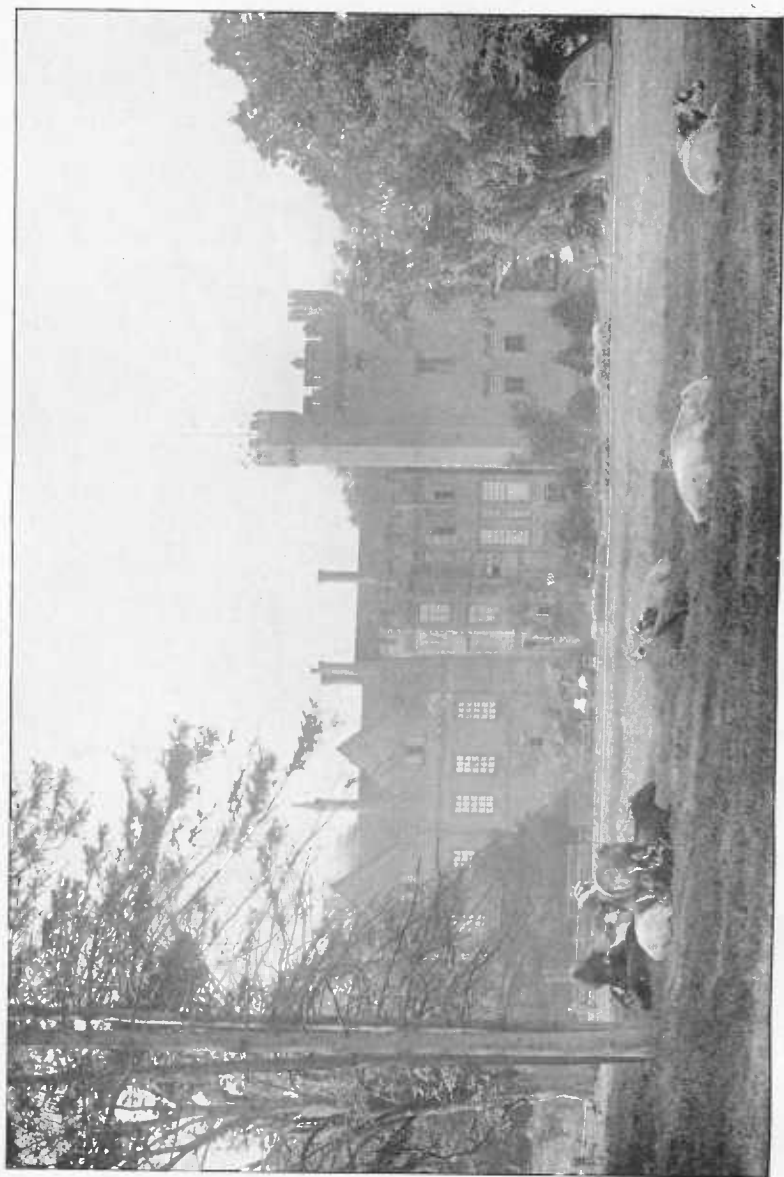


Eliza Vaughan.

Nazuc.

Essex



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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

Essex Archaeological Society

VOL. XV.

NEW SERIES.



COLCHESTER:

PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY AT THE MUSEUM IN THE CASTLE.

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TRANSACTIONS OF THE ESSEX ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

THE MILDMAYS AND THEIR CHELMSFORD ESTATES.

BY J. H. ROUND, M.A., LL.D.

IN an Archæological Note on "Changing Landmarks,"¹ I recently ventured to suggest that it would be of service to future archæologists if we endeavoured to place on record, at the time of their occurrence, "the changes consequent on developments for building or the break-up of historic estates, and also alterations in the ownership of estates through sale or through the extinction of their owners' families." As instances of ancient Essex houses which had died out or parted with their seats and lands without record of the fact, I cited Gent of Moyns Hall and Honywood of Markshall. Mr. Sperling, a member of our Council, has, since then, referred to my suggestions and has warmly supported them, in a Note on "Change of ownerships of Essex estates,"² and named some other seats in the county which have changed hands of late years without record of the fact.

The recent sale (August, 1917) of "the Mildmay estate,"³ which is mentioned by Mr. Sperling, attracted far more attention locally than such events usually do, owing to the prominence of the old Mildmays in the annals of the county, the number of parishes in which they held estates, and especially their connexion with our county town and the Chelmsford district, which is now com-

¹ *E.A.T.*, vol. xiv., p. 363.

² *Essex Review*, vol. xxvii., p. 48.

³ It is more correctly described as "the Chelmsford estate of Sir Gerald Mildmay" on the Particulars of Sale (1st Edition). It is there reckoned as nearly a thousand (*i.e.* 988) acres.

memorated by the appearance of the blue lions from the Mildmay arms in the coat of the borough corporation. *The Essex County Chronicle* (24th August, 1917) and the *Essex County Standard* both of them devoted special paragraphs to "the Mildmay family" and their lands, and duly referred to the pedigree of the house as extending from the days of King Stephen (1147?). On consulting our Hon. Sec. and a prominent member of our Council, I was assured that a paper on the subject would be a welcome addition to our *Transactions*.

There is one point that I wish to make absolutely clear at the outset. This paper will deal only with the old Essex family of Mildmay, which became extinct (in the male line) in 1784. Its last surviving male, so far as is at present known, was that notable old man, Carew Hervey Mildmay, of Marks, Ilford—an ancient moated manor house, now destroyed—who died at the great age of 93. It seems to be generally imagined that the line of the old family has continued, without a break, to the present day, and this idea has been doubtless confirmed by the only book, I believe, on the subject being styled *A brief memoir of the Mildmay family* and being carried down to our own time. Great confusion has been caused among the general public by one family adopting the surname of another or adding that surname to its own. The genealogist knows, of course, that such change cannot convert one family into another or confer the right to "represent" it.¹ Strangely enough, the history of the Mildmays, as set forth in the above book, affords an illustration wholly in point. The manor-house of Marks, mentioned above, had belonged to Sir Gawen Hervey, who adopted, in 1622, Carew Mildmay as his heir, and by whom he was directed "to take the name of Hervey before or in lieu of that of Mildmay" (p. 144). Yet the author of the book continues to treat Carew as a pure Mildmay, which, indeed he was.² But when "Sir Henry Paulet St. John, Bart., of Dogmersfield Park, Hants.," added the name of Mildmay to his own,—“the family from that time being known as St. John-Mildmay,” he, on the contrary, proceeds to treat them, not as St. Johns, but as Mildmays.

¹ We read in the above book (p. 47) that when, in 1884, Emmanuel College, Cambridge (which Sir Walter Mildmay had founded), celebrated its tercentenary, "Sir Henry St. John-Mildmay attended the festival as representative of the founder's family." He was not representative either of its elder line (at Moulsham) or of its younger line (at Apethorpe). Sir Walter's heir was his granddaughter, Lady Fane, from whom the Earls of Westmorland inherited Apethorpe. In 1702 the "representation" of Sir Walter passed from them to the Lords Despencer.

² He was ancestor of the above Carew Hervey Mildmay (d. 1784), but in the seventeenth century the surname is found as "Hervey *alias* Mildmay."

With regard to the "representation" of the Mildmays in the *female* line, their senior representatives (*i.e.*, heirs in blood) are those who represent the Mildmays of Moulsham—the recognised heads of the family—eventually Lords Fitz Walter and who, *as such*, are heirs to the famous old Essex barony of Fitz Walter.¹ They, however, did not inherit either the Moulsham estate of the Mildmays or the Burnham estate of the Fitz Walters, the descent of both properties being diverted in favour of a younger line. Although I have neither the space nor the wish to weary my readers by repeating the story of the many inter-marriages or of the entails of the Mildmays, it is needful to explain that they had an obsession for leaving their estates to heirs male and for keeping those estates together. Thus, when Lord Fitz Walter died in 1756, he passed over his heirs in blood² and left his valuable Moulsham estate,³ with its great Palladian house, and Burnham as well to his kinsman (apparently his heir male) Sir William Mildmay.⁴ Sir William, two years later, purchased the Springfield Barnes estate—which had been acquired at the Dissolution by a younger son of the family, but had been parted with subsequently.⁵

Meanwhile, however, the family was dying out; when Sir William died childless in 1771, the only remaining Mildmay was the old gentleman at Marks, who was now an octogenarian and had but an elderly daughter. Where was an heir male for the estates of the house to be found? It appears to me that the family resolved to start afresh with what I may term an "artificial" heir male. For this purpose they selected Jane, eldest of the three daughters and co-heirs of a certain Carew Mildmay of Shawford, Hants. (last of his line of the family),⁶ and—contrary to the usual practice in such cases, which is based on the common law—made her sole heir, to the total exclusion of her sisters, thus treating her as an eldest son. To this fortunate young person came in turn the Mildmay estates in Somerset and at Marks on the final extinction of that line in 1789, the valuable estates of Sir William Mildmay,

¹ The family of Plumtree of Goodnestone Park, Kent, are now co-heirs (if not, as they probably are, sole heirs) to this barony. They are owners of lands in Essex and lords of the manor of Danbury and owners of its advowson. The extent of the Essex estate, when in the hands of Lord Fitz Walter (of the new creation), was given as 1545 acres (in 1875).

² Heirs, as I have said, to his barony of Fitz Walter.

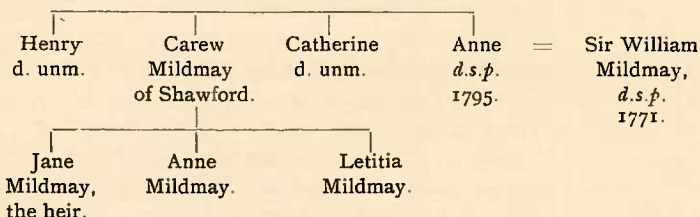
³ Partly represented at the recent sale, by the Moulsham Lodge lands.

⁴ Sir William was not even descended from the Lords Fitz Walter, who had held Burnham for more than six centuries. Morant was careful to note that "This is the only part of the ancient Lords Fitz-Walters estates which he hath." (I., p. 364).

⁵ To this Springfield Barnes estate I shall recur below.

⁶ He was the son of a cadet of the Marks line of the house by Letitia Mildmay, heiress of the original Shawford line.

on the death of his widow (her aunt) in 1795, and the Shawford and Middlesex estates of her father, in 1799, on the death of her mother. She probably owed her selection as heir to one of the Mildmay intermarriages, for her aunt, Anne Mildmay, had married Sir William. The relationship was thus:—



Of the above intermarriage Morant observed (1768) that "Anne being married to William Mildmay of Moulsham Hall, the several branches of that family are now united" (II., 5), a rather vague statement, which represented, doubtless, the Mildmay aspirations, but which, a few years later (1771), ceased to be even approximately true.

Jane Mildmay, the heiress, married one of the Hampshire family of St. John (originally Mews). This was Sir H. P. St. John, of Dogmersfield Park, who married her in 1786, and took, for himself and his issue, in 1790, the additional name and arms of Mildmay,¹ "the family from that time being known as St. John-Mildmay." He and his heirs were not for long personally associated with Essex. Although bound to reside occasionally on his wife's Essex estate, he ceased to do so in or about 1803, having been released from that obligation. Thenceforth, I believe, his family have not been resident in the county, although they continued to be considerable landowners there.² The great house of the Mildmays at Moulsham (of which the site was included in the recent sale³) was dismantled and demolished at least a century ago, and its owners remained loyal to Hampshire, where they possessed a stately seat and held a great position. Even the name of Mildmay, therefore, might be less familiar than it is to Essex antiquaries were it not that "Archdeacon Mildmay" (*i.e.*, St. John-Mildmay)—a younger son of the above Sir Henry—held the rectory of Chelmsford for

¹ In accordance with the will of Carew Hervey Mildmay of Marks (died 1784).

² In the Return of Owners of Land (1875) the St. John Mildmay estates in Essex were returned as about 3,322 acres.

³ "Moulsham Hall Gardens" were sold with "Moulsham Lodge" (Lot 6). In *Excursions through Essex* (1818) we read that Moulsham Hall "has been entirely taken down within the last ten years, the garden walls only being left standing." (I., p. 13).

more than half-a-century (1826-1878)¹ and was a former Vice-President of our own Society, and contributor of a paper to our *Transactions*.² It was he who erected in Chelmsford church the memorial to many Mildmays there interred.³

We can now, at last, confine ourselves to the Essex family of Mildmay, which became extinct, in the male line, in 1784.

Several features of interest are presented by its history. In the first place, it is the only family of this surname that is known, and the origin of its surname, although the subject of much fantastic speculation, has never yet been determined. For my part, I am much inclined to derive it from the 'Mildemet' of Domesday, now represented by the hamlet of Middlemead in Baddow, though I have no proof that this derivation is right. In that case the Mildmays, unlike most of the great land-owning families of Essex, were, like the Strutts, aborigines, if one may be allowed the expression, and belonged from first to last, to the same portion of the county.

In the second place, the Mildmays were one of those families which rose suddenly from obscurity to wealth and social distinction on the wreck of the dissolved monasteries. Of the process by which their vast estates passed into private hands we probably have an imperfect knowledge. It seems to be generally supposed that they were squandered on royal favourites, but the task of redistributing so gigantic an aggregation of land must have required a sudden extension of the official body concerned and have afforded its members great opportunities of enriching their own selves rather than "augmenting" the revenues of the Crown. The 'Court of Augmentations,' which was founded for the latter purpose, proved to be the road to wealth for those who served therein. Among these was Thomas Mildmay, the real founder of this family, who became one of the 'auditors' of that Court. There is something, to me, highly suspicious in the frequent 'exchanges' of monastic lands between the Crown and the subject and the constant buying and selling of such lands, which followed on their confiscation. The

¹ The Rev. Carew Anthony St. John-Mildmay, 9th son of Sir Henry. He was also Vicar of Burnham 1827-1858, and Archdeacon of Essex from 1861. He died in 1878.

² Extracts from "an old Chelmsford parish account book" (ii. (O.S.), p. 211).

³ Exceedingly full pedigrees, in chart form, of the Mildmays will be found in the Harleian Society's *The Visitations of Essex*, ii., 680-683, and (from Berry's *Essex Pedigrees*) 734-5, 737-9, 741-2 (to 1823). For the actual Visitation pedigrees see vol. i., pp. 11, 78, 249-252, 452-4 of the same work, and Morant's *Essex*, *passim*.

whole process suggests a kind of financial jugglery, in which much must have depended on the valuation of these lands by the officers of the Crown. Such officers might enrich themselves by undervaluing the estates which they or their friends wished to purchase, or by taking secret commissions on transactions which passed through their hands. It is difficult to account otherwise for the rapid acquisition of wealth by Thomas Mildmay before he had received any grant of confiscated lands from the Crown.

A third feature of the Mildmay history is one which they curiously shared with another Essex family enriched by the Dissolution.¹ Of the Witham Smiths, of modest origin, two branches, we find, became Essex landowners in or about the same year as the Mildmays (1540). Thomas Smith, a fortunate 'auditor,' like Thomas Mildmay, obtained a grant of Blackmore Priory, where his line resided till it came to an end in 1724; Sir John Smith, a Tudor lawyer, secured the old lands of the Templars at Cressing Temple and made it his family seat. Both these Smiths and the Mildmays received, as *novi homines*, grants of coats of arms; but for both it was discovered, under Elizabeth, to the satisfaction of the heralds, that they were of ancient, gentle descent, although they had forgotten the fact. The Smiths were found to be really members of the ancient Cheshire house of Carrington, one of whom had fled to Essex and had concealed his identity under the name of Smith; the Mildmays were provided with a pedigree which gave them a continuous descent from the days of King Stephen at least.

With the first of these remarkable discoveries I have dealt fully in my paper on "the great Carrington imposture,"² where I have shown that the entire tale—on which more than one family of Smith has based a Carrington descent—rests on a gross Elizabethan forgery, a concoction written in a tongue that Englishmen never spoke. It was, however, accepted as genuine by two chiefs of the heralds—Cooke, Clarenceux King of Arms, and Dethick, Garter, who "denounced one another's iniquities,"³ but who, according to Dugdale (himself a Garter King of Arms), joined in attesting the

¹ See Mr. H. W. King's Preface to the will of Clement Smyth of Blackmore in vol. iii. (o s.), p. 55.

² *Peerage and Pedigree*, II., pp. 183-8, 202-213. See also my paper on 'White Notley Hall' (*E.A.T.*, xiii., pp. 282-3). In Benton's *History of Rockford Hundred* (1867) the whole Carrington story re-appears under Barling, on the ground that the vicar's grandfather, Mr. Francis Smyth, F.S.A., a Yorkshire antiquary, had "remarkable patience and research in tracing pedigrees," and that "his own, on vellum, was of great length and beauty." (I., pp. 43-4.)

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 210-211.

spurious pedigree based upon this forgery.¹ About the same time as this happened, there were also produced by Anthony Mildmay to the above Cooke, Clarenceux, "in the presence of divers other Harrolles, such auncient credible and authentical deedes, charters, recordes, writinges, evidences, and letters, some sealed with seales of Armes as well of their Auncestors as of divers noble Earles, Barrons and other greate personages of this Lande" that "notwithstandinge anie doubte that mighte growe through length of tyme or ignorance of evidence it appears clearlie that the saide Sir Walter [Mildmay] is by fourteen descents (from father to sonne) lyneally and lawfully extracted of the bodie of a very auncient gentleman of this lande called Hugh Mildemay, who (witnesse a deede of the saide Earle Symon) lived aboute Kinge Stephen's tyme."

The documents on which this pedigree was based duly descended to Sir Walter's heirs at Apethorpe, the earls of Westmorland, till the property was sold some years ago. I do not propose to discuss them here or to go into the matter of the Mildmay arms, because I made a lengthy and critical examination of both subjects for a paper on them which I wrote some time back and which I hope to publish in one of my future books. Suffice it here to say that I was able to satisfy myself that all the earlier documents were deliberate forgeries, characteristic of the period and constructed for the express purpose of 'proving' this pedigree and establishing a supposed right to ancient arms. In case it should be thought a rash proceeding to condemn as spurious these documents which I have not even seen, I may mention that I had to reject similarly, without even seeing them, the forgeries of twelfth-century deeds—the work, apparently, of a Tudor scrivener—concocted to provide the Lamberts with an ancient and illustrious pedigree, and duly inspected and accepted, three centuries ago, by all the Kings of Arms at once.² I had to reject, in the same way, the imposing array of documents on which was based the descent of the Feildings, Earls of Denbigh, in the

¹ About the time of this Mildmay performance (1583) *vis.*, in 1587, Sir John Dethick, Garter, made a grant of arms to John Cocke, of Prittlewell, of an Essex yeoman family, as "anciently descended by proof of sundry evidences (from one Ranulphus Cocus) dated in reign of Henry III., Edward III., Henry IV.," *etc.*! Mr. H. W. King, who gravely cited this rignmarole, spoke of his uncle, Thomas Cocke, of Prittlewell (whose will, in 1544, he dealt with in vol. iii. (o.s.), pp. 191-5), one of the Yeomen of the Guard, as "a man of very ancient lineage" on the strength of it (*Ibid.*, p. 190). Although he considered himself a critical genealogist, he seems to have taken leave of his sound principles as soon as he had to deal with anything from Heralds' College, which he appears to have regarded with almost superstitious veneration. See, for instance, his paper on "The Strangman Pedigree" (*Ibid.* pp. 95-103), and my own exposure of that pedigree in vol. xii. (N.S.), 299-302. It has been really necessary to say this much, as a warning to those who may consult his MSS.

² See my paper "The Tale of a Great Forgery," in *The Ancestor*, III., p. 24.

male line, from the famous house of Hapsburg, on the strength of their published contents.¹ Although, as in the case of the Mildmays, their evidence had never been questioned, they were pronounced, when submitted to experts, for their verification as against me, to be clearly spurious. We may safely, therefore, rank the Mildmays among those *novi homines* by whom families were suddenly founded under the eighth Henry.

But the feature, the distinctive and interesting feature, which struck Morant in their history was the rapidity with which they spread as lords of Essex manors. His words are:—

About the end of King James the First's reign, these Nine several families [of Mildmays] were possessed of very large and considerable estates in this county—

Sir Thomas Mildmay of Moulsham, Bart.

Sir Henry Mildmay of Woodham-Walter, Kt.

Sir Humfrey Mildmay of Danbury, Kt.

Sir Henry Mildmay of Wanstead, Kt.

Sir Thomas Mildmay of Barnes in Springfield, Kt.

Sir Henry Mildmay of Graces in Baddow Parva, Kt.

Walter Mildmay of Baddow Magna, Esq. (his brother).

Robert Mildmay of Terling.

Carew *alias* Hervy Mildmay of Marks, Esq.²

When we remember that James I. died in 1625 and that this family did not acquire its first Essex estate till 1540, the list is a very striking one; but so also is the fact that this prosperous family died out, in the male line, actually before the close of the eighteenth century.

The patriarch of all this spreading brood was Thomas Mildmay of Chelmsford, of whom we now know rather more than formerly.³ The earliest fact discovered about him seems to be that he bought, in 1530, that well-known Chelmsford house, "Guy Harlings."⁴ Formally styled 'yeoman' in 1541, he styled himself 'yeoman and merchant' in his will (1547), wherein he spoke of the stall in which he used to stand in Chelmsford market. This should set at rest any question as to his social status, though he seems to have obtained a grant of arms, which was confirmed to his descendants by Cooke, Clarencieux, in 1583, but which they promptly discarded for the

¹ See my *Studies in Peerage and Family History*.

² *History of Essex*, ii., p. 4.; the last name on the list should be Carew Hervey *alias* Mildmay. (see p. 2 above).

³ The pedigree has not yet been *proved* further back, but it is quite *possible* that, as alleged, he was son of a Walter Mildmay of Writtle, by "— dau. of — Everard," and that Walter's mother was a Cornish. The Everards and Cornishes, however, had not at that time emerged from the status of yeoman farmers.

⁴ See Mr. Chancellor's list of its successive owners in *Essex Review*, xxv., p. 153, and my note upon it. (*Ibid.*, xxvi., p. 40).

alleged mediæval coat to which he held them to have proved their right.

Thomas Mildmay had several sons, of whom Thomas, the eldest, was the real founder of the family. Morant, by a singular confusion, assigns to Thomas, the father, the post of Auditor of the Court of Augmentations, which was held by this Thomas, his son,¹ and states wrongly that the father "raised a very considerable estate." The son is found on the road to fortune in 1536, when, as "Mr. Thomas Myldemay one of the kingis auditors,"² he acted as one of the four royal commissioners who visited the lesser Essex monasteries, at the time of their dissolution, to make inventories of their contents.³ Among these was the "kingis howse, late the Blake Freres in Chemsforde,"⁴ which was committed to his care "to se[e] yt savid to the kingis use till his graceis plesure be further knowen." This house was afterwards the scene of his first speculation in monastic lands; in 1539 he took a lease of it for 21 years at an annual rent of 32s. 2d.

The next year (1540) was that of his great advancement. Apart from what he acquired outside Essex,⁵ he obtained in July, for the sum of 622*l.* 5*s.* 8*d.*, the great manor of Moulsham, which had belonged to Westminster Abbey. It is noteworthy that this grant was made to himself and his wife jointly, for it seems to me possible that he owed his early rise to his marriage with Hawys Gunson, her father William being, as treasurer of the Marine Causes, a financial official himself. Thomas Mildmay must have been a comparatively young man when we first hear of him as 'auditor' in 1536, for his younger brother Edward was not out of his apprenticeship till 1541, and his father Thomas did not die till 1547. This makes it the more remarkable that he should have been able, not only to purchase this considerable estate, but to build upon it so stately a house within two or three years of its acquisition. It will probably be admitted that his official income could not have enabled him to do this and that, as I have suggested,

¹ Our former Hon. Sec., Mr. H. W. King, while justly criticising, in his papers on Essex wills, the genealogical errors of Morant (*e.g.* vol. iii. (o.s.), pp. 90, 196-7), repeats from him this (*Ibid.*, p. 182 *note*) and other errors.

² *E.A.T.*, x., p. 16.

³ *Ibid.*, ix., p. 280 *et seq.*

⁴ See Mr. Robert Fowler's paper in *Vict. Hist. Essex*, ii., p. 180. The house had lands in Great Baddow, Writtle and Moulsham. It lay, says Morant, "a little above the gaol," where "Friars Place" now commemorates it.

⁵ He appears to have obtained, in this year, a lease for 21 years of the house of St. Thomas of Acon (Acre) in London.

there was money to be made by other means than salary in the King's Court of Augmentations.¹

As the Mildmays' Chelmsford estate was the subject of the recent sale, and as their original and chief family seat was at Moulsham, I propose to devote special attention to this important manor. The late Mr. Chancellor confessed that "the ancient history of Chelmsford has still to be written,"² but there seems to be very little about which to write. Of its 2,800 to 2,900 acres³ the whole lay apparently in two manors of 'Chelmsford' or Bishop's Hall and of Moulsham, which were held, respectively, by the bishops of London and by the abbots of Westminster. Both of these came eventually into the hands of the Mildmays. Although in Domesday the bishop's manor was assessed at 8 hides, and Moulsham at only a hide and a quarter, the latter was the more extensive manor, and lay, compactly enough, apart from that of Chelmsford. A record recently cited by me⁴ speaks of Chelmsford bridge between Chelmsford and Moulsham, and the liability for its repair is there stated to have lain jointly on the bishop and the abbot (as lords of the two manors). This was the bridge over the Can, which stream was the boundary between the two manors. On it, to the south-east, at its confluence with the Chelmer, stood the manorial mill, mentioned in Domesday (1086), named in the 'grant' to Thomas Mildmay (1540), and included, as Moulsham Corn Mill, with some 17 acres (Lot 3), in the recent sale. From the Can to the border of Galleywood Common, where it included part of Bexfields, the manor of Moulsham ran, in a south-westerly direction, for about five miles, between Widford and Great Baddow. When Thomas Mildmay acquired it, it is spoken of as having appurtenances in Great Baddow, Stock, Widford, and Writtle, and at the recent sale part of the land offered (Whitehouse farm) extended eastward as far as Baddow Common meadow and 'Meadgate.'

It is a striking fact that although the Mildmays' stately seat was demolished little more than a century ago, its very site seems to be forgotten. That old-established Chelmsford paper, the *Essex County Chronicle* (24th August, 1917), stated at the time of the sale that "Moulsham Lodge Farm stands apparently somewhere about the

¹ So late as 1550 Thomas Mildmay, as Auditor, was only receiving 30s. a day for himself and eight clerks.

² *E.A.T.*, x., p. 117.

³ The Ordnance Survey makes it 2,858 acres; Kelly's Directory (1882) reckons "The parish, including Moulsham," at 2,841 acres."

⁴ *E.A.T.*, xiv., p. 340

site of the ancient Moulsham Hall."¹ Happily, Chapman & André's survey map of the county (1772-1774) enables us to determine the true site and to trace the area of the great park by which the house was surrounded. We observe first that the 'Lodge Farm' stood outside and to the east of the park, and then that the house lay, practically, due south of Chelmsford church and of what is now the junction of St. John's Road and Mildmay Road. Its west front is shown as overlooking the gardens, to the south-west, represented in the recent sale by the 6½ acres of "Moulsham Hall Gardens." The east or grand front was approached by a circular drive, part of which is seen in the engraving of this front given by Morant. To this drive roads led from an entrance to the park at what is now the end of St. John's Road and an eastern entrance from the lane continuing Van Dieman's Road, just before it reaches the 'Lodge Farm.'

The park was of considerable size, extending for about a mile north and south, and contained a roughly triangular lake to the north of the house. It reached in the north the present junction of Mildmay Road and Lady Lane, which latter was its boundary as far as Van Dieman's Road, to the north-east. To the south-west it extended to the present high-level reservoir at the end of the 'Long Stumps' footpath, which lay within its western boundary. To the south it reached a point to the westward of the present 'Galleywood Hall.' It thus covered the greater part of 'Lot 6' at the recent sale, though the homesteads of the Lodge farm and Tile-kiln farm (to the south) lay outside it. In the above survey map Moulsham Hall is given as the seat of 'Lady Mildmay,' the widow of Sir William (d. 1771).

We owe to the industry of Morant the transcript of a notable survey² of the manors of Chelmsford (Bishop's Hall) and Moulsham, drawn up from the manorial records at a 'Court Leet and Court Baron' of Sir Thomas Mildmay (the second owner) in 1591. Although somewhat florid in its statements it contains some valuable information. The manor of Moulsham is here described as containing "in soils, demesnes, and wastes, more than 1,300 acres of good sorts of country soil both in clay and sand."³ The

¹ This statement was based on the description in the *People's History of Essex* of the demolished hall.

² In the hands, when he wrote, of Sir William Mildmay of Moulsham.

³ The Moulsham lands, in the recent sale (Lots 3, 5, 6) were summarised as 580 acres. I give these references to the 'Lots' in case the 'Particulars of Sale' are preserved (in accordance with my original suggestion) for the use of future archaeologists, if or when the land is built over and its present divisions obliterated.

'wastes' were probably Moulsham Common and Moulsham 'Thrift' (*i.e.* Frith). It was apparently in the latter that James II. when hunting in May, 1686, dislodged a wild stag, which ran nearly to Wanstead. In addition to this extensive 'demesne' the manor was alleged to be entitled to rents and services from more than 200 copyhold tenements, and to 'common pour vicinage' on Galleywood Common, which was reckoned at "more than 500 acres"—a liberal estimate, unless it was then more extensive than now. It is of particular interest to read that "this manor hath three hamlets within the same, *viz.*: the hamlet and street of Mulsham; the hamlet and street of Wideford; and the hamlet of Gavelwood (*sic*); which do contain many good habitations and tenancies, and are all holden of the said manor." We see here the confusion which arises from the loose use of the word 'hamlet'; for the whole of Moulsham was but a 'hamlet' of Chelmsford parish, and Morant heads his account of it "The manor and hamlet of Moulsham." Yet it is here said to contain 'three hamlets,' of which Moulsham was but one.

It is a singular fact that the *village* of Widford is shown on some maps as lying in Moulsham, though this village is only what, in Essex, used to be styled the 'street.' The nucleus of the village—the hall and church—stands, of course, within the bounds of Widford parish. Of 'Gavelwood' hamlet there is more to be said. In Chapman & André's great map, 'Gravelwood Lane' is shown as leading down to 'Gravelwood Hall' and 'Gravelwood House' (beyond it), which are also found (but not the name of the lane) in Greenwood's map, and are shown as lying in Great Baddow, just outside the Moulsham (Chelmsford) border. But now on the ordnance map (as shown on the sale plan of the Mildmay estates) these houses have become, respectively, 'Galleywood' Hall and 'Lathcoats.' Changing landmarks, indeed! I am not myself acquainted with the district, and the matter is complicated by the separation, as a new ecclesiastical parish, of Galleywood Common; but what seems to have happened is that, as Gravelwood Lane led towards Galleywood Common, the names have apparently been confused and the 'hamlet of Gravelwood' forgotten.¹

It is also from this survey (1591) that we learn that "about the 33rd or 34th yeare of K. Henry VIII. [1541-3] Thomas Mildmay Esq. did build" Moulsham Hall "very beautifully, so as it was then accounted the greatest esquire's building within the county of Essex." It is also there stated to have been "much bettered,

¹ A 'Galleywood' Hall is shown in Chapman & André's map on Galleywood Common. I do not know if this is the present Galley Hall there.

augmented, and beautified" by his son Sir Thomas Mildmay. As this house was pulled down by Benjamin (Mildmay), Lord Fitz Walter, in the second quarter of the eighteenth century, one does not expect to find any trustworthy representation of it; but a view, taken at the time of a visit from Charles I., shows a characteristic house of *circa* 1540, such as Gosfield Hall, built round a quadrangle and having a forecourt, with archway, as at old Lambourne Hall.

When the fortunate 'auditor' acquired the Moulsham estate, his father-in-law, William Gounson, obtained at the same time (31 Hen. VIII.) by grant, from the Crown, a chapel on the estate, which belonged to St. Osyth's Priory, with two-thirds of the tithes of Moulsham. This property passed, in due course, with his daughter Hawys to Thomas Mildmay. Like the hall, the chapel has passed so utterly away that Morant could only speak of its having "formerly stood in a field called Long Stamps (*sic*), between Moulsham Hall and Gallow (*sic*) Common." The indications I have given above may help the recovery of its site, in case building operations should reveal a trace of its foundations. Morant speaks of "several stones, with brasses thereon," having been removed from it.

Possibly this chapel served as a chapel-of-ease for Moulsham, owing to its distance from its parish church in Chelmsford. The county town belongs, as a parish, to one of the two types which I described in my paper on 'The origin of Essex parishes'; it consisted of two distinct villis (*villes*),¹ afterwards manors, which were combined to form one ecclesiastical parish, taking its name from the 'vill' or manor in which stood the church. This latter was the vill or manor of "Chelmsford *alias* Bishop's Hall," so called from its tenure by the bishops of London. Bishop's Hall itself stands to the north, as Moulsham Hall to the south of the town, with the old manorial mill immediately to its north on the Chelmer. Duly mentioned in Domesday it figured as "Bishop's Hall mill," with over 10 acres of meadow, at the recent sale. This manor came to Thomas Mildmay, the auditor, by grant from Queen Elizabeth, in 1563, the year after he had sold 'Guy Harlings,' his father's house in Chelmsford. The character of the town, which had sprung up on what was originally a rural manor, is well seen in the above survey of 1591, where we read that "within this manor, upon parcel of the same, upon the common road-way is situate the town of Chelmsford, sometimes written the Burrowe of Chelmsford, with more than 300 habitations, divers of them seemly for gentlemen,

¹ "In villis de Chelmesford et Mulsham" (Close Roll, 18 Edw. III., 1344-5).

many fair inns, and the residue of the same habitations for victuallers and artificers of city-like buildings and are all holden of Chelmsford," *etc.*, *etc.* The manor was alleged to have, in addition, "a great service, more than 200 tenants that held of the same manor their lands, *etc.* . . . of which number about 30 are noble-men, knights, esquires and gentlemen of good countenance."

The "very fair demesne lands" of this important manor were represented, presumably, at least in part, at the recent sale, by Boarded Barns farm, of some 128 acres, which lies in the north-west of the parish, immediately west of the high road leading, through Broomfield, to Braintree. When the manor came to the Mildmays, it carried with it the rights over the weekly market in the town. Thomas Mildmay, whose father had once traded in that market, thus came to be 'lord' of all Chelmsford and Moulsham. Three years later the 'auditor' passed away and was buried, as he desired, in Chelmsford church, where a notable monument still commemorates himself and his extensive progeny. He had steadily added to his landed possessions, for the Inquisition taken after his death shows that he held the manors of Great Leighs and Bishop's Hall (in Great Leighs) and those of Little Waltham and Powers (in Little Waltham). He must have acquired at some time the house of the Carmelite Friars of Maldon, for he conveyed it in 1563 to Vincent Harris, who built his mansion house on its site.¹ Morant, having made the amazing error of representing the auditor's *father* as being himself the auditor and the purchaser of Moulsham (ii., 4), made a further one by interpolating an additional generation and stating (ii., 2) that it was not Thomas Mildmay, who acquired Bishop's Hall in 1563, that died in 1566, but "Sir Thomas, his eldest son"! This Sir Thomas did not die till 1608. It was for this Sir Thomas that the above survey was made, and in his time that Queen Elizabeth, apparently, stayed at Moulsham.² With him continued the rise of the family in the social scale; his marriage to a daughter of the Earl of Sussex brought to his descendants the barony of Fitz Walter, and their eldest son, who was sheriff in 1609 and a member for the county in his father's lifetime, was created a baronet (1611), but had no son to inherit the title.

His younger brother, Sir Henry, who succeeded him at Moulsham in 1620, rightfully claimed the barony of Fitz Walter, when the succession opened to the Mildmays, but the claim was not established till 1670, when his grandson, Benjamin, was summoned to the

¹ *E.A.T.* (N.S.) iv., 135. This is omitted by Mr. Robert Fowler in his *V.C.H. Essex*, ii., 183.

² See Mr. Miller Christy's paper in *Essex Review*, xxvi. pp. 185, 195.

House of Lords. His younger son and namesake succeeded to Moulsham in 1728 and was created Earl Fitz Walter in 1730. He was the ninth of his line at Moulsham, though only fifth in descent from the 'auditor.' It was by him that the old hall was pulled down and the classical mansion built in its place. When he died without issue in 1756, the descendants of the 'auditor' in the male line became, it appears, extinct. Passing over, as explained above (p. 3), the children of his father's sister (although she married a Mildmay) he "devised by will all his estates," as Morant puts it, (ii., pp. 2, 4) to his distant kinsman, Sir William Mildmay, who seems to have been his heir male. Sir William was descended from William, a younger brother of the 'auditor,' who obtained, by grant from Edward VI., in 1548, monastic lands at Springfield Barnes, which became the residence of his heirs.

As these lands were included in the recent sale, something should here be said of them. They are described as two farms, Barnes farm and Prentices, with barely 270 acres between them. This figure is of interest as illustrating the small area of those 'estates' which sometimes gave a 'visitation' family its territorial status. All over Essex there are manors (or so-called manors) and manorial 'halls' which were once the abodes of 'gentle' families, but are now merely farms. 'The manor of Springfield Barnes,' as it is styled by Morant, had what he terms its 'mansion house near the river,' which was the seat, for several generations, of one line of the Mildmays. He appears to be right in stating that the Peses were its early holders, for—although the sale particulars, like Chapman & André's map, only show the two farm houses of 'Barnes' and 'Prentices'—a 'Peases Hall' is shown between them on Greenwood's map (1825). There is some contradiction in Morant's account, but it is at least clear that in 1407-8 certain persons founded a chantry in Coggeshall Abbey with an endowment of 10*l.* a year arising from two messuages, a fulling mill¹ and 299 acres of land "in Springfield and Sandon, called Springfield-Barnes and Sandford-Barnes."² After the dissolution this was granted to William Mildmay by the same double name and described as lying "in Springfield and Great Baddow."³

One would like to identify "Sandford Barnes," for no such land seems to be known; Sandford Mill, however, stands on the river where the road from Springfield crosses to the point where Sandon and

¹ Apparently the 'Barnes' water mill, which was sold with 'Barnes' farm,

² Morant's *Essex*, ii., pp. 9, 163.

³ *Ibid.*, ii., p. 9.

Baddow meet. It would seem, therefore, possible that "Prentice's farm" may now represent the lost "Sandford-Barnes." In any case, this line of the Mildmays are always styled "of Barnes" (or "of Barnes in Springfield,") without any prefix to the "Barnes," though one would certainly expect it. There these Mildmays continued till the property was sold by the grandfather of that William Mildmay who inherited Moulsham on the death of Lord Fitz Walter, and by whom it was re-purchased two years later. It was thus that the two adjacent properties became united, as they remained till the recent sale, for a hundred and sixty years.¹

It has been my object, in this paper, to illustrate the value, for the history of the county, of the facts which are brought to light when a property long associated with a well-known local family is sold and changes hands. We are enabled, on such occasions, to ascertain the position and area of its constituent elements and even to recover lost names or to trace the corruption of those which remain. The mere recital of a pedigree or of a manorial descent is apt to make dreary reading, as we see in the pages of Morant; but the rise of a great local family and an outline, at least, of its history, when combined with that of the lands they held, can be so treated as to prove of some general interest and to form a useful record of times which have passed away.

¹ See for this later period, p. 3 above.

SOME LOST CHURCH PLATE OF THE ESSEX ARCHDEACONRY.

BY THE REV. W. J. PRESSEY, M.A.

AMONG the Records of the Archdeaconry of Essex there is a volume containing particulars of the parochial visitations for the years 1683 to 1686.

The book, which consists of some 80 pages, in excellent preservation, and exhibiting samples of beautiful penmanship, furnishes the names of the various parochial clergy, as well as those of the churchwardens of the several parishes, some of whose signatures—or marks—appear at the foot of the page.

The archdeacon, at this period, was the Venerable Thomas Turner, and, judging from the contents of this volume, his examination into the state of the various churches in his archdeaconry was both exhaustive and thorough.

The Record contains much that is of considerable historical interest, supplying, as it does, minute information concerning the state of the fabrics of the churches—the care of the registers and the condition of the chests in which they were ordered to be kept—the furniture and fittings of the church—the position of the Holy Table—the fixing or renewal of the Royal Arms upon the church wall—the names of the patrons and impropiators of the benefices—together with those of the respective lords of the manor. But not the least interesting feature of these Visitation Records is the insight which they give as to the Church Plate of this date. In the case of nearly every parish the information supplied to the archdeacon by the church authorities includes an inventory of the sacred vessels which were then in use, and a statement of those that were lacking; and by comparing these inventories with the lists of the Church Plate in existence at the present time, it is possible (i) to account for certain pieces possessed by our churches to-day; and (ii) to realise, alas! how much that was valuable and interesting has altogether disappeared and become lost to the diocese.

It is not possible within the limited space of a short article to enter very fully into this matter: it must suffice to give a few of the more marked instances which are furnished by these Visitation Records.

CHELMSFORD. Thus, in the case of the cathedral of Chelmsford (cf. fol. 67) the inventory, A.D. 1686, shews that :—

There is a silver and guilt Cupp and Cover and a silver Challice with a Cover to it which serves for a patten.

Order'd bie ye Bp.

That the 2 fflagons be chang'd for new ones of silver to be certified in two yeare or sooner if conveniently it may.

The 'silver and guilt Cupp and Cover' mentioned here was certainly of Elizabethan date, since it is noted in the churchwardens' account book of Chelmsford in an inventory of the church goods, entered under date 1580, as under :—

Imprimis, A Comūyon Cuppe of Sylver & Gylte wth a Cover of Sylver ye upp p^{te} gylte.

and also—

a lynnen cloath for ye Comⁿ Cupp.

(This cloth is always mentioned in conjunction with the cup in subsequent entries).

It was this cup and cover which narrowly escaped theft, as is shewn by an entry under March 28th (Maundy Thursdaye), two years later :—

This day in the night following was the Church of Chelmsforde robbed of these thyns followynge : the poor man's box all the iij locks were rent of and the moneye that was therein (wch was but lytle) was carryed awaye also the Table Cloath to ye Commuyon Table and the surples were both carryed awaye. They attempted to have broken into the Vestrye but they prevayled not to have had the Communion Cup. Thanks be to God they myssed of that.

The cup, however, though it escaped upon this occasion, was not to come down to posterity, for it has vanished together with its parcel-gilt cover, and there remains only the other silver cup recorded above. This vessel, with its cover, was procured in 1621, as the following entry in the churchwardens' book under that date testifies :—

A newe Communion Cupp with a Cover for the bread with a case.

The cover to this cup has likewise disappeared.

The two flagons, which the bishop, with questionable authority, ordered to be changed, were of pewter, and were purchased in the year 1634, as the following entry shews :—

Itm to Henry Reade for ij flaggons wainge ffyftene pound and a	s. d.
halfe at 15d lb	.. .. 19'7

These were evidently parted with, and the two new silver flagons which the cathedral still possesses, were obtained in 1697. They

are massive vessels of the tankard type, with domed lids, and they bear the mark of the maker, William Gibson.

It is possible that the Elizabethan cup and cover may have been sold at this time to assist in the purchase of the flagons; but, however this may be, when they were parted with, there can be little doubt that Chelmsford lost its most interesting, and, in all probability, its most valuable examples of Church Plate.

GRAYS. For Grays Thurrock, the Visitation Record gives the following inventory under date 1685 (*cf.* fol. 44b):—

There is a pewter flagon.

There is a silver Cup with a Cover, writt abt. ye Cup—ffor the Parish of Grase Thurrock 1663.

John Watts }
Wm. Farrant } Churchwardens.

The Cover for ye Cup to be chang'd for a larger.

Against this, however, there appears a marginal note, evidently written somewhat later—

As to ye Cover of ye Cup there is no need now of changing of it because there is lately given since the parochial visitation a large silver Patten for ye bread,

This not only explains the possession by this parish of its credence paten, which has neither a date nor a maker's mark, but also supports the date which is given on the inscription upon it, *viz.*, "The Parrish of Grais Thorrock in Essex 1685."

The anonymous donor of this piece may have been the Reverend Robert Palmer, the vicar of the parish at this time, whose crest—*a lion rampant, Or, holding a palmer's staff erect, Sable, head end, and rest, Or*—it probably bears. The pewter flagon has disappeared.

CORRINGHAM. These Visitation Records also give a clue to the oldest cup, at present in possession of the church of Corringham. The inventory, dated 1685 (*cf.* fol. 52) is as under:—

There wants a flaggon for ye Comunion Table.

There wants 2 plates one for ye bread and ye other for ye offerings just before ye Comunion.

The Silver Cup and Cover must be changed for a larger.

This order to change the cup and cover for a larger, may mean that these vessels were of small Elizabethan make, such as may be found in not a few Essex parishes to-day.

That the direction was carried out is evident both from the date letter upon the present cup, and also from the inscription upon it, which reads—"This belonging to the parish of Corringham Peeter

Lodwicke & John Marten Churchwardens 1685." If the flagon and the two plates were procured—which seems probable from a note in the margin—they have disappeared, for they form no part of the Corringham Church Plate at the present time.

The suggested alterations of the archdeacon, however, did not always meet with such ready acceptance, and thus the diocese is fortunate in its retention of some of its best examples of Church Plate.

STIFFORD. The parish of Stifford furnishes an instance of this. The inventory of the plate of Stifford is given under date 1685 (*cf.* fol. 43b), and states that:—

There is a very good flagon of silver with this inscription,

Ex Dono Jacobi Silverlock Armigeri.

A very good plate of silver with the inscription upon it,

The Gift of Will: Kenderick Esqr to the pish Church of
Stifford in Essex Anno Domini 1683

A good Cup of Silver with a Cover to it written on ye top Stifford 1628.

Among the directions which are given of matters which need alteration, the following suggestion is made:—

And if the pish thinks fit to change the Cupp and Cover to it for a larger.

To this suggestion a marginal note has been appended—

They doe not think fit to have it changed.

To this wise decision the church owes its possession to-day of an excellent and early example (1628) of a Carolean cup and cover, which form part of a very handsome set of vessels for church use.

The instances already quoted will serve to shew how these Visitation Records help to throw light upon the older vessels in use in some of our churches to-day, but they present, too, another side; they serve to show how much that is valuable and interesting in the way of Church Plate has passed out of our church life altogether.

Here, for instance, is the inventory, in 1685, for SOUTH
OCKENDON. South Ockendon (*cf.* fol. 44):—

There is a very good flagon of Silver with this inscription,

The Guift of Alice Saltonstall widdow of Phillip Saltonstall Esqr to the
Church of South Ockendon in the County of Essex Anno Dni 1670.

There is a fine plate of silver with this inscription

The Guift of Robert Bateman Esqr to the pish Church of South Ockendon
in Essex 1682.

There is a silver Cup & Cover on the top thereof (?) 1601.

[This date is a little uncertain. It appears on the folio as 1091, but has evidently been copied from the cover of the cup (where it

was probably inscribed upon the foot) upside down, and should read 1601.]

Of these vessels, which were most likely fine examples of their respective periods, there is not a vestige remaining. Indeed this parish seems to have been peculiarly unfortunate in respect of its sacred vessels. In pre-Reformation days, it was twice enriched with plate left to it by will.

Thus, in 1349, John de Holegh, a wealthy hosier, endowed a permanent chantry at South Ockendon, to which he also bequeathed a chalice weighing 20 shillings (*cf. Trans. Essex Arch. Society*, vol. xii., part i., p. 17, N.S.).

Again, in 1571, the will of Dame Elizabeth Brune; or Bruyn, of this parish, widow of Sir Maurice Brune, shews that she left to her parish church the chalice belonging to her private chapel (*cf. Trans. Essex Arch. Society*, vol. ij., p. 56, N.S.).

The Edwardian Inventories of 1552 shew that a chalice had been sold by Robert Fenwycke and Humphrey Gill for the sum of 2*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.*

A chalice with 'patene parcell-gylt' was assigned for future use by the Commissioners, and thus the two chalices left by will would seem to be accounted for.

The chalice thus left was probably converted (temp. Eliz.) into the 'Comely Cupp of Silver and Cover of Silver' required by the Injunctions.

But this seems to have disappeared, since, in 1598 (*cf. Archdeaconry Records*, LIB. xxxvii. fol. 189), at a Visitation, held at Romford, this parish was presented as 'wanting a Cupp for the Com^{on}'

One, Duckerell, appeared and was ordered to make good the deficiency.

The date on the cover, as suggested by this inventory of 1685, above-mentioned, may perhaps be taken as an evidence that this order to procure the vessels was obeyed very shortly afterwards.

But the final clearance of all the old plate took place when the church was robbed about 1860-65, as mentioned by the Reverend W. Palin, in his book, *More about Stifford*. There must evidently have been some re-arrangement of the vessels since 1685, for the alms-dish given by Mr. Robert Bateman—if Mr. Palin's statement is correct—seems to have disappeared. "South Ockendon," he says, "possessed until lately a costly service bearing the name and arms of Saltonstall, consisting of a flagon, chalice, paten and alms-dish, valued at 40*l.* as mere silver, which was entrusted to the care of a rotten parish chest in the vestry, guarded by a rotten lock about

as old as the church, and accessible by a rotten old outer door. Of course, it was stolen. We can say in praise of the present service, carefully guarded, that it presents no attraction to thieves."

As a matter of fact the church vessels of South Ockendon to-day are all electro-plate. *Sic transit gloria mundi.*

MALDON. The inventory of the plate given for the churches of S. Peter and All Saints, Maldon, in 1684 (*cf.* fol. 22) is as follows:—

There are belonging to y^e Church
Two Bowles of Silver,
Two Silver plates to sett y^e bread in,
Three fflaggons of Silver.

All these vessels have passed away, the earliest example of plate at Maldon (All Saints) to-day, bearing the date-letter for 1705. The 'two Bowles,' above mentioned, were probably the two cups that were stolen, as indicated by the inscription upon the cups in present use, dated 1740, which is as under:—

Maldon 1740. This cup and such another were bought out of the money arising from Mrs. Wentworth's Charity and given by the Trustees to the united parishes of All Sts & S. Peters in y^e room of two that were stole.

What the date of the earlier vessels was it is impossible to say, but, in the Archidiaconal Records (LIB. xxvij., fol. 103) at a Court, held at Ingatestone, A.D. 1597, the parish of All Saints, Maldon, was stated to be in "want of a Communion Cupp and Cloth." One, Burton, appeared and admitted that this was true, and that "Thomas Webb late Churchwarden is gone out of the parish and carried away the Cupp and Clothe."

It was decided that "because they have not used that direct means which the law requireth to recover the same Cup and Cloth, the Churchwardens shall call a Vestry and shall make a rate and provide a Cupp and Clothe."

It is, therefore, not improbable that one of the purloined cups may have been a late Elizabethan example.

Why the other vessels were alienated remains a mystery, but the only silver flagon which the parish possesses to-day is the gift of the Venerable Dr. Thomas Plume, dated 1705, "in grateful remembrance of his Baptism on the 7th day of August in the year 1630," and bearing his coat of arms—*Erm, a bend vairy Or and Gu., cotised, vert*; and for a crest, *a talbot sejant Gu., collared and lined Or.*

STOCK. The parish of Stock Harvard furnishes another instance of the disappearance of some fine old Church Plate. The inventory, dated 1686 (*cf.* fol 76) is given thus:—

There is a silver and guilt Cupp wth a Cover to it with this Inscription
 Maria Coe
 ex dono patris sui Gulielmi Coe Arm :
 There is a silver and guilt plate for the bread wth this inscription
 The Comunion plate of the Parish Church of
 Harvard Stock in Essex, 1631.
 There is a fflaggon of pewter.

Of these vessels, which were probably handsome, and certainly interesting, none remain. But for this old Visitation Record it would perhaps never have been known that the parish had possessed plate of this description, since the earliest vessel at present in evidence—a cup of silver, bearing the mark of the maker, Chas. Wright—is dated 1776.

LOST COVERS. Another feature with regard to the Church Plate of the archdeaconry which these Records disclose, is the large number of parishes from which the covers of the cups have disappeared since the year 1685.

That they were then in use, or at least in the possession of the various churches, is evident from the inventories in which, in every case, they are mentioned; but at the present time, in the parishes following, the cups only remain, *viz.*:—

Althorne (1599), Chignal S. James (1667), Fobbing (1633), South Hanningfield (1562), Hockley (1562), Horndon-on-the-Hill (1567), Laindon (1656), Mountnessing (1564), Pitsea (1568), Ramsden Bellhouse (1562), Rettendon (1562), South Shoebury (date uncertain), Upminster (1609), Wakering Parva (1566), Warley Parva (1564), Woodham Mortimer (date uncertain).

It will be seen that by far the larger number of these lost covers are of Elizabethan date, the two undated examples belonging to that period, though the actual date-letter is wanting.

In the case of Horndon-on-the-Hill, and Laindon, orders were given to change the covers for larger ones, which may perhaps account for their disappearance.

In the parishes following, not only the covers, but all the other vessels specified in the inventories of 1685-6 have entirely disappeared, and much that was both interesting and valuable has thereby become lost to the diocese.

Thus, Bowers Gifford, Chadwell S. Mary, Childerditch, Hazeleigh, Ingrave, Laindon Hills, Thurrock Parva and Wennington—at the

time when these inventories were drawn up—were all possessed of silver cups and covers, many of which probably dated from Elizabethan or Jacobean days.

At the present time the communion vessels of these parishes consist in nearly every instance of electro-plate.

The following short table may furnish some idea of the changes which have taken place, and the consequent loss of Church Plate which the archdeaconry has sustained from one cause and another, since these inventories were made; the total number of parishes included in these visitation returns is 130:—

(i.)	Number of parishes for which no inventory of Church Plate is given	...	...	3
(ii.)	Number of parishes which still retain part of their plate previous to the year 1686	...	...	69
(iii.)	Number of parishes for which particulars have not yet been ascertained	...	...	14
(iv.)	Number of parishes which have parted with all their Church Plate dated previous to 1686, and substituted other vessels...	...	...	44
				<hr/> 130 <hr/>

It will thus be seen that at least a third of the parishes in the Essex archdeaconry have got rid of the old church plate which they possessed in 1686.

When it is remembered that many of these pieces were Elizabethan and Carolean vessels, that only so recently as February of last year an Elizabethan cup and cover (1567) was sold at Christie's for just under 300*l.*, that a Charles I. flagon fetched the sum of 500*l.*, it will be realised how considerable must have been the monetary value—to say nothing of the interest, both historic and archæological—which attached to this "lost Church Plate of the Essex Archdeaconry."

ROMAN COINS FROM COLCHESTER.

BY F. S. SALISBURY, M.A., F.R.Num.S.

Tout passe.—L'art robuste
Seul a l'éternité ;
Le buste
Survit à la cité,
Et la médaille austère
Que trouve un laboureur
Sous terre
Révèle un empereur.
—TH. GAUTIER; *L'Art.*

THE coins described in this paper form a small collection of 50 pieces in the possession of C. H. Greene, Esq., of Berkhamsted School, and are all from Colchester sites. Their chronological distribution corresponds in the main with that of the coins found at Verulamium, so far as these have been described. We have a scattered representation, extending over nearly four centuries, from the reign of Augustus to that of Valens, with a greatly swollen volume of output during the first half of the fourth century, to which period belong no less than sixteen coins issued by Constantine and his sons.

There is a native British bronze showing on the obverse a futurist study of a head, and on the reverse a chariot and driver drawn to the right by a wonderful horse at such a speed that the chariot has come to pieces.

The decipherable mint marks are nine in number, and include those of Aquileia (1), Arelatum (1), (Colchester (1), Londinium (2), Lugdunum (1), Siscia (1), and Trèves (2). In addition there are three coins on which the mark may be that of Trèves, though the other letters besides T are uncertain. So far as they go, these mint-marks correspond with the conclusions drawn from the coins found on the site of Verulam as to the recruiting grounds of the British garrison. Outside the Prefecture of the Three Gauls, only two mints (Siscia and Aquileia) are represented, Siscia because it was situated in the midst of the fierce Pannonians, from whom the drafts were derived, Aquileia because it was the principal halting-place on their march westward. Their military value is justly

estimated by Gibbon in a sentence of his fifth chapter, where he observes that "Their warlike youth afforded an inexhaustible supply of recruits to the legions stationed on the banks of the Danube, and which, from a perpetual warfare against the Germans and Sarmatians, were deservedly esteemed the best troops in the service."

Augusta Treverorum (Trèves), where the principal religious cult was that of Mars, appears to have been the place at which the recruits assembled, and the great military base from which the British legions were renewed. The predominance of Trèves mint-marks reflects this importance. We know that in the time of Valentinian it was the seat of the Western Court, and that from there Theodosius was despatched to recover Britain from the Picts, Scots, and Saxons.

I.
Gaulish. Uninscribed Head.
 bronze.

Obv.

Rev.

Charioteer to r.
Below the main type a
boar to r. with erect
crest along its back.



No. 1.

The original type, of which this coin is a distant copy, is the gold stater of Philip II., of Macedon, having on the obverse a head of Apollo facing r., and on the reverse a biga driven to the r. by a single charioteer.

In our coin, when, after some consideration, the obverse is held right way up, we can make out the eye, the vertical line of the forehead and nose, and the curving sweep of the jaw-bone and chin. A single S-shaped form represents the curls on the top and back of the head.

On the reverse the two horses of the biga have coalesced into one. There are the body, an uplifted arm and reins of the charioteer.

In front of the horse's head is a rectangle of raised lines, the left side of which is produced downwards to a distance equal to its length. This pattern is, I have no doubt, the remains of the fore-legs of one of the horses in the original biga. It does not occur (see pl. xiii., 4543, 4549, in *La Tour: Atlas des Monnaies Gauloises*) where both the horses are shown. In these cases two of the fore-legs are raised high and their knob-like joints are preserved in the similar angles of the pattern which replaces them. It is, of course, arguable that the technique of the die-engraver would inevitably produce the knobs in both the legs and the pattern, since his method of engraving a line was to sink two small circular holes and then chisel the connection between them. The design is quickly connected up with the charioteer's whip, which, as in our coin, is brought round over the

horse's head for the purpose. Various stages are seen in the development. We have two horizontal bars with knobbed extremities, the latter joined vertically by beaded lines (cp. *La Tour*, pl. xxiii., 6879); or we have a complete rectangle with diagonals (xxiii., 6852, 6858, &c.); or, again, the vertical lines are produced downwards (xxiii., 6826, 6837, &c.), and, the rectangle narrowing, the verticals at length become the thongs of a kind of 'cat' (xxiii., 6827 and 6828). The whole development illustrates the anxiety of the primitive engraver, like the painters of the Greek geometric and early black-figure vases, to fill up every available space in the field.

2.		<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
British or Gaulish.	Uninscribed bronze.	Nearly the whole field taken up by a pattern degenerated from the hair of the prototype and its ornaments. The design is not un- like two strung tennis racquets.	Horse to r. with head turned back, as on some coins of Carthage. A circle in the right angle between two straight lines behind the horse are the only remains of the chariot.

The peculiarity of the obverse type arose from the employment of dies larger than the flans of the coins to be struck, and the subsequent engraving of other dies from coins which thus bore only a part of the type.

3.		<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
M. Agrippa.	2nd br.	Head to l. M. AGRIPPA . L . F . COS . III.	Erect facing fig. head to l. Left holds trident. S. C to l. and r.

		<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
4.	2nd br.	Similar.	Similar.
Cohen, 3.	Between 27 and 12 B.C.		

		<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
5.	Claudius and Drusus.	Sestertius. Laureate head to r. TI CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVG P M TR P IMP.	Triumphal Arch sur- mounted by horseman to r. on prancing horse between two trophies of arms. In field to l. and r. S, C. NERO CLAVDIVS DRVSVS GERMAN IMP.

Cohen, 48.

6.		<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
Nero.	2nd br.	Bare head to r. IMP NERO CAESAR AVG P MAX TRP PP P.	Victory with wings spread and raised, and r. hold- ing round shield on which S P Q R. S, C to l. and r. in field.

7.		<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
Vespasian.	2nd br.	Bust to r.	Figure moving to l.
		S	

8.		<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
Domitian.	Denarius.	Laureate bust to r. IMP CAES DOMIT AVG GERM P M TR P XI.	Minerva (Promachostype) striding to r. with round shield on l. arm and javelin poised in r. IMP XXI COS XVI CENS P, P P. [i.e. Censor Perpetuus, Pater Patriæ.]

For the title P P (= Pater Patriæ) see the epigram, L.S., iii., 11, 12, addressed by Martial to this emperor:—

Vox diversa sonat populorum, tum tamen una est,
Cum verus patriæ diceris esse pater.

The vox diversa was that of the polyglot crowd of spectators in Domitian's amphitheatre.

Struck A.D. 92. Cohen, 273.

9.		<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
Domitian.	2nd br.	Bust to r. AVG GERM COS XIII . .	Illegible.

Domitian was consul for the 13th time in A.D. 87. This coin is therefore not earlier than that year.

10.		<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
Nerva.	2nd br.	Bearded head to r, IMP NER VA [C]AES AVG P M TR[P . . . C]OS Nerva was consul four times, twice before and twice after his acces- sion.	Fortune erect, holding with outstretched r. hand the tiller of a rudder which rests at her feet. Pattern of raised dots in place of l. arm. Narrow erect object to right. S, C to l. and r., but S reversed. Style crude. [F]O R [T]V[NA AVGVST.]



No. 10.

Compare Cohen, 68, rev. of 61 (fig.) barbarised. Probably imitating type of A.D. 97.

There is some difference of opinion as to whether barbarous imitations of this period, found at Colchester and elsewhere, were struck on the Continent or are the produce of a local Colchester mint, unauthorised, but apparently connived at. Two considerations add probability to the latter view. First, the artificers

who made the pre-Roman British coins would be likely, if permitted, to continue to exercise their craft; secondly, there is otherwise some difficulty in understanding the successful establishment of the mint of Carausius and Allectus in this city.

11.		<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
Trajan.	Denarius.	Laureate bust to r. IMP TRAIANO AVG GER DAC P M TR P.	Draped fig. standing to l. COS V P P S P Q R OPTIMO PRINC.

Struck A.D. 104-110.

12.		<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
Trajan.	Sestertius.	Laureate head to r. IMP CA[ES] NERVAE TRAI]- ANO A[V]G GER DAC P M TR P CO[S V P P] The coin has a beauti- ful green patina.	Horseman galloping to r. with spear in raised r. Below horse a crouch- ing footman. S P Q R OPTIMO PRINCIPI.

Cohen, 503. Struck 104-110 A.D.

13.		<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
Trajan.	2nd br. Yellow brass.	Radiate undraped bust to r. IMP CAE[S] NERVAE TRAI]- ANO AVG GER DAC P M TR P COS V [PP].	Erect draped figure to ½-l. with cornucopia on l. arm: r. holds tiller of rudder. S, C to l. and r. in field. [S P Q R OPT]IMO] P[RINCIPI].

Cohen, 479. A.D. 104-110.

14.		<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
Trajan.	2nd br.	Bust to r. O AVG GER DA[C . . .	Figure standing to l. In field to l. and r. S, C. [S]P Q R[OPTIMO PRINC]IPI

15.		<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
Hadrian.	2nd br.	Radiate bust to r IMP CAESAR TRAIANVS HADRIANVS AVG P M TR P COS III.	Helmeted figure of the emperor in military cos- tume to r.; r. hand holds erect inverted spear. S, C in field to l. and r. VIRTVTI AVGVSTI.

This combination of types is not in Cohen.

16.		<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
Antoninus Pius.	Denarius.	Laureate head to r. ANTONINVS . AVG PIVS P P TR P XXIII.	Salus erect draped facing, head to l.; l. hand grasps erect planted sceptre: r. pours libation from a patena on to an altar round which a snake appears to be coiled. SALVTI AVG COS III.

Through the kindness of Mr. A. B. Cook, of Queens' College, Cambridge, I have been able to consult the MS. of the second volume of his work on *Zeus* (Camb. Univ. Press), in which the origin of the serpent in connection with Salus

is explained under Zeus Asklepios. Asklepios is the dead king of Tricca in Thessaly, who was skilled in medicine and afterwards became a god. His name appears to have originally meant 'snake,' the snake was his 'soul-animal' and is regularly associated with him in his cult statues, and hence with his companion Hygieia, the goddess of health, who is simply a personification of one of his attributes. Salus is the Latin equivalent of Hygieia.

Cohen, 741. A.D. 160.

17.		<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
Severus	Sestertius.	Bust to r., laureate.	Victory standing to r., and
Alexander.		IMP SEV ALEXANDER AVG	writing [VOT X] on a
A.D. 222-235.			shield. In well pre-
			served examples Vic-
			tory's foot is seen to be
			resting on a helmet.
			Below in field S. C. to l.
			and r.
			VICTORIA AVGVSTI.

Cohen, 567.

The victory anticipated by these vows is doubtless that over the Persians in the campaign of A.D. 231-3.

18.		<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
	Sestertius.	Bust to r., laureate.	Draped female fig. seated
		... SEV[A]LEXA	to l., with sceptre in l.
			and spray held out in r.
19.		<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
Valerian.	Antoninianus.	Radiate paludate bust	Erect draped figure.
		to r.	SECVRIT[PERPET].
	Billon.	IMP VALERIANVS AVG.	
Cohen, 204.			

20.		<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
Salonina,	Bil.	Draped bust to r.	Draped fig. standing $\frac{1}{2}$ -l. ;
wife of		... NA AVG.	l. holding sceptre and
Gallienus.			r. extended.
			IVN[o ...
			Observe the neck, which
			may be described ac-
			curely as scraggy or
			gallantly as swan-like.

21.		<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
Victorinus.	Bil.	Radiate bust to r.	Sun-god radiate striding
		[VI]CTORINVS P F AVG.	to r. with l. hand raised.

In *Ovid.*, *Metam.* ii., 40, 41, the sun-god is described as laying aside his rays so that Phaëthon may approach and embrace him.

At genitor circum caput omne micantes
Deposuit radios, propiusque accedere iussit.

22.		<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
Victorinus. Bil.	Radiate bust to r.	Pietas standing $\frac{1}{2}$ -l. and	
A.D. 265-7.	... ICTORINVS P F AVG.	extending patera over small altar. The altar has a round table top, supported by a central pillar.	
Cp. Cohen, 90-92.		PIETAS AVG.	
23.	<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>	
Tetricus I. Bil.	Radiate bust to r.	Erect draped female fig.	
A.D. 262-273.	... TETRICVS P F A [VG].	with cornucopia on l. arm and slanting palm branch in r.	
Cohen, 49.		[HILA]RITAS A [VG].	
24.	<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>	
Tetricus I.	Radiate bust to r.	Worn.	
	IMP C TE . . .		
25.	<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>	
Tetricus I. Bil.	Radiate bust to r.	Erect draped figure.	
	[IMP] TET[RI]CVS AVG		
26.	<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>	
Tetricus I. Bil.	Radiate bust to r.		
27.	<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>	
? Tetricus I. Bil.	Radiate bust to r.		
28.	<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>	
Claudius Bil.	Radiate draped bust to r.	Figure moving l.	
Gothicus.	[C] LAVDIO.		
A.D. 268-70.			
29.	<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>	
	Radiate head to r.	Obscure.	
	... DIO . . .		
30.	<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>	
Allectus. Bil.	Radiate draped bust to r.	Galley, with mast and	
A.D. 294-7.	IMP C A [LLE]CT . S . . .	oars, and back and front stays.	
		VIRTVS AVG.	
Cohen, 81.		Mint-mk. ϕ c.	
Mr. Percy H. Webb interprets the ϕ of the mint-mark to mean Quinarius.			
31.	<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>	
Constantine I.	Laureate mailed bust	Sun-god standing to $\frac{1}{2}$ -l.,	
	to r.	right hand raised. In	
	IMP CONSTANTINVS AVG.	field to l. and r., S, F.	
		SOL [I INVIC] TO COMITI.	
		In ex. P L N.	
		The imperfection of many of the letters suggests a worn die.	

	<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
32. Constantine I.	Laureate paludate bust to r. CONSTANTINVS P F AVG.	Similar type, but clearer. In field to l. and r., T, F SOLI INVICTO COMITI. In ex. TR.

Coins of Constantine bearing these pagan reverse types belong to the early part of his reign, before his official acceptance of Christianity. Their fabric is different from and generally more substantial than that of the money struck after the unification of the empire.

	<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
33. Constantine I.	Diademed and paludate bust to r. Head youthful. CONSTANTINVS PF AVG.	Two legionaries guarding a standard, on which above three disks is a banner inscribed with the labarum. GLORIA EXERCITVS In ex. A SISC.

This and the following pieces are struck under the re-organised fiscal system which accompanied the unification of the empire.

	<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
34. Constantine I.	Mailed and helmeted bust to l. Helmet with fan-shaped crest. IMP CONSTANTINVS AV.	Victories supporting a wreath or plaque which rests on an altar between On plaque VOT PR. VICTORIAE LAETAE PRINC PER[P].

	<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
35. Constantine I.	Mailed and helmeted bust to r. [CON]STANTINVS MAX AVG.	Two Victories supporting Votive plaque between them, on which [V]OT PR. [VICTORIAE LAET]AE PRINC PERP.

Constantine did not take the title of Maximus until after his entry into Rome in A.D. 312, following on his victory over Maxentius near the Milvian bridge, close to the city.

	<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
36. Urbs Roma	Helmeted and mailed bust of Roma to l. No sceptre. [VRBS] ROMA	Wolf suckling twins. Two stars above. In ex. ☾ PLG.

Le père était debout, et plus loin, contre un arbre,
Sa louve reposait comme celle de marbre,
Qu'adoraient les Romains, et dont les flancs velus
Couvraient les demi-dieux Rémus et Romulus.

—A. DE VIGNY: *La Mort du Loup*.

On the coins, however, the she-wolf is always standing

37. Constantino- polis type.	<i>Obv.</i> Mailed and helmeted bust of Roma to l., with sceptre over left shoulder. The loose end of the diadem is carried across the sceptre and utilised to convert it into a trident.	<i>Rev.</i> Victory winged with scep- tre held obliquely in r. On ground to r. a shield, to l. a ship's prow. In ex., TR . S.
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CONSTANTINOPOLIS.

38. Constantino- polis type.	<i>Obv.</i> Similar.	<i>Rev.</i> Similar: but in ex. * ST[A?].
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According to Maurice, *Numismatique Constantinienne*, I, x., the obverse type of Constantinopolis (Roma Nova) celebrates the inauguration of the city after May 11, 330 A.D. The laws of the Theodosian code cease to be dated from Byzantium in 324, but only after May 11, 330, begin to be dated from Constantinopolis. The victory doubtless commemorates the defeat of Licinius by Constantine, A.D. 324, which united east and west under one sceptre.

39. Helena.	<i>Obv.</i> Bust to r. FL IVL HELENÆ AVG.	<i>Rev.</i> Draped erect female figure facing, with sceptre held transversely in l., and patera extended in r. PAX PVBLICA. In ex. T ? R S.
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40. Constantine II.	<i>Obv.</i> Laureate mailed bust to r. CONSTANTINVS IVN NOB C.	<i>Rev.</i> Two legionaries guarding two standards. [GLOR]IA EXERCITVS.
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41. Constantine II.	<i>Obv.</i> Helmeted and mailed bust to l. CONSTANTINVS IVN.	<i>Rev.</i> Altar with globe upon it, and on facing panel VOT I . S XX. BEAT TRA * * * . . . In ex. P LON.
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42. Constans.	<i>Obv.</i> Diademed bust to l. .. CON[. . .]S [N]O[B] CAES.	<i>Rev.</i> Turreted gateway. Above, betw. turrets, a star.
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43. Constans.	<i>Obv.</i> Laureate mailed bust to r.	<i>Rev.</i> Erect facing figure. T, F to l. and r.
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44. ? Constans or Constantius II.	<i>Obv.</i> No detail visible.	<i>Rev.</i>
45. Family of Constantine.	<i>Obv.</i> Diademed bust to r.	<i>Rev.</i> Victories meeting and presenting wreaths.
46. Family of Constantine.	<i>Obv.</i> Much corroded. Bust to r. c o . .	<i>Rev.</i> VOT X in wreath. CAESARVM [NOST]RORVM. In ex. T[.]—
47. Valentinian I.	<i>Obv.</i> Diademed and paludate bust to r. DNVALEN AVG.	<i>Rev.</i> The emperor in military costume to r., grasps in r. the pole of a Vexillum and with l. the hair of a kneeling captive. GLORIA RO[MANORVM]. In field to l. and r., O, F II, and below on either side pole R, S. Mint-mk. illegible and partly broken away.
Struck at Arelatum. This mint was first opened by Constantine I. in 313 at the same time that the one at Ostia was shut. Maurice, <i>op. cit.</i> , thinks possibly the monetarii were transported from one to the other.		
O F signifies <i>officina</i> workshop. Over the <i>monetarii</i> in each workshop was a foreman known as <i>officinator</i> , and the manager of the whole mint was called <i>praepositus</i> .		
48. Family of Valentinian.	<i>Obv.</i> Diademed bust to r.	<i>Rev.</i> Victory moving to l.
49.	<i>Obv.</i> Bust to r.	<i>Rev.</i> Emperor as soldier grasping pole of vexillum in l. and dragging kneeling captive by hair with r. [GL]O[RIAR]OMANO[RVM]. In ex. SMAQ.
50. Valens.	<i>Obv.</i> Diademed and paludate bust to r. [DN]VALENS P F AVG.	<i>Rev.</i> Draped figure.

THE DESCENT OF FAULKBOURNE.

BY J. H. ROUND, M.A., LL.D.

THE descent of Faulkbourne—that is to say, the succession of the lords of its manor—for some five centuries after the Norman Conquest is more or less obscure. To this statement the one exception is the period in the fifteenth century during which it was held, for two generations, by the Montgomery family; and even for part of that period (1449-1465) the descent has remained in doubt. We cannot be said to emerge into the full light of day until we come to Henry Fortescue, whose brass in Faulkbourne church informs us that he died in 1576.

On a future occasion I hope to deal with the early lords of the manor, whose existence and whose very names seem to have remained unknown; for the present I shall only deal with the descent of the manor from the Montgomerys to the Fortescues. In spite, we shall see, of its late period, this descent has proved the subject of almost incredible confusion. There are more reasons than one for correcting this confusion and setting forth the true story. In the first place, it has a direct bearing on the date which Mr. Chancellor and his son have assigned to Faulkbourne Hall; in the second, it provides a useful 'exercise' in the study of genealogy; in the third, it throws a startling light on the errors and contradictions in Morant's *History of Essex* and also affords fresh evidence on a rather burning subject, namely, the authority and accuracy of the heralds' visitations. These are points on which a warning to the student may be useful in any similar researches.

Sir John Montgomery, who acquired Faulkbourne in the fifteenth century, played a part of some distinction in the Anglo-French war under Henry V. and Henry VI.; but it is needless to repeat what Morant has written on the subject. He, not unnaturally, surmised from the arms borne by Sir John that he was of Scottish origin, and no one seems to have observed that he himself formally admitted, in 1414, that his parents were Welsh.¹ This would make him a fellow-countryman of the immortal 'Fluellen.' The 'French Rolls' of

¹ I propose to give the authority for this statement in a paper on Sir Lewis John (*cf. E.A.T.*, vol. vi.).

Henry VI., preserved in the Public Record Office, contain frequent references to his departures for France, chiefly in the form of 'Protection' or 'Letters of Attorney' during his absence from the realm,¹ though some of them record grants or appointments.

Knighthed at Caen on St. George's day, 1418, he had been appointed captain of Domfront (where the stern donjon of Henry I. stands, above the Varenne, on a lofty cliff) 20th October, 1420, and was still holding the castle in July, 1426. In January, 1438, he is appointed gaoler of Calais, and in December, 1440, bailiff of Calais; in the previous January he had received, "as a reward for his past services in the war," a grant of the 'Sandgelt' due, a tax upon carts coming through Merk² and Oye, near Boulogne and Calais, of which he had a fresh grant later (1st April, 1443), "as a reward for his past services in the marches of Calais, and as satisfaction for monies due to him." Some of the proceeds of these tolls may have gone to the construction of Faulkbourne Hall, for he received his licence to crenellate 11th October, 1439.

It is an interesting and suggestive fact that his wife's brother, Lord Sudeley, is said to have built Sudeley Castle—that stately pile of which the ruins still attest the magnificence—out of his spoils in the French war and the ransoms of his French prisoners. Other leaders of the English troops seem to have done the same. Sir John Fastolf, for instance, built Caistor Castle, near Yarmouth, out of the wealth he had acquired in the war, and, in Norfolk also, Middleton and Oxburgh appear to have had the same origin. It was thus, too, that Sir William ap Thomas was enabled to build Raglan Castle and Sir William Bowes that of Streatlam (co. Durham). I have never seen mention of this interesting development, which certainly has a bearing on Sir John's work at Faulkbourne and which illustrates by its date the transition from the castle to the castellated mansion.

The earliest mention of Sir John in Essex, so far as Morant was aware, was in 1433, when his name appears at the head of a list of Essex gentry. But he was already established at Faulkbourne in 1426, in which year the executors of Sir Gilbert le Strange granted

¹ *48th Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Records*, pp. 231, 241, 242, 256, 273, 275, 301, 282, 321, 333, 341, 358.

By an odd coincidence we find at the foot of p. 241 these two entries:—

"Letters of Attorney to John Montgomery, knight, going to France."

"Protection to William Round in the retinue of the Duke of Gloucester."

Both were granted in July, 1426.

² From which the Essex family of Merk or Mark derived its name, which it passed on to Mark's Tey, etc.

the manor of Chalton, Hants, to Sir John Montgomery of Faulkbourne and Elizabeth his wife.¹ Two years later (1428) three important entries in *Feudal Aids* (vol. ii., pp. 214, 215, 219) show him holding Blunts Hall (in Witham) as one knights' fee, Faulkbourne as half a fee, and Great Tey as half a fee. He entailed these three manors, and they are duly found in the hands of his heirs more than a century later. Sir John's wife, Elizabeth, was a sister of Sir Ralf Botiller, K.G., who was created Lord Sudeley in 1441, and who was associated in the French war with his brother-in-law, Sir John. Among the 'protections' granted to those leaving for France in February—April, 1431, we find "John Montgomery, knight, and Ralf Botiller, knight,² in the retinue of the King," while in May or June similar 'protection' was granted to that notable person, "Lewis John, of Thorndon, Essex, in the retinue of the Cardinal of England."³ It is interesting to find him presenting (with Sir John Montgomery and Sir John Tyrell) to Faulkbourne rectory in 1433 and 1437.⁴

Sir John is proved by his *Inq. p.m.* to have died 27th June, 1449. He saw, as he lay a-dying in that disastrous summer, the lands he had helped to win for England wrenched from England's grasp. Maine had gone already; Normandy had begun to go; the rising tide of French victory was sweeping all before it. At home, a feeble Government, helpless to arrest the flood, was facing the wrathful murmurs of an impoverished and angry people. The old warrior was holding at his death the manor and advowson of Faulkbourne, with other lands, jointly with Elizabeth, his wife, under a trust.⁵ His Great Tey estate he had entailed by his will. His son and heir John was 22 or 23 years old, but never lived to occupy Faulkbourne, as it was held by his mother, Sir John's widow, whose *Inq. p.m.* (10th May, 1465) states that she had died early in February of that year, holding Faulkbourne 'in fee.'⁶ In

¹ *V.C.H. Hants*, vol. iii., p. 105.

² In 1444 Ralf Botiller 'dominus de Sudeley' and Sir John Montgomery are found associated with another veteran of the French war, Henry 'Burgchier,' earl (or count) of Eu, as feoffees to uses in one of the documents calendared by me at Belvoir. (*Duke of Rutland's MSS.*, vol. iv., p. 62).

³ *Ibid.*, 202. William Kempe of Finchingfield, received his 'protection' 12th July, 1431.

⁴ *Newcourt*, vol. ii., p. 251.

⁵ I am indebted to Mr. William Page, general editor of the *Victoria History*, for this information.

⁶ *Ibid.* John Montgomery, the elder son, was one of the Lancastrians beheaded on Tower Hill in Feb. 1461/2 (W. Worcester). I am indebted for this reference to my friend Sir James Ramsay, Bt., the historian.

1463 (30th March) she had presented to the rectory of Great Tey (her husband's manor) as "Eliz. Say, widow," a name which puzzled Newcourt.¹ Her son and heir was Sir Thomas Montgomery, aged 30. Her will, dated 31st January, 1464/5, at Faulkbourne, names as her relatives, her brother, her son Sir Thomas, and her daughter Alice, wife of Clement Spice, 'squier.'²

Sir Thomas, who had fought at Towton on the Yorkist side, was in great favour with Edward IV. from his accession, and was in the commission of the peace for Essex from the first year of that monarch.³ Among the appointments conferred upon him as early as the summer of 1461, was that of "one of the king's carvers,"⁴ which Morant does not mention among the offices, some of them lucrative, held by Sir Thomas. It is of some importance, as showing the status of Faulkbourne Hall in his time, to note that King Henry VII., in 1489, when intending to make a progress through the Eastern counties, proposed to travel to "Chelmsford, than [then] to Syr Thomas Mongchombrey, than to Hevenyngham [Castle Hedingham], than to Colchester, etc."⁵ As the king's straight road from Chelmsford would have lain through Braintree, he would be making a very considerable *détour* in order to visit Faulkbourne.

Sir Thomas added, by purchase, to his father's estate, so that, when he came to make his will in 1489, he named some fresh manors. But these he largely dispersed in bequests for the weal of his soul. It is much to be regretted that Mr. H. W. King, who edited his will for our *Transactions* at some length,⁶ omitted his 'will of lands,' of which he well knew the value for Essex manorial history, while, as a learned ecclesiologist, he bestowed elaborate annotations on bequests which, to speak plainly, represented the efforts of a wealthy man to purchase special favour for his own soul and the souls of those whom he chose to name, when he would have no more use for the money he had heaped up. Only those who have

¹ *Repertorium*, vol. ii., p. 570.

² I owe this information to Mr. J. Brownbill (see below, note 11, p. 50).

³ *Cal. of Pat. Rolls*, 1461-7, p. 564.

⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 79, 125, 180, 213. On this last page the word is *dapiscidorum*, which the calendar renders as 'sewers'; but it clearly refers to the cutting up of the dish of meat.

⁵ Letter from William Paston to Sir John Paston, 7th March, 1489, in *Paston Letters* (Ed. Gairdner, 1875), vol. iii., p. 351. The Editor states that there is no evidence of this progress having taken place. I am indebted for this reference to our editorial secretary, Mr. Rickword, who kindly drew my attention to it.

⁶ Vol. iii. (o.s.) pp. 168-175.

read this will can realise its almost perverse ingenuity in providing for this object. Here, however, I am only concerned with the devolution of the testator's manors. Morant names seven Essex manors as mentioned in his will, but, of these, only three, Faulkbourne and Blunts Hall (in Witham) with Great Braxted, appear in his *Inq. p.m.*

There was, however, another manor, which Morant does not mention, but which is duly found in his *Inq. p.m.* This manor was the subject of a codicil to his will, dated 20th September, 1492. Mr. King identified it rightly as that of Nether Hall *alias* Cook's Hall in West Bergholt, which is entered in his *Inq. p.m.* as the "manor called 'Nether Hall,' a tenement called 'Cokes,' a messuage," *etc.*, "held of Richard Sakvyle, as of the manor of Bergholt."¹ Testator styles it "my manors of Cookes and Nethersall," and instructs his feoffees to drive a bargain "by indenture" with St. John's Abbey, Colchester, for an elaborate annual obit "for me and for my wyfe," at which the bailiffs and forty poor men of the town were to pray for both their souls. The abbot and monks seem to have thought it too hard a bargain, for the feoffees, as instructed in that case, sold the manor, which is found in the hands of John Abell at his death² (10th January, 1523/4). Mr. King had observed this, but did not note that the manor of Bower Hall in Mersea had the same fate. It was similarly bequeathed by testator (as "my said place called Bowre Hall in mersy") to the New Abbey, by Tower Hill, where he had built the lady chapel, for providing even more elaborate services for his soul's weal, including an obit, at which he wished the mayor (with his swordbearer) and recorder of London to attend. Everything was "specyfyde in a note of an indenture by my consayle and theirs late made," but, here again, this elaborate provision must have failed to take effect; for Bower Hall, like Cook's Hall, is found in the hands of John Abell at his death. He had probably purchased both these manors from the feoffees of Sir Thomas.

The manor of Great Braxted, which is named in the *Inq. p.m.*, had been bought by Sir Thomas in 1473, as Morant records, for a thousand marcs. In his will of lands³ he directed his feoffees to offer

¹ There is still an annual payment from Cook's Hall to my own manor of Bergholt Hall. In *Testamenta Vetusta* (vol. I., p. 396), "Cooks and Nethersall in the county of Kent" (*sic*) is the blundered version.

² It was then again returned as held of John Sakvyle, lord of the manor of Bergholt Hall. It is worth noting that a glass quarry with the arms of Abell is still to be seen in a window of Cook's Hall.

³ I am indebted to our editorial secretary, Mr. Rickword, for looking up Holman's notes on this will of lands.

this manor to his wife. The manor was sold, Morant says, by the Earl of Oxford, a supervisor of his will, and Sir Thomas Tyrell, one of his exors.,¹ 10th May, 1509. This indicates that his widow was then deceased, but the actual date of her death, unfortunately, is as yet, it seems, unknown. Rivenhall is another manor named by Morant, but he does not mention Sir Thomas in his account of that parish. The will of lands,² however, of Sir Thomas left this manor to his wife for life, and she is found presenting to the living with her husband Thomas, earl of Ormond, "and the other feoffees of the said Lora, under the will of Sir Thomas," 4th March, 1496/7. Moreover, the above Sir Thomas Tyrell, in his will, 26th August, 1510, directed that "the manor of Rivenhall, which late was the said Thomas Montgomery, Knight, he put in feoffment" and that 8*l.* out of its profits should be paid for ever "to the vi power men at the newe abbey beside the towre hill according to the last wille of the said Sir Thomas Montgomery,"³ an inexplicable provision, so far as that will is known to us. As for the remaining manor, that of 'Mulsham, Brayham and Warrocks,' Morant cites from the will, under Little Lees, the bequest of it by Sir Thomas.

Faulkbourne itself, with Blunts Hall, Sir Thomas had held, as we learn from his *Inq. p.m.*, under feoffment, jointly with his wife, "for the term of their lives." By his will of lands⁴ he directed all his feoffees "that ben enfeofed to my use of and in" the afore-said manors "to have and to hold to Dame Lore my wife during her life." The importance of this is that it proves that Faulkbourne did not pass to his heirs at his death in 1495, but was held by his wife till her death. Sir Thomas further mentions in his will his (father's) manor of Chalton, Hants, with that of Shipton, Oxon, and one in Worcestershire.⁵ His estates, therefore, were much more extensive than those of his Fortescue successors, a point of considerable importance, as bearing on the late Mr. Chancellor's contention that they were the builders of Faulkbourne Hall, because

¹ They are both mentioned as such in his will.

² See note 3, p. 39 above.

³ *E.A.T.* (o.s.), vol. iii., p. 91.

⁴ See note 3, p. 39 above.

⁵ He was named one of the two supervisors of the will of Geoffrey Poole, esq., of Medmenham, Bucks (dated 12th October, 1474; proved 27th March, 1474-5), who bequeathed to him the reversion to lands in Stoke Mandeville, Bucks, in remainder, after his son Henry (*Test. Vet.*, vol. i. p. 338). But this reversion did not take effect. He was also (with John Clopton) one of the exors. to Ann, duchess of Buckingham, who died 20th September, 1480, and was buried in the Collegiate Church of Pleshey. Her second husband was Walter, Lord Mountjoy, who had died in 1474-5.

the 'probably undignified residence' of Sir Thomas was unworthy of their wealth and position. The house, on the contrary, may have been large for so reduced a property. On Dame Lore, who seems to have been a good deal younger than himself, Sir Thomas showered benefits in his will.¹ In addition to a very large sum in money and plate, he bequeathed to her all his "catals longing to husbandry, as chariett, chariett horses, plough, plough horses, *etc., etc.*, with 12 of my best horses to be taken at hyr own choice." Also, "if she kepe herself sole and unmarried, all my beddyngs, shetys, napry, and all stuffs of household and my bedde of gold with the hangings of the same chamber," *etc.* But if she "be married agayne" she was only to have one third of this, and his executors were to sell the rest and (of course) to dispose of the proceeds "for the wele of my soule."²

Naturally enough, so richly endowed and, relatively, youthful a widow as "Lora, Lady Mountjoy"—for so, in accordance with modern practice,³ 'Dame Lore' now styled herself⁴—did not long "kepe herself sole and unmarried." Within two years of her husband's death, that is to say, before 8th November, 1496, she had become "Lora, the wife of Thomas, earl of Ormond, aged 30 and more"⁵ (*sic*). In pitiful contrast with her endowment were the testator's bequests to his "suster Alice Langley," his sole heir in blood. She was to have "two fether beds, two bolsters, two hanging beddes of course verdure and as moche say as will hang two metely chambours for the same beddys," with some basons, jugs, pots, bowls, and a standing cup. In money she was only left 50*l.*, and half of this was to be reserved till "she decesith, to this intent, that she may be honestly buried, and to make a gravestone to lay on her for a remembrance." This suggests that she was in straitened circumstances. Brother and sister, probably, were not on good terms, for "yf her husbonde or she vex or trouble my wif

¹ He bequesathed to her, among other things, the wardship of her son, William, Lord Mountjoy (who had succeeded his father in 1485, when about seven), which he had acquired. For the story of this boy, the pupil and friend of Erasmus, see our late member, Mr. F. M. Nichols' monograph of 'Lawford Hall,' *passim*. Lord Mountjoy succeeded to Lawford as tenant for life in 1529.

² *E.A.T.*, vol. iii. (o.s.), p. 172. She also enjoyed a considerable estate for life under the will of her first husband, who died 1485.

³ Her previous husband was Lord Mountjoy.

⁴ *Cal. of Inq.*, Henry VII., vol. i., No. 1040.

⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 1255. This, the 7th Earl of Ormond (in Ireland), regained possession of his family estate at Rochford (Essex) on the accession of Henry VII., and was summoned to Parliament as Lord Rochford. He built the fine tower of Rochford church and, possibly, Rochford Hall (*E.A.T.*, vol. ix., pp. 298-9).

or myne executors of any poynt in my wylle or testament," these bequests to her were "to be voyde" and their value, as before, to be disposed of "for the weale" of testator's soul.

It is a most interesting fact that an actual portrait of Sir Thomas, in his armour and tabard of arms, is among those found in a famous window of Long Melford Church, Suffolk. A copy of this, beautifully coloured, is preserved in Colchester Museum. In Symonds' time there was also a portrait of him in a window of Faulkbourne church.

Perhaps the hardest question to be solved in this paper was that of the date of death of Sir Thomas Montgomery's widow, 'Lady Mountjoy.' The reason why it had, if possible, to be solved was that, as she had Faulkbourne for life, we cannot decide the descent of the manor till we know how long she kept out the heir. It seems to be only known that she predeceased her last husband, the Earl of Ormond, who died in 1515; but we can obtain light from Newcourt's *Repertorium*, for we there find that "Lora, Lady Mountjoy," presented to the living, 23rd March, 1494/5, that is to say, within three months of her husband's death, while his sister Alice presented in February, 1502/3 (vol. ii., p. 251). This she can only have done after his widow's death.¹

Morant had access to a copy of Sir Thomas Montgomery's will, but did not make much use of it. He cites, however, a passage from his will of lands,² under Great Tey, in which Sir Thomas refers to that manor being "entailed according to my father's last will." In a clause which Morant has misunderstood, Sir Thomas wills that "after the decease of my sister Ann Montgomery and after all such yssue spendes as it is entayled to, the money to be disposed for me, my wife, my brother John, and Ann his wife." In his testament Sir Thomas speaks of "my brother John" and of "my sister Ann Montgomery," and from these phrases Morant deduced that he had an (elder) brother John and an 'unmarried' sister, Ann, living when he made his will³ (28th July, 1489). But when they are carefully examined we see that what he intended was to provide for his brother John's *soul*, and that his 'sister' Ann was his sister-in-law, in accordance with what a genealogist must term the pestilent practice of speaking of relatives by affinity as if they were relatives by blood. In short, the manor of Great Tey must have been settled on his

¹ See also below, p. 50.

² Vol. ii., p. 205, from a copy "*Penes B. Ayloffe, bart.*"

³ Vol. ii., p. 116.



From a Photograph kindly taken by A G Wright

SIR THOMAS MONTGOMERY, K.G.
FROM A WINDOW IN LONG MELFORD CHURCH



From a Photograph kindly taken by A. G. Wright.

DAME ANNE MONTGOMERY, WIDOW OF SIR JOHN MONTGOMERY.
FROM A WINDOW IN LONG MELFORD CHURCH.

brother John's widow, Ann. We are given no indication as to who this Ann was, but I find that one of the pedigrees of the Darcy family of Maldon speaks of a daughter Ann marrying "— Montgomery,"¹ which perhaps gives us a clue to her identity; for we find Thomas Darcy of Danbury, son and heir of Sir Robert Darcy of Maldon, speaking, in his will (1484), of his "aunt, Anne Montgomery," as well as of his "uncle, John Clopton."² She is of special interest to antiquaries because a portrait of her as "Anne Montgomerie" is found, like that of Sir Thomas, in a Clopton window of Long Melford Church, Suffolk.³

When Morant comes to deal with the descent of Faulkbourne from Montgomery to Fortescue, we are reminded of what our former Hon. Sec., Mr. H. W. King, observed of his treatment of the pedigree of that great Essex house, the Tyrells of Heron.⁴

At this point the learned historian gets the descent into great confusion, though it is probable that to those who have not been accustomed to verify genealogical statements and to test them by ascertained data, the errors may not have been apparent. He first confounds this Thomas Tyrell (*ob.* 1510 or 1512) with his grandfather.

This he proves by printing the will of this (Sir) Thomas, which, as it happens, contains much about Sir Thomas Montgomery, Lora his wife, and Faulkbourne. The reader will doubtless be surprised to learn that, in his account of Faulkbourne, where he treats of this descent at considerable length, Morant actually gives, within the compass of a single page, two entirely different versions of the descent in question. This he did, evidently, without being aware of it, and, which is more extraordinary, without anyone else, apparently, discovering the fact. Mr. Chancellor, in his paper on Faulkbourne Hall, adopted Morant's *first* version;⁵ Mr. Miller Christy and his colleagues adopted the *second*.⁶ Each of them seems to have thought that theirs was the only one. Both Morant's versions, as a matter of fact, are wrong.

¹ *The Visitations of Essex* (Harl. Soc.), pp. 45, 187.

² *Testamenta Vetusta*, vol. i., pp. 388-9. Mr. Rickword has kindly informed me that, according to Sir Hyde Parker's *History of Long Melford* (1873), the window in which she was pictured had formerly a shield of Montgomery impaling Darcy, which confirms my suggestion that she was a Darcy.

³ See my chart pedigree for further details of her.

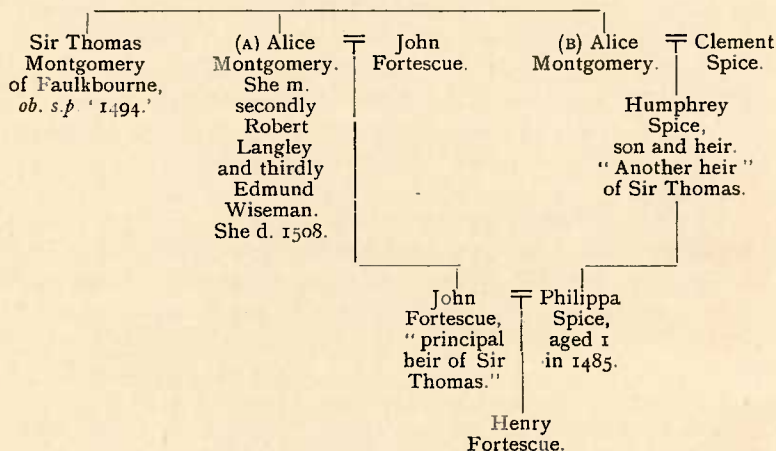
⁴ *E.A.T.* (o.s.), vol. iii., p. 90.

⁵ *E.A.T.* (n.s.), vol. vii., p. 267.

⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. ix., p. 25.

In order to make this matter perfectly clear to the reader, I shall here put both versions into the form of chart pedigrees.

(1) Morant's *first* erroneous descent¹:—



This was the version followed by Mr. Chancellor, who attached importance to the marriage of John and Philippa, as "by this means the whole of the Montgomery estates centred in the Fortescue family,"² after having been divided since the death of Sir Thomas. His actual words were:—

This property (*i.e.* Faulkbourne) descended to the son of his sister Alice, who had married John Fortescue, the son of Henry Fortescue (*sic*). This (*sic*) John Fortescue married his cousin Philippa, daughter of Humphrey Spice, who had inherited another portion of the Montgomery property.³

It is obvious that he cannot have meant what he actually said; for, as the above pedigree shows, it was John *son of* John and Alice Montgomery, who is alleged to have married Philippa Spice. But Morant here expressed himself in such obscure fashion that it was perhaps excusable to misunderstand his meaning.

I will now give Morant's *second* erroneous pedigree (vol. ii., p. 117), which, it will be seen, is very different, though it follows immediately on the other. His words are:—

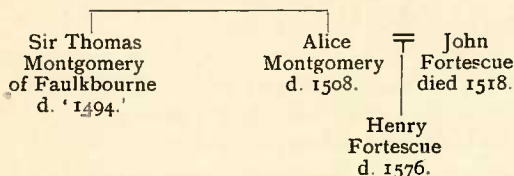
John Fortescue, esq., who married Alice Montgomery, as related above. and died 9th June, 1518. Their son Henry, *etc.*, *etc.*

¹ Vol. ii., pp. 116, col. 2; 117, col. 1.

² *E.A.T.* (n.s.), vol. vii., pp. 267, 269.

³ *Ibid.* p. 267.

Here we have, what I term, Morant's *second* erroneous pedigree:—



Mr. King, whose introduction to the will of Sir Thomas Montgomery¹ was taken *verbatim* from Morant, only ventured in a footnote² on this one criticism:—

According to Morant, Alice Montgomery married first to John Fortescue, esq., by whom she had John Fortescue . . . secondly to Robert Langley, esq., who died 29th August, 1499 . . . yet the historian says that her husband, John Fortescue, died 9th June, 1518, for which he cites an *Inquis. post mort.* 10 Hen. VIII., which certainly answers thereto. But this is impossible, if he were her first husband . . . It is obvious, therefore, that John Fortescue, who died in 1518, was her son and successor, not her husband.

This, no doubt, is one of the contradictions between Morant's first and second chart pedigrees, as shown by me in chart form. Mr. King, however, was not, I fear, as acute a genealogist as he thought; however 'obvious' it may have seemed to him, his own conclusion was wrong; "John Fortescue who died in 1518" was no more the "son and successor" of Alice than he was her husband.

As I have observed above, Morant's *second* pedigree is that which Mr. Miller Christy and his colleagues adopted in their account of the Fortescue brasses at Faulkbourne. Their words are:—

Henry Fortescue (a son of John Fortescue and his wife Alice, born Montgomery) was born in 1514, succeeded to the estate in 1518, and was probably the builder of the present beautiful red-brick mansion,³ etc.

Now Alice Langley (born Montgomery) was returned as 60 years of age when her brother died in 1495. She would, therefore, have been 79 years old when Henry Fortescue was born.⁴ But even this is not all. Morant states that Alice died (and was buried at Faulkbourne) in 1508; if Henry, therefore, was her son, he must have been born six years after his mother's death.

It is the more strange that those who were dealing with the brasses to Edmund Fortescue and his wife should have adopted

¹ *E.A.T.*, (o.s.), vol. iii., pp. 168-9.

² *Ibid.*, p. 173.

³ *E.A.T.*, (N.S.), vol. ix., p. 25.

⁴ Such a figure as '60' is, no doubt, approximate, but no allowance for this can explain away the marvel.

this pedigree, in view of the fact that these brasses contain heraldic evidence by which it is obviously impugned. In five places they show us Fortescue quartering "3rd Spice, 4th Montgomery,"¹ although the above pedigree omits wholly any marriage with Spice. We are, however, thus reminded that the two central problems are:—

- (1) Who was Henry Fortescue's mother?
- (2) Did he inherit Faulkbourne from his father or from his mother?²

Let us now return to what I termed Morant's *first* erroneous pedigree. This pedigree which, as I have shown, was adopted by Mr. Chancellor, assigns to Sir Thomas Montgomery *two* sisters, both named Alice, who inherited as his "co-heirs,"³ and alleges that the heritage was re-united by the marriage of the son and heir of the one to the granddaughter and heir of the other. However improbable this may seem, his statements are so positive that we must treat them seriously. Let us then turn to the Inquisition taken at the death of Sir Thomas to ascertain his heirs.⁴ His heir is there given as his *one* sister, Alice, then wife of Robert Langley. In Sir Thomas' will six years earlier (1489), he mentions but *one* sister Alice, namely "Alice Langley."⁵ In his mother's will⁶ she only names *one* daughter, namely Alice, then (1465) wife of Clement Spice.⁷ Who then invented the elaborate tale of the *two* sisters and of their heirs and of the intermarriage between them? Was it Morant, or Holman before him?

Passing now from Faulkbourne to Blunts Hall in Witham, I would note that these two manors were the nucleus of the estate. They were held jointly by the Fortescues, as by the Montgomerys before them. One would expect, therefore, that Morant would here repeat one or the other version of the manorial descent which he

¹ *F.A.T.* (n.s.), vol. ix., pp. 25, 27.

² The statement of the above writers that he "succeeded to the estate in 1518" implies that he inherited from his father, who died in 1518.

³ Morant states, under Black Notley (vol. ii., p. 123), that Clement Spice married Alice, daughter of Sir John Montgomery and sister and co-heir (*sic*) to Sir Thomas Montgomery of Faulkbourne Hall. He repeats this statement in another place (vol. ii., p. 486), styling Alice "sister and co-heir (*sic*) of Sir Thomas Montgomery."

⁴ *Cal. of Inq.*, Henry VII.; vol. i., No. 1040. Morant knew of this Inquisition and used it under Blunts Hall (ii., 108, note *d*), but not under Faulkbourne (ii., 116-7), where it would have been destructive to his statements.

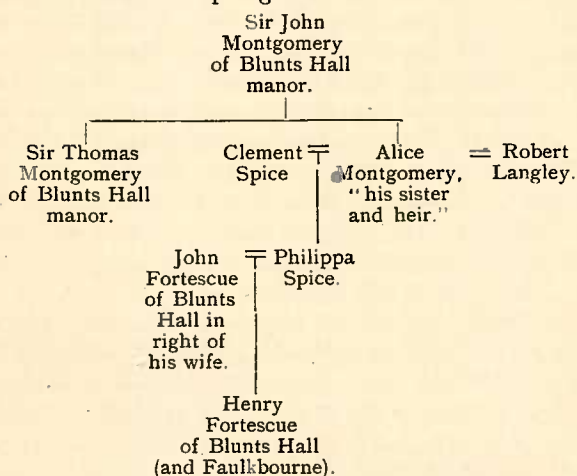
⁵ *E.A.T.* (o.s.), vol. iii., p. 173.

⁶ I owe my knowledge of this will to the researches of Mr. J. Brownbill for a history of Black Notley.

⁷ Sir Thomas, it is true, twice mentions an Alyson or Alice Spice, and Mr. King, editing the will, identified her as "sister and co-heir of the testator and wife of Clement Spice." But it is noteworthy that, in his testament, he does not call her his sister, as he does Alice Langley. In any case she was not his co-heir.

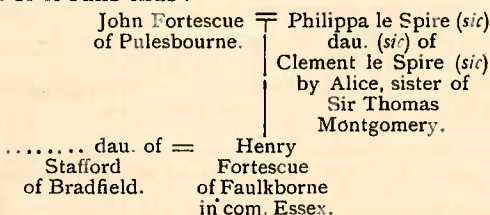
gives us under Faulkbourne. On the contrary, he gives us one which differs widely from both (vol. ii., p. 108).

Morant's *third* erroneous pedigree :—



Comparison with the *first* erroneous pedigree will show (1) that Alice Montgomery is here made *only* sister and heir to Sir Thomas ; (2) that her previous husband is given, *not* as John Fortescue, but as Clement Spice ; (3) that Philippa Spice is represented as her *daughter*, instead of as the daughter of her son, Humphrey Spice ! This last statement is really extraordinary, for Morant knew quite well that Philippa was the daughter of Humphrey Spice, who died in 1485, in the lifetime of his mother Alice.¹ Yet this erroneous statement is no mere slip on his part ; it affords, when traced to its source, an unmistakable clue to the origin of this pedigree.

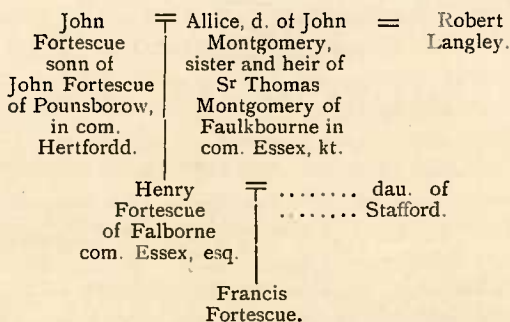
In the Harleian's Society's edition of *The Visitations of Essex*, there are two pedigrees of Fortescue. The first (p. 398) represents the heralds' visitation of 1634 ; the second (pp. 570-1) is more difficult to deal with. It is, however, I believe, the source from which Morant derived the pedigree which he gives under Blunts Hall. For it runs thus :—



¹ See vol. ii., pp. 75, 84, 117, 123, 480.

It will be observed that in this pedigree, as in Morant's, Philippa is wrongly made *daughter*, instead of granddaughter of Alice Montgomery. This pedigree is not assigned to one of the heralds' visitations, but is taken from Harl. MS. 1541, which is stated to be a collection of pedigrees by a Mr. Mundy from the visitations of 1583, 1614, and 1634, with additions. As a matter of fact, it appears to me to have been drawn up, not only in the lifetime of Henry Fortescue (d. 1576¹), but in that of his first wife. For it does not mention his second wife (whose brass is to be seen at Faulkbourne²), whom he seems to have married in 1558. So much obscurity surrounds the date (or dates) of the sixteenth century visitations of the county³ that one cannot at present trace this pedigree (Harl. MS. 1541) further back.

It is, however, important to remember that our great collection of Harleian MSS. was not available to Morant, and that he (or his predecessors) worked from the records in the College of Arms.⁴ For the heralds are apt to warn one that their fraternity is not responsible for the 'Harleian' versions of visitation pedigrees. This *caveat* cannot be applied to the important Essex visitation of 1634,⁵ for its Harleian version claims to have been "coppyed by the originall," which is at the College of Arms⁶ (c. 21). In this visitation is the true source of all the dreadful confusion that I deal with in this paper. Its Fortescue pedigree begins thus (p. 398):—



¹ The name of Francis Fortescue (Henry's son) appears to be a later addition.

² *E.A.T.* (N.S.), vol. ix, p. 26.

³ See Harl. Soc.'s edition by Mr. Walter Metcalfe, pp. v., vi. (Preface), and Dr. Marshall's comments thereon in *Genealogist* (N.S.), vol. ii., pp. 148-9. The Elizabethan visitation by Cooke is variously assigned to 1570 and to 1570-1583.

⁴ "What the College of Heralds and other repositories contain, relating to this county, had been searched long ago; transcripts of which are in my custody and have been properly made use of."

⁵ pp. 333, 536, in the Harl. Soc.'s edition.

⁶ Preface, p. vi.

This is the obvious source of Morant's *second* erroneous pedigree, followed by Mr. Miller Christy and his colleagues.¹ I have already shown that it was physically impossible for Alice Montgomery to have been the mother of Henry Fortescue. When Morant definitely stated that Sir Thomas Montgomery had a sister "Alice, wife of John Fortescue, afterwards of Robert Langley" (vol. ii., p. 116), he clearly took that statement from the above pedigree, although, contrary to his practice, he did not cite his authority. But he also had before him (as we saw under Blunts Hall) a statement that Alice Montgomery's previous husband was *not* John Fortescue, but Clement Spice. Instead of setting himself to discover which statement was right, he divided Alice into *two* and made one of his Alices marry John Fortescue, and the other Clement Spice. Then he further divided John Fortescue into two—father and son—in order to provide, in the son, a husband for Philippa Spice! But, of course, it may have been Holman who really invented the concoction.²

Alice's marriage with John Fortescue may seem to find support in Morant's further assertion (vol. ii., p. 117) that "the principal heir of Sir Thomas" was her son, John Fortescue, who, as such, "became seated at Faulkbourne Hall." But this assertion is flatly denied by Morant himself, under Willingale Spain (vol. ii., p. 480), where he tells us, on the contrary, that it was brought to John by his wife, Philippa Spice!³

At last, therefore, to one's extreme relief, one can turn from all this dreadful confusion to the simple facts of the case. Alice Montgomery, the sister of Sir Thomas, who became at his death (1495) his sole heir, never married a John Fortescue (as stated in the heralds' visitation). Her alleged son, John Fortescue, was *not* "the principal heir" of Sir Thomas (or indeed any relation to him), and did *not* inherit from him Faulkbourne Hall. The *sole* heir of Sir Thomas (subject to the life interest of his widow, Dame Lora⁴) was this sister Alice, who was neither the wife nor the mother of any Fortescue, though the heralds' visitation made her both. Her *first* husband was Clement Spice (d. 1483), by whom she had her

¹ See p. 45 above.

² The fundamental error that Sir Thomas left *two* sisters and co-heirs is found even in Newcourt's *Repertorium* (vol. ii., p. 250), where we read that the manor of Faulkbourne "came to be divided among his sisters, and they or their husbands, in their right, presented to this church by turns, Lora, widow of John, Lord Mountjoy, presenting first." So the widow of Sir Thomas is here made to be his sister!

³ "She [Philippa] became the wife of John Fortescue, esq., who had with her Faulkbourne Hall. Her father, Humfrey Spice, was never possessed of it, but 'it descended to her.' The reason why her father 'was never possessed of it' was that, as Morant's dates shew, he died ten years *before* his uncle, Sir Thomas Montgomery, the owner of Faulkbourne Hall!"

⁴ Faulkbourne was settled on them for term of their lives (*Cal. of Inq. Hen. VII., i., 1040*). See also p. 40 above.

son and heir Humphrey, who died in her lifetime (1485), leaving an only child, Philippa Spice,¹ the eventual heir, through her, to Faulkbourne. Her *second* husband was Robert Langley, whose name she bore in 1489,² in 1495,³ and 24th December, 1501,⁴ when she gave the next presentation to the living of Great Tey (her father's manor) to the Bishop of Norwich and John Soper, gent. But just afterwards (17th January, 1501/2⁵) she married, as her *third* husband, Edmund Wiseman (styled 'of Rivenhall' by Morant), when she was probably well over 60 years old. A year later we find her husband and herself presenting to Faulkbourne in her right,⁶ and thus obtain absolute proof that she had lived to inherit her brother's estate.⁷ In September, 1508, she died, and was buried at Faulkbourne.⁸

Her heir was her granddaughter Philippa (Spice), who had married John Fortescue. He owed his match with the heiress of Faulkbourne to the forethought of Sir John Fortescue, who had secured, 19th June, 1488, the wardship and the marriage of little Philippa,⁹ when she was three or four years old.¹⁰ She was already married to John Fortescue by 1503, for early in that year a fine was levied to settle the manor and advowson of Great Tey (derived from Sir John Montgomery) with Broomfield, Little Waltham and Chatham¹¹ (in Great Waltham), all derived from Philippa's Mandeville ancestors. In this fine the deforciantes are John Fortescue and Philippa his wife, with Edmund Wiseman and Alice his wife (her grandmother). In 1505 the same four persons recur as granting the manor of Chalton, Hants, to George, earl of Shrewsbury.¹² We have an unexpected and interesting reference, rather later, to John Fortescue and his wife in the will of Sir Thomas Tyrell of Heron, dated 26th August, 1510. After combining the souls of Sir Thomas Montgomery and 'Dame Lore' his

¹ See *Ibid.*, i., No. 61.

² *E.A.T.* (o.s.), vol. iii., p. 173.

³ *Cal. of Inq.*, Henry VII., i., 1040.

⁴ *E.A.T.* (n.s.), vol. vii., p. 173.

⁵ This date is given by Morant (ii., 176).

⁶ 7th Feb., 1502-3. "Edmundus Wiseman et Alicia ejus uxor, soror, Dom. Tho. Montgom. defuncti." (*Newcourt's Repertorium*, ii., 251).

⁷ See also p. 42 above.

⁸ *Ibid.*

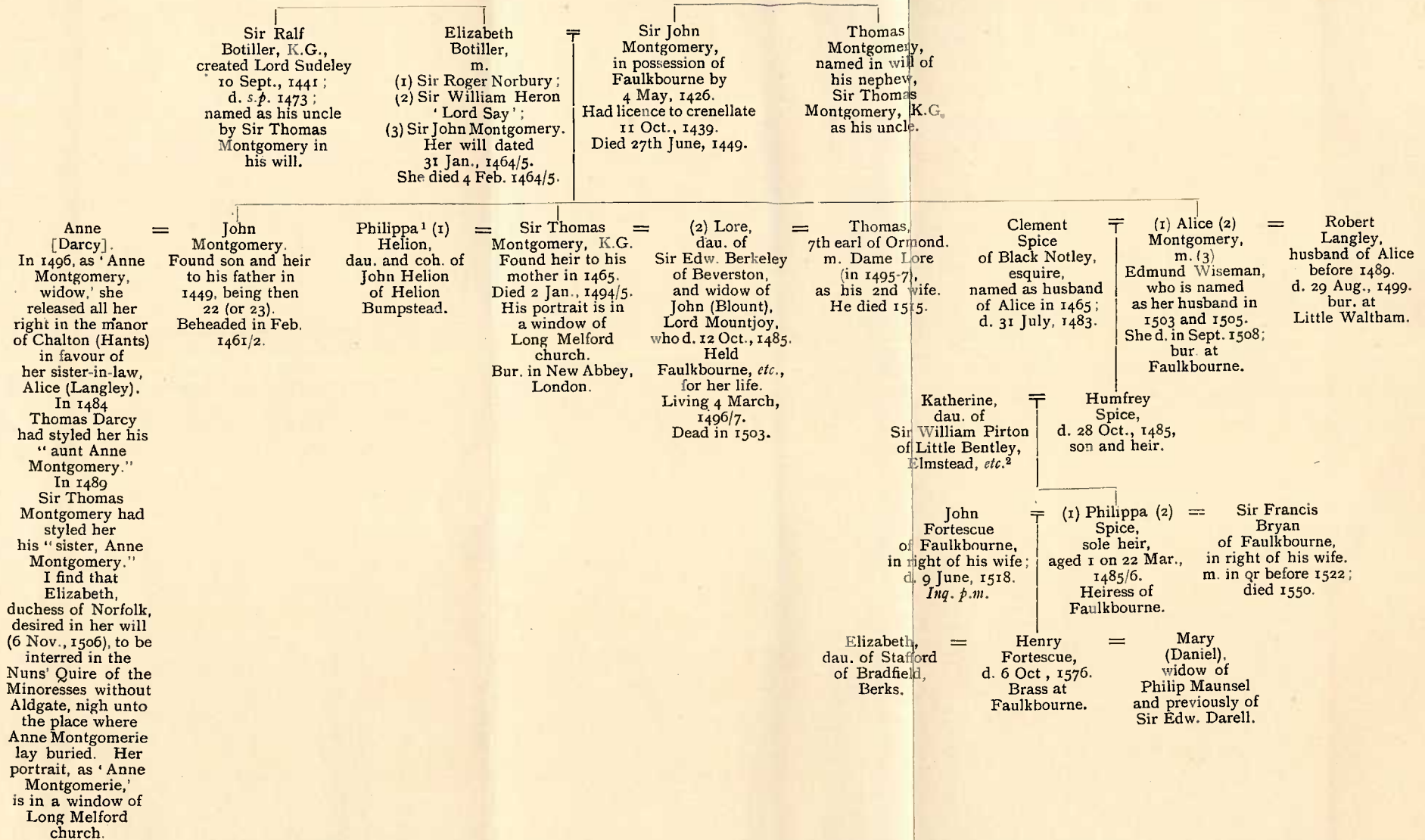
⁹ *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1485-1494, p. 207.

¹⁰ She was returned as one year old at the *Inq. p.m.* on her father, 22nd March, 1485/6.

¹¹ I am indebted for my knowledge of this fine to Mr. J. Brownbill, who has been engaged on searches for the history of Black Notley on behalf of the Rev. W. Warren, its rector.

¹² *Vict. Hist. Hants*, iii., 105. Chalton had been acquired by Sir John Montgomery in 1426, and Sir Thomas Montgomery, in 1489, bequeathed 20 marks to the poor and the householders at 'Chaulton,' to pray for his own and certain other souls.

THE DESCENT OF FAULKBOURNE.



¹ Sir Thomas directs in his will "that the body of my wife Dame Philippa be removed from Falkborne to the Tower Hill [i.e., New Abbey], to be laid by me in the place which I have ordained there, at my own cost and charge."

² He died 1490. See for his brass at Little Bentley, *E.A.T.* (N.S.), vol. vii., pp. 227-9; cf. *Ibid.*, vol. xi., p. 284.

wife with his own as those for which a priest he was endowing was "to synge," *etc.*, *etc.*, he proceeded :—

And I woll that if it fortune John Fortescue and his wife to dye without heires of their body (*sic*) lawfully begotten, then the revercion of the said manors of Falkborn and moche Tey in the same countie of Essex, whereof the revercion is in my heires, as by writinge thereof may more plainly appear, shall remain to my son Thomas and his heirs for ever.¹

John and Philippa, however, did not die without heirs of the body, for at John's death, 9th June, 1518, he left by her a son and heir, Henry, whose brass is in Faulkbourne church, and with whom, as I have said, we emerge into the full light of day. Opposite is the pedigree in 'chart' form.

The reader may have observed that in this chart pedigree I have inserted the name of Sir Francis Bryan, whom I have not yet mentioned. Morant knew from Newcourt's *Repertorium* (ii., 251) that he married the widowed heiress of Faulkbourne, in whose right he presented to Faulkbourne church in 1534. Yet, when he came to deal, under Great Tey, with Sir Francis and his wife (ii., 205-6), he described Philippa as "sister" to Sir Thomas Montgomery, though he had previously shown her to have been his great-niece! The marriage of Francis and Philippa is further proved by a fine (1536) concerning Faulkbourne, to which "Francis Bryan and Philippa his wife" were parties. Its effect was important, for the manor was settled on them for term of their lives, with remainder to the right heirs of Philippa.²

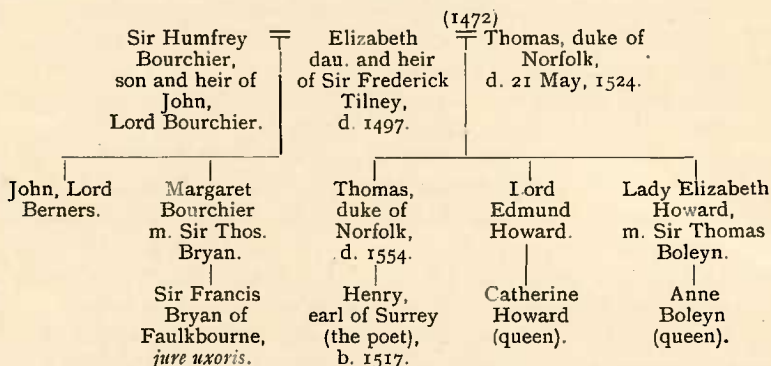
Now this Sir Francis Bryan, who was only a name to Morant, was perhaps the most notable person who has ever held Faulkbourne Hall. The youthful friend of Henry VIII. and, in later years, his boon companion, he was known at the king's court as one of its most brilliant figures. With much learning Mr. (now Sir Sydney) Lee wrote the account of his life for that *Dictionary of National Biography* (vii., 150-152), of which he became the editor. "Poet, translator, soldier, and diplomatist," as Mr. Lee described him, he probably obtained Faulkbourne Hall with the hand of Philippa, its heiress, not long after the death of John Fortescue, her first husband, in 1518.³ He was already active on our king's behalf, in

¹ *E.A.T.* (o.s.), vol. iii., pp 91-2. It is noteworthy that Thomas and John Tyrell were among the numerous parties to the fine of 1503 cited in the text.

² I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. William Page, general editor of the *Victoria County History*, for my knowledge of these fines relating to Faulkbourne.

³ I find him presenting to Great Tey rectory, in right of his wife, in April, 1522 (Newcourt, ii., 572). Mr. Lee described him as "one of the sheriffs of Essex and Herts in 1523," an office which implies that he was settled at Faulkbourne at least as early as this. But his name is not to be found in the official list of sheriffs.

1521, when Henry was seeking a divorce, in order to marry "his cousin Anne Boleyn," but although Anne, Mr. Lee wrote, "is stated to have been his cousin, we have been unable to discover the exact genealogical connexion." The problem presents no difficulty, for Sir Francis, as Mr. Lee was aware, was grandson maternally of Sir Humfrey Bouchier and nephew of his distinguished son, John (Bouchier), Lord Berners. Sir Humfrey's wife, who was re-married to Thomas Duke of Norfolk, was grandmother, both to Sir Francis Bryan and to (Queen) Anne Boleyn.



This short pedigree explains, not only how Sir Francis came to be cousin to Ann Boleyn—and to be styled 'vicar of hell' "for his cruel indifference" to her fate—but also how he was related to the Howards, which, of course, was not mentioned in Mr. Lee's life of him. He served at sea in the retinue of his mother's brother, Lord Thomas, when the latter was admiral, in 1513, and in Brittany, where the Earl of Surrey, as he then was, knighted him at Morlaix for his courage in 1523. Later on he accompanied his uncle, now Duke of Norfolk, on his unsuccessful diplomatic mission to France in 1533. Finally, he became an "intimate friend" of the duke's son and heir, the gifted Earl of Surrey, whose poetic accomplishments he shared. On this side of his character Mr. Lee's great knowledge of the literature of the period enabled him to throw some light. In 1543 he was acting as Vice-Admiral of England. After marrying as his second wife,¹ Joan, widow of James, earl of Ormonde and daughter and heir of James, earl of Desmond, Sir Francis was made knight marshal of Ireland, and died there early in the year 1550.²

¹ The date of his wife Philippa's death does not seem to be known.

² The earl of Ormond's death (which made a great sensation) took place in 1546, not (as Mr. Lee wrote) in 1548, and Sir Francis, being only a knight, was made knight marshal, not (as Mr. Lee wrote) lord marshal of Ireland.

The importance of this date for the history of Faulkbourne is that Sir Francis, as I have shown, had a life interest therein. Consequently, Henry Fortescue cannot have come into possession until his stepfather's death. Now, Mr. Chancellor committed himself to the view that the Hall was built by the Fortescues, who "were in possession of this property in the beginning of the sixteenth century,"¹ and who "cleared away any pre-existing building."² He further asserted that the house was one of those for which the fashion was set by "the erection of Hampton Court Palace." If so, it cannot have been built by the John Fortescue who held Faulkbourne, in right of his wife, from 1508 (?) to 1518. Consequently, on Mr. Chancellor's showing, it cannot have been built till after the succession of Henry Fortescue to the property in 1550! It is not, therefore, surprising that, after examining the house, he "could find nothing older than about 1500."³ (*sic*).

We have, surely, here an important illustration of the value of genealogy in assisting us to determine the date of a residence. Indeed, Mr. Chancellor himself admitted it when he began his paper by setting forth the owners of Faulkbourne from the Domesday Survey to our own time. He urged that, though his hearers might be "tired with this long genealogical survey, it may assist us when we come to discuss the various parts of the mansion."⁴ Quite so; but it is perfectly useless to repeat, without acknowledgment, the erroneous genealogy of Morant. More than thirty years ago there appeared in our *Transactions* a noteworthy passage, probably from the pen of our former Hon. Sec., Mr. H. W. King. Speaking of "the modern compilers of Essex history," the writer urged that their work "has been often the repetition of error; where Morant errs, they err; they have rectified nothing, and added but little, if anything, to our knowledge of the past."⁵ I submit that this indictment justifies my own criticism.

In a signed paper⁶ Mr. King had insisted long before upon the point; of Morant's work he had to write:—

The errors in date and the confusion of persons are, in fact, more frequent than I could have anticipated, while his genealogies are often defective and inaccurate. This is becoming daily more apparent by my own limited researches and the more extended investigations of others. Every Essex historian who has

¹ Vol. vii., (N.S.), p. 269.

² *Ibid*, p. 270.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 269.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 267-8.

⁵ Vol. iii. (N.S.), p. 191. See also p. 43 above.

⁶ Vol. iii. (O.S.), pp. 196-7.

succeeded him has implicitly followed his text, and consequently repeated his errors. . . . In truth a History of Essex is yet to be written. . . . The labours of the Essex Archæological Society, and the MSS. of private collectors and annotators may, however, furnish materials which will enable some future historian to fulfil the task.

I must now briefly touch on the *heraldry* of Faulkbourne and its lords at the period of which I write. For this heraldry we must go to the church, to the hall, and to the MS. In a window of the church Symonds noted the portraiture of a man in armour, with the arms of Montgomery and Helion on a surcoat, and under it the legend "Pray for the soul of [Tho]mas Montgomery." From the description of the arms this window must have been put up in the time of Sir Thomas Montgomery's first wife. The only heraldic problem at Faulkbourne is that which is raised by the arms attributed to Spice. As we have seen, it was through the Spices that the Fortescues inherited Faulkbourne from the Montgomerys. Black Notley, where they resided, had been previously inherited by them from the younger line of Mandeville, through the marriage of Roger Spice—father of the Clement Spice who married Alice Montgomery—with Alice, sister and co-heir of Thomas de Mandeville. This Roger's arms are known, but are ignored by Morant, who alleges (ii., 123), in footnotes to his account of Black Notley that the arms of Mandeville were "Argent, on a chief *indented gules*, 3 martlets, coupé at the legs, Or," and those of Spice, "Argent on a chief *engrailed azure*, 3 martlets Or." Obviously, this suggests confusion between two variants of the same coat. It is not till we come to the Faulkbourne evidence that we can speak positively as to what the coat used for Spice really was.

Our sources of information are *three*: (1) the brasses to Henry Fortescue and his wife in Faulkbourne church;¹ (2) armorials in glass windows, formerly at Faulkbourne Hall; (3) an important heraldic MS. which seems to be quite unknown to writers on Faulkbourne and its lords. The evidence of all three is in perfect accordance. On the two brasses five shields show us Henry Fortescue quartering in his coat 1 and 2, Fortescue and Fitz Chamberlain (an earlier Fortescue alliance) for his father with, 3 and 4, Spice quartering Montgomery for his mother, which is strictly correct and in accordance with my chart pedigree. On windows formerly in Faulkbourne Hall Holman records an 'Escocheon of two pieces,' of which the first piece shows Fortescue quartering Fitz Chamberlain (being the arms of John Fortescue,

¹ See *E.A.T.*, vol. ix., pp. 24, 26.

Henry's father), while the second shows Spice quartering Montgomery (for John's wife, Philippa Spice). Another 'Escoccheon of two pieces' similarly shows the quarterly coat of Fortescue in the first piece and that of Stafford in the second; for these were the coats (in the next generation) of Henry Fortescue and Elizabeth Stafford his wife.¹ Finally, the notable heraldic records of standards, badges and arms, which is numbered 12 in the College of Arms, contains the 'standard' and the arms of "Mayster John Fortscu," whose arms identify him, certainly, with the husband of Philippa Spice, the heiress of Faulkbourne Hall; for on his quarterly Fortescue coat (as before) there is "an escoccheon of pretence, Quarterly 1 and 4 Argent, on a chief dancetté (*sic*) Azure three martlets Or; 2 and 3 Gules, a chevron ermine between three fleur-de-lis, Argent."² The special value of this evidence is that it records the *tinctures*, which the *brasses*, of course, do not.

There has, naturally, been some question whether the coat thus uniformly found for Spice at Faulkbourne was intended for Spice or for Mandeville. My own view is that the Spices—who, at the time of their Mandeville alliance, were of recent and somewhat obscure origin—adopted, after Roger's time, the arms of their Mandeville ancestors, whose lands they had largely inherited, though possibly changing the tincture of the 'chief' from Gules to Azure.³ Mr. Brownbill, who has made an elaborate study of the Spices of Black

¹ Mr. Andrew Hamilton discussing the only stained glass (except in the kitchen) still remaining at the Hall (vol. ii., n.s., p. 89), *viz* : the quarries in the window of the billiard-room and in those of the tower staircase, speaks of them as showing "a badge presumably of the Fortescues, a black-laced belt, with yellow lining, combined with the Stafford knot." He holds that these united badges probably denote the marriage of Henry Fortescue with Elizabeth Stafford. But the date to which he assigns the glass (1480-1520) is too early for this; and though the sketch given by Mr. Barrett, in his *Essex* (ii., 192), is too small to be of much use, it seems to show merely three "hawk's lures" pendent from the belt. The Fortescues' badge is shown by the MS. to which I refer to have been an antique tilting shield with the word 'Fort' upon it.

I have an entirely different explanation of this device to suggest. Mr. Rickword, who most kindly examined for me the Holman MSS., for Faulkbourne, informed me that they contain the statement:—"The old windows of this ancient building are adorned with these letters T. M. for Thomas Montgomery." Mr. Parker informs me that these letters are not now to be found in any windows, but the form of the 'M' in the Holman MSS. is to me strikingly suggestive of the shape assumed by the three hawk's lures (or tasselled cords) pendent from the belt, while the central one, combined with the golden lining of the belt, from which it hangs, might represent a 'T.' If I am right in this suggestion the device (of which Mr. Parker has sent me a tracing) represents the initials of Sir Thomas, and actually dates the windows (and therefore the north front and great tower) as of his time.

Mr. Hamilton, writing of the stained glass in Cressing church (pp. 89-90), describes a quarry in the east window, with a bird holding a bone in its beak, observed that such rebusses were common at the date when the quarry was painted (*circa* 1500).

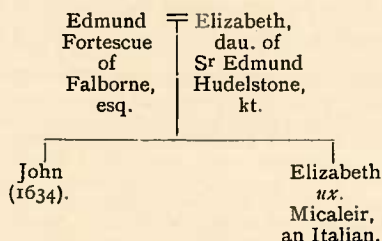
² I take this blazon from that of Mr. Willement in Mr. J. Foster's *Banners, Standards, and Badges* (Howard de Walden Library), p. 208.

³ Mr. Rickword has been unable to trace for me in the Holman MSS. the origin of Morant's statement that the chief was *azure*, but it is confirmed by the heraldic MS. cited in the text.

Notley,¹ is disinclined to accept this view and thinks it more likely that the true Spice coat was suppressed in the arms found at Faulkbourne. The marshalling, however, of the coats seems to me decisive; for the order of the coats is always (2) Montgomery quartered by (or after) the (1) coat for Spice (? Mandeville). Now, Spice would rightly quarter Montgomery, but Mandeville, obviously, could not.

Finally, it is important to observe that the Fortescues (John and Henry) show Montgomery quartered by Spice, but *not* as quartered also by themselves. This affords additional confirmation (if indeed it were needed) of my own conclusion that (in spite of the Visitation pedigree) no Fortescue had married either the heir or a co-heir of Sir Thomas Montgomery.

It had not been my intention to carry down the pedigree beyond that Henry Fortescue with whom its uncertainty ends. There is, however, a tale to be told in connexion with his grandson's marriage which is of so much interest, especially to Roman Catholics, that I am tempted to tell it, the more so as it has, I believe, never yet been told. When John Fortescue entered his pedigree at the Heralds' Visitation of 1634, all that he had to say of his father and mother was this:—



Twelve years after the death of Henry Fortescue of Faulkbourne, namely, in the great year of the Armada (1588), his son Francis died, leaving a son and heir Edmund, who was already married to "Isabella Huddleston."² In 1590 Edmund, and Isabel his wife, were parties to a 'fine,' to which Sir Edmund Huddleston was another party. This Sir Edmund is usually described as of Sawstern, Cambridgeshire, where was his family seat. Edmund Fortescue, however, had only to go some ten miles afield for a bride, for Sir Edmund Huddleston—whose father, Sir John, had

¹ He has kindly communicated to me Symonds' description of the inscription to Roger Spice who died 11th March, '1459' (1460), and the drawing of the coat of arms which was there shown or him.

² See the *Inq. p.m.* on Francis Fortescue.

been an ardent supporter of Mary and a member of her Privy Council—came to reside in Essex while his house was rebuilding at Sawstern. At least, that is said to have been the reason of his doing so. He was twice sheriff of the county during the reign of Elizabeth, although it is clear that his sympathies were wholly with the old faith.

Making his home at his Essex property of Piggots in Pattiswick,¹ he married two of his daughters to Essex men, Joane becoming the wife of Sir William Wiseman of Bradokes (or Braddocks) in Wimbish, and 'Elizabeth' (or Isabel) wife of Edmund Fortescue of Faulkbourne. With these marriages we find ourselves at once in a group of 'recusant' families. Among the county records at Chelmsford are preserved the returns to the Bishop of London of such persons in Essex.² Before dealing with these I may refer the reader to Miss Vaughan's interesting and charmingly written paper on "Priest's holes in an Essex manor house";³ for though she does not use these returns or mention the Huddleston connexion, she has described for us the life of the Wiseman family at Braddocks⁴ and the adventures, as their guest, of the famous Jesuit father, John Gerard. I will now trace, from the returns of 1605, the connexion of the recusant families, but will begin with the Faulkbourne return, as it needs explanation. The parson and churchwardens present

That there is and hath byn a gentlewoman in their parrishe abowte fower or five monethes, that is a Recusante and hath never since her cominge to their parrishe come to their Churche to dyvine servys, which gentlewoman's name is Mistris Izabell Olyver, wief of Mr. Doctor Olyver of Berry in Suffolk, who is alsoe a Recusante, confyned or bounded, as they here, to be abowte Berry [*i.e.* Bury], coming only nowe and then to his said wief by license accordinge to lawe, as he saieth —. Item there is in the howse of the said Mistris Olyver her daughter Mistris Izabell Fortescue and her gentlewoman called Mistris Katheryn and a man servante, *etc., etc.* . . . who never came to Churche to dyvine servis.

Now, there is here no mention of Faulkbourne Hall, nor is there any mention of a Mrs. Oliver or of any 'Isabel' in the Heralds' Visitation pedigree of 1634. Nevertheless, I cannot doubt that the mysterious Mrs. Oliver was widow of the Edmund Fortescue who

¹ Norden (1594) calls his house "Pattesywyke Hall."

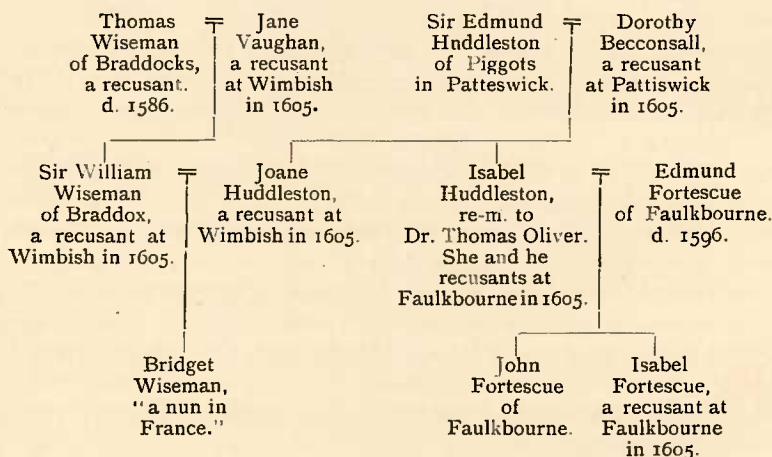
² 10th report on Historical MSS.; pt. iv., pp. 485-490.

³ *Essex Review*, xxvii., 22-34. No authorities are cited by the writer, so that it may be well to explain that her narrative seems to be taken from Morris' *Condition of Catholics under James I.*, which was also used for the purpose by Dr. Cox and supplemented by him from the evidence of the State Papers (see *Vict. Hist. of Essex*, ii., 44-5).

⁴ Norden (1594) has "Broadoakes. William Wiseman, recus[ant]."

died in 1596 and had married Dr. Oliver as her second husband. This conclusion is supported by a 'fine' of 1608-9, in which we find the names of "Thomas Olyver and Isabel his wife"¹ on the one part and of John Fortescue (*i.e.*, her son and heir) on the other. It is clear that "Mistris Izabell Fortescue" was her daughter, called 'Elizabeth' in the Heralds' Visitation, where she is said to have married "Micaleir, an Italian."

The family group of Recusants was this:—



At Faulkbourne Mrs. Oliver and her daughter, Miss Fortescue, had 'recusant' neighbours, not far away, in the Wrights of White Notley² and the Southcotes of Witham Place.³

It may be useful, in conclusion, briefly to recapitulate the succession of those who held Faulkbourne, whether in their own right or for life, during the period I have dealt with. For this should be helpful to those who would date the construction of the Hall. The list runs thus:—(1) Sir John Montgomery (in possession by 1426); died 1449; (2) Dame Elizabeth, his widow, 1449—1465; (3) Sir Thomas Montgomery, 1465—1495; (4) Dame Lora, his widow (Countess of Ormond) 1495—1502⁴ (?); (5) Alice, sister of Sir Thomas, and her husband, Edmund Wiseman, 1502 (?)—1508⁵; (6) Philippa (Spice), granddaughter of Alice, and her husband, John Fortescue, 1508—1518; (7) Philippa and her second husband,

¹ She is also styled 'Isabel' in Faulkbourne documents of 1588 and 1590.

² "Mistris Wright" of White Notley was presented as a recusant in 1605, and John Wright of Kelvedon Hatch occurs as a recusant in 1608.

³ This was their seat, but Mr. Southcote was returned, in 1605, as a recusant under Bulmer.

⁴ This date is at present doubtful.

⁵ This date is only provisional.

Francis Bryan, 1522(?)—1536(?)¹; (8) Sir Francis Bryan, under settlement, 1539(?)—1550; (9) Henry Fortescue, son and heir of Philippa, 1550—1576. Until the dates of death of Lora, countess of Ormond and of Philippa Bryan are definitely ascertained, a final list cannot be compiled. The writer has unfortunately, while at work on this paper, been confined to the house by illness and has, therefore, been unable to investigate the subject further.

With regard to the later work at Faulkbourne Hall, considerable assistance is afforded by the two dated and initialled weather vanes placed above it,² and the rain pipes. The vane with the initials E. B. E., which is dated 1666, represents the marriage of Edward Bullock with Elizabeth, daughter and co-heir of William Boulton, esq., of Ullenhall, co. Warwick.³ Still more important are the inscriptions 'E. M. B. 1693' on the rain-water pipe heads on the southern portion of the east front. For these indicate that the extensive work carried out at this period was due to that Edward Bullock who, at the age of 30, had already succeeded in marrying two wealthy wives. The first of these was Elizabeth, elder daughter of Sir Mark Guyon (the son of a rich Coggeshall clothier), of Dynes Hall, Great Maplestead. She, who married him in 1690, died in childbed; but, on her brother's death in August, 1691, Mr. Bullock seems to have obtained a life-interest in her estates. By 1693, as the above inscription shows, he had married Mary, daughter of Sir Josiah Child of Wanstead, whose vast wealth enabled him to give great portions to his daughters. It is not surprising that Mr. Bullock promptly followed the example of both his fathers-in-law in spending money freely on his own ancient house, or that the wealth he had acquired by marriage enabled him to enter the vortex of Essex politics as (Whig) member for the county in 1698.⁴ Thus it is that an intelligent interest in the history of our leading county families may prove of service for the study of ancient Essex seats and for that of the political struggles of the past.

[NOTE.—The author desires to acknowledge his indebtedness to Mr. Arthur G. Wright, curator of the Colchester Museum, for kindly taking the photographs of the two Montgomery portraits from coloured copies of those at Long Melford.]

¹ This date is only provisional.

² *E.A.T.* (N.S.), vol. vii., p. 271.

³ Their son and heir, Edward, was aged 1 at the Visitation of 1664.

⁴ His last male heir, Colonel Bullock, who died in 1809, represented the county in the Whig interest for many years.

THE REMAINS OF COGGESHALL ABBEY.

BY G. F. BEAUMONT, F.S.A.

As the writer, some 30 years ago, in his *History of Coggeshall*, gave an account of the foundation of the abbey and a description of its remains and our member, Mr. R. C. Fowler, has recently contributed to the *Victoria History of Essex*¹ a thoroughly trustworthy article on the abbey generally, it is not intended to do more in the present paper than bring together such information as we have been able to draw from certain documents, preserved in the Public Record Office and elsewhere, in so far as they tend to elucidate the purposes for which the buildings which survived the general demolition were appropriated, and to give such further details concerning the abbey as have not hitherto been published.

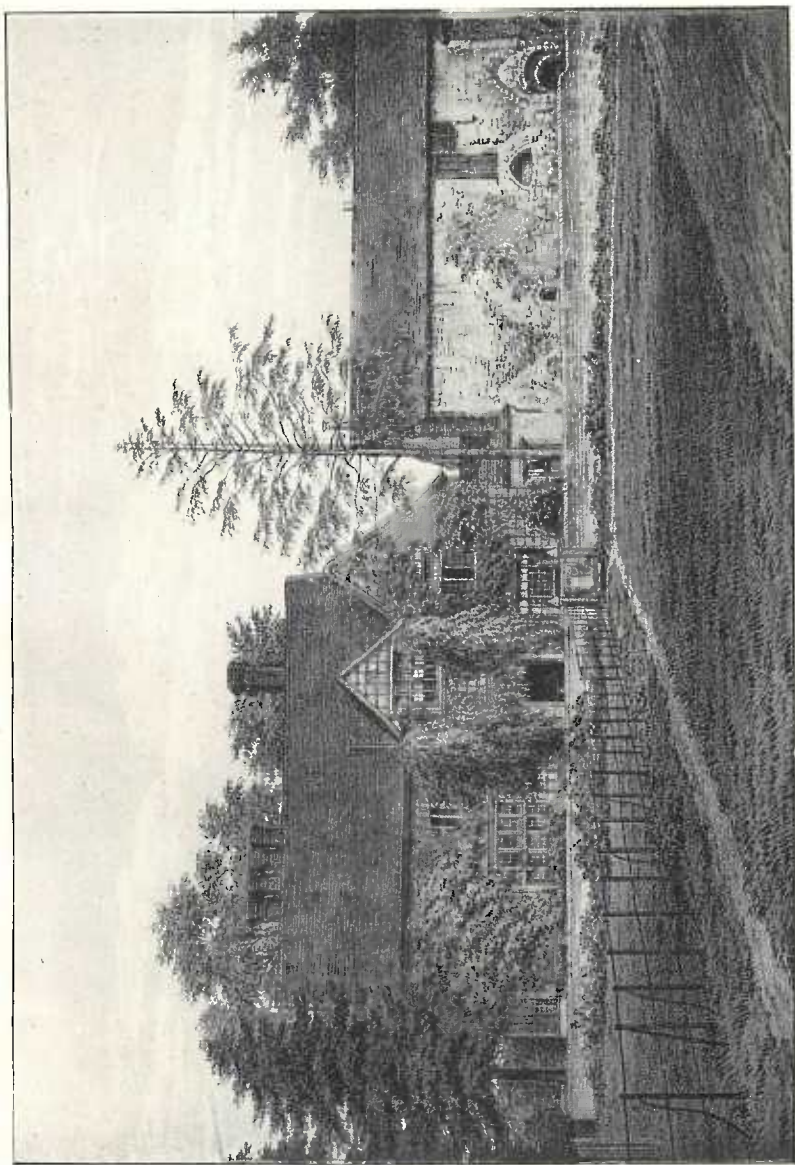
Of the buildings of the Cistercian monastery of Coggeshall, which must have been somewhat extensive, there remain the "mansion," or rather a portion of it, and annexed to it on the south side a narrow building running north and south and consisting of a vaulted passage with a chamber above, both floors opening into an oblong building running east and west, and at the south-east corner of this building, but disconnected from it, another building with its longer axis approximately north and south. In addition to these buildings there is the little chapel of St. Nicholas, about 200 yards to the west.

The abbey was surrendered on 5th February, 29 Henry VIII. (A.D. 1538), Henry More being at that time abbot or perpetual commendatory, and William Love his immediate predecessor.

On the 23rd March, 1538, all the possessions of the monastery were granted by the king to Sir Thomas Seymour. That great destruction of the monastic buildings was shortly afterwards wrought, is clear from the fact that Thomas Mildmay, one of the auditors of the revenues and augmentations of the Crown appointed to survey certain of the lands and possessions of the late monastery then belonging to Seymour, with a view to an exchange to be made

¹ Vol. ii., p. 125.

COGGESHALL ABBEY,
1886.



between him and the king, reported in April, in the thirty-first year of Henry VIII. (A.D. 1541), that "the church is clene prostrate and defaced, but the cloyster and lodgings doe yet remayne untouched."¹

With regard to the abbey house, anciently called "the mansion," it has been said that it was built by Clement Smith on the site and out of the materials of the abbey.² This statement is contained in an exceedingly interesting architectural account of the remains of the abbey by the late Rev. E. L. Cutts, some time assistant curate of Coggeshall, and from the foundation of our Society down to 1866 its honorary secretary. The statement would seem to be incorrect, as Clement Smith, although the grantee of Holfield Grange and other estates in the neighbourhood, does not appear to have ever been possessed of the abbey buildings or precincts, and from the references to the abbey house in the documents mentioned below it seems clear that the mansion was erected some years before the dissolution. A comparatively small portion only now remains, and is represented by the more substantial or northern portion of the present building.

The first allusion we have to the house is that contained in the will of Sir John Sharpe, kt.³ He was a man of considerable worldly possessions, including lands in Essex, the manor of Cartelyng in Cambridgeshire, and the manor of Brokedysshe Hall in Norfolk. His will is dated 7th June, 1518,⁴ and by it he gave his *mansion and lodging at Coggeshall Abbey*, with the appurtenances and all his years in the same, meaning his lease of it, and all such copyhold lands on the backside of the same mansion as he held by copy [*i.e.*, being of copyhold tenure] of the abbot and convent of Westminster, to Isabel Damme, the wife of Robert Damme of Systed [*? Stisted*], for life, and after his death to his (the testator's) nephew, Robert Browne. After making various other bequests to Isabel Damme, he touchingly beseeches "all those that ever bare me any good mynde or favor in my lyfe or will doo anything for me when I am goon, that they will be good favourable kynde and helpynge unto the said Isabell for she hath ben always the best assured and the most faithfull fast frende that ever yet I knewe or

¹ *Rentals and Surveys*, Duchy of Lanc., 7/34. The certificate, No. 7/35, is similar, but has no reference to the church and lodgings.

² *Trans. E.A.S.*, vol. i. (o.s.), p. 166.

³ Presumably the same person as John Sharpe, son of Christopher Sharpe, whose lands in Pointell Street the bailiff of Coggeshall Hall manor was ordered to distrain in 17 Henry VIII.—*Duchy of Lanc. Court Rolls*, bundle 38.

⁴ P.C.C.: 13, Ayloff.

cowde fynde in all my lyfe." The will was proved the 12th Feb., 1518-19.

Sharpe's lease having evidently come to an end, abbot William Love and the convent on the 6th December, 19 Henry VIII. [1528], granted to Clement Harleston, esq., a lease¹ for ninety years, from the previous Michaelmas, of the "mansion which Sir John Sharpe, kt., late held *within* the monastery next to the firmary of the monks," together with all the houses, kitchens, chambers, garden, *etc.*, annexed, and it may be well now to set forth what other property was comprised in this lease: it consisted of a certain stable "of olde tyme called the Tannehouse halle,"² with the chambers thereto annexed; a certain chapel of St. Katherine, with gardens on both sides of it, as enclosed by banks and ditches; a dovehouse which had been lately built within the "Hostry" garden,³ with a little chamber or house called the Gatehouse, between the abbot's stable and the backhouse [bakehouse] garden; also two pieces of land called the Coope, lying together next the river, adjoining to Hollmeadow on the west and the lane to Feering Bury on the east, one head abutting on the road to Colchester on the north and on land called Samuels on the south, with a meadow called the Backehouse meadow lying next the backehouse of the abbot and convent, with the feeding or pasture called the Holme thereto annexed; also one little garden next the Colloquitory on the west and the mansion on the east. The annual rents reserved were: for the mansion and appurtenances 9s., for the lands called the Coope 1*l.* 6*s.* 4*d.*, for Backehouse meadow and Holme pasture 6*s.* 8*d.*, and for the garden next the Colloquitory 2*d.* Harleston was restrained from fishing in the river, and was not to stop the water in the stream and river, nor to sell his lease without the licence of the abbot and convent.

Harleston was afterwards knighted by Henry VIII. and died at Boleyn in France, and his will, nuncupative, made in 1544, was proved by his son John on 20th May, 1547.⁴ It was he who was invited by the abbot to accompany him to inspect the great brazen pot which a ploughman while at his work had found in West field,⁵ about three-quarters of a mile from Coggeshall, and belonging to

¹ Duchy of Lanc. *Rentals and Surveys*, 2/11.

² Robert le Tanhus is mentioned in *Pat. Roll*, 18th July, 1316.

³ The hostellary or guesthouse which was probably near the principal gatehouse which was close to St. Nicholas chapel.

⁴ *P.C.C.*: Alen, 36.

⁵ This field can be approximately located by reference to Duchy of Lanc. *Court Rolls*, bundle 58, No. 726. It lay south-west of the Home Grange, see *Hist. of Coggeshall*, p. 7; also Duchy of Lanc. *Surveys*, 2/11.

the abbey. "The mouth of the pot was closed with a white substance like paste or clay, as hard as burnt brick, and when that by force was removed there was found within it another pot but that was of earth; that being opened there was found in it a lesser pot of earth of the quantity of a gallon, covered with matter like velvet and fastened at the mouth with a silken lace: in it they found some whole bones and many pieces of small bones, wrapped up in fine silk of fresh colour, which the abbot took for the reliques of some saints and laid up in his vestuary."¹

Then came the dissolution and the abbey buildings passed to the Crown, but within a few weeks Seymour procured a grant of the monastic properties. Although retaining many of the lands, he, about three years afterwards, arranged an exchange with the king whereby the site and precincts of the abbey again became vested in the Crown.

But for the fact that the grant to Seymour followed so soon after the surrender, we should probably have found in the Minister's Accounts of the following year or so, interesting information concerning the destruction of the buildings and the sale of their contents, similar to that which has been published by Dr. Gasquet² in reference to the destruction of other monasteries. How ruthlessly the work was done is thus expressed by Dr. Gasquet: "In the work of wrecking the finest monuments and most costly buildings which took place all over the country, there does not appear to have been any hesitation on the part of Henry or his servants. There was never any question of sparing anything which could not be used for farm or other purposes, or by the demolition of which a few pounds might be added to the sum total of the plunder. At St. Mary's, Winchester, the superfluous buildings were church, chapterhouse, dormitory, fraternity, and those allowed to stand were the superior's lodging with offices." The same words are applicable to the abbey of Coggeshall, substituting Harleston's mansion for the superior's lodging and adding the other buildings referred to hereafter.

In 1574 Thomas Paycocke was possessed of all the properties which were comprised in Harleston's lease.³ By his will made on the 20th December, 1580,⁴ he gave all his estate, interest, lease and

¹ Camden's *Britannia*, translated by Holland, p. 449.

² *Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries*.

³ *Duchy of Lanc. Rentals and Surveys*, 2/11. It has been suggested that the large gates at Paycock's house in West street were brought from the abbey, and it seems not improbable that such was the case.

⁴ *P.C.C.*: 50, Arundell.

term of years in Mr. Harleston's house, with 18 acres of ground to the same belonging, to Richard Binnyon and Anne his wife. Anne Binnyon or Benyan was one of Paycocke's daughters.¹ She died in January, 1603,² and Richard Benyan died 17th November, 1610. His death was presented at a Court held for the manor of Feering³ on 19th April, 8 James I., he having held for his life, by right accruing on his wife's death, lands and pastures called Jackletts and Samwells, containing 10 acres, which are doubtless the same lands as those referred to in Sharpe's will; and it was also presented that Elizabeth Stanfield, widow, and Anne Churchman, daughters and co-heirs of Anne Benyan, were entitled to this copyhold property.

Although Harleston's lease was not due to expire till 1617, Matthew Bacon had, in the 45th year of Elizabeth [1603], procured a lease⁴ of all the before-mentioned leasehold and certain other properties comprising the watermill, a chamber adjoining, and the fruits and profits of the cemetery there, gardens called Love's garden and Sandeford's⁵ garden, and all the waste grounds within the gates and walls of the late monastery. The lease to Bacon suggests that, after the death of Anne Benyan, her husband left the abbey house, and it may be that he went to reside at the Dairy House or at the Home Grange, as he had a lease of those properties granted to him in 1599.

On 25th October, 1604,⁶ James I., on the nomination of Sir Henry Bromley, granted to Ralph Wolley and Thos. Dodd, among other properties, all those which were comprised in Benyan's lease. The other properties included a tenement called the Brewhouse, with pasturage for two cows in the Old Park and 3 roods of land on the south side of Longbridge, at the bottom of Grange hill, and adjoining the Brewhouse.

On 8th January, 16 Charles I. [1647], Robert Offley and others conveyed to Thomas Bromfield and Henry Colbron⁷ the Dairy House, the 'sheepenhous' and shed, the "Covent Garden" (formerly in one parcel, but then divided into several: called Hither Covent Garden, Middle Covent Garden and Further Covent Garden,⁸

¹ For Paycocke family see *E.A.T.*, vol. ix., p. 311.

² Parish register.

³ *Court Rolls* in P.R.O., 174, Nos. 1-5.

⁴ *Duchy of Lanc. Misc.*, No. 82, fo. 275d.

⁵ Abbot John Sandeford or Sampford was Love's predecessor.

⁶ *Duchy of Lanc. Misc. Books*, No. 85, pp. 358-363.

⁷ *Close Roll*, 23 Charles I., pt. 21, No. 18.

⁸ These three fields are now represented by the field in the Ordnance Survey, 1897 edition, numbered 72, and some of the adjoining land on the south and south-east.

the Miller's field¹ and Black Pond field),² also the Park³ then divided into the Park, in the occupation of George Nicholls, the Little Park⁴ and Beerhouse field,⁵ and it is stated that the Covent Garden, the Park, and the way between them leading to the abbey were all anciently used as one parcel; also Shortlands,⁶ containing 27 acres, and a house built thereon by Giles Hoskins, Holme meadow near the Dairy House, a meadow near the same containing 2 acres 2 roods 0 poles, two watercorn mills (formerly one) with the river, stream, *etc.*, thereto belonging, the dwelling-house used with the mill, the fruits and profits of the churchyard near the abbey and the grounds about the abbey which were anciently called Love's garden and Stamford's [Samford's] garden, and the waste grounds within the gates, walls and pales of the abbey, late in the occupation of Mr. Benyan; also the mansion house and houses within the monastery, formerly in the occupation of Sir John Sharpe, and then in the occupation of George Nicholls; also the buildings near the abbey called the Tanhouse hall, with the chamber adjoining; also St. Katherine's chapel near the abbey and all the cottages, tenements and buildings erected on the place where the Tanhouse hall stood, and the gardens and grounds on both sides of the chapel and the banks and ditches which enclosed the same; also lands called the Coope or the Coope fields⁷ adjoining Holme mead, containing together 21 acres; also the overshot mill called Squit mill,⁸ built on part of the lands called the Coope; also Backhouse mead,⁹ containing 15 acres, adjoining Holme mead; also Holme mead, containing 9 acres 2 roods 0 poles, and adjoining the lands called the Coope; also a cottage built on the Beerhouse field, formerly part of the Park lands.

Colbron, who, it is recited, was a trustee for Bromfield, released his estate in the property to the latter by deed dated 20th May, 1647,¹⁰ and warranted the title against Dame Anne Bromley,

¹ No. 68, 4'461 acres.

² No. 69, 5'791 acres.

³ Nos. 53 and 55, and probably part of No. 52, containing together about 12 acres.

⁴ No. 51, 4'758 acres.

⁵ No. 50, 3'371 acres.

⁶ No. 29, 27'358.

⁷ Nos. 266, 267, 265, 58, and parts of 57 and 264.

⁸ The old perambulation of Great Coggeshall commenced at the angle made by the east and south hedges of Squitts field. The lower part of No. 264 is called Squitts field in the Tithe Apportionment.

⁹ This is probably represented by the field No. 131.

¹⁰ *Close Roll*, 23 Charles I., pt. 21, No 18.

deceased, presumably the widow of Sir Henry Bromley, on whose nomination the grant was made by James I. to Wolley and Dodd.

THE ABBEY HOUSE.

From the foregoing we learn, among other things, that the mansion in which Sir John Sharpe dwelt in 1518, and which Clement Harleston occupied in 1528, was still standing in 1647, and we conclude that there can be no doubt that it is in part represented by the abbey house. It is conceivable from the fact that Sharpe was a wealthy man the house was built by him, but it seems much more probable that it was built by Harleston; the nominal rent of 9s. and the lease for 90 years suggest this, added to which he was not improbably inspired to its erection by the great work which was going on at Layer Marney between 1500 and 1525, and which he must have had constantly under observation, as, according to Morant,¹ he married a daughter of William Tey, of Layer-de-la-Haye, the adjoining parish.

That the house was originally considerably larger than it is now is obvious from the fine chimney stacks, of which there are four. In the ancient wall (probably Norman) which runs through the house from the front to the back² there are three stacks, of which two contain two chimneys apiece, the western couple being modern and those to the east of them ancient; and the easternmost stack contains three chimneys in a row, and there are four chimneys in a row in the east wall of the hall, the fireplace on the outer side of the east wall being exposed. All the chimneys above the roof, except two which are round, are hexagonal. The front wall of the house is 3 feet thick, and the wall which runs through the building, and is the oldest part of it, is 29 inches thick. Towards the east end of this wall is a pointed Norman arch springing from stone scalloped cushion capitals, that on the east side being supported by a circular brick pillar, and that on the other side by a semi-circular respond of similar construction. From the fact that there is a treble chimney stack in this wall, it would seem that what was evidently part of an arcade was adapted to serve as an inner wall of the Tudor mansion. The fine window in the northern portion of the front wall has stone mullions and quoins, and a stone plinth runs along the entire front of the house. The porch is of moulded brick and is apparently of the same date as the front wall. It was

¹ Vol. i., p. 100.

² The plan in vol. i. of the *Transactions* (o.s.) is not quite accurate with regard to this wall. It is not at right angles to the front wall, but from the front to the back inclines in a somewhat southerly direction.

originally of one floor the front wall, above the roof, being stepped and rising to a point which was probably crowned with a finial, but a small chamber was added later, and as the stone which was inserted above the door bears the date 1581 and the initials R. B. A., the addition was doubtless made by Richard Benyan and Anne his wife, the latter as we have seen having become entitled to the leasehold interest in the property under the will of Thomas Paycocke in that year. Although not very legible now, Holman,¹ in the early part of the eighteenth century, noted the initials and date as above. The illustration of the house, which is from a photograph taken about 1886, shews that the 4-light Tudor window of the porch still remained; it has since been replaced by a 3-light window. The Tudor window to the left of it was reduced in size at a much earlier date. The hall and some of the upstairs rooms are beautifully panelled in oak, probably contemporary with the erection of the house, but one piece of the work, though apparently not in its original position, bears the initials of Richard Benyan: it was, perhaps, the screen of the hall.

The abbey house mill, farm and lands, containing together about 143 acres, which had been in the Bullock family of Faulkbourne Hall for more than a century, were sold by the trustees of the will of the Rev. Walter Trevellyan Bullock in 1879, Mr. Sidney Pattisson purchasing the greater part of the property and Mr. Robert Appleford the mill, mill-house, pondwick, garden, *etc.*, containing together about 16 acres. The Law Union Insurance Company, who were afterwards in possession of the farm, sold it some years ago to the late Mr. N. N. Sherwood, who, dying in 1916, left it to his eldest son, Mr. W. H. C. Sherwood.

From the time when the property was conveyed to Bromfield and Colbron in 1647, until the latter end of the nineteenth century, we have been unable to find any documents relating to the freehold of this property. We have seen that the house was occupied by Geo. Nicholls in 1647, and it appears to have continued in his occupation for many years, for in 1666² he was assessed for six hearths, and the depositions in *Boys v. Cudmore*³ in 1691 state that he resided at the abbey, being then aged 70. Although as the chimneys shew there were at least nine fireplaces in the Tudor mansion, and probably there were many more, yet in 1666 the number had been reduced to six. Notwithstanding that a great

¹ MS. in Colchester Museum.

² Hearth Tax Return, 246/19.

³ Depositions of Will. and Mary.

part of the house had been then destroyed—by what means we know not—it was then still apparently one of the most important houses in the parish, being exceeded only by the house occupied by Matthew Elliston, which was presumably the Home Grange (Boys *v.* Cudmore), and in respect of which he paid for twelve hearths, and the house occupied by Robert Merrills, which had seven hearths.

THE INFIRMARY OF THE MONKS.

The lease to Harleston, in 1528, refers to the mansion as situate near to the infirmary of the monks, and the lease to Bacon, in 1603, describes it as being *next to the infirmary*, so there can be but little, if any, doubt that the long building immediately south of the abbey house, and consisting of a groined passage with dormitory above and the oblong building at the southern end of it and into which the lower and upper floors enter by arched doorways, formed part of the infirmary of the monastery. The illustration of the abbey house shews on the west wall of the long building and the north wall of the oblong building that there was a large vaulted apartment, perhaps the infirmary hall, adjoining those buildings. It will be seen from the illustration of the dormitory of the adjoining building that there is a recess in the wall of the building beyond, and this would seem to have been used as a seat, from which the occupant had a clear view along the sleeping apartment.

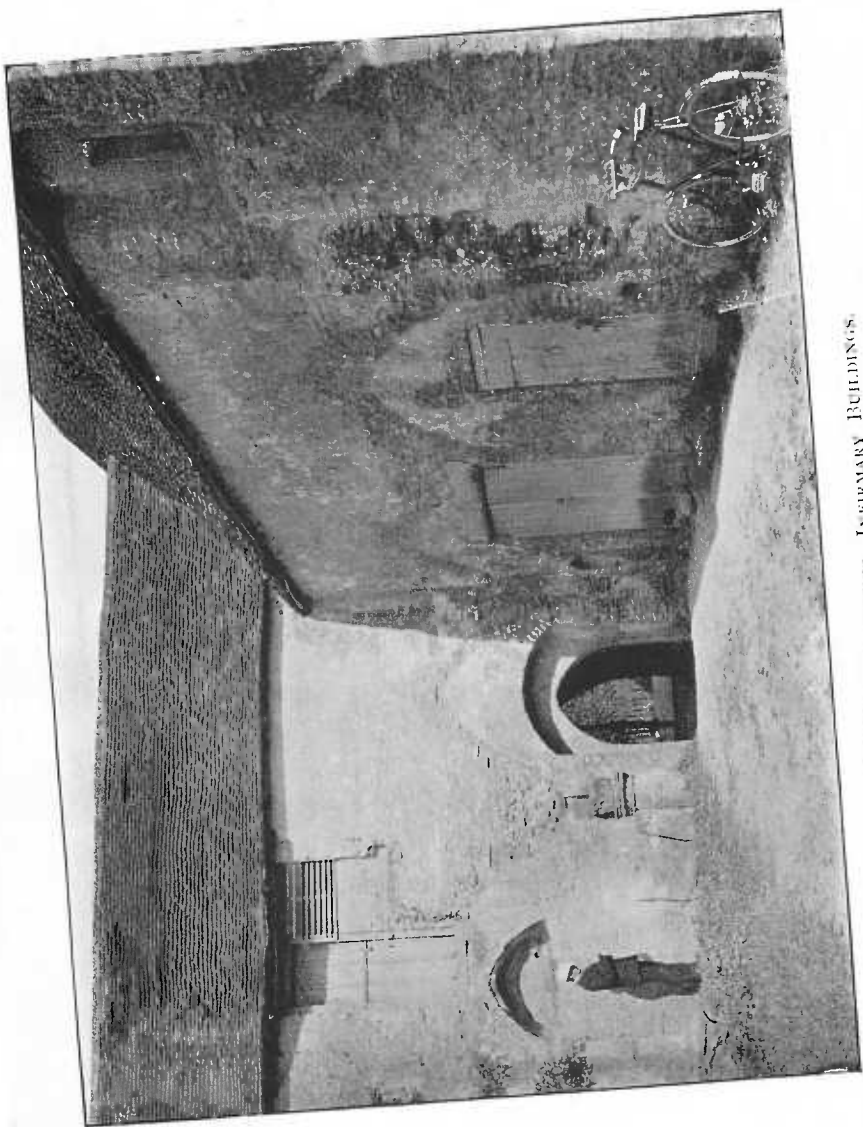
The infirmary, or firmary, or farmery, as it was variously called, of a monastery, generally consisted of a set of buildings apart from the principal cloister buildings, but sometimes connected to them by a passage. In some cases they were erected round a minor court and had a hall, a kitchen, and frequently a chapel. The infirmary was, speaking generally, used for the sick and aged monks. For descriptions shewing the general arrangements of Cistercian abbeys one cannot do better than refer to the learned papers of Sir Wm. St. John Hope¹ and Mr. Brackspear.²

One of the illustrations is taken looking east through the groined passage. The original ground level was 2 feet below the present level, so it is possible that some portion of the pavement would be disclosed by excavation. The pointed trefoil headed arch, shewn in the other illustration, is in the west wall of the next section of the passage.

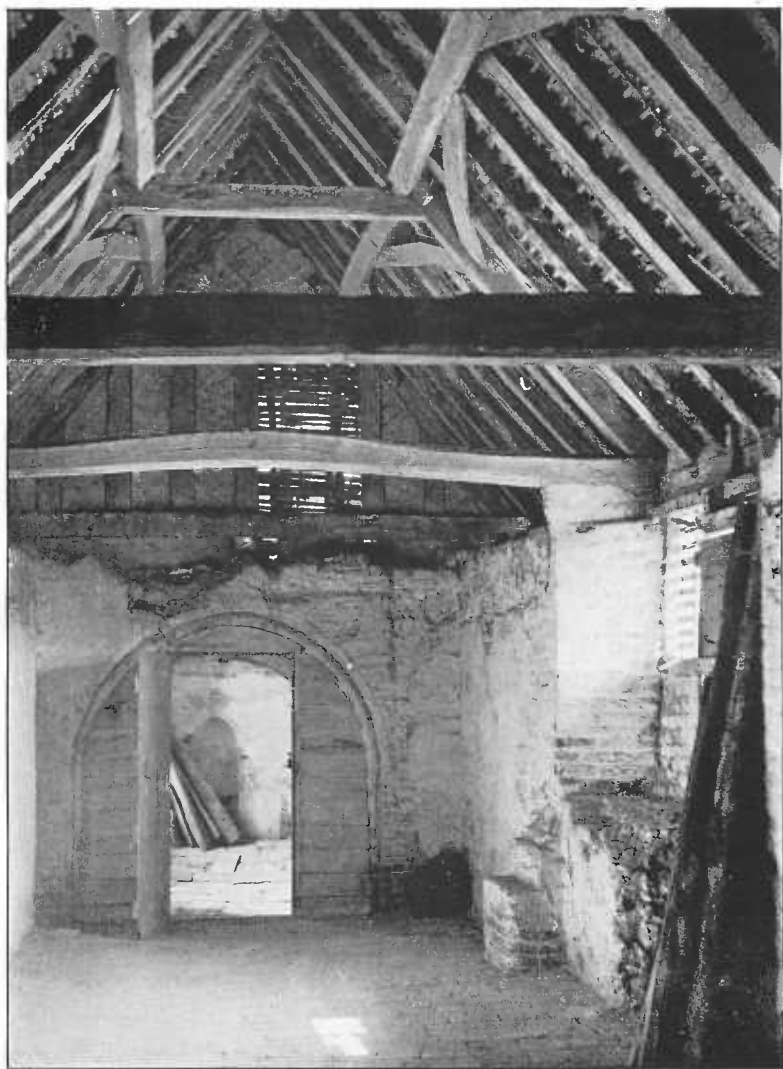
¹ "Furness," in *Cumberland and Westmoreland Arch. Trans.*, vol. xvi. "Fountains," in *Yorkshire Arch. Trans.*, vol. xv.

² "Waverley," in *Surrey Arch. Trans.* "Hayles," in *Arch. Journal*, vol. lviii.

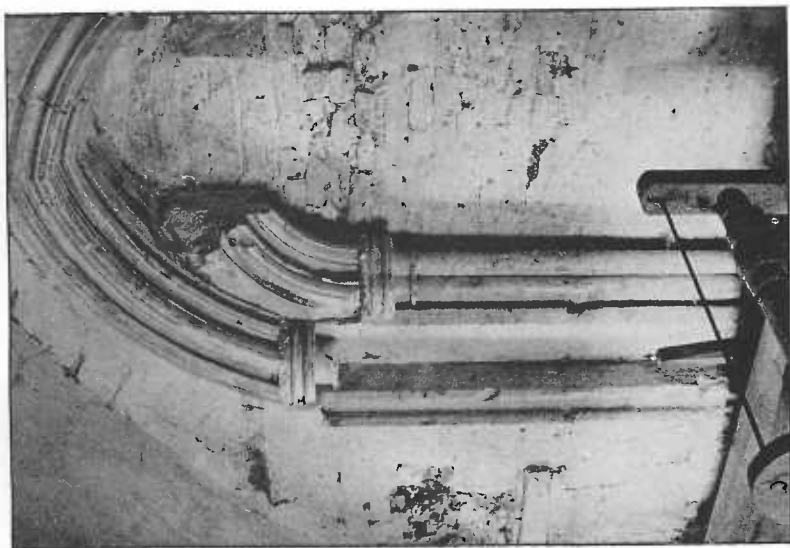
(1), (2) "Beaulieu," a joint production, in *Arch. Journal*, vol. lxiii.



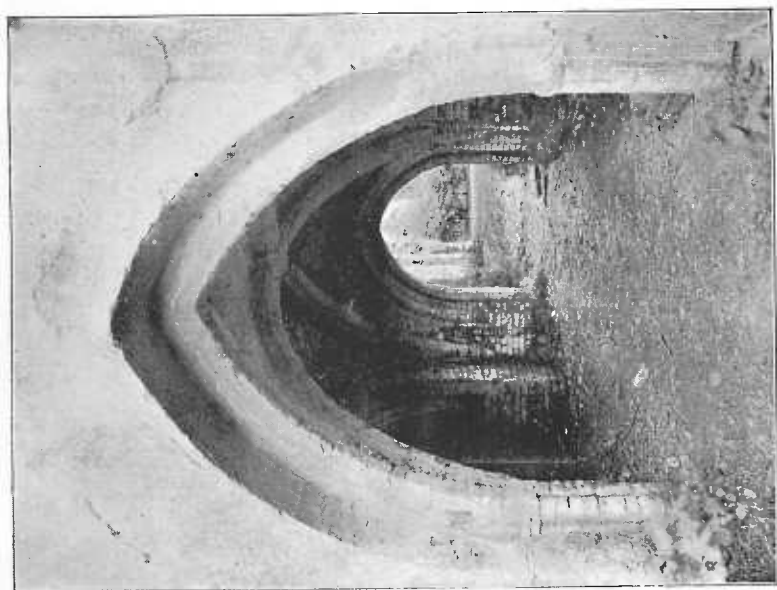
COGGESHALL ABBEY. INFIRMARY BUILDINGS.



COGGESHALL ABBEY: THE DORMITORY.
(LOOKING SOUTH.)



COGGESHALL ABBEY.
DOORWAY IN THE GROINED PASSAGE.



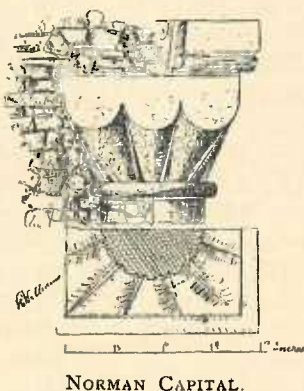
COGGESHALL ABBEY.
A SECTION OF THE VAULTED BUILDING.
(LOOKING EAST).

THE TANHOUSE HALL.

This building is, in the documents, sometimes referred to as "a certain stable of old time called the Tannehouse Hall." It seems doubtful from the references to it in the deed of 1647 whether the building was then standing or not, for the deed purports to convey the "building near the abbey called the Tannehouse Hall," and almost immediately afterwards "the cottages, tenements and buildings erected on the place where the Tannehouse Hall stood." Of this building no more can be said than that the whole or some part of it had disappeared in 1647, and none of the present buildings are now known as the Tanhouse Hall.

THE CHAPEL OF ST. KATHERINE.

This was still standing in 1647, and were it not for the fact that the chapel in the Abbey lane was, without doubt, known as St. Nicholas as well before as after the dissolution, as will be seen hereafter, one might perhaps have ventured the opinion that that building was the chapel of St. Nicholas. Can it be that the detached building which is situate near the southern end of the existing range was the Chapel of St. Katherine? It certainly has a chapel-like appearance, and it does not seem to answer to any other building referred to in the post-suppression documents. It is true that the longer axis of the building is roughly north and south, but that fact is not conclusive against its ecclesiastical use as we have the case of the monastic church at Rievaulx¹ similarly orientated. The entrance to this building was on the north side. For a plan and illustration of it see the Rev. E. L. Cutts' paper in vol. i. (o.s.) of the *Transactions*. The chapel is said to have been enclosed round about by banks and ditches, a fact which militates against the suggested assignation, as the river on the one side and the buildings near by on the other side would seem to have rendered such a protection unnecessary. The definite location of St. Katherine's chapel, and with it the appropriation of the chapel-like building, remain unsolved. The building is of rubble, which includes a Norman capital, of which the illustration is a sketch.



NORMAN CAPITAL.

¹ *Brit. Arch. Journal*, vol. xix., p. 323. See also "orientation" in the *Oxford Dictionary*.

THE CHURCH OF ST. MARY.

Of this nothing now remains above ground, but in any very dry summer the foundation lines of what must have been a very fine structure are clearly visible. Most of the foundations have been removed but fragments remain in places.

The south wall of the church was 80 feet from the north wall of the Abbey house. In the August number of the *Coggeshall Parish Magazine* for 1871, the late Rev. W. J. Dampier contributed the following note, accompanied by a plan:—"The long drought had thrown up on the surface of the great field, near the abbey, the plan of the cruciform abbey church in parched-up grass on the foundation lines, so distinctly that the measurements of the several parts were easily taken, and were stepped this day by me in the presence of the Rev. R. Joynes, who put them down as above.—W. J. Dampier, June 29th, 1865. Width of foundation walls, about 5 feet." The plan gives the following measurements—Width of nave, chancel and transepts, 24 feet; length of chancel, 34 feet, transept 24 feet, nave 141 feet, making 199 feet; and a lady chapel at the east of the chancel is suggested in dotted line, and the measurements given are 24 feet as the width and 31 feet as the length. If the measurement of the chapel could be substantiated, the total length of the building was 223 feet. The size of the church corresponded in width, with that of the first church of Waverley abbey.¹ In length it seems to have exceeded Waverley and to have considerably exceeded the present fine parish church of Coggeshall without including the lady chapel.

Our honorary member, Sir Wm. St. John Hope, commenced excavations on the site of the church in 1914, but, owing to the war, they had to be abandoned. It is much to be desired that the work may be resumed by him or some other learned antiquary at a future date, and it is hoped that the foregoing notes may then prove of some service.

That there should be practically nothing to record concerning this magnificent building, beyond its beginning and its ending, is strange indeed. Of its beginning, Ralph de Coggeshall,² under date 1167, says: "At Coggeshall the high altar was dedicated in honour of the glorious Virgin Mary and Saint John the Baptist, on the day of the assumption of the blessed Mary, by the Venerable Gilbert Foliot, bishop of London, who on the same day on that altar solemnly celebrated Mass, Simon de Toni being abbot of that

¹ *Waverley Abbey*, by H. Brakspear, p. 18.

² *Chronicum Anglicorum*, Stephenson's edit., p. 16.

place," and of its ending, as we have seen, "the church is clene prostrate and defaced," a work which was effected between the years 1538 and 1541.

Holman,¹ who wrote about 200 years ago, says that there was a tradition that the bells of the abbey church, after it was pulled down, were carried to Kelvedon. It seems, however, from the grant to Seymour, that there was only one bell, the reference in this respect being in these words: "the whole church, bell and church-yard." This is consistent with the original rules of the Cistercian Order, which prohibited high towers and enjoined the use of only one or, at most, two bells.²

That there was a chapel of St. Katherine the Virgin in St. Mary's church we know from the will of John Newman,³ made on the 16th October, 1464, he being then chaplain of the chapel of Pattiswick. "My body (he says) to be buried in the church of the blessed Mary of Coggeshall, on the north side, over against the chapel of St. Katherine the Virgin."

Sir Humphrey Bohun, kt.,⁴ by his will dated 2nd November, 1468, desired to be buried "in the chapel of the Blessed Mary of the abbey of Coggeshall, next to the *faciem* of the said church, if I die in Essex."

Stephen Queram,⁵ of Little Coggeshall, who made his will 22nd July, 1508, desired to be buried in the church of 'Coxsall' Abbey, before St. Anthony, and he gave "to the Rode Awter [rood altar] of Coxsall Abbey a chalice price 40s.

THE COLLOQUITORY

or Locutory was evidently what is called on the plans of several monasteries the monk's warming room, and was their common room or parlour. In some cases it formed part of the buildings which surrounded the cloister court, and in other cases it was quite apart from those buildings. It was generally in or near the south-eastern corner of the cloister court, and adjoined the chapter house. This building appears to have been standing in 1603, and its position was immediately in front or on the western side of the Abbey house, as appears from the description of the little garden which was said to lie next the Colloquitory on the west side and the mansion on the

¹ MS. in Colchester Museum.

² *Brit. Arch. Journal*, vol. xli. (1885), p. 369.

³ *P.C.C.*: 6, Godyn.

⁴ *P.C.C.*: 27, Godyn.

⁵ *Colchester Archdeaconry*: 142, Clarke.

east side. As the building does not appear in the deed of 1647, we may conclude that it had been demolished in the meantime.

THE LITTLE CHAMBER OR HOUSE CALLED THE GATEHOUSE.

This was probably not the principal gatehouse, which it is surmised was in the Abbey lane, but a minor entrance, on the eastern side of the precincts, by the bridge over the old river, as it is stated to be situate between the abbot's stable and the bakehouse garden, and reference is made later in the same document to the bakehouse meadow, lying next the bakehouse of the abbot and convent, and the meadow is alluded to in conjunction with land called Samuels, and as Samuels was in Feering parish and held of Feering manor, there can be but little doubt that the bakehouse of the monastery and the abbot's stables were situate near the bridge referred to, and thus situate the bakehouse was conveniently near the water-mill of the abbey.

There seems to have been another gatehouse near the top of the Grange hill: it is referred to in the grant to Ralph Wolley and Thos. Dodd, on 25th October, 1604,¹ of the Dairy House, at the Home Grange, then in the possession of John Cowell, which comprised "the Shepenhouse next the Gatehouse on the King's highway on the part of the north."

ST. NICHOLAS CHAPEL.

This building is first referred to in the will of John Newman,² who was chaplain of the chapel of Pattiswick. The will is dated the 26th September, 1464, and by it the testator gave to abbot William his new missal, according to the Sarum use, to remain for ever in the chapel of St. Nicholas of the monastery for the secular chaplains for their use at Mass; and we have another pre-surrender reference to the chapel in the will of Stephen Queram,³ of Little Coggeshall, dated the 22nd July, 1508, who thereby gave a cow, (which in pre-reformation days was a very common bequest) to the *church* of St. Nicholas.

This chapel is not referred to in the surrender of the abbey, nor in the grant to Seymour, nor in the exchange with the king; but there are two barns mentioned in the Minister's Accounts of 33 Henry VIII., one as the barn called the "Tithe Barn," and the other as the "Barn Stane," situate near the highway from

¹ Duchy of Lanc. Misc. Books, No. 85, fols. 358-363.

² Proved at Lambeth, 16th October, 1464: 6, Godyn.

³ Colchester Archdeaconry: 142, Clarke.

Coggeshall to Kelvedon, both of them being let to Leonard Smith by deed dated 28th March, 29 Henry VIII., from Michaelmas then last past, for 80 years, at a rent of 10*l.* per annum. These two barns and the tithes of Great and Little Coggeshall were granted by Queen Elizabeth on the 4th November, in the 33rd year of her reign, to John Welles and Hercules Wytham; and they appear again in the conveyance from Welles and Wytham to Richard Benyan on 8th January, 34 Elizabeth. Richard Benyan died 17th November, 7 James I., leaving Richard his son and heir aged



ST. NICHOLAS CHAPEL IN 1889.

4 years and 6 months. The son, by his will dated 13th May, 1659, gave to Henry, his eldest son, the barn and ground in the abbey lane, and his tithes of land in Little Coggeshall, and the tithes of the lands which belonged to the abbey lying in Great Coggeshall.

Strutt (A.D. 1775) has a sketch and some account of this chapel in his *Manners and Customs of the People of England*.¹ He says it "has the pointed arch, and was, in its first state, far from being an inelegant building, though very plain and void of ornament which was afterwards crowded in such superfluous excesses in the building of Gothic structures. The wall is composed of unhewn flints, pieces of brick and tilesheards over which the cement was neatly plaistered, both withinside and withoutside, and seems in all respects to have answered the purpose of a stone facing. The four corners

¹ Vol. i., p. 103, plate xxvi.

(on the outside of the building) were ornamented with bricks, many of which are evidently Roman.¹ All the arches of the windows and the two supports down the middle of the large window are composed of bricks having the ornament necessary for the purpose handsomely cut out² upon them. This ruin is full as perfect as the drawing, but it is much to be feared that it will not long remain so, for, being now turned into a barn, it will most likely soon be demolished."

The sketch shows the building without any roof, and the view is, apparently, of the north side as no doorway or barn entry is shown. It is not a very accurate drawing. Good illustrations of this interesting building, as adapted for farm purposes, will be found in *Excursions in Essex* (A.D. 1818), vol. i., p. 42, and in *Wright's History of Essex*, vol. i., p. 367, the latter being dated 1833. The annexed illustration shews the state of the building in 1889.

The Rev. D. T. Powell, who visited Coggeshall in the early part of the nineteenth century, left, among his collections,³ an account of his visit to the abbey, and with regard to this chapel he says: "From hence [*i.e.*, from the Abbey farm] I came to a small original chapel of St. Nicholas, as it would seem. It is still called a chapel, says the quaker [the farm being then let to a member of the Society of Friends], now turned into a barn, which is very perfect, and of which I took a view: within the splays and muntings of the great window is painted, on the stucco, red arabesque flowers in a free, masterly manner. The east and west ends of this building have three long narrow lancet windows within a pointed arch; they are, however, filled up: the two sides have some small lancet windows in them: the one side has been partly broken away to make a large barn door."

This little building is, according to that eminent authority Sir W. St. John Hope,⁴ like that of Kirkstead in Lincolnshire, one of the very few surviving examples of the chapel outside the gates, which was a feature of every Cistercian abbey, where women and other persons who were not allowed within the gates could hear mass, *etc.* There are ruins of other examples, *viz.*: at Fountains, Rievaulx, Tintern and Furness; and the chapel at Tilty in this county is still standing and is used for service.

¹ They are, in fact, mediæval; they measure 12 inches by 6 inches, and 1½ to 2 inches in thickness.

² They were, in fact, moulded.

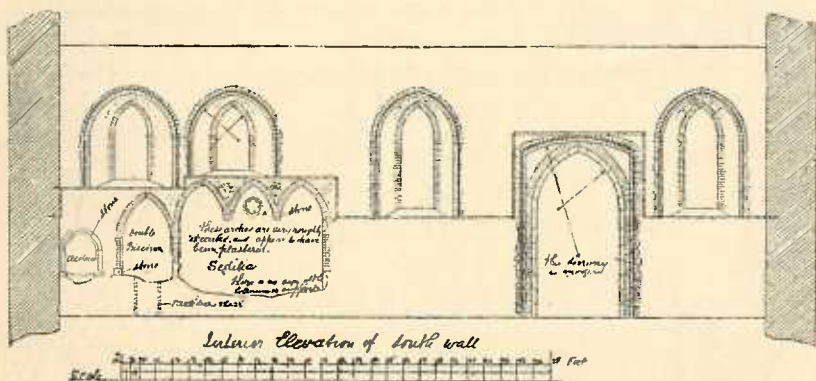
³ Add. MSS., 17,460, folio 67. He was born 1771 and buried 1841. *Trans. E.A.S.*, vol. xiv., p. 279.

⁴ In a letter to the *Times*, 20th December 1904.

The plan of the building is extremely simple, being quadrilateral in shape, and having no aisles, transept or tower, though it may be it once had a turret. It corresponds in size with the chapel at Kirkstead, both being 43 feet long by 20 feet wide.

The building continued to be used as a barn until 1860, when, with the proceeds of the sale of a portion of the glebe land for the purpose of a school, it was, with an acre of land surrounding it, purchased by the vicar of Coggeshall, and the property now forms part of the possessions of the vicarage.

It is due to the late Rev. W. J. Dampier, the then vicar of Coggeshall, to mention that it was through his instrumentality that the building was rescued from agricultural uses, and the reader is



INTERIOR OF ST. NICHOLAS CHAPEL BEFORE THE RESTORATION.

referred to a paper by him, which was printed in the *Transactions* of the Society,¹ for a record of the then existing state of the building and of the discoveries which were made during the partial restoration which took place about that time.

It was Mr. Dampier's intention to restore the building for service for the parishioners of Little Coggeshall, but money did not flow in as freely as it was hoped, with the result that little more was effected than the re-building of the wall which had been broken down for the barn entry, the insertion of the new stone doorway, the making good of the windows with bricks moulded for the purpose, and the repairing of the walls and the thatching of the roof. The building was never so far restored as to be fit for divine service.

It again fell into decay, and, in 1889, an appeal was issued for funds for its preservation, which resulted in a sum being raised

¹ Vol. iii. (O.S.), p. 49.

sufficient to do all that was then necessary to preserve it as a ruin.

In 1896 the Rev. C. C. Mills, the then vicar, determined to restore the building for divine service. With a contribution of 550*l.* from the English Abbey Restoration Trust, and by the liberal gifts of himself, his personal friends and others, he raised 1,100*l.*, which was expended under the direction of Messrs. Bodley & Garner, in the complete restoration of the chapel, and it was re-dedicated by the Bishop of the Diocese on the 6th December, 1897.

The chapel was without any independent endowment until 1910, when Mr. Charles Bonton, who was connected with Coggeshall, died, having by his will left the reversion of his residuary estate, amounting to nearly 20,000*l.* after various life interests, for the maintenance of a priest for the chapel of St. Nicholas. One third of the fund, which was divided into twelve shares, has since fallen into possession.

THE "HAYMESOCNE" IN COLCHESTER.

BY J. H. ROUND, M.A., LL.D.

A RECENT paper of mine on "The bishop's 'soke' in Colchester" (xiv., 137-141) was followed immediately by one on "Haymesokne in Colchester" by our editorial secretary. Mr. Rickword, who has made a thorough study of the Colchester Cartulary, found in it certain references to the names of the tenants of the bishop's 'soke' and their relatives, as to which I will only say that some of them are, to my own thinking, perhaps too speculative. Here, however, my point is that he calls the bishop's 'soke' "the Haymesokne, as Morant says it was styled" (xiv., 142). Morant does undoubtedly say so, in a note to his transcript of that passage in the Domesday Survey of Colchester which deals with the bishop's 'soke'; but was he right in doing so?

He supports his statement by the evidence of three independent documents. The first is "an inquest" of 10 Edw. II. (1316-7) in his own possession, reciting that Master John de Colchester claims to have a soke called Haymesokne within the walls of the Borough of Colchester, and holds therein his three-weekly court and does not suffer any execution therein by the king's officers.¹ The second is the Will of Thomas Franceys, in 1416, where there is mention "de dominio meo, *alias* dict. 'Soka in Hedstret vocat' Haymsokne." The third is a Law-Hundred roll of 6 Henry VIII. (1514-1515) in which "it is styled *Soca jac' in Havedstrete*; so that it appears to have been a distinct Franchise, Liberty, or Jurisdiction." Quite so. Morant seems to have argued thus from the above evidence:—The Haymesokne is proved to have been "in Head Street;" the bishop's soke was bounded, on the east, by Head street; therefore, as there are not likely to have been two 'sokes' in or bounded by Head street, the 'Haymesokne' must have been the soke about St. Mary's, which was the bishop's in 1206. I must confess to having always

¹ "Unam Sokam vocatam Haymesokne infra muros Burgi Colec' et in eadem tenet Curiam suam de tribus septimanis in tres septimanas, et nullam executionem fieri permittit in eadem per ministros Domini Regis."

felt extremely uneasy as to this identification. That the bishop's soke should assume and should obstinately retain this extraordinary name is a fact unexplained and, to me, highly improbable.

Now, we have only to turn to another page (p. 147) of Morant's *History of Colchester* to find him citing the charter of Richard I. to St. Botolph's Priory as confirming to its canons "all the alms, tithes, and lands which they possessed of the hamesocna [*i.e.*, the Liberty]." ¹ A very different explanation of this mysterious word!

The most authoritative text of this charter is that which is found in the official *Calendar of Patent Rolls* (1399-1401), edited by Mr. Robert Fowler, of the Public Record Office, a member of our council. The passage there runs thus (p. 374):—

Decimas et possessiones quas habent de feudo Willelmi filii Roberti de Hastings et de feudo de Sakevill et de *hamiessocna*.

As this text is taken only from an *Inspecimus* of 1400, we may probably make the trifling emendation of reading the four minims *mi* as *im*, which would give us *haimessocna*; but this is in no way essential. The charter gives us no clue as to what or where this district was, but there is transcribed in the great cartulary of St. John's Abbey, Colchester, an agreement between that house and St. Botolph's Priory (pp. 545-6), concerning the church and tithes of St. Leonard's at the Hythe. Its date is 1227. It is there provided that the Priory is to receive—

Omnes decimas illas provenientes de *Sokaham*, tam de pastura quam de terra arabili, *que Soka* se extendit ibidem a terra Walteri Ursi per boscum que vocatur Hedho ad molendinum eorum quod vocatur Newemelne.

This cartulary also contains (p. 310) two charters of Isilia, daughter of Robert de Setvans, granting to St. John's Abbey "terram quam Willelmus ² Pulehare aliquando tenuit de me *de Soka Hann*." As 'Hann' makes nonsense, I propose to read the four minims *nn* as *im*, which gives us '*Soka Haim*.' ³ I do this with the more confidence because the Cartulary's Table of Contents actually reads "de terra Willelmi Pullehare de Soka Haim" (p. lxxviii). No locality is mentioned, but it is significant that the name of Edmund 'Pullehare'

¹ Morant spoke indifferently of 'the Liberty' or 'Liberties' of Colchester, by which he meant the four outlying parishes. Thus he devotes Cap. 3 of his Book II. to the "Parishes within the Liberty," but styles them a few lines lower down "within its Liberties" (p. 130). So also, on p. 95, he speaks of "the Liberties" in his heading to a section, but, a few lines lower down, renders *Banleuca* as 'the Liberty,' as he does on p. 83, where he twice thus translates *Banleuca* in the famous charter of Richard I.

² 'Alexander' in the second charter.

³ The name is indexed as 'Sokaham' in both cases (p. 684).

(a very rare *cognomen*)¹ is found in connexion with the soke in the other document (p. 545).

An entirely fresh light is thrown by the above agreement upon this document on our mysterious 'soke.' It is here spoken of as comprising pasture and arable land in St. Leonard's parish, and, as St. Botolph's Priory was concerned with the tithes of this land, it can hardly be questioned that this was the "Haimessocna" of Richard I.'s charter in 1189—less than forty years earlier than the deed of 1227. With regard to the grant by Isilia de Setvans, there is no direct clue to its date, but her husband, Walter de Belgrant, who confirms it, only occurs, I believe, in one other of the cartulary documents, an agreement between the Abbey and the Priory (p. 539), to which he is a witness, and which is certainly not later than the twelfth century. It should be observed that Isilia speaks of her power to give this land as being of her 'frank marriage,'² i.e., her marriage-portion. It must, therefore, have been held by her father before her. The Setvans family held the manor of Little Wigborough, and it is important to observe that they held it of the Earls of Gloucester. Morant does not carry them back beyond 1253, but in my edition of the *Rotuli de Dominabus*³ (p. 80) there will be found a long and important entry on the land of Robert 'de Setvans' at (Little) Wigborough, which proves that he had there succeeded his father early in 1184, but that he was still a minor in 1185 and his land in the king's hands.⁴ Now this entry contains a most important clause concerning land in Colchester which was appurtenant to the manor and should be valued with it.⁵

This brings me to my point. We have seen that the "Haymesocne," in these early days, lay, not in Head Street, but far away, in St. Leonard's parish, and that it then had nothing to do with the bishop or with his "soke." Can we then discover in Domesday some similar entry which would fit the description of our "Haymesocne" as containing arable and pasture and might even account for its name? I am going to make the bold suggestion that there is such an entry, an entry which has never yet been properly explained.

¹ 'Pullehare' alone is found as the name of a tenant in an early charter on p. 307.

² "Sicut illam quam bene donare potui sicut de meo libero maritagio." On the prevalence of the *maritagium* at this time see my Preface to the *Rotuli de Dominabus* (cited below), p. xxxvi.

³ Issued by the Pipe Roll Society. I presented a copy of this work to our Society.

⁴ As part of the Earl of Gloucester's fief which was then, similarly, in the hands of the Crown. The earls had succeeded to Hamo's fief.

⁵ "Et si terra de Colecestr' foret ei adjuncta, cum pertinenciis," etc.

In the *Victoria History of Essex* (i., 576) I have thus translated this passage:—

Hamo Dapifer (has) 1 house and 1 court (*curia*) and 1 hide of land, and 15 burgesses; and this was held by his predecessor Thurbert in King Edward's time; and all this, except his hall, used to render customary due in King Edward's time; and the burgesses still render it on their polls (*de suis capitibus*), but from their land and from the hide which Hamo holds the due is not rendered. In (that) hide (was) then 1 plough; now none; then and now 6 acres of meadow; and all this was worth 4 pounds in King Edward's time, and the same when he received (it); and now 40 shillings.

In his Colchester address to the Archæological Institute (1876) Mr. Freeman described this as "an entry of special interest" and observed that, like his predecessor Thurbearn, "Hamo, besides a house, had a 'curia,' a rare word whose use I do not fully understand; and this 'curia' seems, I know not on what ground, to be identified with an existing house which keeps portions of Romanesque date."¹ I have no idea to what house the Professor here alluded, but my own suggestion would be very different, namely, that this "curia" was the three-weekly court which John of Colchester, we have seen, claimed to hold, in 1310, within his "Haymesocne."

May we not, in short, derive the name of this "Haymesocne" from 'Hamo' or 'Haimo' *dapifer*? Although the form 'Hamo' may be the more familiar, 'Haimo' seems to have been the more usual form; for in the index to Mr. Davis' learned *Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum* (vol. i.), in which the name of the *dapifer* occurs in five-and-thirty documents, he selects 'Haimo' for his index. Mr. Morris also, in a recent paper on "The Norman Sheriff" in the *Eng. Hist. Rev.* (April, 1918), gives the name ten times, and always as 'Haimo.'² 'Haymo,' of course, was only another form of 'Haimo.' In another place³ I have suggested that, by another emendation—reading 'Henno' as 'Heimo'—we could identify 'Henno dentatus,' the hero of Walter Map's tale of the man who married a demon wife, as identical with the 'Haimo dentatus' of William of Malmesbury, the progenitor of 'Haimo Dapifer.' The above Domesday entry proves that his holding included arable and meadow, which latter must have been on the river, as it would have been in St. Leonard's parish. Let us return to the evidence proving a connection between the 'Soka Haim' and the Setvans family of Little Wigborough well before the end of the twelfth

¹ *English Towns and Districts*, p. 408.

² See also Dr. Armitage Robinson's *Gilbert Crispin*, pp. 34, 140.

³ *Peerage and Pedigree*, ii., 266-8.

century. Domesday shows that Little Wigborough was held of 'Hamo Dapifer,' and within a century (*i.e.*, in 1185) a return of the manor states "si terra de Colecestr' foret ei adjuncta, cum pertinenciis, et molendinum esset reparatum," it would be worth, not 16*l.*, but 20*l.* a year." There was not and could not be a mill at Little Wigborough, but there could have been one on the meadow land by the Colne. It may only, of course, have been a coincidence that this difference of 4*l.* was precisely the amount at which Domesday valued the Colchester holding of *Hamo Dapifer*, both in King Edward's time and when he received it; but that the "soca Haim" did derive its name from him I can feel no doubt.

We must not, of course, forget that the later evidence, which I cited from Morant at the outset, does distinctly associate the "Haymesocne" with Head Street, but, just as numerous "burgesses," in Domesday, have land in the fields about the town, Hamo (or Haimo) may well have had his capital messuage in what may then have been the chief street of the town, though his land must have lain outside the walls. It is a noteworthy feature of his holding that it comprised, as Domesday shows, not only his own "hide" and meadow land, but also the lands of his burgesses, which, in conjunction with the use of the notable term *aula* and with the jurisdiction over his tenants which a 'soke' would have implied, must have given to the whole a resemblance to at least an inchoate manor.

Such 'sokes' were found in our oldest towns and are an ancient feature. At Winchester (the original capital) Queen Emma had granted to St. Swithun's "the remarkable manor and liberty of 'Godbeate,' a house, church and precinct in the High Street, in the very centre of the city," which retained its privileges from 952 to 1541. The prior and convent enjoyed there a court "from three wyke to three wyke," as in the Colchester 'Haymesocne.' In London we read of the earl of Gloucester's *soca* at an early date and of a *soca* belonging to the Honour of Huntingdon, given by earl Simon to Roger Fitz Reinfrid, the gift being confirmed by Henry II. in 1175. In 1189 Andrew Bucherel had his *socha* (Bucklersbury) and the prior of Holy Trinity was alderman of Portsoken Ward.

IN MEMORIAM.

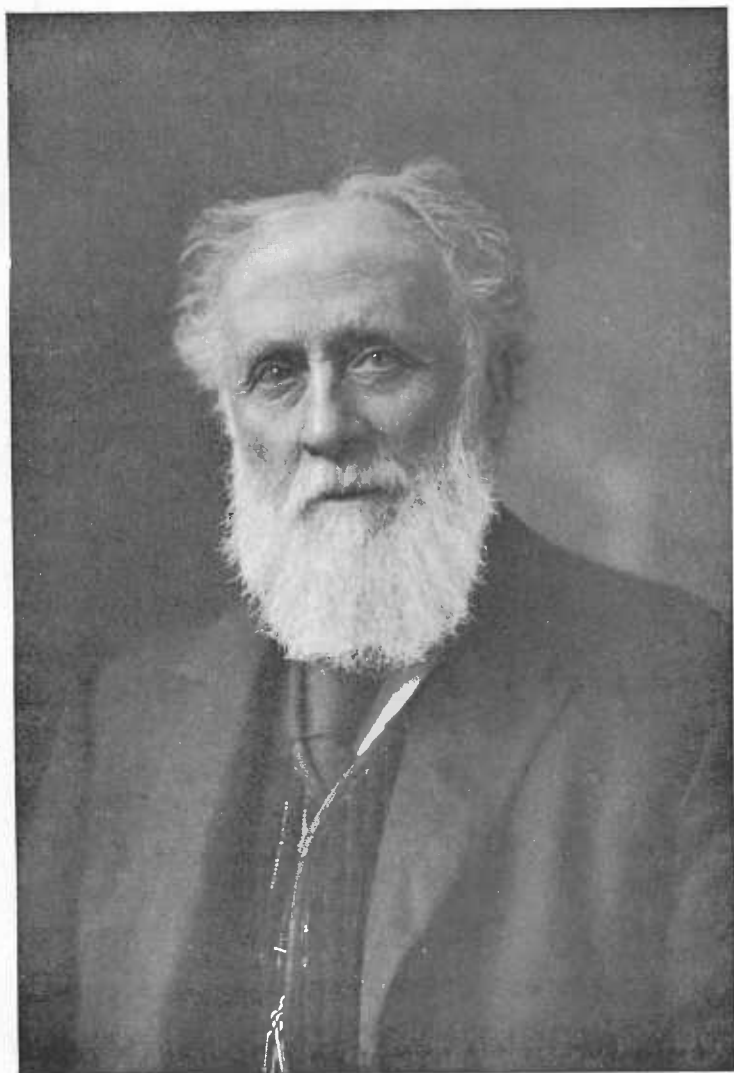
HENRY LAVER, M.R.C.S., F.S.A.

✠ THE greatness of a loss is intensified by its personal relationship. It certainly is so in the death of our past President, Dr. Henry Laver. The Essex Archæological Society has lost not only an able leader, but one of its most active workers and best well-wishers. A man of sterling character, strong and resolute, our ex-President was known to many members of the Society as an archæologist of high repute, but he was also their personal friend. His extensive knowledge was the outcome of a life-long practical study of Archæology, and he had been a student from early days of Ornithology and Mammalogy. The result of his labours can be seen in the papers and books which he has written, and perhaps in more concrete form in the exhibits in Colchester Museum, which range over a period dating from pre-historic days to the by-gone times of our fathers. Of the unique collection there housed it may be truly said, that for years he was the gathering and guiding spirit, as well as the main adviser. His interest in the Essex Archæological Society, in "men and things" continued unabated until the end. Although to some people Dr. Laver appeared to have a rough exterior, those who could claim him as a friend knew that beneath it there lay the gentleness of a child. The thousand and one kindly actions which will never be revealed at large remain as a fragrant memory to those who participated in them. It is said that character is spoiled by self-interest, but his one interest in life was giving to others the benefit of what he had himself learned.

Here, however, we have to treat mainly of Dr. Laver as our past President, the member of our Society, and of the work done by him in connexion with Archæology.

Dr. Laver was elected a member of the Essex Archæological Society in 1876, he joined the Council in 1877, and was appointed Local Secretary for Colchester in 1888. In 1882 at the Annual General Meeting at Colchester he was thanked for his services as one of the Honorary Auditors of the accounts of the Society. His first paper was contributed to the *Transactions* in 1882; the subject "'On an Ancient Mazer Bowl' at Holy Trinity Church, Colchester," shows his many-sidedness when we find it followed by a

PRESIDENT, ESSEX ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.
1903—1908.



Yours very truly
Henry Laver

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of the Essex Field Club.*

paper "On the Antiquity of some Footpaths," treating of those in the district of Colchester, many of which date back to the times of the Early Britons. At the meeting on August 2nd, 1882, he described the church at Great Tey, and at Copford he drew attention not only to the architectural features of that church, but commented on the curious tradition that the skin of a Dane, flayed alive in punishment of sacrilege, was alleged to have been found beneath the ironwork. From thence onward he contributed many papers to the *Transactions*. His contributions include one on the discovery of a Roman villa at Alresford (1885). In the same year he wrote a short description of "The Common Seal of the Borough of Colchester." The next paper was devoted to "Roman Leaden Coffins discovered at Colchester (1888); here, by the way, he adds F.S.A., F.L.S. to his name. In the succeeding volume (vol. iv., N.S.) of the *Transactions* we find Dr. Laver still keeping 'watch and ward' over ancient Camulodunum. In the *Essex County Standard* (Sept. 1st, 1917) is a record of the work Dr. Laver did for Colchester, and it is well stated there that "few, if any, had a more complete acquaintance with the history and antiquities of the Borough of Colchester. For the preservation of what remains of ancient Camulodunum we are also largely indebted to him." The Corporation of Colchester in 1889 was making a new drain in Water lane, and reported the finding of Celtic urns. Dr. Laver had the urns brought to his house for cleaning and further examination. A short paper followed in the *Transactions* "On the Recent Discovery of Celtic Urns found at Colchester," giving a description of these cinerary vessels. In 1890 at a meeting of the Society at Harwich, we find him in opposition to a statement made by the Rev. H. R. Armfield, F.S.A., in the course of a paper on "Ancient Boulders scattered in the district of the Colnes. Among other papers contributed to the later volumes of the *Transactions* may be cited:—"Roman Pottery Kiln, Shoeburyness"; "Gryme's Dyke"; "Roman Clasp Knives"; "Shoebury Camp"; The Roads of Dengie Hundred"; "The Discovery of late Celtic Pottery at Shoebury"; "The Chapel of our Lady, Horkesley Causey"; "Find of late Celtic Pottery at Little Hallingbury"; "Last Days of Bay Making in Colchester"; and "St. Peter's Chapel, Bradwell-on-Sea."

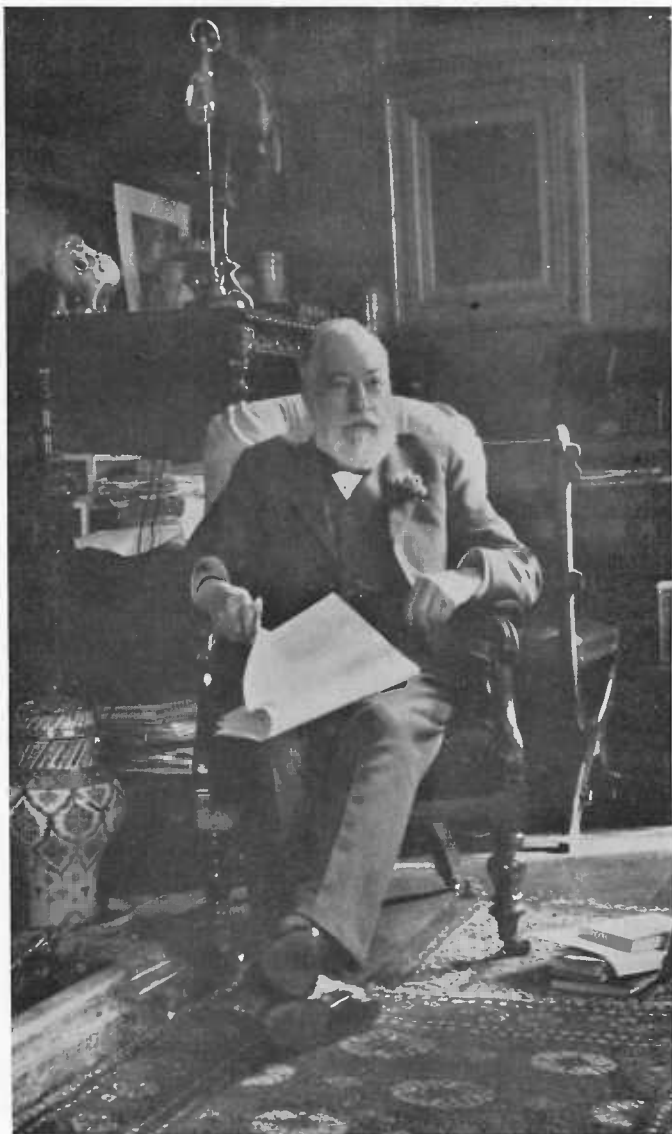
Dr. Laver was elected President of the Society in 1903, and he presided at the celebration of its Jubilee at the Moot Hall, Colchester, in the same year. In his speech on this occasion he gave a history in outline of the Society, and urged very strongly the value and interest of the study of Archæology. He mentioned, *inter alia*, that the joint arrangement made with the Corporation of

Colchester in regard to the Museum, had resulted in their being able to preserve in Colchester one of the richest collections of Romano-British relics in the Kingdom. As President he remained in office for a period of five years until 1908.

In addition to his work for this Society, Dr. Laver, who was a Fellow of the Linnæan Society from 1876 to 1902, was elected President of the Essex Field Club in 1892, and contributed several papers to its publications. He also issued a monograph on the "Mammals, Reptiles and Fishes of Essex: a Contribution to the Natural History of the County," to which he had devoted much care and the observations of many years. It formed No. 111 of the *Essex Field Club Special Memoirs*, and is an illustrated volume of 127 Demy 8vo. pages. He was Chairman of the Red Hills Exploration Committee from 1907, and remained so to the day of his death, and was also Chairman of the Morant Club from its founding in 1909.

To *The Victoria History of the County of Essex* he contributed two articles: vol. i. (1903) "Pisces" (Fishes), and "Mammalia" (Mammals); while for the second volume (1907) he wrote papers on the "Making of Potash," and on "Roman Cement." Dr. Laver was a contributor to the pages of the *Essex Review*—his delightful series of "Rambling Recollections of Bygone Essex," compiled from note-books kept from his early days at Paglesham, being perhaps the longest of his contributions to it. In 1916 he published his last book, a monograph on the "Colchester Oyster Fishery," which will remain as a critic has said—a classic for any Essex library. From 1878-1916 he was Local Secretary for the Society of Antiquaries, of which he was elected a Fellow in January, 1888. It is said that he once remarked that he was prouder of his F.S.A. than of his medical degree or any other title or degree that could be conferred. He was a frequent contributor to the *Proceedings* of the Society of Antiquaries from 1880 to 1910. The subjects on which he wrote were nearly all connected with Celtic and Roman remains at Colchester, but the last paper (16th June, 1910) was a report on Easthorp Church. (*Proc.* xxiii., 252). Dr. Laver was also Honorary and Corresponding Member for Essex of the Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, June 1908, till his death.

H. W. LEWER.



FREDERIC CHANCELLOR, F.R.I.B.A.

BORN 27 APRIL, 1825; DIED 3 JANUARY, 1918.

PRESIDENT, 1908—1911.

LAST SURVIVING ORIGINAL MEMBER OF THE SOCIETY AND OF THE COUNCIL.

IN MEMORIAM.

FREDERIC CHANCELLOR, F.R.I.B.A.

1825—1918.

✠ By the passing, on 3rd January, 1918, of Frederic Chancellor, F.R.I.B.A., of Chelmsford, we lost the last surviving original member both of our Council and of the Society. Born at Chelsea in the year 1825, the third son of John and Rebecca Chancellor, he was educated at a private school at Kingston-upon-Thames, and subsequently went to London University under Professor Donaldson, where he obtained, in the term of 1844-5, the first prize in the class of Architecture as a science, and the second in that of Architecture as a fine art. He continued his studies as a student of the Royal Institute of British Architects, and served his articles with Mr. A. J. Hiscocks, an architect practising in the City and in Southwark. He subsequently worked in the offices of several London architects, the last being that of Mr. Ewart Christian, the late architect to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. Mr. Chancellor went to Chelmsford at the instance of the late Mr. Beadel in 1846, and was in partnership with him and his son, the late member of Parliament for the Chelmsford Division until 1860. In that year he opened offices in the City of London, in conjunction with his Chelmsford business, and was in practice up to the time of his death, for the last twenty-two years being in partnership with his son, Mr Wykeham Chancellor, M.A., F.R.I.B.A.

From the time of its inauguration in 1852, Mr. Chancellor was a constant supporter of the Essex Archæological Society, and made many valuable contributions to its *Transactions*. In the first volume, published in 1858, there is a paper by him on "Roman Remains lately discovered at Chelmsford"; in this he dealt with the discovery of a Roman villa in the town in the autumn of 1849. His next paper, published in vol. ii. (o.s.) 1863, was on the "Architecture of Chelmsford Church," and from that time onwards the many papers contributed by him dealt exclusively with the churches and ancient houses of the county. So far, no extensive treatment of this subject had been attempted. Morant was interested in manorial history and

his descriptions of the churches and houses are brief and inadequate, and clearly indicative of his inability to undertake them. In giving us full architectural descriptions of many of our churches and ancient houses Mr. Chancellor rendered a most important service, and we venture to express the hope that the work so ably begun by him will be continued by his son, Mr. Wykeham Chancellor, and that in time we shall be able to contemplate the publication of a volume or volumes in which we shall have complete descriptions of all the ancient churches and houses of the county. Many of Mr. Chancellor's papers were read at meetings of the Society, and it is no exaggeration to say that the success of many of our excursions was due, not only to the interest imparted to them by his papers, but also to his genial personality and his readiness to give information to any who might seek it.

As an addendum to this notice we have given a list of the churches and houses described by Mr. Chancellor, for the compilation of which we are indebted to Mr. H. W. Lewer, F.S.A., our Vice-Treasurer.

In 1890 Mr. Chancellor brought out his important work on the "Ancient Sepulchral Monuments of Essex." It contains upwards of 200 drawings, which add very much to the interest of the volume. In preparing this book Mr. Chancellor received invaluable assistance from the Rev. H. L. Elliot, M.A., Vicar of Gosfield, who placed his great store of heraldic information at the disposal of the author. That Mr. Chancellor recognised this is evidenced by the following words in the preface:—"The preparation of these papers has been a labour of love, but they would have been far from complete had I not received valuable assistance from many of my archæological friends; and especially am I indebted to the Rev. H. L. Elliot, M.A., Vicar of Gosfield, for, I may say, all the heraldry contained in the work; indeed, without his aid, I could not have ventured upon making the heraldry of the monuments so important a feature." The volume was dedicated to the Right Rev. Thomas Legh Claughton, first Lord Bishop of St. Albans. The cost of producing the work was borne partly by subscriptions and partly by Mr. Chancellor himself. In 1908 Mr. Chancellor was elected as President of the Society in succession to the late Mr. Henry Laver, F.S.A., but owing to ill-health he did not complete his full term of office and retired in 1911, when the Right Rev. the Bishop of Barking, D.D., F.S.A., was chosen to succeed him.

In 1871, upon the passing of the Ecclesiastical Dilapidations' Act, he was appointed one of the Diocesan Surveyors for St. Albans, which he held until 1902, when he resigned, being succeeded by his

son. He was appointed architect to the Diocese of St. Albans upon the death of the late Mr. Joseph Clarke. He was elected an Associate of the Royal Institute of British Architects in 1864, and a Fellow in 1870. He was also elected a Fellow of the Surveyors' Institution in 1870. Among the many public offices held by him was that of Mayor of Chelmsford, an office to which he was elected no less than seven times, having been the first Mayor of the Borough at its incorporation in 1888, and having been chosen as the Chief Magistrate in 1897, the year of the late Queen's Diamond Jubilee, and in 1902, the year of the late King Edward's Coronation.

In concluding this very inadequate memoir of our 'grand old man,' I should like, as one who was honoured by his friendship, to pay my tribute to his splendid uprightness of character and his loyalty to those who were fortunate enough to be amongst the number of his friends. My connection with the Society since 1903 as its Hon. Secretary has brought me some delightful friendships, and of them, one that will remain as a specially treasured memory, will be that with Frederic Chancellor. "Amico firmo nihil emi melius potest."

T. H. CURLING.

Record of papers contributed by Mr. Frederic Chancellor, F.R.I.B.A., to the *Transactions* of the Essex Archæological Society, besides those read at its meetings, but not published:—

- ¹ *On Roman Remains lately discovered at Chelmsford.* Read at second Annual Meeting at Chelmsford, April 19th, 1852 Vol. i. (1858)
- ¹ *Architecture of Chelmsford Church* Vol. ii. (1863)
- A Plan of Hedingham Castle* Vol. iv. (1869)
- ¹ *Brightlingsea Church Described.* Read at Annual General Meeting, St. Osyth, July 27th, 1862 Vol. v. (1873)
- ¹ *Notes on Broomfield Church.* Read at Annual General Meeting at Chelmsford, August 10th, 1871 Vol. v. (1873)
- A Brief Description of the Churches of St. Helen's and St. Giles, Rainham and West Thurrock.* Meeting of E.A.S., Aveley, August 4th, 1875. Vol. i., n.s. (1878)
- Some Remarks on the Architecture of Stifford Church.* Meeting of E.A.S., Aveley, August 4th, 1875 Vol. i., n.s., 1878
- Old Chelmsford.* Read at a meeting of the members of the Essex and Chelmsford Museum, and the E.A.S. at Chelmsford, November 27th, 1884. Not printed in the *Transactions* Vol. iii., n.s. (1889)
- Architectural Observations on All Saints' Church, Maldon.* At E.A.S. Meeting, May 30th, 1888. Not printed in the *Transactions* Vol. iii., n.s. (1889)

¹ Published in extenso.

- Architectural Description of Little Baddow, Hatfield Peverel, Boreham, and Springfield Churches.* At General Meeting, Chelmsford, August 9th, 1888.
Vol. iii., N.S. (1889)
- ¹ *A Short Sketch of the History of the Smijth Family, Hill Hall, and a Descriptive Account of the Tombs in Theydon Mount Church.* Read at Annual General Meeting, Epping, August 16th, 1889 Vol. iv., N.S. (1893)
- Brief Architectural Lectures on the Churches of Dovercourt, Little Oakley, and Ramsey.* Read at Annual General Meeting, August 22nd, 1890.
Vol. iv., N.S. (1893)
- Brief Description of Rochford Hall.* Read at Annual General Meeting, Rochford, May 26th, 1891 Vol. iv., N.S. (1893)
- A letter from Mr. Frederic Chancellor, read at General Meeting, Colchester, February 29th, 1892, on the *Restoration of Greenstead Church.*
Vol. iv., N.S. (1893)
- Observations on the Architecture of Braintree Church.* Quarterly General Meeting, Braintree, October 27th, 1892 Vol. iv., N.S. (1893)
- ¹ *Leez Priory* Vol. v., N.S. (1895)
- ¹ *Broomfield, Great Waltham, Pleshey, High Easter, and Mashbury Churches Described.* General and Annual Meeting, Chelmsford, July 26th, 1894.
Vol. v., N.S. (1895)
- ¹ *Shenfield, Ingrave, East Horndon, and Little Burstead Churches Described.* Quarterly General Meeting, Little Burstead, May 11th, 1895.
Vol. v., N.S. (1895)
- Felstead Church Described.* Quarterly General Meeting, Felstead, October 3rd, 1895 Vol. v., N.S. (1895)
- All Saints' Church, Stanway: remarks on.* General Meeting, Colchester, March 19th, 1896 Vol. vi., N.S. (1898)
- ¹ *Shalford, Wethersfield, Finchingfield, Great Bardfield, and Little Bardfield Churches Described.* General Meeting, Finchingfield, May 28th, 1896.
Vol. vi., N.S. (1898)
- Little Horkeley Church and Its Monuments.* Papers prepared by Mr. Frederic Chancellor, and read by Honorary Secretary. General Meeting, Colchester, April 14th, 1898 Vol. vii., N.S. (1900)
- ¹ *Cressing Church* Vol. vii., N.S. (1900)
- ¹ *Faulkbourne Church* Vol. vii., N.S. (1900)
- ¹ *Faulkbourne Hall* Vol. vii., N.S. (1900)
- ¹ *Woodham Ferrers.* General Meeting, Woodham Ferrers, September 26th, 1899 Vol. vii., N.S. (1900)
- Birdbrook Church.* Mr. F. Chancellor read extracts from his description of the building, the full account of which appeared in the *Essex Review* for 1892. Quarterly Meeting, Haverhill, September 25th, 1900.
Vol. viii., N.S. (1903)
- Dunmow Church Described.* Quarterly Meeting, Dunmow, July 30th, 1901.
Vol. viii., N.S. (1903)
- Navestock Church.* The Honorary Secretary read some extracts from a paper by Mr. F. Chancellor, published in the *Essex Review* in 1895.
Vol. viii., N.S. (1903)

¹ Published in extenso.

- Round Towers of the County.* Some remarks by Mr. F. Chancellor. Quarterly Meeting, Mount Bures, September 25th, 1902 Vol. ix., N.S. (1906)
- Ingatstone Church.* The President read an account of the building, prepared by Mr. F. Chancellor. Quarterly Meeting, Ingatstone, May 25th, 1903. Vol. ix., N.S. (1906)
- A Short Paper on the History and Progress of the Society.* Read by Mr. F. Chancellor. Jubilee Meeting, Colchester, June 25th, 1903. Vol. ix., N.S. (1906)
- The History of Great Chesterford and Little Chesterford Churches.* Quarterly Meeting, Saffron Walden, September 24th, 1903 Vol. ix., N.S. (1906)
- ¹ *Great Chesterford Church* Vol. ix., N.S. (1906)
- The Round Church at Little Maplestead.* Quarterly Meeting, Halstead, May 14th, 1904.. .. Vol. ix., N.S. (1906)
- Lindsell, Great Bardfield, Little and Great Saling, and Rayne Churches.* Quarterly Meeting, Dunmow, August 4th, 1904 .. Vol. ix., N.S. (1906)
- ¹ *Rochford Church and Hall, Stambridge, Canewdon, Ashingdon and Hawkswell Churches.* Quarterly Meeting, September 24th, 1904 Vol. ix., N.S. (1906)
- ¹ *Inworth, Tollesbury, Tolleshunt Knights Churches, Tolleshunt D'Arcy Church and Hall.* Quarterly Meeting, Kelvedon, May 25th, 1905 Vol. ix., N.S. (1906)
- ¹ *Barking: St. Margaret's Church.* Quarterly Meeting, Ilford, September 30th, 1905 Vol. ix., N.S. (1906)
- ¹ *Maldon: All Saints' Church.* Special Meeting, Beeleigh, June 30th, 1906 Vol. x., N.S. (1909)
- ¹ *Doddinghurst and High Ongar Churches.* Quarterly Meeting, Brentwood, October 6th, 1906 Vol. x., N.S. (1909)
- ¹ *Prittlewell, Southchurch, Great Wakering, Little Wakering, and Barling Churches.* Quarterly Meeting, Prittlewell, May 30th, 1907 Vol. x., N.S. (1909)
- ¹ *Little Dunmow Church* Vol. x., N.S. (1909)
- ¹ *Leez Priory.* A paper read by Mr. F. Chancellor (*vide* vol. xi.). Quarterly Meeting, Felstead, September 19th, 1907 .. Vol. x., N.S. (1909)
- ¹ *Ballingdon Hall, Belchamp Walter, Belchamp Otten, Belchamp St. Paul, and Pentlow Churches.* Quarterly Meeting, Belchamp Otten, June 4th, 1908. Vol. xi., N.S. (1911)
- ¹ *Broomfield Church, New Hall, Boreham, and Little Baddow Church.* Quarterly Meeting, Boreham, September 10th, 1908 .. Vol. xi., N.S. (1911)
- ¹ *Bobbingworth, Moreton, High Laver, and Little Laver Churches.* Quarterly Meeting, Bobbingworth, June 3rd, 1909 .. Vol. xi., N.S. (1911)
- ¹ *Laindon Church.* Quarterly Meeting, Little Burstead, July 31st, 1909. Vol. xi., N.S. (1911)
- ¹ *Witham, Little Braxted, Great Braxted, Little Totham, Great Totham Churches, and Wickham Bishops Old Church.* Quarterly Meeting, Great Braxted, September 30th, 1909 Vol. xi., N.S. (1911)
- ¹ *Notes on Chappel Church; Colne Engaine and Wakes Colne Churches, Colne Priory, and Earls Colne Church.* Quarterly Meeting at Colne, September 15th, 1910 Vol. xii., N.S. (1913)

¹ Published in *extenso*.

- West and South Hanningfield, Runwell, Rettendon, and Sandon Churches.* Papers prepared by Mr. F. Chancellor, and read by Mr. Wykeham Chancellor. Quarterly Meeting, May 29th, 1911 .. Vol. xii., n.s. (1913)
- ¹ *Rainham, Wennington, Aveley, South Ockendon, and North Ockendon Churches.* Papers prepared by Mr. F. Chancellor, and read by Mr. Wykeham Chancellor. Quarterly Meeting, Aveley, July 10th, 1911. Vol. xii., n.s. (1913)
- ¹ *Essex Churches: Runwell, South Hanningfield, West Hanningfield, Magdalen Laver, Bocking, and Braintree Churches* .. Vol. xii., n.s. (1913)
- ¹ *Essex Churches: Frating, Great Bentley, Great Bromley, and Little Bromley Churches* Vol. xiii., n.s. (1915)
- White Notley Church.* Paper read by Mr. Wykeham Chancellor from notes by Mr. Frederic Chancellor. Quarterly Meeting, Witham, May 27th, 1913 Vol. xiii., n.s. (1915)
- Little Leighs Church.* Quarterly Meeting, Great Leighs, June 26th, 1913. Vol. xiii., n.s. (1915)
- ¹ *Laver Marney Church.* Quarterly Meeting, Colchester, June 8th, 1914 (*vide* vol. xiv., n.s., 1918) Vol. xiii., n.s. (1915)
- ¹ *Essex Churches: Chipping Ongar, Fyfield, and Norton Mandeville Churches.* Vol. xiv., n.s. (1917)
- ¹ *Nazing Church and Nether Hall.* Quarterly Meeting, Waltham Abbey, July 19th, 1915 (*vide* vol. xiv., part 3) .. Vol. xiv., n.s. (1917)
- ¹ *Thoby Priory* Vol. xiv., n.s. (1917)
- ¹ *Essex Churches: Ingatestone, Mountnessing, and Fryerning* Vol. xiv., n.s. (1917)

H. W. LEWER.

¹ Published *in extenso*.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES.

Prittlewell Priory.—Now that excavations are being carried out on the site of this Priory, it may be of interest to draw attention to a brief of Gilbert (Foliot), Bishop of London (1163-1188), inviting the contributions of the faithful within his diocese, towards the cost of its construction.

The bishop commends the bearers of his appeal to their kindly reception and exhorts them to contribute, according to their means, to this object.¹ His reason for making the appeal on behalf of the brethren's needs (*pro indigentia fratrum de Pritew'*) is that, unless the devotion of the faithful helps them in compassion,² they cannot complete the fabric of the Priory church they have begun. This appears to constitute direct evidence that the church was being built during Bishop Gilbert's episcopate. I would suggest that the need for his appeal was due to the tragic downfall (in 1163) of the wealthy patron of their house, Henry de Essex, which may have left them in the lurch.

I hope to deal later on with other letters of Bishop Gilbert, but will only add, for the present, that he enjoyed an advantage over his modern successors in being enabled to offer an inducement in the form of a modest remission of penance as a *quid pro quo*. In the above case he was prepared to remit twenty days out of a penance of seven years or more, and ten out of a less period.

J. H. ROUND.

Cocket Wick.—It is worth noting that Cocket Wick (west of Jay's Wick and south-east of St. Clare's Hall) in St. Osyth's must take its name from Ernulf Coket (or some other member of his family), of whom Richard, bishop of London, the founder of St. Osyth's, purchased a hide of land "in manerio de Chich" (St. Osyth's) for the use of the canons.

J. H. R.

¹ "Ad exstruendam prædictæ ecclesiæ fabricam."

² "Nisi devotio fidelium votis eorum misericorditer subveniat."

³ "Qui nimirum inchoatam ecclesiæ suæ fabricam suis non sufficiunt impendiis consummare."

Killegrews *alias* **Shenfields** (vol. xiv., p. 297).—It has been pointed out to me by the Rev. H. L. Elliot and Mr. C. F. D. Sperling that the shield which I could not identify on p. 297, represents Heveningham, which Berdefeld was entitled to quarter, as shown by my chart pedigree on the opposite page. It seems that I was misled by the Harleian Society's *Visitations of Essex* (p. 191), to which I referred, where the coat is unidentified and its field blazoned 'Quarterly, or and azure,' and the coat, consequently, unidentified. It is described in our *Transactions* (ix., 53-4) as 'Quarterly [or and gules].' This is also, I find, the blazon in the Walter pedigree on p. 310 of the Harleian Society's volume. Mr. Elliot has also pointed out to me that the inscription at Writtle, given by Mr. Chancellor, "without citing his authority," is taken from 'The History of Essex by a Gentleman' (i., 289-290).

Mr. Sperling has, further, drawn my attention to an apparently serious difficulty about the three marriages of Mary Gedge, "the heiress of Shenfields" (p. 295). The visitation pedigree styles Christopher Harris her *first* husband, as in my chart pedigree, but he did not die, Mr. Sperling points out, till 26th December, 1571, while Leonard Berners, her subsequent husband, is stated to have died in 1563. But, as I pointed out in my paper, Christopher Harris was in possession of 'Shenfields' as early as 1558, when Mary was only about 16, and must, therefore, have been her first husband, which conclusion is confirmed by the fact that the Harrises succeeded to the property.

J. H. R.

Boroughfield, Colchester (vol. xiv., pp. 257, 365).—Further references to this forgotten locality by Morant are worth noting. On pp. 150, 151 of his *History of Colchester*, he mentions, as part of the endowment of the Crouched Friars, "one acre in Boroughfield," which was described in the sixteenth century as "An acre in Borowe-field, between the land of the Parson of St. Mary's and Mott's in Lexden." On p. 159 he observes "that *most* of the lands in Borough-fields (*sic*), and on each side of the London-road as far as the top of Lexden-hill, belonged to the Chantries in this town." Under St. Runwald's he notes that "its living hath nothing certain but the tithes of about seven acres of land in the Borough-field" (p. 114). This was the land now adjacent to Derby House and shown on my coloured map of 'the commons.' In 1405-6 Clement Spice (doubtless of the Black Notley family) was amerced 12*d.* "for commoning with his beasts in Borowefeld, he not being a burgess" (vol. xiv., p. 86).

J. H. R.

The Petres.—"The travels of Duke Cosmo in England," of which the Essex portion was edited for our *Transactions* by the late Mr. Chalkley Gould, contains (vol. iv., n.s., p. 76) a passage by which Essex antiquaries might well be hopelessly perplexed. The Duke, we are told, travelled from Lord Petre's seat at Thorndon to Chelmsford—

having, in the tract of country over which he travelled in the course of the day, passed the village of Hemington [? Ingatestone], containing a great number of houses, in the neighbourhood of which my Lord Petre possesses several estates, which came to him by legitimate descent from Baldwin Petre, and which he holds as a fief of the crown, on condition of taking a leap in the king's presence every year on Christmas Day, in acknowledgment of his tenure, besides some other ridiculous ceremonies, if what is related by the antiquarians of the kingdom be true.

Mr. Gould was clearly right in taking the village through which the Duke passed to have been Ingatestone; but this in no way helps us to explain the above story. The solution of the puzzle is that the manor which the Italian writer had in mind was that of *Hemingstone* in Suffolk, with which the Petres had nothing to do. This manor was held by a 'jocular' tenure, and I have shown¹ that its tenant in 1185 was Herbert, son of Roland, who held it of the king "sicut jocator." Its tenure is defined in the *Testa de Nevill* as "Serjantia Rolandi le Peitur in Hammingeston, pro qua debuit facere die natalis Domini coram Domino Rege unum saltum," etc., or "faciendi unum saltum siffletum et pettum"² (*sic*) or "bumbulum." The strange thing is that the Italian should have heard of this tenure ten years before it was described by the antiquary Blount in his *Ancient Tenures* (1679).

J. H. R.

Lord Audley of Walden.—In the *Complete Peerage* (ed. Gibbs), vol. i, 1910, there is, under the notice of Lord Audley, a long footnote, taken from the previous edition (1887), to the effect that "there is extant a metal plate, like a small garter-plate, with the arms, enamelled, of 'The noble and valyaunt Knyght Syre Thomas Audley Lorde Chansylleir of Yenglond.' It was lately, and probably is now [1885], in the possession of Mr. Joseph Clarke, F.S.A. At the top is the date 'Anno Criste (*sic*) 1538.'" The coat, it appears, is quite different from which is attributed to Lord Audley and is impaled with that of Grey (for his wife). It would be interesting to learn where this relic is now preserved. Mr. Joseph Clarke is, obviously, the Saffron Walden antiquary, who was formerly a member of our Society.

J. H. R.

¹ In the *Rotuli de Dominabus* (Pipe Roll Society).

² This word represents the French *pet* (whence "Peitur") which may be left untranslated.

Stanesgate Priory (vol. xiv., p. 218).—As a supplement to my paper on the founder of Stanesgate Priory and his heirs, I should like to add that Mary, widow of Ralf Fitz Brian (who died in 1233) was re-married, without the King's leave, to Ralf de Bereford. They were both summoned to answer for this offence, and had to "make fine" for the King's pardon.¹ We learn from the Close Rolls of 1241 that Ralf had to pay 10*l.* to Bartholomew Peche, who had the wardship of Ralf Fitz Brian's heirs, and that Bartholomew was excused from paying over this amount to the Crown.²

J. H. R.

St. Peter's Church, Colchester.—This church enjoys the singular distinction, not only of being mentioned in Domesday, but of being proved by that record to have been in existence before the Norman Conquest. The Domesday figures also show that it had the largest glebe in the county, the equivalent, in fact, of a rural manor.³ So large an endowment would attract the covetousness of Norman lords, and Domesday shows us a fourth of it already in the hands of 'Eudo dapifer'⁴ and the other three-quarters of it *claimed* by Robert son of Ralf de Hatinges (*sic*). With Domesday, of course, Morant was familiar, but he confessed (of St. Peter's) that he could not find "in whom the patronage of it originally was."⁵

He had not, it is true, the knowledge of the great cartulary of St. John's that we now possess, but it is perhaps strange that he did not "put two and two together" in the case of St. Botolph's. For he recites the charter of Richard I. in 1189,⁶ which confirmed to the Priory "all the alms, tithes, and lands which they had of the fees of William son of Robert of Hastings," *etc.*, *etc.* As he was aware that St. Peter's "was given to the Priory" (p. 112) he might have guessed that what was given was the three-quarters share of Robert de Ha[s]tinges recorded in Domesday. With the help of the St. John's cartulary we can clear up the matter absolutely. Perhaps the earliest mention of St. John's share in the church is on p. 87, where Bishop Gilbert Foliot confirms to the abbey "*tertiam (sic)*

¹ *Braston's Note Book*, Ed. Maitland, Case 1278 (1239-40). For the offence of marrying, without the King's leave, the dowered widow of a tenant *in capite*, see my *Rotuli de Dominabus* (Pipe Roll Society).

² *Close Rolls*, 1237-1242, pp. 377, 408.

³ See *Vict. Hist. Essex*, i., 578.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 576, 578.

⁵ *History of Colchester*, p. 112.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 147.

partem ecclesie Sancti Petri intra muros Colcestrie," in a charter of 1165-1173. The next earliest mention of St. Peter's is on p. 539, but both these are unindexed. It is most important for our purpose, for it records an agreement between abbot Gilbert and prior John that St. Botolph's "liberam et absolutam suam *quartam* in ecclesia Sancti Petri recognoscat et remittat Sancto Johanni." The quarter share in St. Peter's, which is here recognised as belonging to St. John's Abbey, is obviously that which was held by "Eudo Dapifer" in Domesday, and must have been given by him to his foundation, although we have no record of the fact. The names of Gilbert and John in conjunction date this document as of the second half of the twelfth century,¹ with which date the witnesses appear to be in agreement. The next document records an agreement between abbot Adam and prior Hasculf (p. 543), and is, therefore, apparently, of 1223-1238.² The quarter-share is here commuted for an annual payment (*pensione*) of five shillings and fourpence from the rector to the abbey. Subject to this, St. Botolph's Priory was to enjoy the right of presenting the 'parson' for ever. The last charter (p. 498) is dated at Colchester, Midsummer day, 1364, and records an agreement between abbot Simon and prior John, which secures to the priory the whole advowson (*totum patronatum*) of St. Peter's, subject to the payment of five shillings (*sic*) a year.³

J. H. R.

A Soken Will.—The will⁴ of Richard de Piryton, Archdeacon of Colchester in the latter half of the fourteenth century, is included in a collection of Soken wills in the possession of the writer, but, otherwise than that it was executed in Thorpe, has small interest for the district. The reason for the presence of the archdeacon in Thorpe at the time, certain knowledge of which would have made the will more valuable, is a matter for conjecture as we write, for the conditions under which we live cut us off from the source richest of all in information concerning the Soken.

It may be, and we think it reasonable to suppose, that the archdeacon and his companions were engaged in a visitation of the manors, or churches, or both, of the Soken, in August, 1387; and, while in Thorpe, he was stricken with the sudden and mortal

¹ See Mr. Robert Fowler's lists in *Vict. Hist. Essex*, ii., 101, 150.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Cartulary*, pp. 499-502. The canons formally admitted the right of the abbey to this payment "*a sua prima fundatione*."

⁴ P. C. C. Rous, 2.

sickness which caused him to make his will. The declaration of Robert Boleyn seems to shew that the Court required to be satisfied concerning the conditions attending the making of the will, and we gather that the archdeacon was so ill as to be scarcely conscious of what was being done. Whether or not he died in Thorpe cannot be said, but it seems hardly possible that one in his condition can have been removed before death. Eight days after the will was made the archdeacon died, and he was buried in St. Paul's as he wished to be. Newcourt, quoting Dugdale, says:—

R. de Piriton, upon the resignation of Mic. de Northburg, succeeded in this Archdeaconry, 6 Kal. Oct. and enjoyed it till his death. He was also a Stagiary or Residentary of this Church; both which appears by his Epitaph, engraven on a flat Stone, under which he was buried, near the tomb of Sir John Beauchamp, between the Nave and Isle of this Cathedral Church, which is as follows—
 “Hic jacet Dominus Ricardus de Piriton, quondam Archidiaconus Colcestriæ, Canonicus & Stagiarius hujus Ecclesiæ, que obiit xxvi. die Augusti, Anno Domini MCCCLXXXVII., cujus Animæ propitiatur Deus Amen.”¹

We venture to give the following translation of this will:—

In the Name of God, Amen. I Richard de Piryton, Archdeacon of Colchester, and Canon and Stagiary of the church of St. Paul, London, being of sound mind, make and ordain this my testament at Thorpè, in the Sokna of Edulvosnasse (*sic*), in the county of Essex, on Tuesday next after the Feast of the Assumption of Blessed Mary the Virgin,² in the year of our Lord one thousand three hundred and eighty seven, and in the eleventh year of the reign of King Richard the Second after the Conquest, in manner as follows. Firstly, I commend my soul to Almighty God, Blessed Mary, and the whole company of the saints, and my body to be buried in the church of St. Paul, London, aforesaid, or in such other place as my executor shall decide upon.

I bequeath for the expenses of my funeral and of the day of my burial, one hundred marks.

I bequeath the sum of forty marks to be distributed among the poor upon the same day.

I bequeath forty pounds to be applied towards obtaining the release of persons imprisoned in Newgate and Ludgate for debts of forty shillings or under.

I bequeath to the church of St Sepulchre, London, for tithes and oblations being in arrear, forty shillings.

I bequeath to Joan, my sister, ten pounds.

I bequeath to Roger de Croton, my cousin, ten pounds.

I bequeath to Katherine Lynford, five marks.

I bequeath to Richard Mogre, my cousin, five pounds.

I bequeath to Joan Barrett, nun of Markyate,³ my cousin, ten pounds, and one piece of plate, with a cover, of silver, which belonged to Agnes of Guytyng.

¹ Newcourt, vol. i, p. 89.

² *i.e.*, 18th August.

³ Marketcell (or Markyate Cell), Cadington, Herts.

I bequeath to the aforesaid Roger de Croton and Agnes, his wife, two pieces of plate, with covers of silver, not ornamented, joined together, and two other pieces not ornamented, of silver without covers, and six silver spoons.

I bequeath toward the building of the nave of the parish church of Hamslap,¹ ten marks.

I give to the Priory and Convent of Canons Ashley,² forty marks.

The residue of all my goods not devised I give to John Churchman, citizen and Alderman of London; William Wenlok, my fellow canon in the church of St. Paul, London; Thomas de Aldbury; and John de Lathebury, clerk; and the aforesaid Roger de Croton; whom I appoint as my executors that they act according to what is signified by my will alone as it is, which they are to consider carefully in order that they may not assume something which it does not say.

And I will and agree that they, my executors aforesaid, or any who may succeed them, may of their own accord amend the disposition of my goods to particular uses, after having had the same properly valued, notwithstanding what has before been said, without deceit or fraud on their part.

In testimony whereof I have to those presents set my seal.

Witnesses to these presents:—

Robert Boleyn, notary public.

William Lychum.

William Impey (Ympeye), clerk, York, London, and Lincoln dioceses, the day, place, and year aforesaid.

And I, Robert Boleyn, clerk of the diocese of London, public notary by Apostolic authority, factor of the foregoing testament, and one of the executors therein named, declare that Richard de Piryton, the testator, knowing all and singular its contents, affixed his seal thereto in the eleventh year of the Indiction of the Pontificate of the most holy father and our lord Urban the sixth, by Divine Providence, pope, on the day and in the place aforesaid, and I present at the same time with the aforesaid witnesses, saw and heard all and singular the things done by the said testator and caused them to be taken down in writing by another, and have reduced them to their present form in my own hand, and have signed with my usual signature and sealed them with my seal in good faith, and in witness of all and singular the premises.

By the tenour of the presents we, John Lynton, &c., make known to all that on the fourth day of the month of September in the year of our Lord 1387, in the church of St John the Evangelist in the immediate jurisdiction of the aforesaid reverend father, that the will of Richard de Piryton, Archdeacon of Colchester, Canon and Stagiary in the church of St. Paul, London, deceased, pertained as to some goods to divers parts. By the authority of the said reverend father to us &c. we have granted and do grant administration of all the goods concerned in the said testament wheresover existing in the said province to Thomas de Aldebury, John de Lathebury, clerk, and Roger de Croton executors named in the said testament in form of law. It having first been shewn &c. In witness whereof we have caused to be affixed the seal of the reverend man the lord dean of the church of Blessed Mary of the Arches of London. Dated at London the day and year of our Lord aforesaid.

ERNEST H. GRANT.

¹ I cannot identify. [Hanslope, Bucks. J.H.R.]

² Asschele canonicorum. [? Canons Ashby, Northants. J.H.R.]

Religious Gilds of Essex.—The two following Essex Gilds may be added to the list of those already recorded by Mr. R. C. Fowler¹:—

(1) Saffron Walden, Gild of our Lady of Pity. This gild was founded in the year 1400 for the purpose of supporting the Alms-house which was then established. We glean this fact from an ancient MS. preserved among the Almshouse archives, recording the original Ordinances of that institution. As this interesting document will be found printed *in extenso* in Lord Braybrooke's *History of Audley End and Saffron Walden* (pp. 301-3), a short extract only is needed here. “. . . y^e forseyd parestlevys and comofite of Waldene areysedyn a fraternyte of Oure Lady in Waldene in sustynounce of yis forsayd dede of charyte . . .” In the will of Geffrey Symond, otherwise called Heyreman, of Walden, dated September 19th, 1481, ‘the fraternity of our Ladie Petye Gilde’ is mentioned; and in a *Survey of Walden*,² made by W. Hayward c. 1630, the Rose and Crown Inn is recorded as “sometimes belonging to the Gilde of our lady of Pittye.” These extracts apparently refer to the Almshouse gild, and it is from them that we learn the full title of the fraternity.

(2) Wimbish, Gild of the Holy Trinity. This gild is mentioned in the will of William Turtell of Wimbish,³ dated May 15th, 1488: “Item lego Gilde sancte Trinitatis ad unam domum de novo faciendam pro gilda predicta in Wymbysch predicta, vi^o viii^d.”

G. MONTAGU BENTON.

The Boroughfield is that field on Maldon Road next past Mr. C. E. Denton's house, and through which, or along side of, is a public footpath. Those fields where now the late Mr. A. T. Osborne's house stands were called Commons field, and that included them beyond those at the back of Lexden Park. The extraordinary thing is that in the tithe maps of the parish of St. Mary-at-the-Walls the footpath at the back of the Park is not shown, nor is Donkey Lane (now Cambridge Walk).

P. G. LAVER.

¹ *Transactions*, vol. xii., pp. 280-90.

^{2, 3} Preserved among the Corporation archives in the muniment room, above the south porch of Saffron Walden church. These archives have been admirably calendared, and in many cases copied *in extenso*, by Mr. E. Emson of Littlebury, who generously proposes to place the result of his labours at the disposal of students, by depositing the completed MS. in the Walden Museum. I owe my knowledge of the two documents in question to Mr. Emson, who kindly allowed me to peruse his MS.

Cardinal Ottoboni and Stratford Abbey.—In the *English Historical Review* for April, 1918 (vol. xxxiii., pp. 213-225), Miss Rose Graham prints some documents from Lambeth Palace MS. 499, ff. 257-261 relating to a dispute between the cardinal and the abbey in 1265.

The cardinal was then papal legate in England, and sent two London Franciscans to visit the abbey; but the abbot and convent refused to admit them, sought help from the queen and others, and appealed to pope Clement IV., pleading the privileges of their order.

The series concludes with a humble letter from the abbot to the cardinal on behalf of two monks who had evidently been punished by him and forbidden to exercise their functions as priests. Miss Graham says "I have been unable to find any other reference to this dispute, so that it is impossible to discover if the abbot and convent finally submitted to the legate's visitation."

The case is of general rather than local interest, but appears to be worthy of notice here.

R. C. FOWLER.

Peter Muilman, historian of Essex.—The valuable history of *Bygone Haslemere*, presented to the Society by Mr. Percy Woods, C.B., of Guildford, joint author of the work, throws an interesting sidelight on the family history of an Essex worthy.

At the General Election of 1761, Haslemere, which had gained a bad pre-eminence among 'rotten' boroughs, was contested against Col. Thomas Molyneux and Philip Carteret Webb, the late members, by Richard Muilman (later of Debden Hall) and Thomas Parker. A memoir of the former gentleman's father, Peter Muilman, will be found in the *Essex Review*, vol. v., p. 106.

The retiring members were Whigs—Molyneux, the lord of the manor, and Webb, a Treasury solicitor and a distinguished antiquary.

It is interesting to find young Muilman, in accordance with the policy of his family in Essex, relying on the interest of the Burrell and Oglethorpe families, who were high Tories, and the latter, at any rate, more than suspected of collusion with the Jacobite party.

General Oglethorpe, the celebrated Colonial Governor and friend of the Wesleys, who represented Haslemere from 1722 to 1754, was connected with Essex by long residence in the county, which fact is said to have cost him his seat. In 1744 he married Elizabeth,

daughter and heir of Sir Nathan Wright of Cranham Hall, a member of a family of Essex recusants. In 1754 the "wholesale manufacture of titles to vote by splitting up freeholds, *etc.*," was adopted," and as a result the Whig candidates scored a decisive victory against him.

Dr. King, the venerable Jacobite leader in the University of Oxford, wrote an electoral ballad (now very rare) entitled the "Cow of Haslemere," a small hostelry which had eight 'calves,' each one of which represented two votes for the Whigs.

Muilman and his colleague were unsuccessful, polling only 34 votes to 52 for their opponents. Their patrons also incurred severe censure, at the ensuing petition, for the way in which they still further split and divided their properties for the purpose of creating votes.

One of the songs used on this occasion runs—

A prig from the North all your Votes does Implore,
and fresh from Amboyna Mynheer is come o'er ;
but free men like us will have no Yorkshire bite,
and a Sooterkin Member the Women would fright.

(Chorus) Then vote for no Tike or Dutch Sooterkin,
but always be hearty
and true to your Party,
for Molyneux and Webb Agen and Agen.

The other verses are about up to sample, and contain nothing more pertinent than the line—"Shall Dutchmen presume to give Brittons their Laws," which came rather oddly from supporters of the Glorious Revolution.

In view of these facts Peter Muilman's remarks, dated 1774,¹ read rather appositely—

I told the Ministry I had a Plan agst Bribery and Corruption at Elections Now as to Political Matters, Elections, &c., no man but an Essex man shd be permitted to stand for the County or Burrows a foundational Rule, no ways to be gone off of, shd an East or West Indian or any other forreigners offer to force himself by Bribery, Corruption or Debauchery, he should be warned off.

Perhaps the recollection of the electoral expenses incurred by his son some thirteen years before, moved the historian to this high-minded protest against the prevalent electoral corruption.

G. RICKWORD.

¹ *E.R.*, v. 5, p. 120.

Colchester Gild of St. Helen.—Though somewhat late in the day, it seems desirable that the *Transactions* should contain a record of the sale by auction by Messrs. Christie, Manson & Woods, on June 6th, 1913, of a fine bronze seal of the famous Colchester Gild of Helen, founded according to Morant in 1407. The catalogue entry is appended. There are two impressions from the seal in the Colchester Museum. "Sigillum : fraternitatis : gilde . sce. Elene Colcestrie"; a large tau cross supported by two kneeling angels, the faces turned to the front; the whole within a Gothic niche with double canopy. Bronze, circular, 55 mm. diam.; massive handle with triloba head; late fourteenth century (*sic*). The price realized was 63 guineas.

G. R.

REVIEWS OF ESSEX BOOKS:

Walthamstow Antiquarian Society's Monographs Nos. 1-5.

THE Walthamstow Antiquarian Society, founded in 1915, and affiliated with the Essex Archæological Society, is doing most excellent work in this Metropolitan corner of the County, and, in addition to its other activities, has issued in the three years of its existence, five monographs. These are all from the facile pen of Mr. G. F. Bosworth, F.R.G.S., one of our own members, who has made a lifelong study of the town's history, the intention being, primarily, to deal with the manors. They are all in uniform large 4to. size and are illustrated with maps, plans, photographs, and reproductions of old prints, excellently printed, locally, and on good paper.

Monograph No. 1, issued in 1915, deals with the manor of Walthamstow Toni or High Hall. At the time of Edward the Confessor there were two manors in Walthamstow, both held by Earl Waltheof, from whom they came to his wife Judith, a niece of William the Conqueror, and the entry in Domesday Book is given. Walthamstow, the larger of the two, came to the portion of Waltheof's daughter Alice, who married Robert de Toni, by whose name it was subsequently known. Its subdivision and descent through various owners is fully shown and details are given of the successive proprietors. A most valuable list of tenants, with their holdings, and an index of the field names on the map, which forms the frontispiece, compiled by Mr. G. E. Roebuck, is included.

No. 2, issued 1916, is a history of St. Mary's Church, with three illustrations and a ground plan, specially prepared for this work. From its foundation in 1108 to the present day its story is told: the bells, church plate, monuments and the churchyard all are dealt with, and a list of the vicars, from 1326 to the present incumbent, is given with some biographical detail of the more noteworthy.

No. 3, issued 1916, tells the story of George Monoux, Lord Mayor of London in 1514-5 and M.P. for that city in 1523, a Walthamstow

resident and benefactor. Among other good works he built the tower and north aisle of the church in 1535, and founded and endowed the Grammar School and Almshouses in 1527, both of which institutions are still flourishing. He died in 1543 and is buried in the church, where there is a brass to him and his wife. This number has four illustrations of the Grammar School and the Almshouses.

No. 4, issued 1917, contains the history of the Rectory Manor from its formation in 1108. From this date until the surrender to Henry VIII. in 1531 it belonged to the prior and canons of Christ Church or Holy Trinity, London. Its ownership until the sale of the estate in 1897 is fully traced, and some account is given of the Manor House, at one time occupied by Sir William Batten, where he was visited by Pepys. Its last occupier was Mr. David Howard, for long a member of our Society. The grant of the manor by the king to Paul and Edmund Withypool, in 1544, is printed *in extenso*, and a Calendar of the Courts held from 1544 to 1764 is also given. Two illustrations and three plans embellish this number.

No. 5, issued 1918, is devoted to the manor house of Higham Bensted, now known as Essex Hall, a picturesque old mansion overlooking the Lea valley. This house, the most ancient in the parish, was visited by the Society on the occasion of the Walthamstow excursion in 1915. Queen Elizabeth is traditionally said to have presented the house to the earl of Essex and visited him there, and a spring in the grounds is still known as Queen Elizabeth's well. In 1801 the Rev. Eliezer Cogan, minister of the Presbyterian congregation in Marsh street, established his well-known school in this house and lived here until his death in 1855. Many boys who afterwards became celebrated received their education here, the best known being Benjamin D'Israeli, afterwards earl of Beaconsfield, who was under Dr. Cogan's tuition and roof from his thirteenth to his seventeenth year, and frequently visited his old school after he had become famous—the last occasion being in 1861. No less than eleven admirable illustrations and portraits are included in this Monograph.

The whole five reflect the greatest credit upon compiler and printer, and are a striking illustration of the interesting features of a district which has completely changed its character during the last thirty years. Collectors would do well to secure copies of these Monographs, the issue of which is limited, and other Antiquarian Societies should emulate the laudable example of Walthamstow.

STEPHEN J. BARNES,

Local Secretary for the Becontree Hundred.

Ye Olde Village of Hornchurch.

BY C. T. PERFECT.

WHILE making no pretence at profundity, our member, Mr. C. T. Perfect, has produced a very readable little handbook to this interesting village and parish. Most of the recognized authorities have been consulted and laid under contribution, and a full account is given of the ancient and modern industries, now, or formerly, carried on in the village. Space is devoted to local institutions, social and philanthropic, and sport, particularly cricket, receives its due meed of attention. The religious life of the parish is traced, and everything of local interest, from the parish pump to cock-fighting, is touched upon in its turn. The most interesting feature is the full description of the many old houses and the personages who inhabited them. They are mostly of eighteenth and nineteenth century date, a period often presenting difficulties to the local topographer, and the information now permanently put upon record will prove of lasting value, if, and when, the development of building enterprise sweeps away these older houses and covers the spacious grounds with modern erections; a process already, unfortunately, begun. Well and plentifully illustrated, with a cover design by Mr. W. Gurney Benham, this little volume of 145 pages gives in popular form a pleasing sketch of the village and its life, and is furnished with a very desirable adjunct in a good and comprehensive index.

S. J. B.

GENERAL MEETING OF THE ESSEX
ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY, HELD AT
"PRIESTS," ROMFORD, ON THURSDAY,
4th JULY, 1918.

The Annual General Meeting of the Essex Archæological Society was held at "Priests," Romford, by the kind invitation of Mr. and Mrs. P. C. Haydon-Bacon, on Thursday, 4th July, 1918, at 3 p.m.

In the absence, through illness, of the President, the chair was taken by the Deputy-President, the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Barking, D.D., F.S.A.

On the motion of the Bishop of Barking, Mr. J. H. Round, M.A., LL.D., D.L., was unanimously re-elected as President of the Society for the ensuing year.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

A vote of thanks to the President, Vice-Presidents, and Honorary Officers, including the Editorial Secretary and the Auditor, was moved by Mr. P. C. Haydon-Bacon, seconded by the Rev. Canon Lake, and unanimously passed.

The Bishop of Barking responded.

The Annual Report was presented by the Hon. Secretary, who moved its adoption. The Rev. E. H. L. Reeve seconded, and the motion was carried.

Mr. J. Avery moved and Mr. S. J. Barns seconded the adoption of the Statement of Accounts. Carried.

The Bishop of Barking proposed the re-election of the Vice-Presidents and Council, with the addition to the list of Vice-Presidents of Mr. M. E. Hughes-Hughes, F.S.A., and to the Council of Mr. Wykeham Chancellor, M.A. Carried.

The Bishop of Barking proposed the re-election of the Honorary Members. Carried.

The Hon. Secretary proposed the re-election of Messrs. P. Laver, F.S.A., D. Clark, A.R.I.B.A., and H. Lazell as the Society's representatives on the Museum and Muniment Committee of the Colchester Corporation for the ensuing year. Carried.

The following ladies and gentlemen were elected as members of the Society :—

	ON THE NOMINATION OF—
REMNAINT, Mrs. F. M., Hulton Park, Hulton.	Mr. W. Sheldrake.
THE BRAY CLERICAL SOCIETY, c/o the Rev. D. J. Learoyd, Debden Rectory, Saffron Walden.	The Rev. G. M. Benton.
COBDEN EARLE, The Rev. R., B.A., Quendon Rectory, Newport.	The Rev. G. M. Benton.
GRIFFITHS, The Rev. W. J. C., M.A., Great Chishill Vicarage, Royston, Herts.	The Rev. G. M. Benton.
FFYTCH, Miss MAY, The Old House, Clavering, Newport.	The Rev. G. M. Benton.
BROODBANK, Sir JOSEPH, Longmoor, Harold Wood.	Mr. P. C. Haydon-Bacon.
MCINTOSH, Mrs. CHARLOTTE M., Havering Park, Havering-atte-Bower.	Mr. P. C. Haydon-Bacon.
EVANS, The Rev. A. G., Little Clacton Vicarage.	The Hon. Secretary.
PAYNTER, The Rev. F. S., R.D., Springfield Rectory, Chelmsford.	The Rev. W. J. Pressey.
BANCROFT, Miss E. M., B.A. (Lond.), The Girls' High School, Chelmsford.	Mr. Wykeham Chancellor.
UNETT, Capt. J. A., D.S.O., Chelmsford.	Mr. Wykeham Chancellor.
THOMAS, Miss MARJORIE, Nightingales, Little Baddow.	Mr. Wykeham Chancellor.
LAVER, Miss PHYLLIS, Shermans Hall, Dedham.	The Vice-Treasurer.

A vote of thanks to the Bishop of Barking for presiding was proposed by Mr. Newton, seconded by Mr. Bailey, and unanimously passed.

The Bishop of Barking expressed the gratitude of the Society to Mr. and Mrs. Haydon-Bacon for their kindness in entertaining them.

A paper on "Architecture and Local History" by the President, was read in his absence by the Hon. Secretary, and at its conclusion he moved a vote of thanks to Dr. Round for the paper.

Subsequently the members and their friends were entertained at tea by Mr. and Mrs. Haydon-Bacon.

REPORT FOR 1917.

The Council has pleasure in presenting its sixty-fifth Annual Report.

During the year the Society has lost twenty-eight members by death, resignation, and amoval.

Twenty-two new members have been added to its roll.

The losses by death include: Mr. W. C. Waller, M.A., F.S.A., Treasurer of the Society; Mr. Henry Laver, F.S.A., President 1903-1908, and for many years Honorary Curator of the Society's Collections in the Museum at Colchester Castle; and Mr. F. Chancellor, F.R.I.B.A., President 1908-1911, and the last surviving original member of the Society and of the Council.

The total membership, which on 31st December, 1916, was 371, on 31st December, 1917, stood as follows:—

Annual members	317
Life members	42
Honorary members	6
	<hr/>
	365

The Society has suffered a heavy loss through the deaths of Messrs. Waller, Laver, and Chancellor. Each of them rendered great services to the Archæology of the county, of which detailed mention has been or will be made in their obituary notices in the *Transactions*. The Council desires to record its appreciation of their work and its deep regret at losing them.

The Council recommends the re-election of the Vice-Presidents, with the addition of Mr. M. E. Hughes Hughes, F.S.A., in the place of the late Mr. F. Chancellor, F.R.I.B.A.; and of the Council, with the addition of Mr. Wykeham Chancellor, M.A., F.R.I.B.A., in the place of the late Mr. F. Chancellor, F.R.I.B.A.

During the year Part V. of Vol. XIV. of the *Transactions* was published.

The Annual Meeting was held on 6th July, 1917, at the Church House, Witham, and in the afternoon the members and their friends paid a visit to Wickham Bishops and inspected the Old

Church and the Church House adjoining, and the site of the Bishop of London's Palace at Wickham Hall.

Owing to the War no further excursions were made, and the Council recommends that none be planned for 1918.

The Council has decided that the present list of places for which local secretaries were in past years appointed shall be withdrawn, and that local honorary secretaries shall be appointed for each of the nineteen hundreds of which the county consists, and for the Havering Liberty. Their names will be printed on the cover of the *Transactions*.

The Vice-Treasurer reports :—

FINANCE.

The nett general receipts for the year were £188 1s. 6d., being a little less than 1916, and the expenditure was £171 18s. 7½d. The arrears of subscriptions recovered amounted to £9 19s. 6d. The cost of printing the *Transactions* has considerably increased, the increase on the setting alone being 20 per cent. In addition, there is the cost of printing the *List of Members*, which amounted to £4 18s. 0d.

Our late Treasurer stated that there were accounts outstanding at the end of 1916 amounting to £45 2s. 2d. These have now been paid.

These amounts, the increased cost of printing, and the charge for the printing of the *List of Members*, account for the small balance in favour of the receipts over expenditure. On the other hand, the sale of the Society's publications for 1917 amounts to £12 7s. 6d., a satisfactory increase on the previous year. Annual subscriptions received show a falling off as compared with 1916 of £10 10s. 0d. 47 members are in arrear with their subscriptions. The payment of Life Compositions amounted to £10 10s. 0d., against £5 5s. 0d. for 1916. The subscriptions to the Archæological Congress amount to £3 8s. 0d., which includes £2 8s. 0d. for copies of their publications for 1914, 1915, and 1916, and £1 annual subscription for 1917.

Our thanks are due to Mr. John Avery, F.C.A., for kindly auditing the accounts for the past year.

DONATIONS TO THE SOCIETY.

Gifts to the Society's Library.

The President—

“Rotuli de Dominabus et Pueris et Puellis de XII. Comitatibus”
[1185]. With an Introduction and Notes by John Horace
Round, LL.D. Pipe Roll Society. 1913.

Athenæum, Proprietor of—

Subject Index to Periodicals, 1916. (Science and Technology.)

Mr. John William Burrows—

Southend-on-Sea and District Historical Notes. By John
William Burrows. Southend, 1909.

Mr. Miller Christy, F.L.S.—

“Birds of Essex.” Chelmsford, 1890.

Mr. Walter Clark—

“Stemmata Chicheleana.” Oxford, 1765.

The Authors—

“The Church Bells of Essex.” By the Rev. Cecil Deedes,
M.A., and H. B. Walters, M.A., F.S.A. Aberdeen, 1909.

Mr. R. C. Fowler, F.S.A.—

Canterbury and York Society, part LVII. (“Pars secunda
Simonis de Sudberia.”)

Rev. E. F. Hay, M.A.—

Descriptive Sketch of the Works of Ancient Greek and Roman
Art at Felix Hall. By the Rev. J. H. Marsden, B.D.,
Colchester [1863 c.].

Mr. P. C. HAYDON-BACON—

Original Water-colour Drawing of the Jesse Window in
Margaretting Church. By the donor.

Mr. P. G. Laver, F.S.A.—

The Mammals, Reptiles, and Fishes of Essex. By Henry
Laver, M.R.C.S., F.S.A.

Mr. H. W. Lewer, F.S.A.—

Victoria History of the County of Essex, vols. I. and II.
1903-1907.

Church Chests of Essex. By H. W. Lewer and C. J. Wall.
Illustrated. 1913.

Glossary of the Essex Dialect. By S. Charnock. 1880.

Journal of Roman Studies, vols. I. to V.

Mr. C. T. Perfect—

“Ye Olde Village of Hornchurch.” By C. T. Perfect.
Illustrated. Colchester, 1917.

Mr. V. B. Redstone, F.R.Hist.S.—

Essex Review, 11 parts, various years.

Six reprinted contributions by the donor to the Proceedings of
the Suffolk Institute of Archæology and Natural History.

Mr. G. Rickword, F.R.Hist.S.—

Catalogue of Archbishop Harsnett's Library at Colchester.

With Introduction by Gordon Goodwin. 1888.

Historical Sketch of the Parish of St. Martin, Colchester, 1891.

Bailiffs and Mayors of Colchester. 1902. By donor.

“The Colchester Hoard.” 1905. By donor.

Essex Review, 21 parts, various years.

Mr. J. C. Challenor Smith, F.S.A.—

“Loughton in Essex.” By W. C. Waller, M.A., F.S.A.
Epping, 1899-1900.

Miss Vaughan—

Stephen Marshall: a forgotten Essex Puritan. 1917. By
donor.

Rev. W. Warren, M.A.—

MS. Notes for a History of the Parish of Black Notley,
collected and arranged by J. Brownbill, M.A., for the
Rev. Wm. Warren, M.A., Rector of Black Notley. 1918.

Mr. Percy Woods, C.B.—

“Bygone Haslemere.” By E. W. Swanton and P. Woods, C.B.
1914.

Mr. A. G. Wright—

“Anne and Jane Taylor: a Colchester reminiscence.” By
Miss F. M. Savill, n.d.

Essex Review, 5 parts, various years.

Donations in aid of the Transactions.

The President—

Illustrations to “The Descent of Faulkbourne.”

Mr. G. F. Beaumont, F.S.A.—

Illustrations to “The Remains of Coggeshall Abbey.”

Mr. F. S. Salisbury, M.A.—

Illustrations to “Roman Coins from Colchester.”

Mr. A. G. Wright—

Negatives of Montgomery Windows.

From Societies in union for exchange of Publications.

- Society of Antiquaries of London—
Proceedings, 2nd series, vol. XXIX.
- Society of Antiquaries of Scotland—
Proceedings, vol. LI.
- British Archæological Association—
Journal (N.S.), vol. XXIII.
Proceedings of Congress at Brighton, 1917.
- Cambridge Antiquarian Society—
Proceedings, vol. XX.
Publication No. XLVIII.
- Essex Field Club—
Vol. XVIII., parts 6-11.
- Kent Archæological Society—
Archæologia Cantiana, vol. XXXI.
- Somerset Archæological and Natural History Society—
Proceedings, vol. LXIII.
- Suffolk Institute of Archæology and Natural History—
Proceedings, vol. XIV., part 2; vol. XV.; vol. XVI., parts 1
and 2.
- Surrey Archæological Society—
Collections, vol. XXX.
- Sussex Archæological Society—
Collections, vol. LIX.

TO OUR READERS.—The Council of the Essex Archæological Society will be very grateful for gifts of works of general antiquarian interest, of books relating to the history, topography and antiquities of the county, and its towns and villages, or of works written by Essex authors. Gifts and offers may be sent to the Curator and Librarian, Mr. A. G. Wright, the Castle Museum, Colchester.

NOTE.—The Curator-Librarian would be glad to receive spare copies of the Annual Report of the Colchester Corporation Museum for the years 1902-1906 and 1909.

ACCOUNT OF RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS

Dr.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Balance from 1916				135	11	2½
„ Subscriptions—						
Arrears	9	19	6			
For the year 1917	140	3	0			
In advance	2	2	0			
				152	4	6
„ Life Compositions				10	10	0
„ Sale of <i>Transactions</i> and other publications				12	7	6
„ Sale of Dr. Laver's pamphlet, " Copford Church "				2	0	
„ Dividends on Investments—						
India 3 per cent. Stock	1	12	11			
Metropolitan 3½ per cent. Stock	4	8	10			
Exchequer Bond and War Stock	2	11	11			
Bank Deposit Interest	4	1	11			
				12	15	7
„ Sundry Receipts					1	11

£323 12 8½

BALANCE SHEET,

Liabilities.

	£	s.	d.
To Life Compositions, 42 Members at £5 5s. od.	220	10	0
„ Subscriptions paid in advance	2	2	0
„ Accumulations Fund—			
Surplus in favour of the Society.....	243	2	5

£465 14 5

I have examined the above Account with the Bankers' Pass Book and been verified by reference to the Bank of England and the Society's Bankers.

52, Coleman Street, London, E.C. 2.

12th March, 1918.

FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31ST DECEMBER, 1917.

Cr.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
By Colchester Corporation, towards Curator's Salary				35	0	0
„ Editorial Secretary				10	0	0
„ Printing <i>Transactions</i> , Vol. XIV. (Parts 4 and 5) ..				99	12	9
„ Postage of <i>Transactions</i> and Parcels				12	9	2
„ Printing				1	6	6
„ Stationery, Members' Circulars and Sundries				5	10	5
„ Secretarial Postage and Expenses				3	14	9½
„ Subscription to Archæological Congress				3	8	0
„ Fire Insurance				12	0	
„ Bank Cheque Book				2	6	
„ Expenses <i>re</i> Conversion of Exchequer Bond into War Stock				2	6	
„ Balance—						
At Bankers as per Pass Book	177	10	8			
Less Cheques unpresented	80	10	8			
				97	0	0
At Bankers on Deposit				50	0	0
Cash in hand of Secretary				4	14	1
				151	14	1
				£323	12	8½

CHRIS. W. PARKER, *Treasurer*.

31ST DECEMBER, 1917.

	<i>Assets.</i>			<i>Cost.</i>			<i>Market Value.</i>		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
By Investments—									
£219 15s. 5d. India 3 per cent. Stock	192	13	7	118	13	6			
* £177 1s. 0d. Metropolitan 3½ per cent. Stock	176	17	6	146	1	4			
£52 12s. 7d. 5 per cent. War Stock	50	0	0	49	5	6			
							314	0	4
	419	11	1						
„ Cash at Bankers and in hand							151	14	1
„ Stock of <i>Transactions</i> , Library, Collections of Antiquities, Cabinets, <i>etc.</i> (not valued)									
							£465	14	5

CHRIS. W. PARKER, *Treasurer*.

Vouchers and certify it to be correct in accordance therewith. The Assets have In consequence of the late Treasurer's decease some dividends are uncollected.

JOHN AVERY, F.C.A., *Auditor*.

[Reprinted from "The English Historical Review," July 1918, by kind permission, with a few verbal changes and an Appendix added].

CENTURIATION IN ROMAN ESSEX.

BY PROF. F. HAVERFIELD, LL D., F.S.A., F.B.A., V.P.R.Hist.Soc.

REGULARLY owned and regularly surveyed land in the Roman Empire was, at least in theory, divided into rectangular (square or oblong) plots marked off by roads, paths (*limites*), or other visible signs. The plot unit was the *centuria*, an area connected by traditions with the infancy of Rome; but the tradition, like most traditions, has been cumbered with bad professional theory. To put it shortly, it seems that the *centuria* was in general a plot of 200 *ingera*, which formed 100 *heredia* in the earliest Roman division of land; land thus divided was called *ager limitatus*, or perhaps more commonly *ager centuriatus* (often plural, *agri centuriati*), by Roman writers on land surveying. No specific directions seem to have been laid down as to what kinds of land ought to be 'limitate' or 'centuriate,' but it is pretty plain that lands held under a proper Roman tenure or lands allotted formally by the Roman government to citizens must have been thus divided. It would follow that the *territorium* of, say, a provincial *colonia*—land originally set aside by the government as the estate of a town which was to possess municipal status and to be administered under a definite charter—would be centuriated when first surveyed and laid out.¹

For the rest, we must have recourse to archæology, to provide examples illustrating the actual nature of the land-division and the extent of its survivals. Of these survivals some remarkable cases have been detected in Mediterranean countries, in which the boundaries of the Roman *limitatio* have survived sweeping changes of race, civilization, law and government. The *limites*, or paths, which bounded the individual plots, seem to have been public paths, and, perhaps for that reason, have survived in some cases almost beyond belief. In Africa Proconsularis (Tunis), despite a Mahommedan conquest, despite complete changes in language, race,

¹ I venture the caution here that Londinium was not a *colonia*; and we cannot assume for it a *territorium* with *agri centuriati*. There is no evidence that Romano British towns, other than *municipia* or *coloniae*, had *territoria* apart from the cantons to which they belonged. Most towns in the Graeco-Roman world had 'territories'; whether the Celtic cantonal towns had, is not so clear.

and civilization, many of the boundary paths made for the Roman land-divisions can still be traced on the actual soil, and there are there vestiges also, mainly epigraphic, of two great base-lines, *cardo* and *decumanus*, crossing at right angles, on which the detailed land-surveying of the province, as a whole, was based. There was, in short, in Roman Tunis, a more or less systematic survey, which served as a basis of taxation, while the two base-lines formed a guide for subsequent *limitatio* of any special neighbourhood in it.¹

In Italy survivals of Roman land-centuriation are naturally not rare. Among the most striking examples is the 'Graticolato' in the Po valley, which can (or could) be seen from the upper slopes of the Appennines, as you look out from them north-east over the flat Emilian plain. For instance, the modern map shows (figure 1) some five miles north-east of Padua a roughly square patch, about six miles broad and long, where the present roads and tracks offer the pattern of a singularly regular chess-board. Another, less perfect patch lies six or eight miles east of Modena, on the north side of the Via Aemilia, in the same Po valley. Traces are also visible in Italy much further south, in the rich plain round Naples, Capua, and Caserta. In the rest of Europe they are rare; an inscription at Orange, in Provence, indicates² that there, doubtless in the *Territorium* round the *colonia* of Arausio, the land was centuriated, but no one seems to have detected any survivals of the ancient boundary paths or marks of *limitatio*. Nor do traces seem to have been detected elsewhere in Gaul, though Southern Gaul was thoroughly romanized and full of *coloniae*, and the continuity between Roman Gaul and modern France is very close. In Germany the only case yet noted seems to be a supposed survival of *limites* at Friedburg, in the Wetterau, which was adduced by Meitzen over twenty years ago; the evidence for it is, to my mind, not at all convincing, though it has been accepted by the Reichs-Limes-kommission.³

¹ This has been worked out for Roman Africa by (amongst others) Adolf Schulten (*Lex Manciana*, Berlin, 1897, &c.) by W. Barthel—whose death in war is no small loss to Roman historical studies—(*Bonner Jahrbücher*, cxx., 1911), as well as by the French scholar M. J. Toutin (*Le Cadastre Romain d'Afrique*, 1908, and other works); their views do not altogether agree in detail, but the differences do not here concern us. For *limitatio* near Capua (mentioned below in the text) see J. Beloch's *Campanien* (Berlin, 1878), and generally Schulten's *Römische Flurteilung und ihre Reste*, and his maps (Berlin, 1898). A complete map of the Po plain in Roman times would resemble the U.S.A. geological survey maps of many American States, save that the units involved are, in the U.S.A., very much larger than those in Lombardy. I have to thank Mr. Beckett, Acting Director of the Oxford School of Geometry, for information respecting this U.S.A. survey and its maps.

² See my *Ancient Town-Planning* (Oxford, 1913), p. 107, fig. 21; or H. Stuart Jones, *Companion to Roman History* (1912), p. 22, fig. 5.

³ A. Meitzen, *Siedelung und Agrarwesen der Germanen* (Berlin, 1895), iii., 157; E. Schmidt, *Kastell Friedburg (Der obergerm.-rätische Limes)*, Lfg. 39, 1913), p. 10.

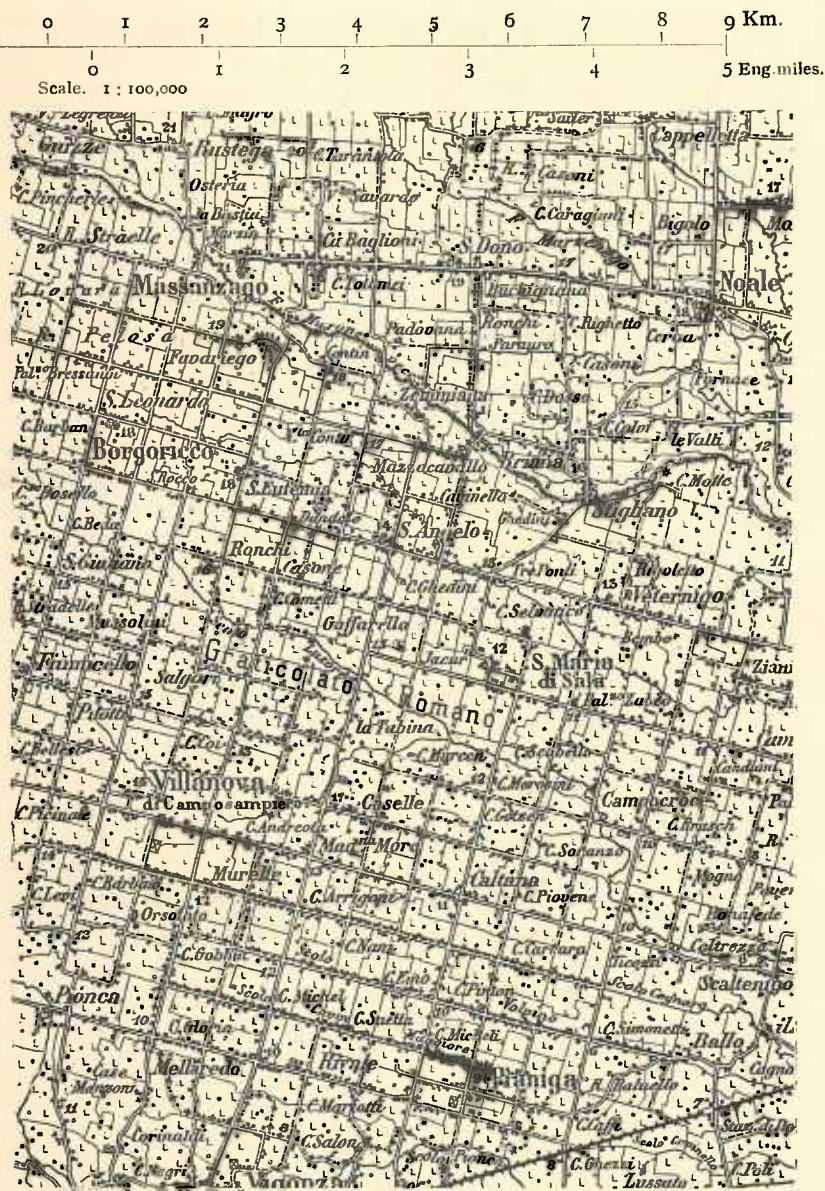


FIG. 1. TRACES OF CENTURIATION BETWEEN VENICE AND PADUA.

It will be noted that the centuriation north of the Musone stream is differently oriented from that south of it.

Numerous attempts have been made to detect centuriation, or something like it, in Britain. The old controversy as to the continuity between Roman Britain and Saxon England, has naturally made some antiquaries keen to detect such traces—though, in reality, as I have pointed out, they prove little as to continuity of civilization. Mr. H. C. Coote, who died in 1885, in a treatise of which ingenuity and ignorance are about equally characteristic, tried to collect evidence, particularly from inscriptions, which he misinterpreted wholesale. For instance, a stone found at Manchester¹ states that ‘the century of Candidus’—*i.e.*, a company commanded by a centurion Candidus—built xxiv. feet of the rampart (a stone wall, as excavation has shown) round the Roman *castellum* there. It is an ordinary Roman military text, with hundreds of parallels, and it is simply a record of building work achieved by soldiers. In Mr. Coote’s hands it becomes a record of “the ‘centuria’ or plot of Candidus, situated on the twentieth decumanal and the fourth cardinal line.”² Since he wrote many scattered attempts have been made to trace remains of centuriation in various parts of England. The late Liverpool antiquary, Mr. W. Thompson Watkin (1836-88), was particularly fond of discovering *botontini* (earthen mounds, marking boundaries) in his own district, Cheshire and Lancashire, although, according to Mommsen, these *botontini* were a local African peculiarity, which would not be expected in Britain.³ Ten or twelve years ago, Mr. H. T. Crofton again tried to point out ‘agrimensorial remains’ round Manchester; so far as I can judge, few of these remains are Roman, and none can properly claim to be ‘agrimensorial.’ About the same time, Mr. Montague Sharpe, now chairman of the Middlesex Quarter Sessions and County Council, issued two works,⁴ in which he tried to trace centuriation in his own county, near London. I do not think that he succeeded better than his predecessors; certainly his arguments on this point seem to me far less convincing than his attractive earlier theory concerning Brentford and the place where Cæsar may have crossed the Thames, and I cannot consider that he has detected real traces of centuriation surviving in modern Middlesex.⁵ The position, there-

¹ *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, vii., 215. Found before 1607, now lost. First copied by Camden, *Britannia*, ed. 1607, p. 610.

² *Archæologia*, xlii., 151 (1867); *Romans of Britain*, 1878.

³ *Roman Lancashire* (1883), pp. 223, ff., etc. For Mommsen’s view, see his *Gesammelte Schriften*, vii., 479.

⁴ *Antiquities of Middlesex* (Brentford, 1905); *Roman Centuriation of the Middlesex District* (Brentford, 1908).

⁵ See above, p. 122.

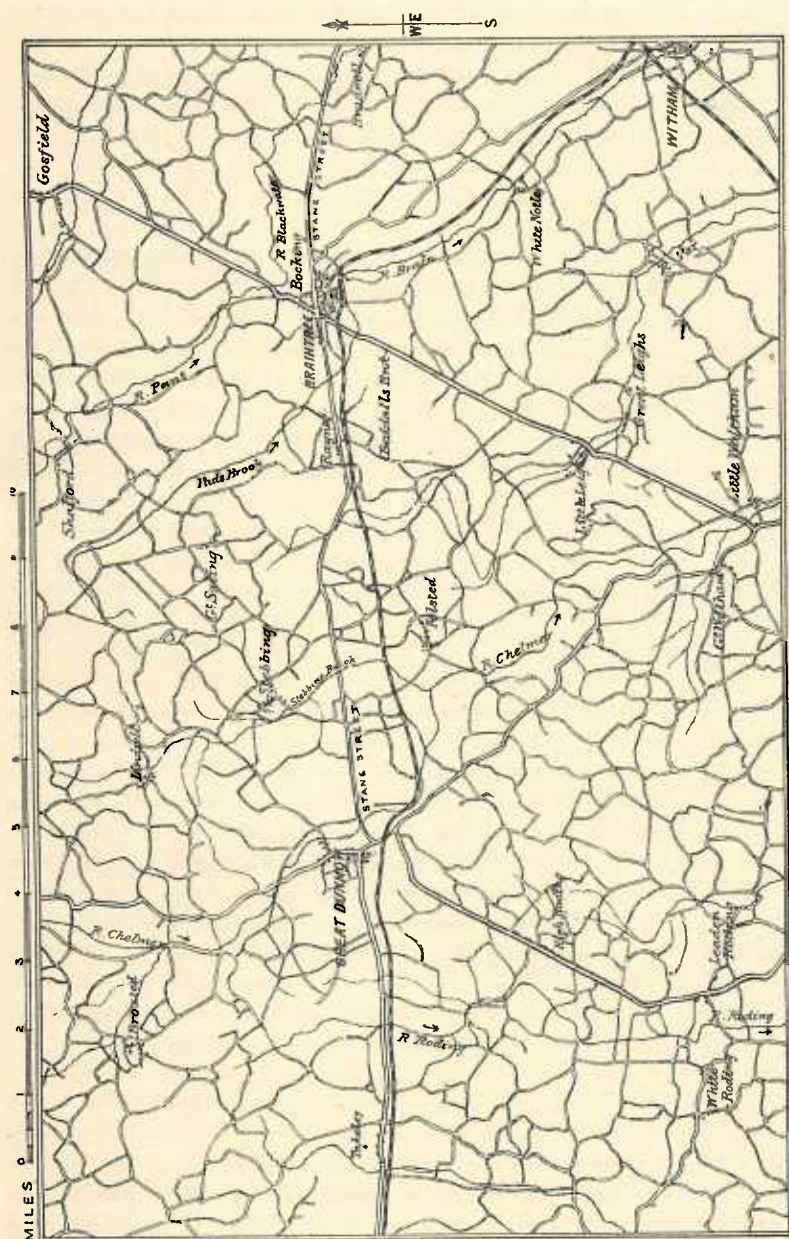


FIG. 2. ROMAN AND OTHER ROADS IN ESSEX (p. 120).

fore, is that we have, so far, no trustworthy evidence for centuriation in Britain. So well as I can judge, all these attempts fail because they furnish no traces of roads laid out accurately straight, running in direct lines or at right angles. They unquestionably approximate to that, but they do not reach it and yield no more than can be explained by chance. The straight line and the right angle are the marks which sunder even the simplest civilization from barbarism.

I wish here to put forward a suggestion as to a possible trace of the practice in Essex. I do not claim it as a clear proof, but merely as a possibility which I cannot explain otherwise, and which has, I think, not been hitherto adduced by any writer. It is, however, a mere fragment, a waif or stray from an older order which has otherwise perished. English history since about A.D. 400 has not been such that we could hope to find here any coherent survival from Roman days and ways. While, then, I believe that it is sufficiently distinct to justify my hypothesis, I warn the reader that it has not what might be called the rhetorical force of the survivals shewn in figure 1. I merely claim that unless we assume that, in the region in question, there once existed some such road scheme as that of the Roman centuriation, the traces visible to-day are not intelligible.

In Essex and the region of East Anglia, the main Roman centre was the municipality *Colonia Victricensis*,¹ Camulodunum, situated where Colchester now stands. From this town a Roman road ran inland, due west for about thirty miles to the Hertfordshire border, near Bishop's Stortford; it is traceable in the still-used highway called 'Stane Street.' About fifteen miles west from Colchester, this road traverses the little town of Braintree, which has yielded a few rather insignificant Roman remains (coins, pottery, burials, *etc.*), implying rather a group of cottages than any substantial settlement like a town. Here, another road running from north-east to south-west impinges on it from the north, and crosses it obliquely, running on south-westwards in the same straight line. This oblique road follows its straight line with almost mathematical precision. It starts four miles north of Braintree, near Gosfield, and continues southwards, preserving the same straight direction for seven-and-a-half miles more, near Beddalls End and the group of Leigh villages, to Little Waltham. It is difficult not to think that the whole straight line, nearly twelve miles in all, is perhaps Roman. Unfortunately, at each end, this straight line 'stops in air.' No Roman remains of significance are

¹ *CIL.* xiv. 3955 (Dessau 2740).

recorded as having been found near Gosfield, or near Little Waltham, nor can the straight section of road be traced further south or north. Yet a stretch of straight road twelve miles long requires explanation in England; unless other reasons for its straightness be discoverable, one has some right to consider it as likely to be Roman. In our island, longish straight roads of other than Roman origin seem to occur only in flat districts, such as the Fens, especially where a large tract of unenclosed or unoccupied land has been all in one ownership, and has been enclosed or developed all at one moment, so that extensive road-making on a definite scheme might be required. Round Braintree, there is no record of any such activity, nor is the country here so flat as to have tempted road-makers of any date to have constructed a long, direct road across it. Nor, again, does the road connect any two points of such modern or mediæval importance that a piece of specific modern road-making might be expected here.¹

Moreover, the puzzle is not confined to this particular road. Eight miles west of Braintree, along Stane street, is the little 'town' of Great Dunmow. Here again, a road running from north-east to south-west impinges on, perhaps rather, diverges from, Stane street; from Dunmow it runs south-west through the district known as 'the Rodings,' then, climbing out of the valley of the river Chelmer, it descends finally into the valley of the river Roding. All this lies south-west of Dunmow; but probably the road also ran north-east from Dunmow, towards Great Bardfield and Clare, and is connected with a mediæval English road, or route, known to map makers as Suffolk Way. But its traces here are dim and indistinct, and by no means accurately straight, and do not justify conjectures of Roman origin; in any case, this part is likely to have been, not a Roman but a mediæval thoroughfare for monastic use, leading, perhaps, from London and its neighbourhood to the abbeys at Clare and Bury St. Edmunds.

However, the section south of Dunmow is clear to-day, in the form of a modern road, which for five miles, between the valleys of the Chelmer and the Roding, follows a true straight line. A straight stretch of five miles is hardly long enough to justify us in assuming without other evidence a Roman origin; but this stretch is not only straight; it is parallel with the other NE. and SW. road, which I have mentioned above as running from near Gosfield through

¹ See *CIL.* xii., 531, and pp. 65, 84. The Gosfield-Braintree-Little Waltham road is as old as 1602, and is shown correctly in the map by Hans Woutneel, of that date. The Dunmow road appears correctly on the same map.

from the "Bull," Aldgate, through Bardfield, Fitchingfield, to Clare, & Bury. No doubt a pilgrims' road: later, a coaching road. E.V.

Braintree to near Little Waltham. The distance between the two straight roads is, as I have said, about seven-and-a-half miles (measured perpendicularly to each road). The parallelism of these two roads can hardly be accidental. A large landowner, laying out a considerable area on a great scale, might conceivably wish to construct two roads eight miles apart, running mathematically parallel, the one straight for five miles, the other for twelve. That would be done in accordance with a general road-scheme, applying to a whole area. Without such general scheme, the chances against parallelism occurring between two roads of the specified lengths and distance seem to be overwhelming. Now, if the Braintree road be Roman, it would seem to follow that the Dunmow road belonging to the same road-scheme would also be Roman. Braintree is fifteen miles, Dunmow twenty-three miles, west of the *colonia* at Colchester. I suggest that, when Claudius founded this municipality, he provided it with an ample *territorium*, which stretched westward to Dunmow, or even perhaps as far as the Stort at Bishop's Stortford, on the western limit of modern Essex.¹

The *territorium* of Roman Colchester clearly cannot have stretched far to the east, for the sea is near, and an extension of thirty miles (inland to the Stort) does not seem an unreasonable allowance for a town to which its imperial founder, Claudius, attached much importance. Many Roman provincial municipalities seem to have had *territoria* as large as an average English county.² If Colchester's *territorium* was bounded on the west by the Stort, the whole of northern Essex, at least as far south as Little Waltham, would have fallen within it, and would have been surveyed and centuriated on one general scheme. This would naturally give parallel *limites*; and two of these might easily survive the chances of time, and remain as waifs and strays in modern Essex. No one who has worked on the subject will deny the possibility of such sporadic survivals. The scantiness of our knowledge constantly forbids us to guess in detail why a road has survived in one place and vanished in another. In such cases, chance, the interaction of uncounted imponderable forces, works very freely, and we can seldom hope to analyse the result. We can only note what has happened. I here claim simply that (a) the parallelism of the roads noted above can only be explained if we assume some special process to have been at work; (b) the existence of the neighbouring *colonia*, 'Camulodunum,'

¹ I have no archaeological evidence to support this guess. I select the Stort since it is the first natural boundary which would confront any one journeying due west from Colchester along Stane street.

² See *CIL*. xii. 531, and pp. 65, 84, etc.

is indisputable; (c) the centuriation of its land within a reasonable distance of it would provide a quite possible reason for the parallelism of roads; and lastly, (d) that such centuriation of its land is what we should otherwise expect.

If this be so, do any conclusions follow respecting Roman Britain? I cannot affirm that they do. As I have said above,¹ the boundaries of Roman centuriate land have in modern Tunis survived all manner of violent historical changes. No one would allege that the civilization of modern Tunis has real connexion with that of Roman Africa Proconsularis. And the fact, if it be a fact, that in eastern Essex a singular survival remains, does not prove that the people of eastern Essex have any special continuity with Rome, or that the tourist there need look out for Italian profiles or Roman noses.

APPENDIX.

Since the preceding article was published in the *English Historical Review* (July, 1918), Mr. Montague Sharpe has returned to the question in the same publication (October, 1918, pp. 489-492). Mr. Sharpe's object is not so much to criticise my theory as to defend his own. I had remarked (above p. 118) that I could not detect any trustworthy evidence for centuriation in Britain; or any traces of roads laid out accurately straight, running in direct lines or at right angles which might indicate former centuriation. Mr. Sharpe had thought he could point out such traces and evidence in Middlesex, the county with which he is specially connected, and he is naturally concerned to maintain his own views. He thinks that "evidence of centuriation, more or less distinct, is to be found in most Romanized districts of outlying Britain." In the note in question he is defending his own interpretation of certain evidences visible in Middlesex.

I am impelled to observe that Mr. Sharpe has not altogether understood the reason which I gave for not accepting his views. It was this (p. 118). The traces of centuriation suggested by him do not seem to me to provide either really straight roads or the accurately rectangular plots of land which the Roman centuriation in the Po valley (p. 116, fig. 1) shows. Anyone who considers figure 1 will see that the roads on it are straight and reproduce closely the scheme of a chess-board. Mr. Sharpe has also a chess-board, but it does not appear to be quite mathematically true. To make its lines straight, and its angles true right angles, one must accept certain approximations, one must call certain roads straight which

¹ See p. 115.

are not quite straight; and deal with certain sites as roughly identical when they are not actually identical. In such a way, I fully admit that Mr. Sharpe's evidence can be used to provide what is wanted. Otherwise, one may doubt if the evidence is conclusive. The point which first arrested my attention in reference to the two roadways of Essex to which I have called attention, is that these two roads are parallel and straight, and that it is not necessary to treat their lines as approximately straight, or as roughly parallel. This, in my opinion, constitutes the claim of these two Essex roads to notice. Another road shown on figure 2, that road which runs east and west, the Stane street, passing Braintree and Great Dunmow is, of course, in all probability a Roman road, but it has lost much of the old Roman straightness. The proof of its Roman character depends rather on the fact that it runs from Colchester more or less directly westward, as well as on the tradition embodied in its name. The two roads with which I am here specially concerned have a much superior straightness, and, I think, may be defended as Roman, on that ground, if on no other.

If Roman centuriation is to be proved in Britain, I would urge that the evidence for it must be mathematically correct. It may be incomplete without harm to the argument. Pieces of the sides of some *centuriae* may have vanished by falling out of use. Such gaps do not affect the argument. Even in the Po valley, as figure 1 shows, pieces of roadway needed to complete the plan have vanished, for reasons which cannot now be ascertained, but the gaps will cause no uneasiness to those accustomed to study the history of roads. So far, however, as they survive, the roads on figure 1 are straight, and make right angles with other roads, and the chess-board which results is an accurate and true rectangular chess-board. Something of this sort we need to find in Roman Britain, if we are to be able to say, as does Mr. Sharpe, that "evidence of Centuriation is to be found in most Romanized districts of Britain." So far as I have been able to examine that evidence, it appears to me not only to be imperfect, which does not matter, but also to be mathematically untrue, to be deficient in real straight lines, real right-angles, and real rectangular plots, and therefore not to justify those who find in it evidence of the system which prevailed in Roman days in the Lombard plain. Naturally, in the hillier ground and the colder climate of Britain, we cannot expect exact parallels to the Lombard 'graticolato.' We can only expect fragments, but these must, whilst fragments, nevertheless present the true mathematical features. I venture to suggest to antiquaries who have a taste for playing with instruments that they should measure the relations to

the north point of any really straight pieces of Roman road which interest them, and note the deflection of each roadway from the north. I suspect that curious coincidences might be discovered, which would throw light on the roads and the centuriation of Britain, and might also help to explain the process by which the Roman roads were laid out so straight—a process which I think has not yet been fully solved, but of which I cannot here treat in detail.

F. H.

ARCHITECTURE AND LOCAL HISTORY.

BY J. H. ROUND, M.A., LL.D.

*A Paper read at the Annual Meeting at Romford
on July 4th, 1918, with some additions.*

AMONG the many subjects which invite the attention of archæologists there is none, perhaps, of interest to so large a proportion of their number as the study of ancient buildings in the county to which they belong. The architecture of the church, of the castle, of the manor house, proves an unfailing attraction on their Societies' excursions and always figures prominently in their published *Transactions*. Even for those who have not made any special study of the subject there is a singular fascination in having before us these survivals from a distant past, buildings on which have rested the eyes of many generations. But for those who have made them their study and who can interpret their evidence they are of far more than sentimental interest; the advance made within the last century in the scientific treatment of architectural evidence is little less than amazing. An expert of really commanding authority, such as our honorary member, Sir William St. John Hope, can reconstruct the history of a building, ecclesiastical or secular, however much it has been obscured;¹ and, with this great advance in our knowledge, the old terminology has been swept away. In its place we have now that dating by centuries of every portion of an edifice which is seen in the great coloured plans of which he has made so many, or those which Mr. Clapham has been good enough to contribute to our own *Transactions*.

¹ As an illustration of his use of architectural evidence, we may take his observations on the church of Castle Hedingham, when it was visited by our Society in 1904:—"The old churches of this country divide themselves into two classes, those of which we possess documentary evidence, and those of which we do not; this church belongs to the latter category, and it is necessary to walk round it and let it tell its own story . . . The church was entirely rebuilt in the twelfth century and . . . the chancel practically comes down to us in the form in which it was left by the twelfth century builders. If I should be asked to put a date to the older work of the church, I should give it as from 1175 to 1184." (*E.A.T.* (N.S.), vol. ix., p. 237.) I may add that Mr. Godman cites Mr. Lewis Majendie's book on Hedingham (1904) for the statement that, *circa* 1870, restoration revealed remains of an earlier and smaller chancel with apsidal end.

The point, however, that I wish to bring before you to-day is that, for the study of a building and its history, more is needed than a knowledge, however great, of architecture. Mr. Elliot has taught us, in this county, the value of the science of heraldry, as helping to determine the date of a feature and even to associate with it those who caused it to be built. Again, our former Hon. Sec., Mr. H. W. King, pointed out, long ago, the great importance of wills. "Sometimes," he wrote, "they may be found to fix precisely the date of the restoration of a church, the building of an aisle, the foundation of a chantry, or the construction of a tomb, facts of the greatest importance, as we possess but little documentary evidence on these points. For although the architect and ecclesiologist can determine, with general accuracy, the dates of different portions of an ecclesiastical edifice, it is always more satisfactory positively to confirm their opinions, as well as interesting to identify the founders and benefactors."¹ For we ought not to be so absorbed in the study of man's handiwork as to forget the human interest of our ancient parish churches. A well-known writer on church architecture, the late Mr. Francis Bond² (who only died last year), has observed that "It is good for those who are to be introduced to mediæval church architecture to know not only how a church was built, but why it was built, who built it, who served in it, who worshipped in it."

Speaking for my own special province, that of genealogy and of local history, I would urge that no one should attempt to write the history of a church without acquiring, at least in outline, a sound knowledge of the history of the parish and of its manorial lords and leading families in the past. Here, at least, in Essex we are persistently reminded, by the close juxtaposition of church and manorial hall, how much the occupants of the latter, who were normally patrons of the living, probably had to do with the building and development of the church. Manorial descents are dull reading, but we have to master them, as, in English history, we have to learn the names of our kings and the dates of their respective reigns; for in early days they constitute the backbone of local history. I will only here add two words of warning. The first is that it is no use merely to repeat Morant's statements, which are only too often erroneous; the second is that we need to grasp the principle of subinfeudation. This may sound somewhat alarming, but it only means that we must not confuse the Domesday barons

¹ *E.A.T.* (o.s.), vol. i., p. 150.

² Author of "Gothic Architecture" (1905), "Introduction to English Church Architecture," "The Chancel of English Churches" (1916), *etc.*

and their heirs with those tenants by knight-service whom they had enfeoffed upon their lands. The former are, as a rule, easy enough to discover; the latter, only too often, are extremely difficult. We archæologists, however, are concerned, not with the great overlord, but with the under-tenant who actually held the manor, the man who dwelt upon the land and in the manorial hall, and who was the probable builder of the adjoining church.

Let me take a concrete instance of the importance, for the study of a parish church, of an accurate knowledge of local history and of the system of subinfeudation. On two occasions Broomfield church, when it was visited by our Society, was described by our former President, the late Mr. Chancellor.¹ It was of special interest to himself, partly as lying in his own district, for which he was our local secretary, and partly for its bearing on his own theory as to when and by what persons such churches were constructed. For he not only held the view that our churches of the Norman period were founded by the barons who appear as tenants-in-chief in Domesday, or by their heirs, but applied it specially to our local magnates, the Mandevilles, afterwards Earls of Essex. Indeed, at Broomfield, he went further and claimed that "if a comparison could be instituted between the churches in all these places in which the Mandevilles had property, he thought a similarity of design would be found in the Norman portions of these fabrics (where any is left)." Obviously, this is a very interesting, but a very bold hypothesis. Mr. Chancellor, however, proceeded to state that he could "speak as to a certain number; they consisted, apparently, of a nave and chancel and sometimes, but not always, a tower, and from the character of the work they were probably attributable to Geoffrey de Mandeville, who came over with the Conqueror, and was rewarded by him with 118 Lordships, of which, it is said, 40 were in this county."²

Here I pause to observe that churches all over the county must, at this rate, be affected by Mr. Chancellor's theory; for he applied it not merely to advowsons or to manors, but to "all those places in which the Mandevilles had property." If the first Geoffrey de Mandeville scattered his churches on the same scale over other counties in which he had lands, the work must have kept him busy. Mr. Chancellor, however, urged that "As he did not die until after 1086, he would be in possession of his estates for at least 20 years, and a man of his energy, and probably bitten with a rage for

¹ Vol. v. (N S.), pp. 108-110; vol. xi., pp. 70-73.

² Vol. v., p. 108.

building, would undoubtedly set to work to build churches on his estate of a more enduring character than those erected by his Saxon predecessors." Broomfield church, at any rate, he assigned to the original Geoffrey,¹ and he held that the church "probably remained in the condition described during the time of the De Mandevilles," who "were succeeded in 1227 by the Bohuns, one of whom had married one of the co-heiresses of the last of the De Mandevilles." As a matter of fact, the male line of Geoffrey's descendants, the Earls of Essex, expired on the death of Earl William in 1189. I have to insist upon this date, because Mr. Chancellor threw the history into sad confusion by observing further that "the De Mandevilles seemed (? seem) to have returned into possession of Broomfield Hall, and the last of them, Thomas de Mandeville, died in 1399."²

Here we see how important it is to distinguish between the great barons, who held *in capite* of the Crown, and the under-tenants, who held of these barons. The Mandevilles who held Broomfield Hall even before Domesday (1086), and who remained there, in the male line, till 1399, were wholly distinct from the great Mandevilles, the baronial line under whom they held. They never "returned into possession," because they had never lost it. Their holding amounted to no less than four knight's fees, and was traversed by the road from Chelmsford to Braintree. One passes first through Broomfield itself, then leaves Chatham Hall, in Great Waltham, to the left, Gobions Hall, in Great Leighs, to the right, and finally, Black Notley a mile to the right. The advowsons of Broomfield and of Black Notley, with all these manors, belonged to them, and they gave both churches to the London Priory of Holy Trinity (or Christchurch), not, be it observed, to the abbey at (Saffron) Walden, the great family foundation of the baronial Mandevilles. As the advowson normally affords the clue to the builder of the parish church, we have here additional evidence that Broomfield church was built, not by Geoffrey de Mandeville, or by his son William, but by the lord of the manor, the Mandeville who held under them.

Mr. Chancellor seems to have also been inclined to see some connection between Mandeville ownership and the well-known round towers of certain Essex churches. In both his papers on Broomfield church³ he drew attention to the fact that three out of six such

¹ Fourteen years later, when Broomfield was again visited (1908), Mr. Chancellor held that the church was built by "Geoffrey de Mandeville or possibly his son William." (Vol. xi., p. 71.)

² Vol. v., p. 110

³ Vol. v. (n.s.), p. 108; vol. xi., p. 72.

towers are found in parishes "of which the Mandevilles were the chief owners." Here again we have to distinguish between overlords and tenants.

Again, take the case of the interesting church at Faulkbourne. This is another instance of subinfeudation. Even before the Domesday survey (1086) an under-tenant had been enfeoffed by 'Hamo Dapifer,' at Faulkbourne, and any church built subsequently must have been built by him or by his heirs. Mr. Chancellor, however, finding here "an undoubted Norman church . . . built originally in the 12th century,"¹ ignored the subinfeudation, and suggested that this church "may possibly have been erected by Robert, Earl of Gloucester, after he had come into this property by his marriage with the niece of Hamo Dapifer," in "the early 12th century."² Those who know how vast was the fief of this mighty noble—which lay chiefly in the West of England and in South Wales—will agree with me that Earl Robert had no personal connection with Faulkbourne and, probably, never even set eyes upon the place.

My last example is Shenfield church, described by Mr. Chancellor as "probably erected in the Norman period or very soon after."³ There is no question here, as at Faulkbourne, of being misled by Morant, for our county historian leaves the history of this parish a blank for more than two centuries after the Domesday survey. Shenfield was then held by Eustace, Count of Boulogne, and it is strange, therefore, in 1298, to find it held by Bohun as of the Honour of Mandeville. Mr. Chancellor first wrongly guessed that it "formed a portion of the estate of Maud, the heiress of the de Mandevilles,"⁴ and then, on the strength of this supposition, spoke of its "long succession of notable owners, some of them great builders, especially the Mandevilles, who seem to have built a church in every parish possessed by them." Now the descent of Shenfield can be traced without difficulty; the manor and advowson were held by the Camvilles, as part of the Honour of Boulogne, down to 1279. It is certain, therefore, that no Mandeville ever held the parish, either as overlord or as under-tenant. Consequently, no Mandeville built Shenfield church.

The advance of learning cannot stop, and this maxim, as I said at the outset, applies specially to the study of medieval architecture. It will not, therefore, I hope, be taken amiss if I have had to show that, in certain cases, the late Mr. Chancellor's "extremely valuable

¹ Vol. vii., p. 264.

² *Ibid.* p. 265.

³ Vol. v. (N.S.), p. 252.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 251.

monographs"¹ on our Essex churches, which figure so prominently in our *Transactions* and have been so much appreciated on the Society's excursions, require emendation in the light of our present knowledge. To my mind one of the most interesting and important features of his work was the stress he laid on the characteristics of Norman work in our churches, the extent of which in this county may not have been previously realised. It should be always a source of satisfaction when wholly independent workers arrive at the same conclusion, as was the case on this subject. For the late Mr. Ernest Godman, whose untimely death, in 1906, was much to be deplored,² dwelt, in his beautifully illustrated *Norman Architecture in Essex* (1905), on "the singularly large proportion of Essex churches of Norman foundation which still remain either wholly complete or partly so" "the extraordinary number of churches" dating from the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

Perhaps the most serious conflict between the evidence of church architecture and that of local history is found in the interesting little church of Norton Mandeville, by Ongar. It was visited by the Society four years ago (June, 1915), and an excellent illustration of it appears in our *Transactions*. Mr. Chancellor duly pointed out that "the construction of the walls, together with one or two fragments of Norman ornament, are evidence that the walls were erected during the Norman period" and that "the evidence of the building's Norman origin is further substantiated by the presence of the coursed work in the walling," while "the font . . . is undoubtedly Norman and gives force to the contention that this is a Norman church." He also recurred to his favourite theory that "when the Conqueror dispossessed all the Saxon owners of their estates, and conferred them upon his followers, there seems to have been a general understanding that . . . it became a first duty to erect a church in every parish in the country."³ He even urged that "it was part of the policy of the Norman invaders to destroy all traces of the Saxon period," and that, in carrying it out, "it was comparatively easy to destroy the wooden erections and rebuild the churches in a substantial manner."⁴ Whether the Normans would have gone so far as to destroy deliberately, for the reason alleged, the churches they found in existence, seems to me very doubtful, but, in any case, they surely cannot have found it comparatively easy, in a

¹ *E.A.T.*, vol. xiv., p. 344.

² *E.A.T.*, vol. x., p. 57.

³ *E.A.T.*, vol. xiv., p. 122.

⁴ *Ibid.*

district devoid of stone, to build fresh ones at once in their own "substantial manner."

My point is, however, that the local history of the place was not even considered. If it had been, the speaker would have found it very doubtful whether the pre-Conquest owner of this portion of the parish was dispossessed by the Normans. Moreover, there is documentary evidence which, to me at least, seems to prove that, even so late as 1181, there was no church at Norton Mandeville, although there must have been one not much later.

I do not wish to dogmatise on the subject, which is further complicated by Mr. Godman's observations on the Norton Mandeville font, that "no other trace of Norman work is now visible," and that "the whole church appears to be of fourteenth century period, but contains a font of early Norman date" (*op. cit.* p. 43). The descent of the manor has not yet been properly worked out.

The value of documentary evidence is again shown by the case of the original church at Pleshy. Mr. Chancellor stated that "the first record of any religious edifice" there is in 1393 (vol. v., N.S., p. 114). It seems to be quite unknown that a church (of which High Easter was the mother church) was built there under Henry II.

Passing from ecclesiastical architecture, I turn to military buildings. The light thrown on the date of castles and of their constituent parts, by contemporary documentary evidence, is well known to those archæologists who have made the subject their study. I need only cite the cases of the great keeps of Newcastle-on-Tyne and of Dover, both of which are now known, on the indisputable evidence of the Pipe Rolls, to have been built under Henry II., though the "great master of military architecture," as Professor Freeman styled Mr. G. T. Clark, had definitely assigned Newcastle to the year 1080, in the reign of William the Conqueror, and had antedated the keep of Dover by some thirty years. Again the stately and beautiful keep of Rochester castle was always assigned to bishop Gundulf, under William Rufus, until I showed that, there as at Newcastle, the documentary evidence, although the real proof of date, had been misunderstood. It was supposed that the word *castellum* included the keep (*turris*), but this was a sheer error. The keep was a subsequent addition to the fortified enclosure, and, in the case of Rochester, was added by William of Corbeuil, about a generation later. If, as I venture to think, the keep at Rochester has a certain resemblance to that at Castle Hedingham, this point is of some interest to us in Essex.

In this county, unfortunately, we are short of medieval castles in masonry, doubtless owing to its lack of stone; but a document

recently published informs us that four Essex knights viewed Hadleigh castle in 1256, and found that Stephen de Salines had handed it over in bad condition, the houses being unroofed and the walls broken.¹ This was only a quarter of a century after the building of the castle. It is, of course, on Colchester castle that we should most welcome further information. The Pipe-roll of 1173 contains an important entry that the then large sum of 50*l.* was spent on making the castle bailey,² and that of 1180 contains a charge of no less than 10*l.* 7*s.* 8*d.* for repairing the roof gutters of the Tower of Colchester (*guteriis turris de Colecestr'*), that is to say, the present building; but more recently there has come to light a very interesting record. This is an official report on the castle, in 1334, which states that a house in Colchester castle, where the justices used to sit for their deliberations, was rooted up and carried away by Adam le Bloy, when sheriff of Essex, and cannot be "rebuilt for less than 26*s.* and 8*d.*," and that "the gate at the entry of the tower called 'Portecolys,' which was broken and carried away in the time of the said Adam, and by him, cannot be suitably repaired for less than 26*s.* and 8*d.*."³ Adam appears to have been sheriff a year or two before. I do not know of any other published record which mentions the building used by the justices when they held their assize at Colchester.

The important point, however, is the mention of "the gate at the entry of the tower called 'Portecolys.'" This, of course, is the Portcullis, of which we still see the groove "at the entry of the tower," as it is here expressed, together with the chamber above, into which it was raised. You will observe that the vast keep, which we now speak of as 'the castle,' and the 'tower' are here clearly identified. Again, we have an interesting order to buy, in 1228, "5 fotheres (*carratas*) of lead and to cause the watch towers (*garritas*) of the tower of Colchester castle to be roofed therewith."⁴ The 'tower of the castle,' that is, its keep, is here again carefully distinguished. The watch towers, spoken of in this document, were probably on its angle turrets. Now what is the bearing of this documentary evidence on the architecture of the great keep? "No one," said Professor Freeman, at Colchester, to the members of the Archæological Institute, "would think of calling it a tower." No, they certainly would not, if, as was always supposed, it was practically never higher than it is at present. But if, as I was the

¹ *Calendar of Inquisitions: Miscellaneous*, no. 223.

² "ad faciendam Balliam circa Castellum de Colec'."

³ *Cal. of Inq.: Miscellaneous*, ii., no. 1418.

⁴ *Cal. of Liberate Rolls*, 1226-1240, p. 76.

first to suggest, it was fundamentally constructed on the plan of other quadrangular keeps, it must have had four stories, instead of two, above the ground, and thus have been high enough to be as justly styled a tower as the Tower of London itself, to which tower, indeed, it has a strange resemblance. Speaking within its walls, Sir William St. John Hope expressed his absolute concurrence with my own theory on the subject.¹

It is with diffidence that I enter the field of domestic architecture, because of such architecture I have made no study. On the other hand, this is precisely the field in which a knowledge of local history and, I must add, of genealogy, is likely to prove useful. I can imagine how Sir William Hope would (sometimes justly) groan at the mention of genealogy, but it was by working out the genealogy of its owners that I recently had the satisfaction of producing from this source independent confirmation of Mr. Miller Christy's conclusion, on architectural grounds, that 'Shenfields' was a house originally built late in the fifteenth century.

I shall now deal with one instance of precisely the opposite kind, because it would be difficult to find a more striking example of the need for checking the evidence of architecture by that which documents supply. Faulkbourne Hall, the stately seat of one who has accepted, I am glad to say, the office of Treasurer to this Society, has been, to a singular degree, the sport of archæologists. We do not, it is true, at the present time, assign it to the great Earl of Gloucester in King Stephen's days, or assert, as did Wright, in 1831, that "The Tower gateway is a fine specimen of the early Norman." So far back as the early fifties Mr. Cutts, our first honorary secretary, in some interesting remarks on the introduction, from the Low Countries, into England, of brick architecture in the fifteenth century, specially mentioned "the interesting brick work of the south aisle wall and porch of Feering Church; the very similar brick work of Faulkbourne Hall," etc., etc.² In 1877, Mr. Spurrell, in an interesting paper on Faulkbourne church, suggested that the red brick window in the south wall of the church was "probably of Edward IV.'s time, or about 1470." and that the oldest portions of the Hall were "of about the same date,"³ though "possibly rather

¹ On the occasion of the Archæological Institute's visit in 1907,

² Vol. i. (o.s.), p. 169. I do not, of course, pronounce any opinion on his view.

³ Mr. Chancellor thought the brickwork of this window and of the porch was "of the same date as the old work at the Hall" (*E.A.T.* (N.S.), vol. vii., pp. 265. 266), which, of course, he dated a good deal later. It would be very interesting if we could venture to connect this work with the clause in Sir Thomas Montgomery's will in 1489 (proved 1495), which bequeaths to "the parson of Falkborne" for "some certyn thing that is most necessary for the same church" ten pounds. But this might be rash. I have not myself seen the brickwork, so can form no opinion of its probable date.

earlier, of Henry VI.'s time."¹ A little later, Mr. Andrew Hamilton, in a paper on the glass of Faulkbourne Hall, described it as "this most delightful old XVth cent. house."² Thus these writers all agreed in assigning Faulkbourne Hall to the fifteenth century. Yet no further back than 1892, Mr. Barrett, an ardent admirer of the Hall, wrote that "A portion of Faulkbourne Hall was built as long ago as the reign of Stephen," and "The tower itself is in reality Norman."³

However, when it was visited by us in 1899, Mr. Chancellor, who had made what he described as "a careful examination of the building," set forth the definite conclusions at which he had arrived. These were (1) that he "was obliged to admit that he could find nothing older than about 1500"; (2) the house was built by the Fortescues, who had inherited the property in 1494, because it was "natural that their Norman descent should make them dissatisfied with the probably then undignified residence for so ancient and wealthy a race,"⁴—surely a most singular reason; (3) "The ground was cleared, apparently not even a stone left of the old buildings"; (4) the house was one of a group in this county which illustrate "the re-introduction of brickwork" as architectural material, not in the fifteenth, but in the sixteenth century, consequent on "the erection of Hampton Court palace."⁵ Without assigning to the Hall any defined date,⁶ Mr. Chancellor classed it with certain well-known Essex houses, which are known to have been erected about 1540, or even up to Elizabeth's accession. It is not, therefore, surprising that, four years later (1903), Mr. Miller Christy and his colleagues, describing the brass to Henry Fortescue, who died in 1576, went even further and held that he "was probably the builder of the present beautiful red-brick mansion—one of the most charming Elizabethan houses in Essex."⁷

Then came a bombshell. Mr. Robert Fowler produced a licence by letters patent, in 1439, to Sir John Montgomery, a predecessor of the Fortescues, authorising him to crenellate and embattle his manor of 'Falkeburn' with stone or 'bryke.' Mr. Fowler, therefore, presumed that the house was put in hand shortly after this date.⁸

¹ *E.A.T.* (N.S.), vol. i., p. 236.

² *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 88.

³ *Essex*, vol. i., p. 81; vol. ii., p. 163.

⁴ The cadet branch who obtained Faulkbourne were not themselves "wealthy."

⁵ *E.A.T.*, vol. vii., pp. 267-270.

⁶ I could show on genealogical grounds that, if subsequent to the erection of Hampton Court Palace, it must also be later than 1536 (if not 1550).

⁷ *E.A.T.*, vol. ix., p. 25.

⁸ *E.A.T.*, vol. x., p. 59.

Documentary evidence, apparently, had come into its own. Without, however, the opinion of an architectural expert, one could not venture to say that the house was built at a date so much earlier than Mr. Chancellor imagined. That opinion was given the very next year (1907), when Sir William Hope addressed the members of the Royal Archæological Institute, with several of our own, at Faulkbourne.¹ He accepted the licence, without reserve, as proving the true date of the house which, he held, "was begun shortly after" its grant, and which he described as "a good example of a brick house of the 15th century, with later additions,"² thus completely vindicating Mr. Spurrell's conclusion of thirty years earlier.

Notwithstanding this, six years later, when we again visited Faulkbourne, the house (I remember) "was thoroughly described by Mr. Wykeham Chancellor,"³ who repeated his father's view. When he was asked why he had ignored the striking evidence of the licence, he replied that he could only deal with the architectural evidence. It is but fair to add that an independent observer, Mr. Barrett, though not, of course, an expert, considered that "the main part is Tudor," and that "after a fairly wide experience in Tudor houses," he could not "easily name a better example than Faulkbourne."⁴

It is a clean cut issue. On the one hand we have Mr. Chancellor's conclusions from the architectural evidence alone; on the other, Sir William Hope's conclusions, also based upon that evidence, but diametrically different. The two cannot be reconciled. The only documentary evidence hitherto produced is, so far as it goes, wholly in Sir William's favour. It is obviously not for me even to express an opinion on the architectural issue; but on other grounds I believe the oldest parts of the house to be the work of the Montgomerys. I may point out that we have, further, the indirect evidence of Dame Montgomery's will, dated early in the year 1465, which proves that she was then residing at Faulkbourne, so that a house of some kind must have stood there in the time of her husband, who died in 1449. The history of Faulkbourne and its lords, which has yet to be written, proves that, contrary to what Mr. Chancellor imagined, the Montgomerys were greater people than the Fortescues, their successors. The King proposed to stay with them at Faulkbourne in 1489, and there is not the slightest reason to suppose that

¹ *E.A.T.*, vol. x., p. 279.

² He has kindly sent me a note of his further observations (see *Arch. Journ.*, vol. lxiv., p. 184).

³ *E.A.T.*, vol. xiii., p. 149.

⁴ *Essex* (1892-3), vol. i., p. 81; vol. ii., p. 163.

the Hall, under the Montgomerys, was, as Mr. Chancellor put it, a "probably undignified residence," for such people as the Fortescues, who had, therefore, to build a new one.¹ Guesswork and archæology go ill together. I have dealt at this length with the date of Faulkbourne Hall, "the most beautiful," in an artist's words, "of all the halls of Essex,"² not only because it illustrates so well the value of documentary evidence, but also because, if it is indeed mainly of the fifteenth century, Essex archæologists may well be proud of possessing so noble a specimen of our ancient domestic architecture.³

[Since this paper was in type, I have been able to show, by documentary evidence, that the brick chapel of Our Lady, Horkesley Causeway, visited by the Society after its annual meeting (1919), was already built or building in 1491. On its "spring excursion" (1919) the Society has visited some further examples of early Tudor architecture in Essex.

With regard to the building in Colchester castle used by the justices in eyre, I have elsewhere pointed out that the open green space where the county courts were held was, not at Colchester, as stated in the *History of English Law*, but at Chelmsford (*E.A.T.*, viii., p. 189)].

¹ See my paper on 'The descent of Faulkbourne' (*E.A.T.*, vol. xv., p. 35) which has appeared since the passage in the text was written.

² Barrett's *Essex*, vol. ii., p. 160.

³ I cannot emphasize too strongly my own lack of qualification to deal with architectural evidence, especially in the case of a house which has obviously received additions and alterations. But the two fifteenth century structures of (Flemish?) brick, which Sir William Hope cites for comparison—namely Tattershall and Hurstmonceaux,—certainly strike one as more castellated and less 'domestic' in character than Faulkbourne, in spite of its one great tower. My own impression is that the wealthy Sir Thomas Montgomery had more to do with the building of the house than his father.

A STEWARD'S ACCOUNTS AT HADHAM HALL,¹ 1628-1629.

BY WILLIAM MINET, M.A., F.S.A.

SOME years ago I dealt with the annals of the Capell family, first in their earlier home at Rayne in Essex, and later on at Little Hadham in Hertfordshire.² A document has recently been rescued from the oblivion of time which throws such a flash of light on the household day by day at Hadham Hall in the seventeenth century that it seems worth these added notes.

It consists of a few leaves, unfortunately not even consecutive, from what must have been a house steward's account book, kept as a record and a check on provisions supplied for the house day by day. The earliest entry is for the 23rd November, 1628, and the latest is of the 6th October, 1629, but how fragmentary the document is will be understood when it is realized that for this period of ten months we have only the record for twenty-four complete days.

As to its survival, the little known serves only to whet the appetite. Hatfield Broad Oak in Essex, some ten miles distant from Hadham, has as its chief manor house Barrington Hall. The earlier Hall is now a farm-house, the present Hall having been built about 1740. Here lived Mr. Lowndes, representing the Barringtons, whose tenure dates back to far beyond the date of our manuscript. Mr. Lowndes died in 1906, when there came to light in the Hall a considerable collection of old papers which happily fell into the hands of Mr. Galpin, then vicar of the parish. Mostly of local interest, these were placed in the Church library, but among them was the document we are now to consider. How or when it strayed from Hadham to Barrington there is no saying, nor can I trace any connection between the two families which should account for the displacement. May one surmise that the careful system in use at Hadham was thought so perfect that the book was lent to a neighbour to become a model for Barrington?

¹ Although Hadham is not actually in Essex, this article deals with the life of a well-known Essex family and is an interesting continuation of Mr. Minet's earlier writings about them. (ED.)

² *Trans.* (N.S.), vol. ix., p. 243; vol. x., p. 145. *Hadham Hall and the Manor of Hadham Parva*. Privately printed, 1914.

I have named the document an account book, yet account book in the usual acceptation of the term it is not, seeing that it deals only with the nature and quantity of some of the provisions consumed by the household, without any reference to their value or cost.

The entries are made daily, and their character will be best understood by giving a complete day as a sample :

Mondaie the 5 of October 1629

		RECEIPTS	EXPENSES	REMAINES
flynecheate ¹	..	21li	10li	12li
Corsecheate	..		36li	28li
Beefe..	..		7 peces	15 peces
Mutton	..	10 peces	13 peces	7 peces
Veale	..	1 pece	Rabbits	.. 8
Porke	..	2 peces	Pullet	.. 1
Neat's tonge	..	1	Chickens	.. 2
Venison pastie	..	1 hote	Pigeons	.. 9
Pigg	..	1	Larkes	.. 22

At breckfast in the Great Chamber Mr Dixon and Mr Childe; in the kitching their two men. At dinner in the Great Chamber Sir Edward Capell, Mr Robert Capell, Mr Roger Capell, Mis Dixon, Mis Lewcean Dixon, Mis Childe, Mis Garrarde, and Mr Saynes his daughter. In the Nursery Mis Lyn, Mother Robberts and Elizabeth Allyn. In the Hall Mr Gittings, Weston Eve, one of the lorde of Salisbury's footemen, Thomas Dyer, Gyles Hooper, a fauconner, William Catmoore senior and Robert Hampton. At supper in the Great Chamber Sir Edward Capell, Mr Robert Capell, Mr Gittings, Mis Dixon, Mis Lewcean Dixon, Mis Childe and John Umfrey's wife. In the Nursery Mis Lyn, Mother Robberts, the widow ffurley, and Elizabeth Allyn. In the Hall Weston Eve, John Umfrey, Jeremy Maude, Thomas Dyer, Gyles Hooper, a fauconner, John Mardon, John Bridgefoote and Isacke Barker. Workfolkes this daie Robert Martyn and his sonne and George Martyn, collar makers. In all 47.

We have similar records for twenty-four complete days,² and first let us deal with the persons for whom the meals were provided. In considering these we are much helped by what is known of the Capell family at this date, as well as by the registers of Little Hadham, in which many of the guests figure as their turn comes.

Four sets of meals in four rooms are noted, though they do not all appear to take place every day; the great chamber, sometimes called the 'parlor' (unless this be a separate room), the nursery, the hall and the entry; these the guests attended according to their

¹ "Cheat, Cheate. Derivation uncertain, not in use since the 17th Century. Wheaten bread of the second quality made of flour more coarsely sifted than that used for Manchet, the finest quality" *New Eng. Dict.*, s.v. Cheat.

² The leaves which survive are not always consecutive and therefore we get on some of them broken records of some further days. I deal throughout only with the complete days.

social degree. The meals consisted of dinner and supper, breakfast being only named on seven occasions and, except in the one case just cited, as taking place in the kitchen or buttery.

Those who attended in the great chamber were such of the family as were then residing at Hadham, as also their guests. The head of the family at this time was Arthur Capell (b. 1557, d. 1632), but as he never appears we must imagine that he was away from home. Of his nineteen children the following appear regularly, namely, Edward, Robert (b. 1588) and Roger (b. 1598), who must all three, therefore, have been living at Hadham at this date. Edward's date of birth alone, amongst his brothers and sisters, has never been traced, but as he is here always given precedence over Robert and Roger, we may assume him older, and suggest from what is known of the dates and ages of his brothers and sisters that he was born in 1587.

Henry, the eldest of Arthur's numerous family, had died in 1622, but Grace, a child of his second marriage, born 1619, was probably living under her grandfather's roof, and it was for her that the nursery must have been required. Of other members of the family one only appears, and that once only, as dining and supping on the 7th December, 1628. This was Arthur the younger, eldest son of Henry, and the next heir to Hadham Hall. Born in 1603, he had recently married (1627) Elizabeth Morrison, heiress of Cassiobury, where he was probably then residing with his young wife. It is this Arthur who later became famous as Baron Capell of Hadham, and taken prisoner at Colchester, was executed in 1649.

Of the guests in the great chamber at dinner or supper not much can be learned; as a rule there were not more than three or four; the largest party was at dinner on the 14th September, 1629, when Robert and Roger Capell entertained ten guests. Certain of the names appear fairly often, a Mistress Garrarde so frequently as to suggest that she formed part of the household. One name I can identify, that of Dr. Paske, the only guest on Christmas Day, 1628; he was then Rector of Much Hadham, and brings two men with him who find hospitality in the Hall. Much Hadham and Little Hadham formed at that date one living, the smaller parish being served by a curate, and it may be noted that neither Thomas Gardiner nor Edward Simons, successive curates at this date, ever appear as guests either in the great chamber or the hall.

The nursery meals are not always given, nor is the child for whose sake it existed ever named. Goodwife Ram and Mother Robberts seem to have been in charge of it; and guests, among them children, were often entertained there; on the 13th September, 1629, we find

"Mistress Dixon's maid, Mother Robberts, the widow Wood, 3 of of her children and her maid." Mistress Dixon and her daughter were dining in the great chamber on that day.

The hall guests were much more numerous than either those of the great chamber or of the nursery; very largely local folk, they can often be traced in the registers.¹ Some of the names recur so constantly that they were obviously of the household, others were often men in attendance on their masters dining in the great chamber, or workfolk who no doubt were lodged and boarded while they were employed at Hadham. Such were Phillips the miller, Malyn the saddler, Peter the jackmender and his boys, Joanas the braisier and his man, King the chandler, Beaumonde the tailor and his son, the Martyns, collar makers, and ffenner the rymeer and his boy: the last a trade I am unable to explain, though one knows the tool 'reamer.'

In the entry were entertained those of least degree, sometimes evidenced perhaps by the prefix 'old'—"Old Sewell," "Old Carsons." Yonge the sexton, found a meal here occasionally, as did two sawyers, and on the 14th September, 1629, one Tankerd, a traveller, is entertained. There are travellers and travellers, for earlier "M^r Thompson the traveller" sits at the highest board. But few meals are noted in the entry, except on the occasion of Christmas hospitality, when the whole neighbourhood must have been entertained there. With this season I now propose to deal.

Christmas festivities began on "Christs daie," though the great chamber and the nursery show no signs of the season. The entry of meals supplied on this day I copy in full, as another good example of how the account was kept.

At dinner in the Great Chamber Sir Edward Capell, Doctor Paske, M^r Robert Capell and M^{is} Garrarde. In the Nursery Goodwife Ram. In the Hall Thomas Dyer, Gyles Hooper, Vallantine Arrice, two of Doctor Paskes men and 7^{xx}16 [*i.e.* 156] persons moore. In the Entry 4^{xx}19 [*i.e.* 99] persons. Served at the Gate 45 persons. At supper in the Great Chamber, Sir Edward Capell, M^{is} Garrarde. In the Hall Robert Sabyn Jnr, Morgayne Person, Thomas Dyer, Gyles Hooper, Vallantine Arrice and 7 persons moore. In the Nursery Goodwife Ram and Elizabeth Brett. Workpeople this day, Henry Ram, John Pelham, Tobias Dale, Edward Missileton and Thomas Briston helpers in the kitchen; in all 331.

The total of meals is quite correct, but is nothing to the number served on the next two days, when it runs up to 350 and 396. Music must have been provided, for "Walter Stinger and 4 musitions moore" have breakfast on Sunday morning, 26th December.

¹ Registers of the Parish of Little Hadham, 1559-1812. Privately printed, 1907.

The meals served are carefully totalled every day, and during the 24 days covered by the document, 16 is the lowest, 396 the highest; it generally runs between 30 and 40.

So much of the house has now vanished that it is impossible to say where the great chamber or the hall may have been. It is clear that they were not in the small portion which yet survives. The great banqueting hall, which appears in old pictures of the house, forming its east front, did not exist at this date, having been added in 1632 by Arthur the younger when he succeeded his grandfather. The entry and the gate, no doubt the same, still stand to-day, built it would seem by Gyles Capell early in the sixteenth century as an addition to the older fifteenth century barn; the Tudor arch which now forms the approach to the house has adjacent to it a barn which could well have served for Christmas dinners. Over the archway was a square gatehouse, now destroyed, but traces of which yet remain.

The guests, as we have seen, are entered by name every day, and the number of meals totalled daily. This is preceded by a statement of the nature and quantity of the provisions consumed during the day. Every week is followed by a summary of all provisions issued during the week. This summary must have been checked with the daily accounts, as possibly with other records, for under it is written, in another hand, "Passed," with the date of the audit. Two of these summaries are contained in our fragment, one for the week ending 6th December, 1628, the other for the week 13th-19th September, 1629. Unfortunately in neither case have we the details of these weeks, so it is not possible to check the audit.

These summaries have an additional interest, seeing that they comprise certain items not noted in the weekly menus. I choose the later weekly summary (13th-19th September, 1629) for examination, seeing that it remains quite complete. It begins with the statement that "the extraordinary meales of persons coming in this week was 287," a phrase which might leave it doubtful whether the figure given applied to guests or to the usual household. The three days we have details of for this week account for 125 meals, a proportion which would give 291 for the seven days: we may therefore be fairly confident that 287 was the total number of meals provided in the week.

The summary then passes to meal, of which there is no daily note; of this there "was received from the mill into the bakehouse 20 bushels." This meal was of course the foundation of the bread, but the statement as to this which follows bears no relation to the 20 bushels. This summary is set out in a tabular form expressed

for some reason in two values, and the figures are placed as usual under the three headings.

	RECEIPTS	EXPENSES	REMAINES
Bread into the Pantry {	10 bus. 3 pecks. 15 ^{xx} 1 ^{li}	11 bus. 3 pecks 5 ^{li} 16 ^{xx}	3 bus. 1 peck 5 ^{li} 95 ^{li}

Knowing that 7 lbs make a peck, and 4 pecks make a bushel, we see at once that the lower figures, expressed in scores of pounds, exactly repeat the upper row. It then continues :

Flower meale into the pastry ..	..	2 bus.
Flower for cakes ..	..	1 peck
Brann to the Brewer ..	..	2 bus.
Remaining in the bakehowse ..	..	37 bus. 2 ^{li}
Sum delivered from the bakehowse ..	..	15 bus.
Sum expended ..	..	15 bus. 2 pecks 5 ^{li}

One would like to be able to check all these figures, but except in one instance they in nowise agree. The "sum expended"—15 bushels, 2 pecks, 5^{li}—is made up of flour supplied to the

Pantry ..	..	11 bus. 1 peck 5 ^{li}
Pastry ..	..	2 bus.
Cakes ..	..	1 peck
Brewer ..	..	2 bus.
		15 bus. 2 pecks 5 ^{li}

though even this identity of total may be a mere accident ; the full understanding of the rest would seem to have depended to a considerable extent on the previous week's summary and the stocks therein shown as remaining, and this we have unfortunately not got.

Following on the account of flour come further items which do not appear in the daily records. Again the items are given in three columns.

	RECEIPTS	EXPENSES	REMAINES
Beer ..	16 hogs.	10 hogs.	63 hogs.
Candles ..	..	38 ^{li}	272 ^{li}
Cheeses ..	14	8	7 ^{xx} 14 ¹
Butter ..	67 ^{li}	54 ^{li}	5 ^{xx} 2 ^{li}
Eggs ..	10 ^{xx} 4	8 ^{xx} 5	5 ^{xx} 10

Beer is the only form of drink noticed, and that only in the weekly summaries ; if we are to take it that ten hogsheads were consumed in the week (540 gallons), this means 77 gallons a day. To take it another way ; if, as we think, 287 meals were provided in this week, this represents 7.52 quarts per person per meal. The quantity seems large, but probably much beer was given away beyond what was drunk at the meals. One would much like to know the nature

¹ Probably 154 pounds, though not so stated.

and quantity of the wines provided, but the record of these does not seem to have fallen within our steward's province.

The 54 pounds of butter have against them the marginal note "mayde in the dayrie 38 pounds, whereof potted were 26 pounds"; while of the 165 eggs, 40 are said to have come out of the "dayrie," and so doubtless were home produce.

The provisions must have been mainly of home production; flour came from the mill, venison from Walkern—a manor near Buntingford, the property of the Capells, as is shown by this entry, "Received from Walkern Parke a bucke for the howse this weeke, and this is the 15th and last bucke for this yeere." Rabbits came from Stebbing, another Capell manor, close to Rayne, their former seat in Essex.

Christmas is a season for gifts, and on the 29th December, 1628, three are noted: "This day M^r Thomas Humbertstone sent my Master 2 capons, & Weston Eve & Adam Eve sent 2 capons apece," while "Sir W. Wiseman sent my master on this day a swan & his lady 2 capps." The lady was Elizabeth, grand-daughter to the elder Arthur, whose marriage to Sir William on the 6th November, 1628, is entered in our parish registers. The caps were no doubt an offering to her grandfather. Whether he was at Hadham at this time does not appear. Aged 71 in 1628, it may well be that he was unable to join the common meals, and so is not noted. He lived to be 74, and dying in 1632 was buried at Hadham, so he probably died there.

To set down the daily menu were too tedious, but the interest in the nature and quantities of its items has led me to compile the following list of both. It will be remembered that the account covers twenty-four complete days, in which 1,421 meals were provided. I have grouped the items according to their nature, adding the quantities which the account tells us were expended during that period:—

Meat. Beef 262 pieces; Mutton 285 pieces; Pork 29 pieces; Lamb 4 pieces; Veal 19 pieces. Neats tongues 38; Gammon of bacon 1; Pig 8 (these given separately I suggest were sucking pigs); Venison pasties, hot 20, cold 1 (venison never appears in any other form); Red deer pie 1; Brawn 4.

Birds. Turkeys 4; Geese 6; Capons 6; Capon pie 1; Chickens 6; Pullets 17; Pigeons 114; Larks 44; Blackbirds 9.

Game. Rabbits 141; Hares 5; Partridges 22; Teal 1; Mallard 1; Woodcock 1.

Fish. Salt salmon 3; Soles 1 pair; Brett 1; Herrings, fresh 18, white 18, red 18; Haberdyne 5; Lyng 1; Stockfish 1; Thorneback 2; Chayte 8.

Sundries. Fine cheate (*i.e.* bread) 214 lbs; Coarse cheate 1068 lbs; Mince pies 162 (only provided at Christmas); Hartichokes 6; Tarts 2; Custards 2.

To these must be added certain items which appear only in the two weekly summaries, of neither of which we have all the daily

details. These are "Udder 1; Codmop 1; Whittings 6; Smelts 52; Loaches 12; Oysters 1 bushel; Greenfish 1; Trout 2; Crayfish 60; Bagg puddings 2."

If the variety of provisions is great, the quantity seems to be greater still; though except in the case of bread, where the figures work out at 13.7 ounces per meal per person, we are unable to check it. We learn from other parts of the document that the 262 pieces of beef were a little over 7 bullocks, 285 of mutton exactly $28\frac{1}{2}$ sheep, and 29 of pork nearly 3 pigs, for we have an entry "Beef 35 peces viz. a bullock wanting a pece, Mutton 68 peces viz. 7 sheep wanting 2 peces, Porke 8 peces viz. a hogg wanting 2 peces," but even though we know the value of the carcase in pieces, we have no indication of weight, which must have varied considerably.

In illustration of this system of dealing with meat, reference may be made to a very similar plan noticed in the Northumberland Household Book of 1512,¹ though in the earlier instance the 36 "peces" of our bullock are represented by 64 "strokes." The passage is as follows:

That the Clerks of the Kitchin every day at 6 or 7 fail not to appoint the larderer & cooks and to be with the said cooks at the striking out of the messes of beef, mutton, veal & pork that shall be cut out for the service of my lord & the house as well for breakfasts as for dinners and suppers, & make & strike out the quantities [as given].

There shall be striken of any carcase of Beef 64 strokes, which is after 16 strokes of every quarter & after 4 Tylde in every quarter, 4 strokes in every Tylde

Of Mutton

12	"	"	3	"	4	"
----	---	---	---	---	---	---

Of Veal

16	"	"	4	"	4	"
----	---	---	---	---	---	---

Of Pork

20	"	"	5	"	4	"
----	---	---	---	---	---	---

If the amount looks high compared with our standard of to-day, it must be remembered that we have a larger choice and need not therefore consume as much flesh. Breakfast again remains a problem; they must have had breakfast, and a fairly substantial one; did the provisions specified daily in this account supply breakfast as well? we must suppose they did, though, as we have seen, this meal is practically never named.

Let us take a quiet day as a sample and see what the consumption was. On the 14th December, 1628, thirteen dinners and five suppers were served, eighteen meals in all. They had 37 pounds of bread, 8 pieces of beef, or nearly a quarter of a bullock, 1 sheep

¹ Ed. Bishop Percy, 1770; pp 115, 135.

(10 pieces), 1 piece of veal, 2 tongues, 1 venison pasty, 4 rabbits, 1 turkey, 1 pullet and 1 partridge. Even if we throw in a breakfast for every one, and thus make the meals 27 instead of 18, the fare seems Gargantuan, and yet one would say that folk who kept such minute account of their provisions would not allow much waste.

Only once is there any mention of vegetables, when on the 1st October, 1629, six hartichokes are served; potatoes they can hardly have had so early, but of other store of vegetables there must have been plenty.

Having thus a complete record of all the provisions which went to the furnishing of the household, we can comment on such of them as are not easily recognised under their then names.

Most of these various foods will be easily recognised, some however are no longer known under their then names. Lyng, stockfish, and haberdyne were salted fish, the latter being cod; greenfish, on the contrary, was fresh fish, while brett we now know as brill, and thorneback is skate. Codmop is now codling.¹

There remains one word for which I can find no explanation. What was chayte? From its position in the lists of provisions I take it to have been fish, and the names of fish have varied greatly, as they still vary considerably locally.

If it is difficult to account for the quantity of provisions consumed, it is not altogether easy to understand the system followed in these accounts for checking it. Every page of the record has three headings: "Receipts - Expenses - Remaines." One would expect the first of these headings to represent the quantity of each item, say bread, coming to the steward on that day, the second to give the amount consumed, while the third would show what was left: the two second columns totalled would thus always equal the first. If however we look at the examples I have quoted we shall see that this is not the case, and the same holds good through all the daily and weekly accounts, what was consumed and what remained never together equal what was said to be received.

The explanation of the difficulty is that the account was worked on what may be called a system of imaginary balances, that is under receipts we have only what was actually added to stock on that day, no account being taken of what was brought forward from the day previous. A reference to the sample day given above,

¹ *The New English Dictionary* recognises it (s.v. Cod. 4) as "some kind of fish," and under Mop, gives gurnard-mop. The following quotation shows the word in use at a much earlier date. "My master paid for xxix codmoppes xd," is an entry in the household expenses of Sir John Howard, in 1466. "Manners and Household expenses in the 13th and 15th Centuries": Roxburghe Club, 1841.

5th October, 1629, will make this clear. Of 'corsecheate' none was received, 36lbs. were consumed, and 28lbs. remained. This day's account does not state it, but 64lbs. was the balance left the day before and brought down in fact, though not so shown. Again of mutton on this day there must have been a balance of 10 pieces, to this 10 were added, making 20; of these 13 were consumed, leaving 7 to be carried forward.

The Reformation was then not so very distant. What light does our document throw on any survival of the practice of fasting in the English Church? Two Fridays only occur in it: the first, Boxing Day, 1628, when feasting and not fasting prevailed; the other is Friday, the 2nd October, 1629, and this gives distinct evidence that the custom to some extent remained. The list opens as always with bread, but instead of being followed as usual by beef, mutton, veal and pork, we have haberdyne, red and white herrings, thorn-backe and chayte. There is no beef at all, and mutton, veal and pork are much less in quantity than on normal days.

Though Hadham Hall be nowhere named, yet there can be no doubt as to the pertinence of these accounts to that house. The Capells, who lived at Hadham at the time, dine and sup daily, Dr. Paske comes over from his cure three miles away to dine on Christmas Day; and, more convincing than all, the steward tells us on the 26th September, 1628, that "this daie Anthony Wood the Cook was burried," a fact which the entry of that day in our parish registers confirms.

STONDON MASSEY AND ITS CHAPELRY.

BY J. H. ROUND, M.A., LL.D.

IN this paper I propose to disentangle the grievous confusion into which Morant and those who have followed him have plunged the name and the early history of Stondon Massey. I shall also trace the early history of its appendant chapelry in the Rodings.

I have already pointed out, in a paper on "The descent of Faulkbourne,"¹ the danger of accepting and repeating, without verification, the statements, however positive, of Morant, a danger which, as I there showed, had been insisted on more than once by our late Hon. Sec., Mr. H. W. King. In case, however, it should be thought ungracious to correct the errors of our county's historian—on the ground that he worked at a disadvantage, as compared with ourselves—I would explain that, in this case, Newcourt (the historian of the Diocese of London),² although he wrote much earlier (*i.e.*, about 1700) is perfectly accurate in his facts. Morant had Newcourt's work before him and there is, therefore, no excuse for the dreadful confusion that he introduced.

Newcourt, dealing with Stondon Massey,³ began by styling it, quite correctly, "Standon Massye or *Marci*". Essex place-names are singularly rich in suffixes representing the names of the old-world manorial lords, and are thus, to those who can interpret them, instructive for the history of our county. It is important, therefore, to give them accurately and to interpret them rightly. Morant, however, although admitting that, "as for Massy, it is visibly a corruption from the word *Marci*"—and heading his account "Stondon, or Standon, *Marci*" (vol. i., p. 187)—introduced wanton confusion by further stating, in the same place, that "the addition of *Marci* came from its ancient lords the Mark (*sic*) or Merks (*sic*) family; which had several estates hereabouts." He enumerated, in a note, some of these—the family of Merk (pronounced Mark), from the Boulonnais, being of course well-known in Essex manorial

¹ *E.A.T.*, vol. xv., pp. 35-59.

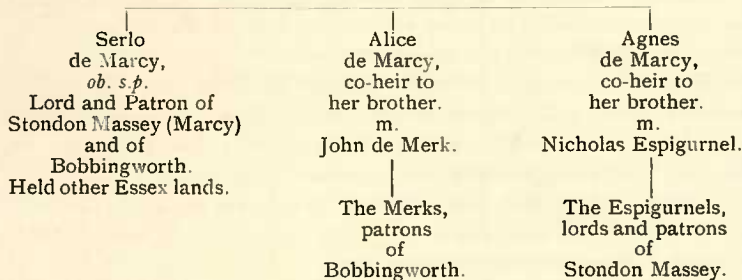
² See his *Reperitorium*, "an Ecclesiastical Parochial History of the Diocese of London."

³ *Op. cit.*, ii., 544.

history. Its name had nothing to do with that of Marci, from which, he admitted, the suffix of Stondon Massey was derived. As Mr. King observed, the errors in Morant's work are constantly repeated from it at the present time, and, accordingly, when Stondon Massey, in October, 1906, was visited by our Society, the rector, a member of our Council, began his description of the church by observing that "the family of Mark or Marci are responsible for the distinctive name of the parish—Stondon Massey."¹

The facts of the case are proved, beyond the possibility of question, by one of our Essex 'fines,'² belonging to Michaelmas term, 1244. From it we learn that Serlo de Marcy, lord of the manor of 'Standon,' was then dead, leaving, as his heirs, two sisters, of whom Alice, the elder, was married to 'John (de) Merk,'³ and Agnes, the younger, to Nicholas 'Esprygurnel.'⁴ By this fine both moieties of the manor of 'Standon' (with the exception of certain homages and services), with the advowson, were to be held by the younger sister and her husband, save also a moiety of the tenements held by Denise, widow of Hamon de Marci, and Agnes, wife of Serlo de Marci, in dower. All this they were to 'hold of' the elder sister and her husband, as was then a common practice. It was also stipulated that the advowson of Bobbingworth,⁵ then held in dower by the above Denise, should pass, at her death, to Alice and her heirs, while other lands held in dower by the above widows should be divided, on their deaths, between the two sisters.

We thus obtain decisive evidence for the pedigree here constructed:—



¹ *E.A.T.*, vol. x., p. 91.

² *Essex Fines*, i., p. 148. It is always a pleasure to remind our members that they are indebted for the publication of these valuable documents to the initiative of our late Hon. Treasurer, Mr. W. C. Waller.

³ Misprinted 'Pertil.'

⁴ The 'Spigurnel' was the official name of the chafe-wax to the Chancery.

⁵ Morant could find nothing to say of Bobbingworth between 1086 and 1328, when a Spigurnel held it.

The above John de Merk appears again in our volume of 'fines' (p. 262) at least as late as 1266, when his daughter, Denise, was the wife of John de Ramesden, who is mentioned in the earlier 'fine' of 1244 (p. 148). Newcourt mentions (vol. ii., p. 65) a presentation to Bobbingworth by 'John de Merk' under Henry III. It should be observed that the pedigree printed above is fatal to Morant's statement (vol. i., p. 187) that "the ancientest owners of it after the Marks (*sic*) were the Spigurnell family," and even more so to Mr. Reeve's development of it, where he says that the Spigurnells "married with and followed the Marks at Stondon Hall about 1250."¹ The Spigurnells neither married with nor succeeded to the family of Merk (or Mark) at Stondon. They continued to hold the manor, under the Merks, in accordance with the 'fine' of 1244, and are found so doing in 1295/6 and 1308.²

With regard to the advowson of Bobbingworth, we have seen that, on the death of the tenant in dower, it was to pass (under the fine of 1244) to the elder Marci co-heir, who had married John de Merc, and to her heirs, and that Newcourt had found a Merc presenting to the living, accordingly, under Henry III. A later 'fine,' as yet unindexed, proves that, in 1279,³ Ralf de Merc granted the said advowson, with half-an-acre of land, to John de Lovetot, for thirty marcs (20*l.*).

The 'chapelry' of Stondon, as I term it in the heading to this paper, well deserves examination. Under Stondon, Newcourt wrote of it:—

There is also an old decayed Chappel appertaining to it, with all the tithes of the [*rectius* that] mannor of *Margaret Roothing*, known by the name of *Marks-Hall*, lying near or in the parish of *Margaret Roothing*, valued by Henry VIII., together with Stondon, at xx marcs [13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*] (ii., 544).

He then cited an extract from the Register of Fulk (Basset), bishop of London (1241-1259) to the effect that the rector of Stondon was entitled to all the tithes (save from two acres) 'de Dominico de Marc' in 'Roothing Sanctæ Margaretæ.' This extract was made by William Fering, who was rector of Stondon from 1564, and was exhibited in 1618, with the terrier, by John Nobbs, then rector, who himself added a memorandum:—

That the mannor of Margaret Roothing is commonly known and called to this day by the name of *Marks-Hall*, and is usually imbounded with the perambulation of *Stondon*, in the week of Rogation, and the chappel there hath anciently been called by the name of *Capella de Roothing-Marci*, as by ancient Institutions recorded in the Principal Registry of the Bishop of London doth appear.

¹ *E. A. T.*, vol. x., p. 92-3.

² *Cal. of Inq.*, iii., No. 314; v., No. 94. The manor was held of Ralf de Merk at both these dates.

³ *Essex Fines*, ii., 28.

This statement is somewhat too sweeping in view of the solitary institution actually recorded by Newcourt, *viz.*: that of John Allen, in 1410, instituted to the rectory of Stondon with the chapel of *Roothing Marci* annexed. When the only other double presentation was made (in 1371), it was to Stondon 'with the chappel of *Roothing Margaret* annexed.' As was not unnatural, the rector of Margaret Roding did not approve of this arrangement; in a terrier "it was certified," Newcourt states (ii., 505), "that the Parson of Stondon, seven miles off, hath held time out of mind the tythes of *Markshall* in this parish, val. 10*l.* *per ann.* unjustly, as the Rector thinks."¹ Morant, however, notes (1768), under Stondon (i., 189), that "it hath (*sic*) the tithes of Marks Manor in Roding" (*sic*), and under Margaret Roding (ii., 473), that "it pays (*sic*) tithes to the Rector of Stondon Formerly it had a chapel of its own standing where the barn is, or near it, but now demolished." From this he deduced that "this manor seems to have been originally a distinct Parish or at least a Chapelry independent from the church here and belonging to Stondon-Marci." (*sic*).

The special interest of this manor's ecclesiastical position consists of the light it throws on the manorial descent. Morant styled the manor "Marks or Marcas-fee" (ii., 473) and held that it "seems to have taken that name, either from Marcellus (*sic*) who had it at the time of the general survey, or from the family of Mark, or Merk, often mentioned above." He did not, however, attempt to trace the history of the manor. One of the records of Tiltey Abbey puts us on the right track.² Among the small endowments given to the abbey at its dedication³ was half a virgate, which the benefactor had formerly held "in villa de Roinges Serlonis de Marci de eodem Serlone," with a quit-claim to Hamo de Marci (fos. 32*b*-33).⁴ It will be remembered that Serlo and Hamo de Marci, both occur in the 'fine' of 1244,⁵ at which date they were both dead. This fine expressly provides that the whole of Roinges (*i.e.*, Roding Marci) was to pass to the elder sister and John de Merk, her husband, and their heirs, which it did. The Bobbingworth share of the Marci inheritance similarly passed to the Merks, from whom it had passed to the Lovetots by 1293.⁶

¹ The rector was then (1567-1579) Samuel Pigbone.

² In the MS. cartulary, in two vols., which is now among Lady Warwick's muniments (see *E.A.T.*, vol. viii., pp. 353-9).

³ Mr. Robert Fowler dates this as "about 1220." (*V.C.H. Essex*, ii., 134).

⁴ I have dealt with the identity of this manor as the 'Rodinges' held of Hamo *dapifer* by 'Serlo' in 1086 in *V.C.H. Essex*, i., 501.

⁵ See p. 149 above.

⁶ *Cal. of Inq.*, iii., No. 207 (pp. 131, 133). See also p. 150 above.

John de Merk and Alice (de Marci) his wife had retained, under the 'fine' certain holdings in Stondon, and are found dealing with one of them in 1254.¹ But Marks in Margaret Roding² seems to have become their residence; for in 1297 we meet with "Ralf de Merk, aged 40 years, dwelling at Rothing," as godfather of Ralf Jocelin and father of Thomas de Merk.³ It was of this Ralf de Merk that the Spigurnels held Stondon (as heirs of the younger sister) in 1296 and 1308.⁴ In 1303 he is found holding three-quarters of a knight's fee 'in Rothing Marcy, Willinghale et Dummawe.'⁵ When we refer to the *Inq. p.m.* on Edmund Espigurnel in 1296, we find him holding Stondon of Ralf "by service of $\frac{3}{4}$ knight's fee." The 'fine' of 1244 had not named the amount of knight-service due, but had provided, as I understand it, that the Spigurnels should hold of the Merks, "doing therefor all the services appertaining thereto," and that the Merks "shall acquit" the Spigurnels "against the chief lords of that fee from all the services appertaining thereto." The result of this arrangement was that the Merks appeared on the rolls as the parties liable for "the services," but recouped themselves from the Spigurnels, who had to find the money.

There is found in the *Red Book of the Exchequer* (p. 505), this important entry (?1212), which must refer to 'Rothing Marci' (*i.e.*, Marks in Margaret Rothing):—

Serlo de Merscy j feodum et tertiam partem in Roinges de feodo Comitiss Gloucestrie, quod Comes Gloucestrie dedit Ricardo de Lucy, ad castrum de Angre.

The story is completed by another entry in the *Red Book* (p. 611), which shows us how Serlo de Marcy's four fees, held of the Honour of Gloucester, were transferred, by the earl of Gloucester, under Henry II., to Richard de Luci, in order that they might form part of the latter's 'Honour of Ongar.'⁶

¹ *Essex Fines*, i., 206.

² The manor lies in the south of the parish.

³ *Cal. of Inq.*, iii., p. 323.

⁴ See p. 150 note, above.

⁵ *Feudal Aids*, ii., 153. In this Record Office publication 'Rothing Marci' is wrongly identified as 'White Roothing,' where another line of the Merks held a manor, and in *Cal. of Inq.*, iii., p. 323 (cited above) this Rothing is not identified.

⁶ "Ad honorem et castellariam de Angre" (see *E.A.T.* [N.S.], vii., 148-9) in my paper on 'The Honour of Ongar.'

BECKET AT COLCHESTER.

BY J. H. ROUND, M.A., LL.D.

It is fairly well known that, in 1157, when Henry II. held an important council at Colchester, Thomas ('Becket'), then his Chancellor, was among those present, and that, after his death, he was commemorated locally by altars under his invocation and by a chapel on St. John's Green.¹ No one, however, seems to have observed that he visited Colchester in earlier days (1141—1148), under Stephen.

The unindexed cartulary of St. John's Abbey, Colchester,² contains transcripts of two deeds, by which Hubert de St. Clair gave to St. John's, with the consent of his brother and heir presumptive, Hamon and the latter's son, Hubert, all his holding at Greenstead, the eastern suburb of Colchester (pp. 154-5). Both these deeds recite that he has placed his gift on St. John's altar in the presence of Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, and name as witnesses *inter alios*, "Rogerus, Thomas, et Johannes et Ricardus Castel clerici archiepiscopi." The second of these was no other than Thomas 'of London,' as he was then styled, the future archbishop and saint. It is known that he was one of the three confidential 'clerks' of the archbishop, the other two being Roger of Pont l'Evêque and John of Canterbury, who are both named with him in these Colchester charters.

Without consulting one or other of these three the archbishop rarely did anything; and in matters of special difficulty or delicacy he relied mainly upon Thomas³ The *curia Theobaldi*, the household of Archbishop Theobald, was a sort of little school of the prophets, a seminary into which the vigilant primate drew the choicest spirits among the rising generation to be trained up under his own eyes till they were fitted to become first the sharers and then the continuators of his work for the English church and the English nation. One by one, as the occasion presented itself, he began to send them forth to take independent positions in the church or in the world. Of the chosen three whom he specially trusted, the first who thus left his side was John

¹ *E.A.T.*, vol. vii., p. 122-3; vol. vi., p. 85.

² Printed for the Rexburghe Club (2 vols.), 1894. It has an unsatisfactory index of place-names, but none of personal names.

³ Norgate, *England under the Angevin Kings*, i., 354.

of Canterbury, who, in 1153, succeeded Hugh of Puiset as treasurer of York. Next year Theobald succeeded in obtaining the royal assent to the appointment of Roger of Pont l'Evêque as Archbishop of York.¹

Roger had been made archdeacon of Canterbury as early as 1148 (which helps to date the Colchester charters), and in 1163 John of Canterbury was consecrated bishop of Poitiers.

The importance of our two Colchester charters is that they confirm the chroniclers' statements as to the above three *clerici* of Archbishop Theobald. I have now noted another charter in which three of the four *clerici* named at Colchester are again found in his company, as "Roger de Ponte Episcopi, Richard Castell, Thomas of London, clerks."² My friend, Mr. R. L. Poole, who edited this charter, informed me that he did not know of our Colchester charters and that he could throw no light on the 'Richard Castel' who appears with the three famous *clerici*. I was lucky enough to come across a witness of this name in one of the Duke of Norfolk's charters,³ which records a grant by William, bishop of Norwich, to Ralf, son of Geoffrey, priest, "of that portion of the church of Stoches which pertains to the fee of Hugh de Polested, upon whose presentation the grant is made." The editor of this charter dates it '1239-40,' and the index identifies 'Stoches' as in 'co. Norf.' The last witness but two, however, is "Ebrardo, milite de Bocsteda," who can be shown to have taken his name from our Essex Boxted.⁴ For the Colchester cartulary⁵ contains charters relating to Boxted Church, from which we learn that Everard de Boxted married Alice, sister of Hugh de Polsted, and became a monk at St. John's Abbey, as did his son Warner. Hugh, son of Everard and Alice, gave Boxted church to St. John's Abbey (in the time of Bishop Gilbert Foliot), by the advice of his uncle, Hugh de Polsted. The church of 'Stoches,' is evidently the well-known edifice at Stoke-by-Nayland, which lies just south of Polsted (Suffolk). The first witness to the charter is "Johanne vicecomite," whom I have identified as John, sheriff of Norfolk (and Suffolk), who d. *circ.* 1146.⁶ As bishop William was not consecrated till 1146, the Stoke charter can be dated *circ.* 1146.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 477.

² *Hist. MSS. Reports: Various Collections*, vii., 31. Mr. Poole dates this charter 1143-8.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 229

⁴ The place is wrongly indexed as Boxtead, Suffolk.

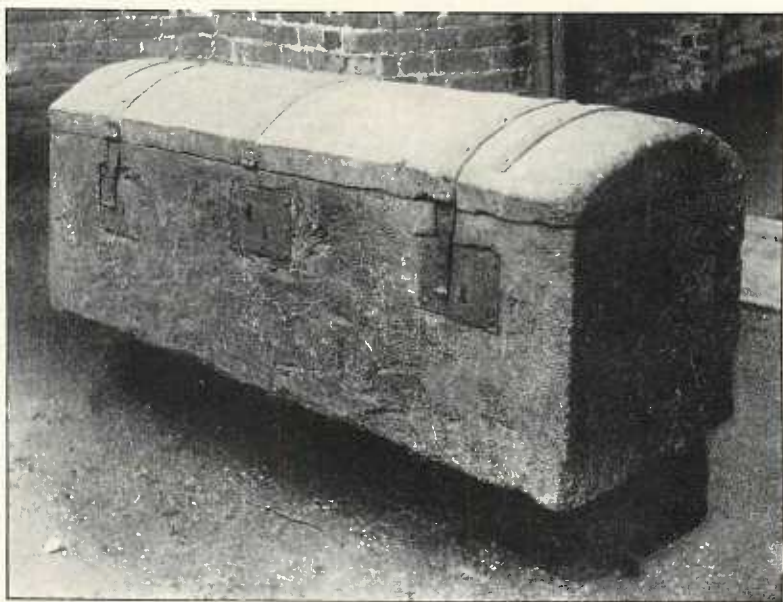
⁵ pp. 150-152 (see note 2 above).

⁶ *E.A.T.*, viii., 194.

CHURCH CHEST, FEERING.



From a photo by Rev. A. F. Curtis.



From a photo by Rev. A. F. Curtis.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES.

The Late Dr. Laver.—I should be glad to add to the appreciative obituary notice of the late Dr. Laver a fact which may be now forgotten. So far back as 1884 Dr. Laver urged, at a Halstead meeting, more frequent meetings of our Society (*E.A.T.*, iii. [N.S.], 109). At a Council meeting held at Colchester, 30th April, 1887, "Mr. Laver brought forward a proposition for more frequent meetings of the Council and of the Society; suggesting that four Council and four public meetings of the Society be held yearly at different towns in the County" (*E.A.T.*, iii. [N.S.], 193). This suggestion was duly adopted, and at the General Meeting at Dunmow, 12th August, 1887, "the proposal was unanimously agreed to, and it was announced that three additional meetings would be held yearly, in accordance with the suggestion" (*Ibid.*, pp. 241, 306). This was carried into effect at once (*Ibid.*, p. 312). Naturally, this forward policy led to a great development in the Society's activities, to which a glance at its volumes bears striking witness. The slender volume iii., from which I have quoted, actually contained the Society's proceedings for seven years (1882-8), while the larger volumes that have since been issued can only suffice to contain those of two or three years. Of the twenty-four members of the Council for 1885-6, according to the printed list, I am now the only survivor, so that I would venture to remind our members of the origin of this notable development in the Society's labours.

J. H. ROUND.

The Feering Chest.—Our member, Colonel Charles Healey, C.M.G., has presented to All Saints' Church, Feering, the church chest (late thirteenth century), which formerly stood under the church tower. Its recovery and presentation to the church is recorded in the following note to me by the present vicar, the Rev. A. F. Curtis, M.A.:—

"I have ascertained from an old inhabitant that the chest used to stand under the tower, but it seems to have been removed when repairs were done to the bells, about twenty-five years ago, and to have been left in a shed at the vicarage amongst some lumber

which was afterwards sold, and by a strange oversight the chest was sold with it, and bought by Fisher (who resided at the Post Office, Feering), where it was bought and obtained by Colonel Healey."

Colonel Healey has kindly sent me a detailed description of the 'dug out,' written by Mr. J. L. Glasscock, and is as follows:—

"This chest is a dug-out, 4 feet 6 inches long by 1 foot 5½ inches wide by 1 foot 3 inches deep to underside of lid. The height to apex of lid is 1 foot 7 inches.

It appears to be made of chestnut or sycamore wood, the front and back being about 2 inches thick and the ends 5½ inches. At some subsequent period these ends have been cut out to a depth of about 6 inches, leaving a ledge at each end about 3½ inches wide; this would appear to have been done for the purpose of inserting a false bottom or shelf in the chest. This lid is coved and slightly hollowed on the inside and a rebate is formed which fits the *original* internal size of the chest. At each end there are two small holes made to receive the irons holding the lifting rings, which in this instance were probably similar to those at Ugley (see *Church Chests of Essex*, p. 27). The front and back of the lid is worked square to a depth of about 2 feet, and in this respect it differs from all the dug-out chests illustrated in *Church Chests of Essex*."

"There are three locks in the front, the shape of the keyhole of that on the right does not correspond with the other two. There are two iron bands about 1½ inches wide, hinged at back and passing from the bottom of the back and extending over three parts of the lid. There are three iron bands with shouldered hasps (the centre hasp is missing) fitting into the locks. The iron work is apparently of the same age as the chest and is in its original position. With the exception of the cutting away of the ends above mentioned the chest is in its original condition. The bottom is much decayed and the ends are crumbling."

I am indebted to the Rev. F. W. Curtis for the photographs of the accompanying illustrations of the chest.

H. W. LEWER.

Dister Brass.—In my account of the brass of Allaine Dister, *Transactions*, vol. xiii., p. 310, a slight error crept in owing to my not seeing a proof. I visited Lavenham church after sending in the MS., and discovered that the shield of arms in the upper dexter corner is that of S. George, *viz.*: *argent, a cross gules*. The tinctures are still in evidence.

G. MONTAGU BENTON.

The Petres (vol. xv., p. 93).—The whole account of “Baldwin Le Petteur” and his jocular tenure is to be found in the edition of Camden’s *Britannia*, translated by Philemon Holland in 1610; so that there is nothing strange in the Italian editor of “Cosmo’s Travels” reading of this tenure in 1669 and confusing the Suffolk with the Essex family.

JOHN TURNER.

Discovery of more deneholes at Grays.—In the summer of 1918 the workmen at the loam and chalk works, belonging to Mr. C. Wall, of Grays, during the course of excavating some 35 feet or more of loam—sandy loam, which lies upon the chalk in that vicinity (a continuation of the same stratum extending to Hangman Wood, only not so thick), found that the crowns of two denehole chambers had collapsed, owing to the trampling of the workmen and the weight of the railway waggons overhead. The Rev. E. Smith, rector of Chadwell-St.-Mary, and I, were soon upon the scene to take measurements. Nothing was found in the chambers however. They were of the typical double-trefoil pattern, three proceeding from either side of the shaft; the shaft itself, about $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet in diameter, having penetrated through the overlying 35 feet of sandy loam and then through 18 inches of chalk, just sufficient to form a fairly safe roof, provided it was protected from the usual disintegration through frost or infiltration of surface water. The shaft after its entry into the chalk branched out into the six chambers mentioned, each of which measured about 15 feet from the shaft centre to the terminal end of the chamber, and was about 8 feet high by 8 or 9 feet in width. The walls were very irregular, roughly hewn and full of water fissures, which latter fact made it certainly unsafe for the first excavators to extend the chambers very far from the entrance. As usual a conical heap of sand lay on the floor, right under the shaft’s mouth, and came almost to the height of the chamber roof. The metal pick-marks—*squared* holes, were visible all around the walls, and this is always the case when these chambers are opened up, showing plainly as they do that the chambers were not used for any purpose after the chalk had been taken out. The mystery about these deneholes has vanished long ago. We now know that they were purely holes to obtain chalk of a certain density, suitable for lime-burning and for the land as marl or manure. In fact, I have myself the copy of a bill for labour in connection with one of these excavations, showing that the workmen under a lime contractor were paid 2s. per foot for the first 30 feet of shaft loam removed, and 2s. 6d. per foot for the next 40 feet, before the shaft entered the chalk.

In this case the shaft was over 70 feet deep. Three men were usually employed on one set of chambers, *i.e.* one for "winning" or picking it down, one for carrying it in baskets or wheeling it to the centre, where it was placed in the rope basket, and a third on top, with a windlass, to "fetch" it to the surface, where it was burnt into lime. On enquiry at Mr. Wall's works I learnt that more than half-a-dozen similar shafts, with these chambers, were uncovered within the last fifteen years. The men consider them a great nuisance, as they have to be emptied of sand and the presence of so much sand vitiates the chalk. Besides this they are dangerous to walk upon, owing to collapses of the roof. As to age, they have been excavated for chalk from the time of Pliny down to the Sixties and, in a few cases, even later in Herts.

J. W. HAYES.

Round - Naved Churches.—Vol. xxxiii. of *Archæologia Cantiana* contains an article by Sir William St. John Hope on the round-naved churches in England, with plans, including West Thurrock and Little Maplestead in Essex. These are known to members of this Society, but they will find the account useful for comparison.

R. C. F.

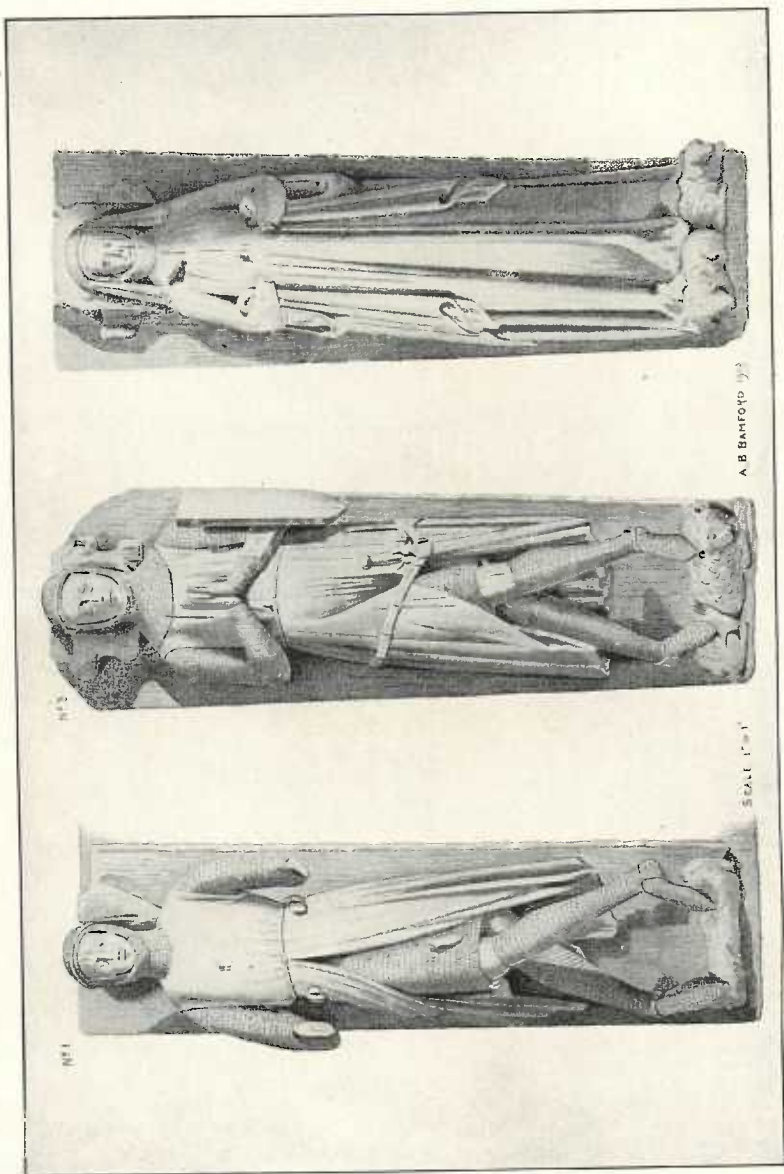
Seal found at Radwinter.—In the autumn of 1917 a brass or latten seal was found by a gardener digging for potatoes in a moated enclosure which forms part of the Rectory garden at Radwinter. This seal, which is in the possession of the rector, the Rev. E. Bullock, is a nearly flat, circular disc, $1\frac{1}{16}$ inch in diameter, and has a somewhat roughly fashioned handle at the back, with a hole for suspension. It bears for a device S. George and the dragon; the saint, who is mounted, being armed with a sword instead of a lance.

The legend is the motto of England:

✠ DIEU . . . ET . . . MONDROIET . . .

The engraving is late in character. Sir William St. John Hope, who has seen an impression, kindly writes:—"It seems to be an official seal of some sort, and of the seventeenth century, but who could want to use the device of the Order of the Garter in your neighbourhood, and for what, I do not know. It would be difficult to assign the seal to any person."

G. M. B.



WOODEN EFFIGIES AT LITTLE HORKESLEY CHURCH

Wooden Effigies in Little Horkesley Church.—These interesting effigies are beautiful specimens of carved oak, and, as will be seen by the scale on the drawing, well over life-size. They consist of two cross-legged knights and a female figure, all of the same period, *viz.* the end of the thirteenth century. The two male effigies are in many respects similar, they both wear the coif-de-mailles, or hood of mail, which covers the head and neck. On No. 1 the way in which the hood is secured is clearly shown, it being fastened on the right side near the temple. A band or fillet encircles their foreheads, over the hood, and in the case of No. 2, is supported by two small hands affixed to each side of it. A haubeck of steel linked mail envelopes the bodies, and the legs and feet are encased in chausses or long stockings of mail. Genouillierés on plain knee caps protect the knees.

A sleeveless surcoat, confined at the waist by a cord, covers the wearers from shoulders to ankles, but is open in front, from just below the girdle on No. 1, and from half-way down the thighs in the case of No. 2. The sword belt, only two small portions of which remain on either side, is high on the hips of No. 1, but placed very much lower down on No. 2; his sword is almost perfect, and the mode of fastening the straps and buckle is fairly distinct. Only a small portion of what appears to be the end of the scabbard remains on the hauberk of No. 1, and, if this is correct, the sword must either have been very short, or held up between the hands, but they, with the arms from the elbow, are missing. The hands on No. 2 are tolerably perfect and hold up a portion of some object between them; on his left arm, part of his shield remains, but half of the dexter side is lost. Their spurs are attached over the instep by leather straps, and would, if perfect, be pricked spurs. The head of No. 1 rests on what appears to be a portion of a pillow, while that of No. 2 rests on a tortoise. A figure of a small animal, probably a lion, lies beneath the feet of each figure.

The female figure wears a long and flowing robe, presumably, though not clearly shown, to consist of an outer garment or cloak, which is gathered up under each arm, and a kirtle with tight fitting sleeves. A whimple covers the neck and encircles the head, over which falls a kerchief, which is secured by a fillet passing over the forehead. The head rests upon a cushion, and beneath the feet are two small pet dogs. Both hands are missing, and the face is not in such good preservation as those on the male figures.

Pleshy Castle in 1558-9.—In the records of the Duchy of Lancaster at the Public Record Office is a survey of the castle of Pleshy of the first year of Elizabeth (D. of Lanc. Sp. Comms., No. 1), which is interesting as throwing considerable light on the buildings of the castle then remaining. The commissioners found the castle very ruinous, and the country people asserted that other buildings, of which there were remains only, had to be taken down and sold in the time of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. The report then describes the still existing buildings as follows:—

The said Comysseyones together wth the sayd teñites of the towne of Pleshey do fynde that all the howsinge nowe remayninge & standynge there are only an olde halle wth a wardroppe & certen Howses adioyninge and standinge nighe to the same & some of them bare wth the tyle taken of & lyeinge bye & an olde house called the Constables warde wth a kychine & the out Gate howse, all bylte of tymbre only & moche thereof rotten, coveryd wth tyle moche brokyn & an old chappell bylte of pybble robysshe lyme, wth some lytle wyndowes of stone in the same; all wch the sayd comysseyones (the greate decaye therof consydered) do valewe & esteame by there Judgemtes worthe to be solde thirtee & thre pounce fyve shillinge & eight pence

Item there is an olde arche of bryckeworke in the Inner dyche of the castle wch is the only weye or passage from the castle grounde to the castle Hille comonlie called the kepe of the castle wch arch in or Judgme^{te} is not in any wise mete to be pluckte downe because the Inner dyche beinge verye depe-caste & a dyche of water if the arche should be taken downe there remaynes no waye to come to the castle hille called the Kepe of the castle, wch castle hill beinge nowe replenyshed wth coneyes shoulde have no waye to yt & so woulde be grete hindrans & dyscomoditie to the Keap (keeper?) of the grounde.

As the bridge in question is still standing, the recommendations of the commissioners were evidently acted upon and the "coneyes" were not left in peace.

A. W. CLAPHAM.

PUBLICATION.

History of the ancient church of St. Peter and St. Paul, Little Horkesley.

COLCHESTER: BENHAM AND CO., LTD. 1S.

MAJOR W. F. DICK has compiled from various sources a useful description of the church and its monuments in detail, for the guidance of visitors. There is hardly a church of the same size in the county which contains more objects of interest, the magnificent Swynborne brass being in itself worth a visit; but, although not far from Colchester, it lies off the beaten track and is not so well known as it should be.

Definite references to some papers might have been given with advantage, as for instance to that of 1878 in *Archæologia*, vol. xlv., pp. 269-278, where a plan of the church before the restoration is given.

R. C. F.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ESSEX
ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY, HELD AT
THE TOWN HALL, COLCHESTER, ON
THURSDAY, 8th MAY, 1919

The Annual Meeting of the Society was held in the Mayor's Parlour and Grand Jury Room of the Town Hall, Colchester, by the kind permission of the Rt. Worshipful the Mayor of Colchester (Councillor G. F. Wright) on Thursday, 8th May, 1919, at 11 a.m.

Unfortunately, the President, J. Horace Round, Esq., was too unwell to be present.

As the Deputy-President, the Rt. Rev. Bishop Stevens, Archdeacon of Essex, was unable to be present at the beginning of the meeting, the Rev. Canon F. W. Galpin was voted to the chair.

On the motion of the Chairman, seconded by the Hon. Secretary, J. Horace Round, Esq., LL.D., was unanimously re-elected as President for the ensuing year.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

On the motion of Col. Ravenshaw, seconded by the Editorial Secretary, the Vice-Presidents and Council were re-elected, with the addition to the list of Vice-Presidents of Lady Petre, and Sir Thomas Barrett-Lennard, Bart., in the place of his father, the late Sir Thomas Barrett-Lennard, Bart.; and to the Council of the Rev. G. M. Benton, Major Dick, and Mr. S. J. Barns, in the place of the late Rev. Hamilton Ashwin, LL.D., Mr. P. M. Beaumont, and Mr. J. D. Tremlett.

The Honorary Members were re-elected on the motion of Mr. Councillor Jarmin, seconded by Mr. S. J. Barns.

The Society's representatives on the Museum and Muniment Committee of the Colchester Corporation were re-elected on the motion of Major Bamford, seconded by Col. Ravenshaw.

Mr. G. F. Beaumont, F.S.A., moved that the Report for 1918 be taken as read; Mr. Councillor Jarmin seconded. Carried.

The Hon. Secretary presented the Annual Statement of Accounts and Balance Sheet, which were adopted on the motion of Mr. S. J. Barns, seconded by the Rev. E. H. L. Reeve.

The following ladies and gentlemen were elected as members of the Society:—

The Rev. D. Barclay, The Vicarage, Braintree.

The Rev G. Nesbitt, The Rectory, High Ongar.

Mrs. E. N. Mason, 10, Crouch Street, Colchester.

Mr. Bernard Mason, 10, Crouch Street, Colchester.

ON THE MOTION OF—

The Hon. Secretary.

The Rev. E. H. L. Reeve.

The Editorial Secretary.

Mr. Councillor Jarmin gave details of the forthcoming visit of the British Archæological Association to Colchester, and intimated that the presence of members of the county Society would be welcomed at their meetings.

A paper on some "Essex Records" was read, in the absence of the President, by the Hon. Secretary, and at its conclusion he moved a vote of thanks to Dr. Round.

During the reading of the paper the Archdeacon of Essex arrived and took the chair.

A vote of thanks to the President, Vice-President, and Honorary Officers, including the Editorial Secretary and the Auditor, was moved by Mr. Alderman Gurney Benham, seconded by Col. Ravenshaw, and unanimously passed.

The Archdeacon of Essex responded.

An illuminated vote of thanks was presented by the Archdeacon of Essex on behalf of the Society to Mr. G. Rickword, F.R.Hist.S., on his retirement from the office of Editorial Secretary, which he had held since 1907.

Mr. Rickword acknowledged the presentation in suitable and feeling terms.

A vote of thanks to the Rt. Worshipful the Mayor of Colchester (Mr. Councillor G. F. Wright) was proposed by the Chairman. The Mayor responded.

Mr. Alderman Gurney Benham made some remarks on the Borough Regalia, which was exhibited in the Grand Jury Room by the kindness of the Mayor.

After luncheon, which was partaken of at Messrs. Wright's Restaurant, the party visited the Chapel of our Lady on Horkesley Causeway and Little Horkesley Church, and subsequently was entertained to tea at Joscelyn's, by the kindness of Major and Mrs. Dick.

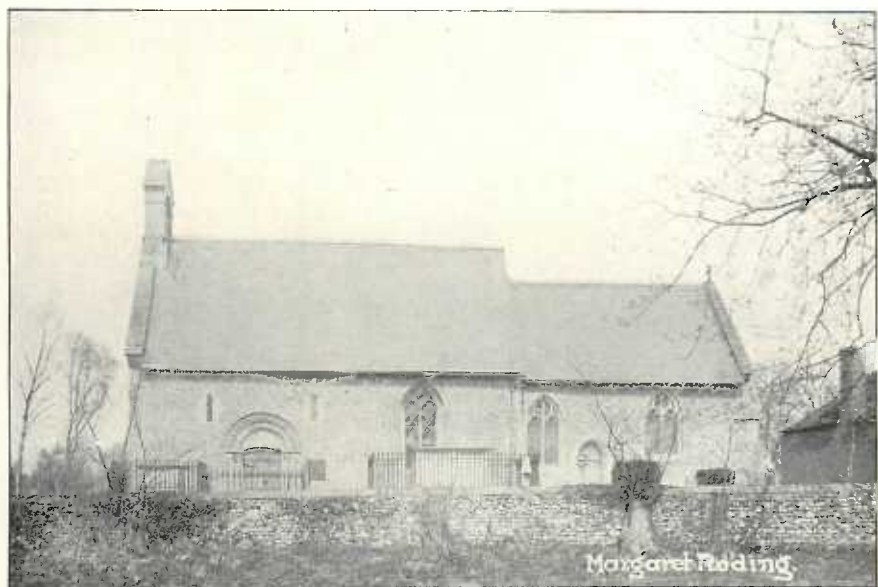
GENERAL MEETING AND EXCURSION HELD ON THURSDAY, 5th JUNE, 1919.

MARGARET RODING CHURCH, AYTHORP RODING CHURCH, NEW
HALL, CAMMAS HALL, COLVILLE HALL AND ROOKWOOD HALL.

There was a large attendance of members and their friends at this, the first extended excursion of the Society since June, 1916. The greater number of those attending met at Chelmsford station, and proceeded in two cars supplied by the National Steam Car Company, to Margaret Roding church. Here, and at Aythorp Roding church, full and interesting descriptions of the sacred buildings were given by Mr. Wykeham Chancellor. Forsaking the usual custom of reading papers, Mr. Chancellor spoke without notes, calling attention to the various architectural features of which he wished his audience to take notice, and not disdaining to explain a good many of the technical terms used by him.

We wish to congratulate Mr. Chancellor on adopting this method, which gave life and interest to his descriptions, and was much appreciated by his audience. Mr. Chancellor's descriptions of these two churches will, it is hoped, appear in a future part of the *Transactions*.

Mr. Miller Christy, who wrote some interesting articles sixteen years ago in the *Essex Review*, on some of the old farmhouses in the Rodings, acted as our guide to the houses visited by us. After seeing the remains of New Hall, a very fine specimen of early brickwork of the time of Henry VII. or early in the reign of Henry VIII., and the charming contemporary barn, we proceeded to Cammas Hall, where luncheon was partaken of in the gardens, by the kind permission of Mr. T. L. Lukies, and a general meeting was held, under the chairmanship of the Deputy President, the Right Rev. Bishop Stevens, D.D., F.S.A., Archdeacon of Essex, at



which the following ladies and gentlemen were elected as members of the Society:—

ON THE NOMINATION OF—	
OXLEY-PARKER, Mrs. J. I., Queen's Road, Colchester	The Treasurer.
REID-SCOTT, Lieut.-Col. C. A., White Notley Hall, Witham.	
BUXTON, Miss THERESA, Knightons, Buckhurst Hill.	
TABOR, F. S., Evegate, Bocking.	The Hon. Secretary.
HAVARD, The Rev. A. J., West Bergholt Rectory, Colchester.	
BROCKLEBANK, C. G., Bartlow House, Cambridge.	The Rev. C. H. Brocklebank.
ULPH, Miss, Lessenden, Lexden Road, Colchester.	Mr. A. W. Frost.
KNIGHT, H., Dunmow.	Mr. E. T. Foakes.
ROBUS, F., Dunmow.	
PEMBERTON, The Rev. R., The Vicarage, Ingate- stone.	Mrs. Christy.
BARTHROPP, Major A. SHAFTO, Newport, Essex.	The Rev. R. Cobden Earle.
LEWIS, The Rev. J. W., Shenfield Rectory, Brentwood.	The Rev. E. H. L. Reeve.
BURRELL, H., Warwick Road, Bishop's Stortford.	Mr. J. L. Glasscock.

From Cammas Hall we made our way to Colville Hall, justly described as one of the best examples in the county of a house of the Early Tudor period. The members were enchanted by the many interesting features of this charming house, and the adjacent farm buildings. It is a great pity that the roundels of painted glass described by Mr. Christy in his article on Colville Hall have disappeared, and it is much to be hoped that it will be found possible to discover where they have gone.

Rookwood Hall, a very small fragment of what was once a fine moated Tudor mansion, was the last house visited by us. Here, in the garden of the modern farmhouse, Mrs. Rowe and her daughters had kindly arranged to serve tea, and their thoughtfulness was much appreciated by us all.

There could not have been much less than 120 people attending this excursion—a good augury, let us trust, of the growing popularity of the Society in the happier times for which we are hoping.

For Mr. Miller Christy's articles on the houses visited on this excursion see *Essex Review* as follows:—

White Roding: Colville Hall	-	<i>Essex Review</i> , vol. xii., p. 129.
Abbess Roding: Rookwood Hall	„	vol. xiii., p. 92.
Morrell Roding: Cammas Hall	-	„ vol. xiii., p. 98.
High Roding: New Hall	-	„ vol. xiii., p. 226.

REPORT FOR 1918.

The Council has pleasure in presenting its sixty-sixth Annual Report.

During the year the Society has lost thirty members by death and resignation. Forty-five new members have been added to its roll.

The losses by death include: Sir T. Barrett-Lennard, Bart., a Vice-President of the Society, and the Rev. Hamilton Ashwin, LL.D., Mr. P. M. Beaumont, and Mr. J. D. Tremlett, members of the Council.

The total membership, which on 31st December, 1917, was 365; on 31st December, 1918, stood as follows:—

Annual members	329
Life members	45
Honorary members	6
	<hr/>
	380

The Council recommends the re-election of the Vice-Presidents, with the addition of Lady Petre, and Sir T. Barrett-Lennard, Bart., in the place of the late Sir T. Barrett-Lennard, Bart.; and of the Council, with the addition of the Rev. G. M. Benton, Major Dick, and Mr. S. J. Barns, in the place of the late Rev. Hamilton Ashwin, LL.D., and Messrs. P. M. Beaumont and J. D. Tremlett.

During the year Part I. of Vol. XV. of the *Transactions* was published.

The Annual Meeting was held at 'Priests,' Romford, by the kind invitation of Mr. and Mrs. P. C. Haydon-Bacon, on 4th July, 1918.

Owing to the War no excursions were made.

The Council recommends that excursions be made in 1919 as follows:—

- June: The Roothings.
- July: Stansted Montfichet.
- Sept.: Prittlewell.

The Council regrets to announce that Mr. George Rickword, F.R.Hist.S., has resigned his position as Editorial Secretary of the Society, to which he was appointed in July, 1907, and desires to record its appreciation of the valuable services rendered by him to the Society. It has appointed Mr. R. C. Fowler, B.A., O.B.E., F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S., as Editor of the *Transactions*.

The Vice-Treasurer reports :—

FINANCE.

The receipts for the year have been satisfactory, amounting to £236 11s. 1d., as against £188 1s. 6d. last year, showing an increase of £48 9s. 7d. This is due partly to arrears of subscriptions received, being £30 9s. 0d. as compared with £9 19s. 6d. in 1917. The outstanding amount due by members of the Society for subscriptions is £14 14s. 0d.; this is distributed among 16 members. Last year 47 members were in arrear with their subscriptions. There has been, however, a falling off in the sale of the Society's publications, only £4 4s. 0d. being received as against £12 7s. 6d. in 1917.

On the expenditure side there has been a large increase mainly owing to the greater cost of printing the *Transactions* of the Society. This further advance amounts to over 100 per cent. in its production, and is now a heavy charge on the resources of the Society. The total expenditure for the year is £240 9s. 11d., an increase of £68 11s. 3½d. If we exclude the £15 15s. 0d. received from Life Members, the Balance Sheet shows a deficit of £19 13s. 10d.

Our thanks are again due to Mr. John Avery, F.C.A., for kindly auditing the accounts of the past year.

DONATIONS TO THE SOCIETY

To Midsummer, 1919.

Major A. B. Bamford, V.D.—

John Ray's "Wisdom of God," 1717.

Essex Field Club—

Special Memoirs, Nos. 1, 4, and 5.

Museum Handbooks, Nos. 2, 3, 4, and 5.

Pamphlets.

"Coming of Age of Essex Field Club."

Report on the Ray, Dale and Allen Commemoration Fund.

Rev. H. L. Elliot—

On some Badges and Devices of John de Vere, XIII. Earl of Oxford. 1918.

Rev. Canon A. W. Galpin—

"Music of the Bible," by Sir John Stainer, with notes by the donor.

"Flowering Plants, and Birds of Harlesden, Norfolk," by the donor.

"Old English Instruments of Music." The Antiquary Series, by the donor.

Rev. J. G. Geare, R.D.—

"Farnham, Past and Present," by the donor.

Mr. H. W. Lewer, F.S.A.—

Journal of Roman Studies, vol. VI.

"Henry Winstanley, engraver" (reprint), by the donor.

"Maciver Percival; The Glass Collector.

Mr. Arthur W. Marks—

Deed on parchment, dated 1682.

"George Wheeler of Dedham and Mary Kent of Gt. Oakley."

National Library of Wales, Aberystwith—

Report of the Directors and Inaugural Address.

Summer School of Library Service.

Rev. W. J. Pressey, M.C.—

"Lost Church Plate of the Archdeaconry of Essex" (reprint), by the donor.

Rev. E. H. L. Reeve, M.A.—
History of Stondon Massey.

Mr. R. G. Williment—
Wilson's Sketches of Upminster, 1856.

Mr. A. G. Wright—
G. L. Gomme. "Village Community," 1890.

From Societies in union for exchange of Publications.

Society of Antiquaries of Scotland—
Proceedings, vol. LII.

British Archæological Association—
Journal (N.S.), vol. XXIV.

Cambridge Antiquarian Society—
Proceedings, vol. XXI.
List of Members.

Cambridge and Hunts. Archæological Society—
Vol. IV., part 3.

Kent Archæological Society—
Archæologia Cantiana, vols. XXXII., XXXIII.

Somerset Archæological and Natural History Society—
Proceedings, vol. LXIV.

Suffolk Institute of Archæology and Natural History—
Proceedings, vol. XVI., part 3.

Surrey Archæological Society—
Collections, vol. XXXI.

TO OUR READERS.—The Council of the Essex Archæological Society will be very grateful for gifts of works of general antiquarian interest, of books relating to the history, topography and antiquities of the county, and its towns and villages, or of works written by Essex authors. Gifts and offers may be sent to the Curator and Librarian, Mr. A. G. Wright, the Castle Museum, Colchester.

NOTE.—The Curator-Librarian would be glad to receive spare copies of the Annual Report of the Colchester Corporation Museum for the years 1902-1906 and 1909.

ACCOUNT OF RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS

1917.			Dr.			
£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
135	11	2½	To Balance from previous year		151	14 1
			„ Subscriptions—			
9	19	6	Arrears	30	9	0
140	3	0	For the year 1918	165	18	0
2	2	0	In advance.....	2	2	0
					198	9 0
10	10	0	„ Life Compositions		15	15 0
12	9	6	„ Sale of publications		4	4 0
			„ Dividends on Investments—			
1	12	11	India 3 per cent. Stock	6	19	1
4	8	10	Metropolitan 3½ per cent. Stock.....	4	16	0
2	11	11	Exchequer Bonds—War Stock	2	12	6
4	1	11	Deposit Account	1	15	6
					16	3 1
1	11		„ Sundry Receipts.....		2	0 0

323 12 8½

£388 5 2

BALANCE SHEET,

1917.			Liabilities.			
£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
220	10	0	To Life Compositions—			
			43 Members at £5 5s. od.....	236	5	0
2	2	0	„ Subscriptions paid in advance.....	2	2	0
			„ Accumulations Fund—			
243	2	5	Surplus of Assets in favour of the Society	245	0	10

465 14 5

£483 7 10

I have examined the above Account and Balance Sheet with the Bankers
The Investments have been verified by reference to the Bank of England.

52, Coleman Street, London, E.C. 2.

14th March, 1919.

FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31ST DECEMBER, 1918.

1917.			Cr.					
£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.		
35	0	0	By Colchester Corporation, towards Curator's Salary		35	0	0	
			„ Reports of Museum Committee		10	0	0	
10	0	0	„ Editorial Secretary		10	0	0	
99	12	9	„ Printing <i>Transactions</i>	143	17	6		
			„ Preparing Index, Vol. XIV.....		6	6	0	
			„ Miss Stokes—Essex Feet of Fines		5	0	0	
12	9	2	„ Postage of <i>Transactions</i>	10	1	4		
6	16	11	„ Printing, Members' Circulars, Stationery, etc.		5	18	0	
3	14	9½	„ Secretarial Postage and Expenses		2	7	7	
3	8	0	„ Subscription, Archæological Congress ..		1	16	0	
12	0		„ Fire Insurance		12	0		
2	6		„ Bank Charges					
2	6		„ Expenses <i>re</i> Transfer of Securities		3	0	6	
			„ F. Chancellor, Memorial Fund		5	0	0	
			„ Subscriptions returned		1	1	0	
			„ <i>Essex Review</i>		10	0		
			„ Balance—					
147	0	0	At Bank	145	8	9		
4	14	1	In Hand		2	6	6	
						147	15	3
<hr/>						<hr/>		
323	12	8½			£388	5	2	

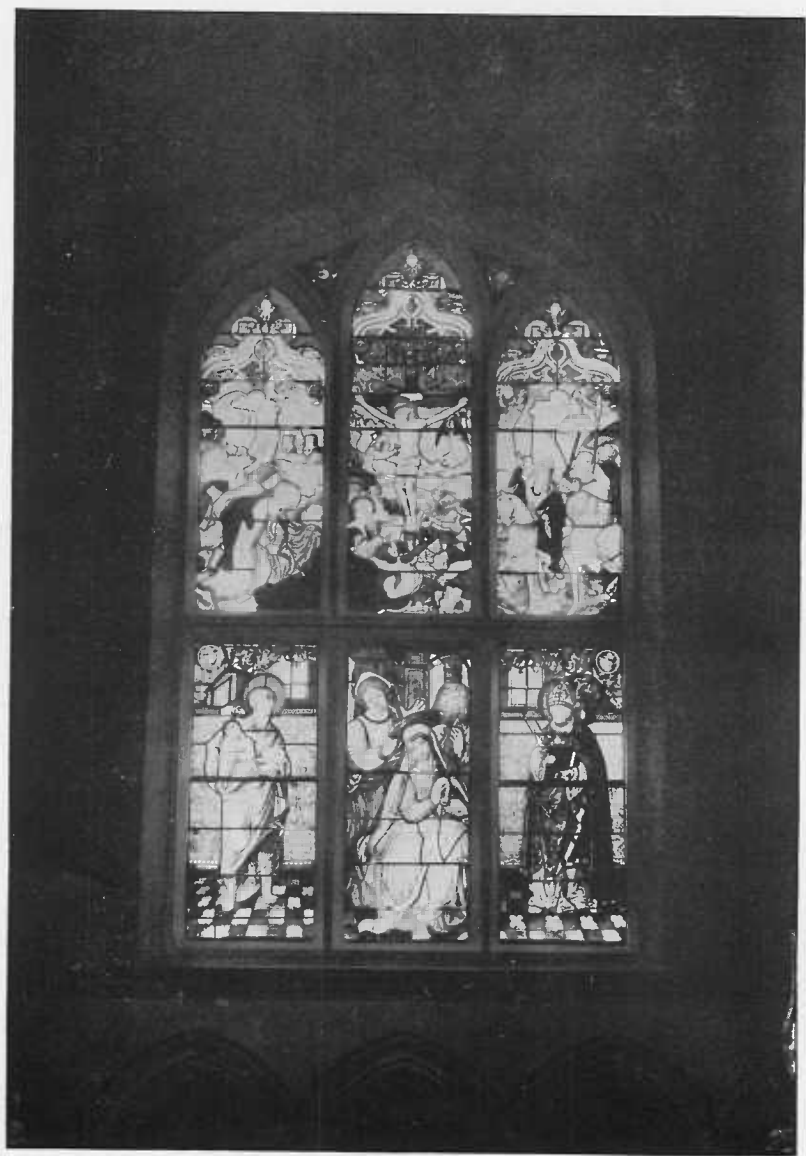
31ST DECEMBER, 1918.

			Assets.	Market Value.					
				Cost.	31st Dec., 1918.				
				£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1917.			By Investments—						
£	s.	d.	£219 15s. 5d. India 3 per cent.						
118	13	6	Stock	192	13	7	131	17	3
			£177 1s. 0d. Metropolitan 3½ per						
146	1	4	cent. Stock	176	17	6	154	0	8
			£52 12s. 7d. 5 per cent. War Stock						
49	5	6	1929/47	50	0	0	49	14	8
				<hr/>			<hr/>		
				419	11	1	335 12 7		
				<hr/>					
151	14	1	By Cash at Bank and in hand.				147 15 3		
			„ Library, Collection of Antiquities,						
			Cabinets, Stock of Publications (not						
			valued)						
<hr/>							<hr/>		
465	14	5					£483 7 10		

CHRIS. W. PARKER, *Treasurer.*

Pass Book and Vouchers and certify it to be correct in accordance therewith.

JOHN AVERY, F.C.A., *Honorary Auditor.*



EAST WINDOW OF ST. THOMAS' CHURCH, NOAK HILL, ROMFORD.

SOME ESSEX RECORDS.

BY J. H. ROUND, M.A., LL.D.

*A Paper read at the Annual Meeting at Colchester,
on 8th May, 1919.*

It is, I believe, sometimes asked why the county of Essex has no Record Society, and whether there is any possibility of such a Society being formed, as it has been, with more or less success, in several other counties. As I have some knowledge of the subject, I would here offer some short notes on the difficulties presented by such an undertaking, and on a possible alternative method by which certain records relating to Essex could be gradually printed and published.

The first difficulty, undoubtedly, is that of ways and means. Experience has shown that the number of those who are sufficiently interested to support such a Society is considerably smaller than that of those to whom the wide sphere of interest presented by an Archæological Society makes a certain appeal. In the wealthy northern counties there has long been sufficient support for local Societies, whose publications have shown the great value of such material. But in the southern counties their position is more precarious and appears to depend on the existence of certain supporters who take a real interest in the history of their county. This difficulty, of course, is now much intensified by the consequences of the war, namely by the greatly increased cost of book production and a probable decrease in the number of subscribers.

The second difficulty is the want of workers who have sufficient leisure and are sufficiently competent scholars to transcribe and edit the volumes. Another and a serious difficulty is that records in public repositories—such, for instance, as the British Museum or Public Record Office in town, the Bodleian Library at Oxford, or our county muniments at Chelmsford—have to be transcribed on the spot, as they cannot be borrowed for the purpose. This involves prolonged visits to such repositories, or (in default thereof) the employment of paid transcribers. Moreover, the output of volumes has to be fairly regular, however great the difficulties.

There is, however, a means of getting records into print without the obstacles presented by the task of forming a special society for the purpose of their publication. We have already adopted this method in the case of our Essex 'fines' and, on a smaller scale, in that of the register of Colchester Grammar School, which I was thus enabled to edit and annotate. It consists simply of bringing out such records as may be selected, as a supplement to our *Transactions*. Whenever we found that the funds of the Society permitted, we could bring out a supplement, separately paged, and these could be bound up as volumes when publication was complete.¹ Although there seems, at the present time, to be little or no prospect of our financial position enabling us to make a beginning, it may be of service to mention some of those Essex records which certainly deserve printing.

Although my own studies are mainly on the Mediæval period, I recognise that the records of later ages may have more general interest. Among those, for instance, of the seventeenth century is the important MS. on the collection of Ship-money in Essex, which has been described by our late treasurer, Mr. W. C. Waller (vol. viii., pp. 8-14). Less familiar, and probably, indeed, quite unknown to our members, are the "Protestation returns" of six years later. Unlike the Ship-money MS., which is kept at the Public Record Office, these are preserved at the House of Lords.² Those which relate to West Sussex have been issued, as one of their volumes, by the Sussex Record Society. Its valuable Introduction, by Mr. Garraway Rice, F.S.A., explains the origin, the character, and the value of these returns. In May, 1641, it was ordered by Parliament that a certain form of protestation should be drawn up as "a Shibboleth to discover a true Israelite," and subsequently a copy was sent down to every parish, and all males of eighteen and upwards were called upon to make it. This was duly done in February and March following (1641/2). Each man was called upon to protest personally "in the presence of Almighty God, to maintain and defend . . . the true Reformed Protestant Religion, expressed in the Doctrine of the Church of England, . . . and his Majesties Royall Person, Honour and Estate."

It was pointed out by the editor that "these returns . . . form almost a complete directory of the period for the western half of the county," just as Mr. Waller claimed that the Ship-money MS.

¹ A certain number of such volumes could, probably, be sold separately at a good price, for the benefit of our funds

² See 5th Report on Hist MSS., p 125.

SOME ESSEX RECORDS.

BY J. H. ROUND, M.A., LL.D.

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on 8th May, 1919.*

It is, I believe, sometimes asked why the county of Essex has no Record Society, and whether there is any possibility of such a Society being formed, as it has been, with more or less success, in several other counties. As I have some knowledge of the subject, I would here offer some short notes on the difficulties presented by such an undertaking, and on a possible alternative method by which certain records relating to Essex could be gradually printed and published.

The first difficulty, undoubtedly, is that of ways and means. Experience has shown that the number of those who are sufficiently interested to support such a Society is considerably smaller than that of those to whom the wide sphere of interest presented by an Archæological Society makes a certain appeal. In the wealthy northern counties there has long been sufficient support for local Societies, whose publications have shown the great value of such material. But in the southern counties their position is more precarious and appears to depend on the existence of certain supporters who take a real interest in the history of their county. This difficulty, of course, is now much intensified by the consequences of the war, namely by the greatly increased cost of book production and a probable decrease in the number of subscribers.

The second difficulty is the want of workers who have sufficient leisure and are sufficiently competent scholars to transcribe and edit the volumes. Another and a serious difficulty is that records in public repositories—such, for instance, as the British Museum or Public Record Office in town, the Bodleian Library at Oxford, or our county muniments at Chelmsford—have to be transcribed on the spot, as they cannot be borrowed for the purpose. This involves prolonged visits to such repositories, or (in default thereof) the employment of paid transcribers. Moreover, the output of volumes has to be fairly regular, however great the difficulties.

There is, however, a means of getting records into print without the obstacles presented by the task of forming a special society for the purpose of their publication. We have already adopted this method in the case of our Essex 'fines' and, on a smaller scale, in that of the register of Colchester Grammar School, which I was thus enabled to edit and annotate. It consists simply of bringing out such records as may be selected, as a supplement to our *Transactions*. Whenever we found that the funds of the Society permitted, we could bring out a supplement, separately paged, and these could be bound up as volumes when publication was complete.¹ Although there seems, at the present time, to be little or no prospect of our financial position enabling us to make a beginning, it may be of service to mention some of those Essex records which certainly deserve printing.

Although my own studies are mainly on the Mediæval period, I recognise that the records of later ages may have more general interest. Among those, for instance, of the seventeenth century is the important MS. on the collection of Ship-money in Essex, which has been described by our late treasurer, Mr. W. C. Waller (vol. viii., pp. 8-14). Less familiar, and probably, indeed, quite unknown to our members, are the "Protestation returns" of six years later. Unlike the Ship-money MS., which is kept at the Public Record Office, these are preserved at the House of Lords.² Those which relate to West Sussex have been issued, as one of their volumes, by the Sussex Record Society. Its valuable Introduction, by Mr. Garraway Rice, F.S.A., explains the origin, the character, and the value of these returns. In May, 1641, it was ordered by Parliament that a certain form of protestation should be drawn up as "a Shibboleth to discover a true Israelite," and subsequently a copy was sent down to every parish, and all males of eighteen and upwards were called upon to make it. This was duly done in February and March following (1641/2). Each man was called upon to protest personally "in the presence of Almighty God, to maintain and defend . . . the true Reformed Protestant Religion, expressed in the Doctrine of the Church of England, . . . and his Majesties Royall Person, Honour and Estate."

It was pointed out by the editor that "these returns . . . form almost a complete directory of the period for the western half of the county," just as Mr. Waller claimed that the Ship-money MS.

¹ A certain number of such volumes could, probably, be sold separately at a good price, for the benefit of our funds

² See 5th Report on Hist MSS., p. 125.

"gives us a census and directory of our county in the year 1637, complete save for the omission of" five towns (p. 13). Unluckily, however, the Essex protestation returns are as sadly deficient as those of the ship-money levy are complete. They only exist, it appears, for some forty parishes, all in Hinckford Hundred.

The records which possess a prior claim to publication, are those which illustrate the general or local history of the county, or its economic and social life. It is probably little known that among Cole's MSS. in the British Museum there is a transcript of the original Committee book for Essex at the time of the Civil War.¹ This volume contains particulars of the local clergy articulated against by the Parliamentary party. It is now Add. MS. 5,829.

Another MS. volume relating to the seventeenth century is the Lieutenantcy book for Essex, with which Dr. Andrew Clark has dealt in several papers published in the *Essex Review*. The learned rector of Great Leighs has assured me that this MS. certainly ought to be printed, and has kindly said that he would be pleased to co-operate with me in editing it for press. I applied for its loan to my friend Mr. Firth, Regius Professor of Modern History, who then owned it, but he had, unfortunately, just presented it to the Bodleian Library. It has occurred to me that the present Deputy-Lieutenants of Essex might, very fittingly, if the idea should commend itself to them, defray such loss as there might be on the publication of this record of their predecessors' activities in stirring times.

Another source of information which has yet to be explored is found in Morant's papers among the Stowe MSS. at the British Museum. Some of these, I believe, relate to the period of the Civil War. I am only dealing, in these notes, with unpublished records, but it may be useful to explain to those who are not aware of the fact, that the *Calendar of the Committee for Compounding*, in five volumes (1885-1892), which covers the years 1643-1660, is closely packed with information on Essex royalists and their lands. The impulse given by the Civil War to a greatly increased taxation is partially reflected in the Hearth-tax returns, which certainly need printing. Among our county muniments at Chelmsford are those of 23 and 24 Charles II. (1671 and 1672).²

¹ "In the original Committee book for Essex, given by Mr. Soame of Thurlow to me and copied into my 28th Vol. of these Collections, this old gentleman, Gabriel Honiford, was articulated against as Vicar of Mary Magdalen in Colchester, where it is said, in the first of these frivolous articles, that he had been in possession of that Cure 28 years. See Vol. 28, p. 65." These collections are now included among the Add. MSS. at the Brit. Mus., but as they are also obtainable as "Cole MS." the number of the vol. required being added to the description, I have not thought it necessary to supplement here the author's own references (*E.A.T.* vi. (N.S.), 256).

² *E.A.T.* (N.S.) vol. iii., p. 190.

Naturally, after the Restoration, the chief interest of our county records is for the genealogist, although they throw a certain light on the population of parishes and of the county as a whole. The poll-books, however, or lists of freeholders, have a personal interest of their own as showing the political tendencies of those whose names are found in them. In some cases, of course, the politics of the leading families remind us of the sides their predecessors had taken in the days of the Civil War. Mr. Rickword has given us a valuable note¹ on an Essex poll-book of 1694, now in the Colchester Public Library, and has pointed out that, besides another for 1710, which also is in print, the Society possesses one, in MS., for Colchester in 1705. There is preserved at the British Museum, both in the Lansdown and Harleian MSS., a list of the names of Essex freeholders in 1633, and a printed poll-book, for the county election of 1722-3, which gives the names of 4,600 freeholders. As a rule, in view of the copious material, county records selected for printing should not be less, I think, than some two centuries old; but the glamour of romance still surrounds the Stuarts' last effort to regain the throne of their forefathers. It seems to be little, if at all, known that among the MSS. at the British Museum there exists a vellum roll (Add. MS. 30, 301), recording the Association of the inhabitants of Essex, formed at Chelmsford 8th October, 1745, to support King George II. against the Young Pretender, with the signatures of those who joined it, or that a similar vellum roll, apparently—from the names and addresses of subscribers—for the Colchester district, was presented to our Society's library in 1896.²

Further down than this I do not propose to go. It has been my object to illustrate the varied interest of our records, rather than to attempt any systematic survey. Although my own favourite study is that of genealogy, I hold that records of historical or topographical value have a prior claim to publication. Such are the Ship-money returns, from which I started, and which are of interest from several points of view.³ I shall now glance backwards at some records of earlier date.

It is clear from the use that Morant made of it, that what he termed "the Feodary book of the Honour of Hedingham Castle, late in the possession of Peter Le Neve Esq." (ii., 534)⁴ is of

¹ *E.A.T.* (N.S.) vol. xi., p. 168.

² *E.A.T.* (N.S.) vol. vi., p. 287 (unindexed).

³ I wrote to my friend, Prof. G. B. Adams, of Yale University (U.S.A.), to enquire whether American support for their publication could be obtained, but his reply was not hopeful.

⁴ or "Feod. mil. ad castrum de Hengham spectan." (ii., 304).

exceptional importance, not merely as a survey of the De Vere estates in the days of Queen Elizabeth, when it was compiled, but for the much earlier documents, such as charters of the twelfth century, which are found transcribed in it.¹ This is now preserved in the Bodleian Library.² Another Elizabethan record is the "List of contributors" to the payment of the subsidy in Essex in 29 Elizabeth (1586-7). This is among the Lansdowne MSS. in the British Museum.³ Subsidy rolls are a class of records much favoured by local record societies. Another document of this period and of a kind that is rarely found, I believe, is described as the Lexden Hundred Court Rolls of Katherine Audley, widow,⁴ called "Le hundred courte" for ward silver of the said Katherine, held at Emperford bridge, *alias* Stanway bridge, before the Seneschals, from Monday, called Hocke Monday, *alias* Rope Monday, 10th April, 23 Elizabeth, to 5th May, 37 Elizabeth, that is from 1581-1595. This record has twelve membranes and is now in the Bodleian Library (*Essex Rolls*, 7).

One must not pass over in silence the charters and cartularies of religious houses, the value of which we know from Mr. Robert Fowler's notable series of articles on the Essex monasteries in the *Victoria County History*. Sir Henry Maxwell Lyte, the head of the Public Record Office, has drawn my attention to the wonderful series of early deeds relating to Wix Priory, which are there preserved, and asked me if our Society could deal with them. I wish we could, but there does not seem to be any prospect of it at present. I am not sure that it might not be of more practical use to our members, as a whole, if we could evolve a scheme for placing at their disposal a general reference list to records relating to Essex which are now in print, but which, though familiar to the specialist, are by no means generally known.

Although they are not records, one may take this opportunity of reminding our members that Jekyll's collections for the history of

¹ See, for instance, Morant's *Essex*, ii., 334 note; 467 note.

² There is, I believe, a version of this survey in the British Museum, but as I have had to put these notes together while confined to bed by illness, I have not been able to look up the reference. There is, or was, preserved at Hedingham castle an extremely valuable survey of the Honour, made in 1592, by Israel Amyce, with plans of the houses and lands (5th Report on Hist. MSS., p. 322, and *E.A.T.* (o.s.), vol. iv., p. 235).

³ Lans. MSS., 52, art. 59.

⁴ This seems to have been the widow of Thomas Audley of Berechurch (d. 1572), of whom Morant wrote:—"She was a bold and turbulent woman, and endeavoured to withdraw her estates in this parish (Berechurch) out of bounds of the Corporation." The family had held the Hundred Court, by grant of Henry VIII. since 1537.

Essex¹ are preserved among the British Museum MSS., as are those of Lysons, Powell, Suckling and Upcott. So also are those of a former member of our Council, Mr. Charles K. Probert, which fill several volumes (Add. MSS., 33,529 and 33,520-33,528). At the Bodleian—as my friend Mr. R. L. Poole has been good enough to inform me—“Holman’s Essex MSS. are included in Rawlinson’s MSS., Essex, 1-30; there are Church Notes in Nos. 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 14-21, 23, 27, 28.”² Among the MSS. at Burlington House, belonging to the Society of Antiquaries, are some of interest to Essex archaeologists and, I am told, a fine collection of views relating to the county.

I have kept to the last a record which—at least at a Colchester meeting—may, I hope, be deemed a really notable discovery. In a valuable paper,³ Mr. Rickword, with his usual industry and patience, has dealt with the “taxation of Colchester in 1296 and 1301.” They have been familiar, as he points out, to historians and economists since the days of Morant. Mr. Cutts, a former Hon. Secretary of our own Society, has devoted chapter xii. of his little book on “Colchester” (1888) to this subject (pp. 104-117), and calls them “a picture of the town.” But he styles them the only “taxations of the town in the time of Edward I. still extant.” No one seems to have observed that Morant, speaking of the taxations of Colchester in 1 and 8 Edward I., states that, for these years, the rolls are “still preserved.” Are they now extant, and, if so, where? It is only just recently that I have been able to discover where the earlier of the two is now, apparently, to be found. Among the Campbell charters in the British Museum is a record of three membranes described as “Levy of a fifteenth to the Crown in Colchester, 1272-3,” that is 1 Edward I. I have not, owing to illness, been able to examine this record, but it certainly seems to be the earlier of the rolls spoken of, we saw, by Morant. As it is nearly a quarter of a century previous to the first hitherto known, it constitutes a most important addition to our knowledge of early Colchester, and could, no doubt, in Mr. Rickword’s hands, be made full of interest to the members of our society.

¹ Morant, in the preface to his *History of Essex*, duly acknowledges his indebtedness to these collections.

² See the Summary Catalogue of Western MSS. in the Bodleian Library, vol. iii. (1895), pp. 540-546.

³ *E.A.T.*, vol ix., pp. 126-155

THE BALKERNE GATE, COLCHESTER.

BY R. E. M. WHEELER, M.C., M.A., D.Lit.

Being the Report of an Investigation undertaken by the Morant Club.

ALTHOUGH unique amongst survivals of Romano-British architecture, the Balkerne Gate at Colchester has received scant attention from the archæologist, and until recent years no effective attempt was made to reconstruct either its shape or its history. Set astride the great Roman road which branched westward towards the midlands and southward to London, this gate, on the crest of the Balkerne hill, must at one time have been the dominating feature of the town wall. Its importance, however, appears to have deserted it with its builders. The London road was diverted to a newer entrance in the south wall, and the old gate, now largely walled up, served its former uses only as a postern for the occasional foot-passenger. By the time of Richard II., its origin was obscured in myth, and it survived, as Colkyng's Castle, to form merely one of the works of defence on the walls. As such, it played a part in the siege of Fairfax in 1648, and doubtless suffered considerably during both the actual operations and the systematic destruction which followed the capture of the town.

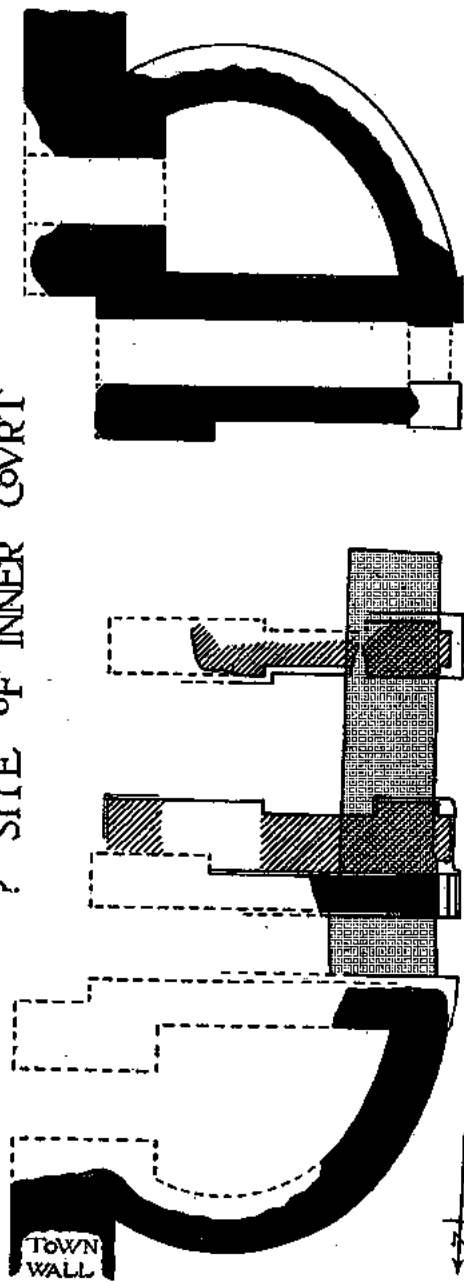
In his *History of Colchester*, Morant merely refers to the gate as a fort on the walls, and omits it from his list of the gates of the town. Cromwell, in his history of the town, published in 1825, also describes it simply as a fort, and it was not until the publication of C. Roach Smith's report in vol. ii. of the *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, 1846, that the real character of the remains was recognised. Neither Roach Smith nor Dr. P. M. Duncan, who followed him in vol. i. of the *Transactions of the Essex Archæological Society*, correctly estimated the original extent of the gate, and the plan published by Dr. Duncan is entirely inaccurate. Mr. John Ward, F.S.A. (Scot.), writing in the *Essex County Standard*, April 23rd, 1910, was the first to propound the theory that the gate had originally four passages, and published a conjectural plan of the remains by Mr. A. G. Wright, Curator of the Colchester Museum.

In 1913, on the initiative of the Morant Club, excavations were begun under the direction of Dr. Henry Laver, F.S.A., and Mr. Ernest N. Mason. The faces of the two northern piers, which had hitherto been covered, were carefully laid bare, and it was at once apparent that Mr. Ward's theory was in the main correct. It was also seen that the gate had at some period been partially rebuilt, but further excavations were found impossible at the time. Unfortunately, Mr. Mason, who had most zealously undertaken the executive part of the operations, died suddenly before a report on the work could be prepared, and the whole matter fell into abeyance. During 1917, digging was resumed by the present writer under somewhat difficult conditions, as access could only be obtained by renewed tunnelling under the foundations of the King's Head public house, which covers the greater part of the site. These tunnels have revealed all the coherent fragments of wall which are now accessible from the front, and have penetrated for a short distance into the fallen rubble and other debris which represent the rear part of the structure. As the evidence afforded by such indications is necessarily of an extremely difficult and uncertain character, continued tunnelling would probably result rather in damaging remains than in revealing them, and for this reason—and also in the interests of the stability of the public house—further excavation under present conditions was abandoned.

The lower courses of the western or front ends of the piers owe their relatively complete preservation to the protection afforded by the wall which was later built across them, but the rest of the foundations appear to have been removed by time and the builder. For purposes of description, the surviving walls may be distributed over three periods.

First Period.—The original proportions of the gateway can now be traced with the exception of the extent of the central pier. The character of the structure is precisely similar to that of the town wall, and no satisfactory architectural evidence has been brought forward in support of the theory that the gate is a subsequent addition. The foundations are of septaria and occasional flint, grouted together with loose sandy mortar. The core of the walls is of the same material, but the mortar is of better quality and contains powdered tile. The walls are faced with 4½-inch courses of roughly squared septaria and some tufa, the latter material being used principally as a facing for the front of the piers. Every fourth course of stone is surmounted by a quadruple lacing-course of brick. The lowest lacing-course is carried through the core of the wall, whereas the higher courses are merely superficial; this method of

? SITE OF INNER COURT



R.E.M. WHEELER
meas. & del. 1917

BALKERNE · GATE · COLCHESTER

1st Period.

2nd "

3rd "

Known rubble-foundations shown in continuous outline.
Conjectured " " broken "

Scale 0 5 10 15 20 25 30 feet.

construction may be contrasted with that adopted in the Roman wall of London, where the upper brick courses are carried through the structure and the lowest course serves only to level the facing-stones. The average dimensions of the individual bricks are $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 11 inches by 8 inches, and the average thickness of the mortar joints is $\frac{3}{8}$ inches. Between the original ground-level and the springing of the vault over the footway are four of these quadruple lacing-courses.

The gate consisted of two broad carriage-ways, each 17 feet wide, flanked by two footways, each about 6 feet wide. The whole gate projects 30 feet in front of the town wall, and the total extent of the frontage is 107 feet. The angles between the outer walls of the footways and the town wall are enclosed to form guardrooms or towers, roughly quadrant-shaped in plan. These towers were entered from the town by a vaulted passage about 12 feet long and between 5 and 6 feet wide. The northern tower still stands to a height of 15 feet, but it is filled in and overbuilt; owing to the slope of the ground it probably stood somewhat higher above its footings than the southern tower. The latter, which is cleared almost to the Roman level,¹ stands to a height of 12 feet. The southern footway is 32 feet long, and retains the original brick vault for the greater part of its length. Near the western end of its southern wall, there are traces of a small pilaster buttress or vaulting-rib, and this wall is carried through to form a slight projection beyond the face of the tower.

The carriage-ways are divided centrally by a pier which has been wholly or largely rebuilt. Of this pier only three courses of masonry remain above the rubble foundations, and both masonry and foundations are broken away 24 feet back from the outer face. The former extent of the pier is thus left indeterminate, but it doubtless extended to the same depth as the surviving south pier. It is clear from the plan that a pier originally stood on the site of the existing one, and the rubble foundations which survive are clearly part of the original work. The courses of ashlar which remain, however, are of the next period. They contain some tufa, doubtless re-used from the first building, but much of the facing is of an earthy limestone from the London clay, a stone rarely used in the earlier work. The hard pink mortar of the first period is replaced by a yellowish sandy mortar of poorer quality.

The pier which originally divided the northern carriage and footways is broken away, like the central pier, a few feet back from

¹ It was cleared out some years ago, and Dr. Philip Laver tells me that a small oven was discovered during the digging in the Roman strata of the tower floor.

the face, but it cannot be doubted that the first plan was symmetrical. The outer face of this pier is stepped to bring it down to the level of the ground, which slopes downward from south to north.

Most of the interior of the northern tower or guardroom is inaccessible. Mr. Mason sank a small shaft into it in 1913 and temporarily revealed part of the inner face of the walls.

The minor objects found during the excavations are of no intrinsic value, and include little beyond a few fragments of pottery. These finds, however, though meagre, are suggestive. In the angle between the northern tower and the town wall, in the sand close to the foundations, Mr. Mason found a good Samian bowl (Dragendorff 29) of the period 70-90 A.D. In the original foundation-sand and road-metal of the northern footway were found, during the recent excavations, fragments of a plate with the quarter round moulding and of a bowl (Drag. 24), both of which are safely dated to the first century. With them was found a black rim of a type which occurred in Flavian deposits at Corbridge and elsewhere. Low down in the road-metal by the foundations of the central pier, which are in all probability original, were recently found pieces of Samian bowl No. 29 and of "transitional" No. 37, and a fragment of micaceous ware; and pieces of other Samian bowls of about the period of Vespasian are identified by Mr. Mason, junior, as having been found by his father in the same layer. Unfortunately the pottery found by Mr. Mason was not classified, but during the recent excavations no pottery of later date than the first century has been traced to these groups.

The Second Period saw the rebuilding of most of the northern half of the gate and probably the blocking of the northern footway.¹ The central pier, as described above, was rebuilt on the site, and probably on the foundations, of its predecessor. The yellowish sandy mortar distinguishes this work very markedly from the earlier structure.

The northern pier must at the same time have been replaced by the new pier which now stands along its southern side. The foundations of this new pier contain much burnt septaria, a fact which suggests that the earlier structure was destroyed by fire. The recent excavations revealed the inner or eastern end of this pier, showing that it extended nearly the full depth of the original work, but much of the middle portion of it has been removed. The shell of the ruined pier, as indicated on the plan, was, however,

¹ This blocking is shown on plan as part of the later wall (Third Period), but may equally well date from the Second Period.

preserved by the hard Roman road-metal, which was clearly distinguished from the loose black earth filling that occupied the site of the foundations. There was an offset to correspond with the offset of the central pier.

For the date of this period we again have no direct evidence other than that of potsherds. Alongside the foundations of the new northern pier were found a number of pieces of Roman pottery of late date. With the exception of a fragment of a Samian cup (Drag. 27, good glaze) most of the pottery of this group can be assigned to the third or fourth centuries. No post-Roman remains were found.

The Third Period is represented by the rough wall, varying between 8 feet and 9½ feet thick, which has been patched together and flung across the northern foot and carriageways and partly across the southern carriageway. This wall is without foundations other than the broken piers across which it is built, and consists of plundered material carelessly thrown together and bound by loose sandy mortar.

The date of this work is even more conjectural than that of the previous periods. It may have been put up as a hasty defence during the raids and invasions that followed the withdrawal of the Romans, or it may represent the work of Edward the Elder, who is recorded by the Saxon Chronicle to have repaired the defences of Colchester. It can scarcely be later than the Conquest.

The date of the First Period of the Gate has been the subject of varied opinions based upon very inadequate evidence. Such evidence as is now available falls under four headings:—(1) associated finds, (2) type of plan, (3) method of construction and (4) historical probability.

(1) The principal *associated finds* have been mentioned above. They are not numerous but their evidence is singularly unanimous. None of the potsherds found in the earliest strata need be later than 100 A.D. and several are undoubtedly Flavian.

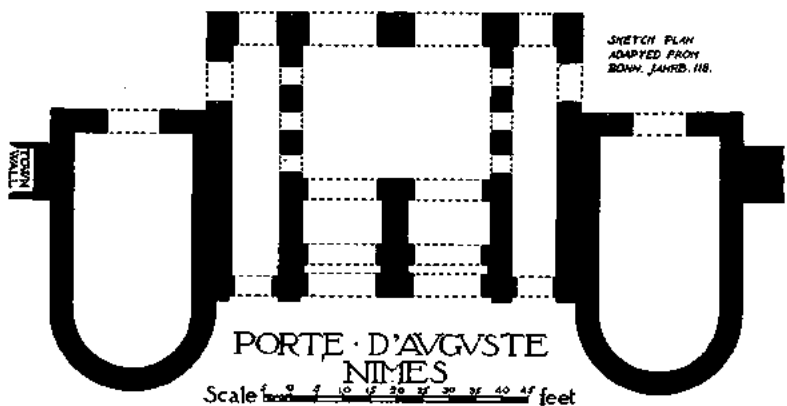
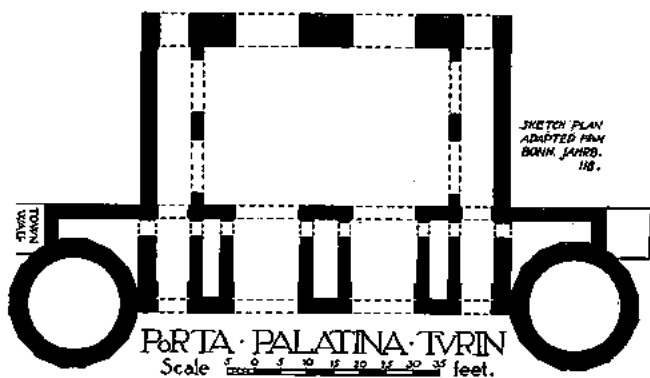
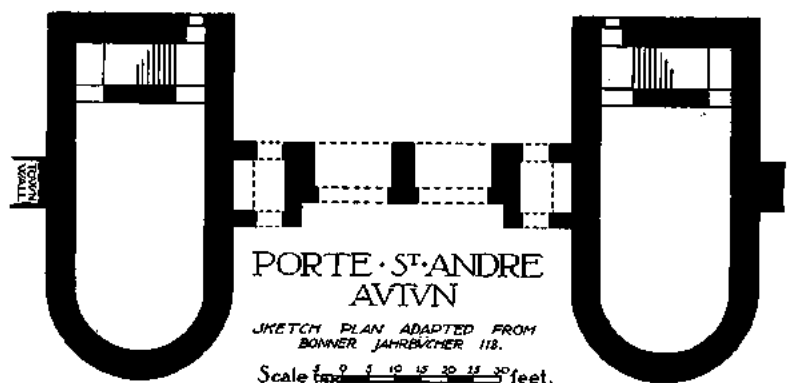
(2) *The plan* is the most remarkable feature of the Gate. It is without known parallel in Britain but falls into a small Continental group which includes the Porte d'Auguste at Nîmes, the Porte Ste. André and the Porte d'Arroux at Autun,¹ and the Porta Palatina at Turin. The distinctive features common to all these gates are the

¹ The other two gates of Autun appear to have been of similar plan. On the French and Italian gates referred to here, see A. Pélet, *Fouilles à la Porte d'Auguste à Nîmes*, 1849; H. de Fontenay, *Autun et ses monuments*, 1889; C. Promis, *Storia dell' antico Torino*, 1869; and especially, R. Schultze, *Die römischen Stadttore in Bonner Jahrbücher* 118 (1909), pp. 280 ff. with the note by Krüger in *Trierer Jahresberichte*, vol. iv. (1911), p. 5. It should be mentioned that the date of the flanking towers at Autun is in dispute.

quadruple entrance, the more or less marked projection in front of the town wall, and the flanking towers. Other Roman town gates, as at Lincoln, Fano, Aosta, Pompeii and Cologne, have as many as three entrances, but the normal type is limited to one or two. Of the few quadruple gates, the Balkerne stands out by reason of the peculiar plan of its towers and the extraordinary breadth of its carriage-ways, which are over 17 feet wide in contrast to the 11-13 feet of the other examples.

The projection of these gates in front of their town walls is a natural corollary of their ambitious size. Not only would the large scale in itself architecturally suggest a bold and emphatic plan, but from the more important military point of view it necessitated a correspondingly elaborate scheme of defence, with secondary works which, in the interests both of accessibility from the walls and of economy of space within the town, tended to thrust the front of the structure outwards. These features are well illustrated by the Gate of Augustus at Nîmes, which is complete on plan. The outer entrances are some 20 feet in front of the town wall and were flanked by towers which projected yet a further 18 feet beyond them. The entrances of the two carriage-ways, each 13 feet wide, were spanned in depth by three main arches, of which the outer two were close together and held between them a portcullis; the innermost arch, some 18 feet behind the outermost, was closed by doors which folded back against the walls of the passage. The entrance-ways, thus barred by doors and a portcullis, opened on to an inner court 25 feet long by 35 feet broad. This court opened towards the town through two simple archways, and was flanked by the long vaulted footways, which, unlike the curtailed carriage-entrances, extended the full depth of the building, and were each lighted from the court by three windows. They do not appear to have had doors, but the presence of staples shows that they were fitted to receive a barricade in case of need. Their vaulting supported fighting-galleries, which met over the front of the gateway and so commanded the court from three sides, should the enemy break through the outer defences. The centre of each flanking gallery was opposite the juncture with the town wall so that any part of the upper defences could be manned from the walls and towers with a facility which would have been impossible without the bold projection of the front part of the building.

The Porta Palatina at Turin differed only in minor details from the Porte d'Auguste. At Autun, the inner courtyards have been demolished or, more probably, were never included in the plans. The towers here project for half their length inward towards the



town and so themselves cover the rear of the gateway; and the fact also that the front of the entrances is practically flush with that of the town wall strengthen the supposition that the defensive system here was of a simpler type.

The Balkerne Gate projects 30 feet in front of the town wall. It therefore clearly belongs to the courtyard type, and future excavation would be expected to reveal foundations of the inner structure on the east side, north of the reservoir which has effectively demolished everything on the south-east. The whole plan is freakish and unfinished in its present state, but becomes at once reasonable and effective if completed on the lines of the Nîmes gate.

The resemblance of the Balkerne to the Continental group has an important bearing upon its date. The introduction of the projecting gateway flanked by towers marked an important development in Italian mural architecture. It indicated a definite departure from the limitations of camp-planning, which had hitherto dominated the mind of the Roman architect and unfortunately appears to have retained its supremacy in Roman Britain. The movement towards a more expansive type of gateway which should offer as much facility for traffic in peacetime as for defence in war seems to have made its appearance, in Italy, towards the close of the first century B.C. One of the earliest examples is probably the Porta Praetoria of Aosta, where the three entrance-archways are some 23 feet in front of the town walls and are flanked by large towers which project 30 feet outside the walls and 43 feet within them; towards the back, they are joined by a secondary system of arches and so completely dominate a defensive courtyard. The Gate of Augustus at Nîmes derives its name from its well-known inscription, which dates it to the year 16 B.C. The Gates of Autun are also early, but their less elaborate defensive works suggest a more settled and later period, and on account of the style of their architectural detail are assigned by Schultze to the time of Tiberius. The age of the Turin gate is less certain. Hyginus records that Augustus ordered the town to be girt with walls, and it is possible that the plan of the Porta Palatina dates therefore from the era of its close analogy at Nîmes. The few surviving fragments of the gate, however, appear to be of the same work as the polygonal towers which flank it, and towers of this type are not known to have been used in Roman architecture before the latter half of the third century. At the same time, it is sufficiently obvious that the present towers are not part of the original plan; they sit uncomfortably on the outskirts of the gate and form no integral feature of the design. It is natural, therefore, to suggest, with Schultze, that the existing remains

represent a third or early fourth century adaptation and partial or entire rebuilding of a much older plan. Without this assumption, not only is an explanation required for the lack of co-ordination in the plan, but also the gate remains an isolated recurrence to an otherwise undoubtedly early type in an age when town gates of more than two spans were practically unknown and when a single entry with simple bastion-defences was becoming the normal type.

The evidence of the plan, therefore, amounts to this: with the possible, but not probable exception of the Turin example, all the Continental gates of similar or kindred design are earlier than the middle of the first century. Again with the one doubtful exception, the gates of the Middle and later Empire are of a markedly different character. The evidence favours a first century date for the Balkerne.

(3) The *method of construction* is commonly regarded as evidence of a late date. It is a widely received tradition that stone-faced rubble walls with brick lacing-courses are necessarily of the third or fourth centuries, and, though the tenet appears to derive its authority only from a limited series of well-known buildings in Rome, it has not been scientifically disputed. Rome, however, where every necessary variety of building-stone was readily accessible and where the traditions of Hellenic construction died slowly, would not *a priori* be expected to provide early examples of a device which is in origin distinctively a builder's makeshift. It was not until the immense development of vaulted architecture under the Middle Empire rendered rubble and cement with a coursed facing increasingly a necessity for first-class building, that the architect became accustomed to regard these as normal materials and to use them for such monumental works as the Circus of Maxentius (A.D. 310).

Turning, therefore, from the architecture of Rome, we are faced in Italy and the provinces on the one hand with the almost equally partial evidence of sub-Roman public buildings, and on the other hand with a vast mass usually of ill-dated and often of casually observed domestic work. A. de Caumont, from his wide knowledge of provincial architecture, expressed the opinion that coursed brick was used with rubble-facing considerably earlier than the third century, and Schultze supports him by dating a Cologne gate of this construction to the early Flavian period. Scanty though our present records be, however, the matter is in reality outside the scope of theory, for both at Pompeii and at Herculaneum brick lacing-courses were in use before A.D. 79, usually but not invariably in conjunction with *opns reticulatum*. In a good example at Herculaneum, the courses are each of six bricks in depth, and this multiplicity of the

brickwork appears to be more usual in early than in late building. Thus at Trier, in the great baths known as the Palace of Constantine, the lacing-courses are at varying intervals and usually only of two, more rarely of three, bricks in depth; and the contrast of definitely late construction with the regular quadruple courses of the Balkerne is still more marked in the irregular work of the Saxon Shore. The thickness of individual bricks is a doubtful criterion,¹ but the width of mortar joints may be credited with some chronological significance, and here again the $\frac{5}{8}$ -inch joints of the Balkerne are clearly earlier than the $1\frac{3}{4}$ to 5-inch joints at Lympne and Pevensey. In first-class architecture at Rome, where proportionally finer construction is to be expected, the $1\frac{1}{4}$ -inch bricks used in the Baths of Titus (80 A.D.) and the Palace of Domitian (c. 90 A.D.) have joints of $\frac{1}{4}$ -inch thickness, whereas similar bricks in Hadrian's Temple of Venus (c. 125 A.D.) already have twice this depth of mortar, and 150 years later, in the walls of Aurelian, the joints have increased to the same thickness as that of the bricks themselves. The Colchester work takes an early place in the series.

The assumption of an early use of faced cement at Colchester is moreover in complete accordance with general probability. The lack of stone in Essex must have necessitated this form of construction from the earliest period of organised building, and the incidental use of brick lacing-courses is inherently probable from the outset. In summary, the method of construction cannot be held to preclude an early period for the Gate, and exhibits, on the contrary, certain features which seem to militate against a late date.

(4) *Historical probability* is a nebulous source of evidence, but, such as it is, it falls curiously into line with the evidence discussed under (1) and (2) above. The problem of the date of the Colchester town wall is an ancient subject of debate. Dr. Duncan, many years ago, in the article already referred to, propounded the theory which our meagre records naturally suggest. The lack of any sort of fortification prior to 61 A.D., the destruction of the town by Boudicca in that year and the consequent replanning and rebuilding during the following generation, all favour the conclusion that the present fortifications were erected at this period as the fruits of bitter experience. The first occupation of the site by the Romans appears to have been curiously casual. The eastern tribes were early subjugated, and in the consequent security the Roman settlers, although they must have re-organised and partly rebuilt the town,

¹ Roman bricks appear to baffle precise classification; for example, in the Golden House of Nero, contemporary bricks vary in thickness from $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches to $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches (Middleton, *Ancient Rome*, p. 34). The size of those in the Balkerne is far from uniform.

can have introduced relatively little of the Roman system of town-planning, largely dependant as this was upon a regular scheme of fortification. The earlier Roman town must have shared, with other semi-native towns, the informal character which in some cases, as at Verulam and Silchester, the Roman hand never entirely re-shaped in the conventional mould.

The rebellion of 61 A.D. is the only recorded event which could have resulted in a complete re-modelling of the town, and though our records are fragmentary, it is tempting to cite them in favour of the latter part of the first century as the period in which the present scheme of fortification was undertaken. As at Caerwent, the earthen rampart which backs the wall appears to have preceded it, the wall in places being unfinished on the inner surface where it butts upon the rampart. It is more than probable, however, that both wall and rampart were part of a single plan, the rampart being thrown up first as a temporary defence while the wall was building.

In summary, therefore, such evidence as can be gathered from history coincides with that of the pottery and of the plan. The indication is that the Gate was erected in the latter part of the first or beginning of the second century on a monumental scale with two broad carriage-ways, two foot-ways, flanking towers or guard-rooms, and probably a defensive court extending perhaps 30 feet within the town walls. At some period during the later years of the Roman occupation the northern half of the Gate may have collapsed or been destroyed, and was rebuilt. At this time, the northern footway was probably disused and replaced by the northern carriage-way, which was reduced in width by the insertion of the new north pier; the rebuilt Gate thus approximated to the less abnormal type with three entrances. Sometime after the withdrawal of the Romans, however, the Gate was still found to be too vulnerable a spot in the defences and was further reduced by a roughly constructed barricade. It, then or later, exchanged its primary function as a gateway for that of a fort. At the beginning of the nineteenth century or earlier, a tap-room of the former King's Head in Head Street was built across the site.

The general appearance of the original Gate can be reconstructed from its Continental analogies. The footways, as we know, were vaulted; it is improbable, however, that a similar vault of 17 feet diameter was entrusted by a Roman architect to the somewhat slender middle piers, and it is more likely that the carriage entrances were simply arched front and rear and were ceiled by the great beams (? balkens) which carried the fighting-gallery across the structure. There was probably a single upper-story, lighted by a

series of narrow windows and perhaps surmounted by an embattled parapet. The quadrant-shaped towers may not have been higher than the main roof. The footways possibly had no permanent doors; the carriage-ways must have had them, but, as at Autun, there is no evidence of the existence of the portcullis which is indicated at Nimes. The reconstruction of the conjectured rear-court is a problem for a future excavator.

ON ROMAN ROADS IN ESSEX.

BY MILLER CHRISTY, F.L.S.

SYLLABUS.

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I.—INTRODUCTORY.

WE appear to have in Essex a much larger proportion of Roman roads (or, rather, roads of Roman origin) than exists in most other counties. This is not surprising, seeing that we have in the county two such important Roman stations as *Camulodunum* (Colchester) and *Iceanum* (Chesterford), and that *Londinium* (London) lies actually on our border.

Yet the study and record of these Roman roads has been neglected strangely by the members of the Essex Archæological Society.

In its publications, extending now over sixty-seven years, there is *one paper only* dealing with them—namely, that on Roman Roads near Colchester, by its past-President, the late Mr. Henry Laver, F.S.A.¹; and this paper is purely local. Of papers on this subject published in other organs or separately, there is, however, a surprisingly-large number. An incomplete bibliographical list of them, arranged chronologically, will be found hereafter (*see* § II., p. 196).

From the wider national point of view, our Essex roads of Roman origin, though numerous, may not be of first importance; for we have, passing through the county, none of those great Roman thoroughfares, running completely across the Kingdom, almost from end to end or side to side, such as Watling street or Erming street, though the latter skirts the eastern border of our county. Our roads of Roman origin seem to have been, for the most part, what may be called local roads. Nevertheless, two of them were (and still are) of considerable importance—main roads, as we should call them now; for both run straight across the entire county (or, at any rate the greater part of it). These two roads are, first, that now known locally as “the Great Road,” which runs north-eastward from London, through Romford, Brentwood, Ingatestone, Chelmsford, Witham, and Kelvedon, to Mark’s Tey, and is continued on into Suffolk by another road, through Colchester and Langham; secondly, that known as Stane Street, running straight across the county, almost exactly due east and west, from the head of navigation on Hamford Water, through Colchester, Mark’s Tey, Coggeshall, Braintree, Dunmow, and Bishop’s Stortford, to Braughing, in Hertfordshire, where it joins Erming street, and continues to Baldock and Biggleswade.²

It is now more than twenty years since I first began to take an interest in our Roman roads and started to trace the routes followed by them and their branches. I have been able to trace, more or less precisely, eighteen fairly-distinct “Routes” (as I have called them).³ Together, these extend to about 260 miles in the county; and there are very few of these miles which I have not covered personally, either on foot, on horseback, or by cycle,

¹ *Trans Essex Arch. Soc.* (N.S.), vol. iii. (1889), pp. 123-135, with map.

² This Essex Stane Street must not be confused with another of the same name, which runs through Sussex, from near Chichester towards London. In each case, the name indicates, of course, a road the surface of which has been made hard by stoning, “stanning,” or “steyning” it. Hence also the name of Stanway (a parish on the Roman road a mile or two south from Colchester), of Steyning (a town in Sussex), and of the Steyne (an open space in Brighton).

³ My “Routes” are divided arbitrarily and largely at convenience. I have regarded as a “Route” any stretch of road obviously of Roman origin, however short, so long as it runs directly from one place to another. It may run further or it may branch; but I have found it convenient to regard the extension or the branch (as the case may be) as a different “Route.”

usually with the main object of tracing or verifying the courses of the roads. In the following pages I give in detail the results of my researches. The roads themselves are shown clearly on the accompanying map.

The eighteen "Routes" described represent, probably, all the important Roman ways which ever existed in Essex. In addition, there must have been countless smaller ways, of which little or no trace now remains.¹ One such must have led to each of the Roman villas in Essex. Some of these have been explored, but many others have been neither explored nor their former existence even detected.²

In treating of these chief roads and their branches, I have, for convenience, numbered each "Route"; but my numbering is largely arbitrary and is of no importance, except as a matter of convenience in identification. The numbers in question are all shown on the map referred to above.

My remarks on our Roman roads must be regarded as tentative only; for I am not an authority upon Roman subjects. I do claim, however, an extremely thorough topographical knowledge of the county of Essex; and, in studying such a subject as this, even a leading expert must rely to a large extent on local knowledge. These facts, then, combined with the extreme indefiniteness of much of the information hitherto published on the subject, must be my justification for taking it up.

The enquirer, tracing Roman roads in Essex, meets with one difficulty from which those making similar investigations in most other counties are largely free—the fact that, over a very large part of the county, the surface is, geologically speaking, "Drift"—soft material (chiefly clays and sands), which retains little or no evidence that roads have formerly passed over it. Thus, we have in the county no "rock" harder or older than the Chalk, which, moreover, forms the actual surface over a small portion of the county only, being overlaid almost everywhere by later and softer deposits. This is particularly the case in the south-eastern portion of the county, where the surface is mainly Alluvium. In that part of Essex, the lines followed by the Roman roads which we know must

¹ Some such are shown, no doubt, on the map of Roman roads in Essex prepared by my friend, Mr. Guy Maynard (*Memorials of Old Essex*, facing p. 44; 1908). I think, however, that on his otherwise-excellent map, Mr. Maynard has shown a good number of roads which are of Mediæval (not Roman) origin.

² How numerous such buildings must have been in our county is shown by the fact that the Normans (who were not a brick-making people) used Roman bricks—taken, without doubt, from Roman villas and the like—for forming the quoins, doors, and windows of their churches. I estimate that in Essex to-day something like seventy per cent. of all Norman churches are constructed in part of Roman bricks.

have existed there formerly have become extremely difficult to trace and are often lost altogether.

Many years ago, the late Mr. Henry Laver, F.S.A., of Colchester, favoured me with some remarks, which were afterwards published,¹ on the roads in Dengie Hundred.² They dealt with the difficulties of road-making in that district, largely owing to the almost-total lack of good road-making material there. For this reason, the lines followed by the Roman roads which ran through that Hundred are lost almost completely; while, as to modern roads, few attempts to make them hard were made before the end of the eighteenth century.

On the other hand, the searcher after Roman roads in this county has one advantage which such searchers in many other counties lack. Our ordinary modern roads are all exceptionally crooked and indirect. Consequently, a road of Roman origin (which always has the appearance of knowing where it is going) invariably stands out with prominence and is easily recognizable on any good map, such as the Ordnance—a fact which is, for obvious reasons, very helpful.

It will be observed very clearly that, in Essex, as elsewhere, the Roman road-builders kept their roads, as far as possible, to the higher grounds, never descending into low country, unless to cross a valley or through some such unavoidable cause. It will be observed, too, with what consummate engineering skill they selected lines which presented, for the longest distances together, the fewest occasions for descending into the lower grounds. All the principal routes through the county exhibit this peculiarity, but Route 1 (London to Mark's Tey), Route 3 (Beaumont Quay to Braughing), and Route 6 (Little Waltham to Gosfield), show it more clearly than most others.

Yet another point which is noticeable is the fact that, in Essex, as elsewhere, straightness is a very marked feature of all our roads of Roman origin. Whenever any one of our roads does show a divergence from the straight line, it is due, as a rule, to one or other of two definite causes:—(1) the need to cross a stream³ or (2) the

¹ The Dengie Hundred is that portion of Essex below Maldon, lying between the estuaries of the rivers Blackwater and Crouch.

² *Trans. Essex Archaeol. Soc.* (N.S.), vol. v., pp. 33-40 (1895).

³ Some slight diversion for a short distance is usually observable wherever one of our Essex roads of Roman origin crosses a stream, however small. This is due to the fact that the soft boggy ground in the bottom of a river-valley soon becomes "poached up" (as we say in Essex), and it then becomes necessary for the road to seek firmer ground, either slightly above or slightly below the original crossing. Often, no doubt, this slight change has taken place many times. Nor does it follow, in the case of a road of Roman origin which is still in use, that the first such diversion took place in Roman times. I have seen exactly the same kind of thing very many times on the prairies of the Canadian North-West, where there are few hard roads, because there is practically no suitable road-making material. Most roads there are, therefore, soft, except when frozen in winter.

need to build the road towards some definite mark, situated on high ground and visible, therefore, a great distance ahead (as, for instance, a tall tree, a mound of earth, or a smoke-signal). It was not, of course, until many centuries later that it became possible to lay out a road accurately, in any desired direction, by means of the magnetic compass; while, inasmuch as it is not possible to see miles ahead and build roads in the darkness of the night, even the guidance afforded by the stars, which serves the mariner at sea so effectively, must have been almost useless.

It should be noted that I have not attempted to identify any of the Roman stations in Essex, named in the Fifth and Ninth Itineraries of Antoninus and in the Tabula Peutingeriana, with localities existing in the county to-day—a task of very great difficulty. It has kept learned antiquaries busy guessing for several centuries, and their views are still as discordant as ever, there being among them no approach to a general agreement.

It is noteworthy that, among all the many elaborate studies of this subject, the latest, fullest, and most scholarly (that of Canon Yorke) introduces many novel and extremely-surprising conclusions, totally at variance with most which had appeared before it. With our present knowledge, indeed, the problem seems insoluble. A reference to any of the tabular comparative statements, showing the solutions at which the various writers have arrived, will show at a glance their truly amazing diversity.¹ I have some hope that my observations and map may throw new light upon the problem and thus tend to a solution.

Another question is as to the approximate date of our Essex roads of Roman origin. On this point, it is manifestly very difficult to arrive at any precise conclusion; but there are, I think, good reasons for believing that most were made in the later days of the Roman occupation of Britain. It may very well be that Stane Street (Route 3) is the earliest of all. If the invading Romans desired, as is probable, to get at, and attack, the British headquarters at Camulodunum (Lexden), they could do so more easily by sailing round the coast, landing either in the Colne or in Hamford (or Handford) water, and then marching thither overland (about ten or twelve miles), than by undertaking a long land march (nearly fifty miles) from London, through what were then, no doubt, almost impenetrable forests. Further evidence that Stane Street was, at least, a very early Roman road is to be found, I think, in the fact

¹ See, for example, Beaumont, *East Anglian*, vol. v., pp. 289-298 (1894), and Yorke, *Cambr. Antiquarian Communications*, vol. xi., pp. 13-14 (1907). For criticism on the latter paper, see *Trans. Norf. Archæol. Soc.*, vol. xvii., pp. 1-30 (1910).

(noted hereafter) that the Roman road which gave access to Colchester from London was constructed, *not to Colchester direct, but to a point several miles short of Colchester*, at which point it joins Stane Street, which runs straight on to Colchester; this implying that Stane Street was the older road. Nevertheless, evidence that most of our Roman roads were made fairly late in the Roman period is to be found, I take it, in the fact that several of them cease abruptly, having been left unfinished, presumably, when the Romans retired from Britain. Instances of this are noted hereafter.

In many other parts of England, Roman roads still show clear evidence of having been "banked" originally, that is to say, raised above the level of the surrounding country; but I have observed little or nothing of this in connection with our Essex roads of Roman origin. This absence of "banking" may probably be due to the scarcity in the county of good hard road-making material. On the other hand, banked roads may have been formerly more abundant in Essex than they are now. It is said¹ that our Essex village of Ridgewell took its name from the ridge of the Roman road which ran formerly through it. Thomas Walford, F.S.A., of Birdbrook, writing in 1803, says² that "in the year 1790 [this ridge] "was very visible, but, from the improvements in agriculture, [this "banking"] can be traced no further. I remember, a few years ago, "its extending thirty or forty rods more northwards, and saw the "farmer carting it away." Probably, in many cases (assuming that our Roman roads were originally banked), the material of the ridge has been carried away in recent times for the making of modern roads.³ It will be found [says the late Mr. Henry Laver, F.S.A.⁴] that [in the Colchester district] our Roman roads are formed in this manner:—there is only one trench, the gravel raised in making this trench being piled up to form the agger, the Romans, like all good builders, using the materials of the district; . . . I find, however, in our larger and more important roads, that they are formed in the recognised Roman manner. The top-soil was first removed and the gravel was rammed down, apparently with lime or chalk, on the solid substratum . . . No remains of pavement have been found. The scarcity of stone may account for this in more ways than one. Probably it was never there; or, if there, its value as building material would have caused it to be removed during the many years the roads were neglected after the departure of the Romans.

¹ *Archæologia*, vol. xvi., p. 68 (1803).

² *Op. et loc. cit.* Many interments, pottery, and other Roman remains which Walford figures, have been found in its immediate vicinity.

³ John Horsley, F.R.S., the historian of Roman Britain, referring to Roman monuments of various kinds in Essex, says (*Britannia Romana*, p. 331: 1732):—"These monuments, as well as the Military Ways, are the most ruined in this county of any that I know; where they have been, in all probability, so many."

⁴ *Trans. Essex Archæol. Soc.* (N.S.), vol. iii., p. 124 (1889).

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[Mr. Laver shows on his map a complicated tangle of roads around Lexden Heath, and regards them as Roman. I cannot help thinking they are *earlier* roads connected with the British town of Camulodunum, the site of which was probably on the Heath: consequently, I have not noted them herein.]

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III.—PARTICULAR ROUTES.

Route 1: London to Mark's Tey, 45 miles.

This is the principal and best-known Essex road obviously of Roman origin. It runs north-eastward throughout. Though remarkably direct, it is not absolutely straight, presenting at three points (near Romford, near Shenfield, and near Witham respectively) a marked tendency to "sag" to the south-east. Yet there is, throughout its entire length, no part lying as much as a couple of miles out of the straight line between its two extreme points. The main Colchester line of the Great Eastern Railway follows it very closely, the two being at no point much more than about a mile apart.¹ Further, the road follows pretty closely (it will be noticed) the dividing line between the almost-continuous boulder-clay area to the north-west and the equally-continuous London-clay area to the south-east. It follows, probably, the most south-easterly line on which the Romans found it possible to construct a really-satisfactory road.

Coming from London, the road crosses the river Lea at Old Ford, where it enters Essex, continuing past Stratford (the Street Ford), in the parish of West Ham. It crosses the river Roding at Ilford, close to a tumulus, within an earthwork, known as Uphall Camp, both probably Roman, as a considerable quantity of Roman pottery has been dug up within the camp.² It then continues straight to Chadwell Heath (10 miles from London). Here commences the first of the two bends to the south-east mentioned above. For this deflection, I can see no obvious cause,³ though (as Codrington points out⁴) the road here points to the high ground (running up to

¹ The Romans made their road where it is, taking advantage of the physical features of the country. The railroad took practically the same line, nearly two thousand years later, partly, no doubt, for the same reason, but mainly in order to connect and serve the towns which had grown up along the line of the old road.

² See Walter Crouch, in *Essex Naturalist*, vol. vii. (1893), pp. 131-138; also in *Trans. Essex Archaeol. Soc.*, vol. ix. (1905), pp. 408-412, and vol. x. (1908), pp. 19-25.

³ It seems much greater than any likely to be caused when crossing a stream, in the way already mentioned (*see ante*, p. 193).

⁴ *Roman Roads in Britain*, p. 215 (1905).

325 feet) about Great Warley (which is, however, not actually on the road). Doubtless, the road was constructed towards some tree, a post, or a smoke-signal on this high ground.

Near Lowland's farm (a mile or so before reaching Romford¹ and about 10½ miles from London) the road becomes irregular, a tendency which continues for nearly two miles and a half. There is no obvious cause for this irregularity, which is greater than can be accounted for by the crossing of the little river Rom or Beam, which takes place in the course of it. At last, near Gallows Corner, half-a-mile before reaching Harold's Wood Hall (105 feet), and with a rising gradient, the straight course is resumed suddenly.

Continuing from this point straight and fairly level, the road forms next, for two miles, the dividing line between the parishes of Romford and Hornchurch. Approaching Brentwood, it begins to rise steadily, up what is known as Brook Street hill, reaching nearly 300 feet. Passing through Brentwood (18 miles from London), it reaches Shenfield, where commences a remarkably wavy portion, which continues for about two miles. The need to avoid low marshy ground beside a tributary of the river Wid was, no doubt, the cause of this waviness; for it ceases abruptly as the road reaches and crosses that river (181 feet), just below the village of Mountnessing.² From this point, the road runs remarkably straight for 6½ miles to Widford.

A mile-and-a-half beyond Ingatestone, there is, in the parish of Margaretting, a "bulge" towards the north, which probably has some significance. In the course of it, the road crosses a tiny tributary of the river Wid, but so small that one cannot suppose the diversion was made on account of it. It will be observed that, at the beginning, the bulge points almost directly towards the village of Writtle, three miles to the north, to which place it was intended originally, perhaps, that it should run. If so, the intention was quickly discarded; for the road soon curves back again, resumes its original direction, runs through the village of Margaretting, up what is known as Three-Mile hill, and continues towards Chelmsford. Moreover, immediately after the Great Road has crossed the tiny tributary of the Wid just mentioned, a smaller road branches off to the north, heading straight for Writtle. This road, though small, must be noticed hereafter as a separate Route (see Route 2, p. 201).

Returning now to the "Great Road," to the point at which we left it in the parish of Margaretting, and continuing in the same line,

¹ Here Yorke (p. 45) and other writers place Durolitum.

² Here Yorke (p. 45) places Cæsaromagus.

and almost straight for a further two miles, we reach Widford (184 feet), where, at the top of the hill, there is something like a "jog," caused possibly by another small road branching off towards the northward, to Writtle.¹ At Chelmsford (2 miles further, and 29 miles from London) the "Great Road" joins other Roman roads (Routes 2, 4, and, perhaps, 15), and it also crosses the river Chelmer. The exact point at which it crossed, previously unknown, was discovered in 1912, during the building of the Regent Theatre. It lies a few yards east of the crossing of the Chelmer.²

After passing Chelmsford, the "Great Road" continues remarkably straight for 11 miles to Kelvedon, where a surprise awaits the traveller. Hitherto, since leaving London, he has seen nothing more pronounced than a gentle curve in the road; but, on entering Kelvedon village, he comes suddenly face to face with an inn and other houses, blocking the road and lining the further side of a cross-road. To avoid these, he has to follow a "jog" to the left. After this, he may resume his journey in the original direction, though not on the old line, for the line of the new piece of road lies fifty or sixty yards more to the north-west. This new road runs on down the side of the river valley, fords the river, ascends the slope on the further side, and then runs straight on towards Marks Tey.

It will be remembered that Kelvedon has been commonly accepted as the site of the Roman station of *Canonium*.³ Possibly, therefore, there was here something more than a mere station—something which might be called a fortified post; and, as at Braintree and elsewhere, the Roman road, instead of running straight through this post, was diverted a few yards out of the straight line. This would account for the jog.

From the cross-roads at Gore Pit, just north of Kelvedon, the road runs almost as straight as it is possible for any road to run to Marks Tey ($3\frac{3}{4}$ miles). Parish boundaries coincide with it at many points, but for short distances only. All the way from Chelmsford to Marks Tey (16 miles), the changes in elevation have been comparatively slight, varying between 75 feet and 137 feet, the latter being at the extreme northerly end of the stretch.⁴

At Marks Tey (46 miles from London), I consider Route 1 ends; for the road here meets at an angle of about 30°, and joins on the south, the east-and-west road (Route 3) known as Stane Street.

¹ A number of pottery fragments, described as Roman, which had been apparently thrown into a refuse-pit, were discovered in 1840, in Cherry-Garden lane, between Widford and Chelmsford, (see J. Adey Repton, in *Gentl. Mag.*, 1840, vol. ii., pp. 258-259).

² See *Essex County Chron.*, 29th November and 6th December 1912.

³ Which, however, Yorke (p. 45) places at Witham.

⁴ At Marks Tey, Yorke (p. 45) places Camulodunum, regarding Colchester as *Ad Ansam*!

Nearly all previous writers have stated that the "Great Road" runs from London to Colchester. I say, however, that this is not the case; for the junction at Marks Tey (involving a change of about 30° in its direction), seems to me to disprove the statement. The "Great Road" reaches Colchester ultimately, of course, but only by way of a portion of Stane Street. The fact that this latter, after the point at which the Great Road joins it, continues its original course without a waver (so to speak) affords, I consider, further evidence to support my view—that the portion of road between Marks Tey and Colchester is a portion of Stane Street, and not an extension of the "Great Road."¹

This conclusion raises a point of some interest:—Which of the two roads is the older? To me it seems probable, as stated already, that Stane Street is the earlier; for, if the Roman engineers had desired to build a road from London to Colchester, there is no reason, as far as one can see, why they should not have built it there *direct*, instead of to a point on Stane Street, five miles south of Colchester, and then have followed this fresh road to the town named. The point is difficult (perhaps impossible) to prove; but it is worth bearing in mind.

Route 2: Margaretting to Chelmsford (via Writtle), 5½ miles.

One must return now to notice briefly the small loop-road, apparently Roman, which branches off from the northern side of the "Great Road" at Margaretting (see *ante*, p. 199). It appears to have run, first, to Writtle and then on to Chelmsford, where it joins, apparently, other Roman roads (Routes 1 and 4; see pp. 198 and 207); but its line is the least well defined of any route described herein.

For the first two miles after branching from the Great Road, it is so straight that few would doubt its Roman origin. Its elevation here averages about 225 feet. As it approaches Bumpstead's farm (2 miles), it swings sharply to the west, apparently to find the best place to cross the small stream it there meets with. Continuing thence towards the village of Writtle, its elevation steadily decreasing, it passed, apparently, at the back of the houses lining the west end of the village green (but no trace of it remains there),² crossed the line of the modern London road near Oxney green, and continued along the existing road past the Lordship and the Warren

¹ A street in Coggeshall is known as Stanham (or Stoneham) Street.

² Here it passes close to the remains of a mound, but apparently not Roman. It is more likely a heap of earth thrown out in making a modern drinking-pond for cattle.

farms, forded the brook at the Warren bridge, and joined the Chelmsford-Roxwell road at the Cut Elm. From here, turning sharply to the right, it followed (conjecturally) the present road to Chelmsford, which runs straight and on fairly high ground (about 110 feet). Entering the county town by Rainsford road, it passed, apparently, the end of what is now Broomfield road, and ran down Duke street to the Shire Hall, where it rejoins Route 1 (see p. 200) and crosses Route 4 (see p. 207).¹

Now why should the road ever have thus run round by Writtle? The reply is that there was certainly a Roman station of some kind in that parish. Codrington² and nearly all previous writers have assumed that this station was that called *Casaromagus* in both the East Anglian *Itineraries*, both placing it 28 Roman (=30 English) miles from London, this distance being almost exactly correct for Writtle. Roman tiles and pottery have been found in the village, close to the churchyard. Again, at Bedeman's Berg (otherwise Monk's and Barrow's farm), in a clearance in the High Woods, Roman tiles occur in some abundance.

Route 3: Beaumont Quay (on Hamford Water) to Braughing (in Hertfordshire) [=Stane Street], 49½ miles.

All writers hitherto have described this road as running from Colchester straight across Essex to Braughing in Hertfordshire. I say that it started, not from Colchester, but from a point on our eastern coast, twelve miles and a half further east, now known as Beaumont Quay, the extreme westernmost point and head of navigation on Hamford (or Handford) water.³ Its route thence to Colchester (12 miles) may be followed, I believe, with little difficulty on the Ordnance maps, though there are gaps. Taking the road as a whole, it is, from end to end, the longest of our Essex roads of Roman origin; also one of the straightest. Further, it is noticeably well engineered; for everywhere it follows fairly high ground; it crosses no river-valleys of any size, except those of the Colne and the Stort; it contrives to cross most rivers and streams at their

¹ The former existence of this loop road by way of Writtle, probably explains the statement by most of the older county historians (see Morant, vol. ii., p. 61, and Wright, vol. i., p. 167) that "before a bridge was built at Chelmsford over the river, the public road from Braintree and several other places in the north and north-east parts of the county to London led through Writtle, turning at the corner where is now the sign of the Red Cow and going on to . . . Margareting."

² *Roman Roads*, p. 215 (1905).

³ The road may have started from Landermere Landing (or Wharf) on the southern shore of Hamford Water, and have skirted that shore eastward; but this would have increased the distance to Colchester by at least a mile.

narrowest point, close to their sources; and it follows, almost everywhere, the northern (that is, the sunniest and driest) side of all east-and-west river-valleys. Its course lies almost wholly over boulder-clay, which contains, on or near its surface, much good road-making material. The road crosses indeed the main unbroken mass of that formation as met with in Essex. As in the case of the "Great Road," too, the rail-road follows it very closely for the greater part of its course, both to obtain the advantage of its skilfully-chosen route and also to connect and serve the various towns which have grown up, in the course of time, along that route.

Starting from Beaumont Quay and proceeding almost due westward, one follows a parish boundary (that between Beaumont and Thorpe-le-Soken) for rather less than two miles, when one reaches a point, on the Holland brook, a few hundred yards west of Hannam's Hall. Half-a-mile or so before reaching this point, the parish boundary reaches, and coincides with, a small road—that running to the village of Tendring. Here the parish boundary turns south, following the Holland brook, but the road runs further west for about a mile, to near Tendring Hall and church, where it stops abruptly, and all trace of the Roman road is lost, so far as the map shows.¹ Continuing, however, in the same east-to-west direction through the parish of Little Bentley, one comes, near Cliphedge farm, after a gap of two miles-and-a-half, to a road running much in the same direction, continuing through Elmstead Market, along the northern boundary of Wivenhoe Park, and through Greenstead, almost straight for the Hythe at Colchester.² Here the road crosses the Colne, and continues perfectly straight along High street and through the town, emerging at the Balkerne Gate, and continuing its way westward.³

From this junction, it proceeds along the northern boundary of Lexden park⁴ and across Lexden heath. On this latter is a complication of roads, trackways, and earthworks, which led Sir Richard

¹ There may possibly be, in fact, some evidence of the former existence of a road here, but I have had no opportunity of going actually over the ground. He who searches for Roman roads hereabouts with the aid of a map merely must take care not to be misled by a line (apparently representing a road), which runs north and south from near Mistley to near Tendring. This is, in fact, merely a once-contemplated railway from Mistley to Walton-on-Naze, begun many years ago, but never completed.

² Mr. G. F. Beaumont doubts whether a Roman road ever crossed Tendring Hundred by the route indicated. He points out that very few evidences of Roman occupation have ever been discovered in that Hundred, except on or close to the coast. This argument is sound, so far as it goes; but is, I think, not conclusive.

³ A mile or so outside the gate, it joined the line of the present Lexden road, which emerges from the town by the mediæval Head Gate.

⁴ See Laver in *Trans. Essex Archaeol. Soc.* (N.S.), vol. iii., p. 125 (1889); also Codrington, *Roman Roads*, p. 212.

Colt Hoare and the Rev. Henry Jenkins¹ to conclude that here was the British capital, *Camulodunum*, while the site of the Roman *Colonia* lay two miles further east, where Colchester now is.

Proceeding, with a slightly more south-westerly trend, the road passes Stanway, forded the Roman river at Copford, passes through Marks Tey² (5½ miles from Colchester) and Little Tey, and reaches the town of Coggeshall (9½ miles from Colchester), where there was formerly a mount³, now removed. The average elevation thus far has been about 160 feet. From Lexden to Coggeshall, the road has been remarkably, though not absolutely, straight; but, a mile or so west of Coggeshall, the road (running now along the northern slope of the valley of the river Blackwater) takes a sudden, but slight, turn of about 15° to the north-west, continuing very nearly straight for two miles, through the parishes of Coggeshall and Pattiswick,⁴ to the hamlet of Blackwater, where the river is again crossed and the road (now, for once, on the southern bank) runs pretty direct to Braintree (15½ miles from Colchester). Here Stane Street traverses the high, narrow, neck of land, little more than a mile wide, between the rivers Pant and Blackwater.⁵

only Potts' work, not in, which is a river called Blackwater

In the town of Braintree itself, the road crosses, almost at right angles, another Roman road coming from Chelmsford and Little Waltham (Route 6: see p. 209) and passes through a Roman camp or station occupying the highest ground (about 236 feet) in the vicinity. This earthwork is now incomplete, only its western side remaining. It has never been laid down properly on a chart, but there can be no doubt as to its Roman origin.⁶ Within it is the Braintree water-tower, a very prominent object for miles around. It was probably towards a high tree, or mound, or a smoke-signal on the site of this tower that both the "Great Road" and Stane Street were constructed originally.

Emerging to the west of Braintree, the road continues almost absolutely straight through Rayne to Broadfield, farm, where it makes a slight curve, nearly two miles long, to the northward, through Blake End. For this diversion, there is no obvious cause; for the river Ter, which it crosses here, is no more than a tiny rivulet, taking its rise less than a mile to the north and fordable easily at any point.

¹ *Archæologia*, vol. xxix., p. 248 (1842).

² Here it is joined by the "Great Road" (Route 1, see *ante* p. 200).

³ Probably Roman (see *post*, p. 229).

⁴ The portion of the road in Pattiswick is (or has been) known as "Stock Street."

⁵ It encloses the remains of a mount, now largely destroyed, and extended (it is said) about four acres.

It will be noticed that, from a point $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles east of Braintree to a point $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles west of that town (a stretch of four miles altogether), the road is almost absolutely straight: hence my suggestion that it was constructed from either side towards a smoke, a tall tree, a high pole, or other mark. It should be mentioned, too, that, from the crossing of the Blackwater river, $3\frac{1}{4}$ miles east of Braintree, to the crossing of the Stebbing brook, $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles west of that town (a distance of nearly nine miles continuously) the road follows parish boundaries, those between Stisted and Cressing, Braintree and Black Notley, Rayne and Felstead, Stebbing and Felstead. Yet, for some reason, it passes right through the parishes of Little and Great Dunmow, without anywhere forming the boundary of either.

Next, the road suddenly takes a slightly southerly curve, and thence proceeds almost absolutely straight for four miles, pointing directly for Dunmow. Probably it was built towards a smoke, a mound, or other mark on the high ground (about 310 feet) around that town and Little Canfield. The whole way from Braintree to Dunmow, the road runs at a fairly-high elevation, averaging about 260 feet. Approaching Dunmow, it traverses the parishes of Rayne, Stebbing and Little Dunmow. Half-a-mile or so before reaching Dunmow, and just before the road drops into the valley of the Chelmer, the maps show a sharp diversion to the southward, but this bend is modern. On the spot, one can see quite plainly that the original Roman road ran straight on down the eastern side of the river valley and straight on up its western side into the town, through which it passed. In the centre of the town, another Roman road (*see* Route 12) branched off south-westward. Dunmow must have been a settlement of some importance in Roman days, judging from Roman roads, but other evidences of this fact are scanty.

Leaving Dunmow, the road continues westward for about three miles to the point where it crosses the river Rolling, here (scarcely a mile from its source) a tiny trickling rivulet. From this point onwards for five miles (at the end of which the County boundary is reached), the road follows parish boundaries—those of the parishes of Great Dunmow, Little Canfield, Great Canfield, Takeley,¹ Hatfield Broad-oak, and Great Hallingbury.

At a point on the northern boundary of Great Hallingbury, the road encounters the tip of a long narrow projection of the Hertfordshire parish of Bishop's Stortford, the northern edge of which it follows for one mile, forming here not only a parish boundary, but

* Hereabouts, the road is commonly known as "Takeley Street," though all the houses are ranged on the north side only—a fact which has become proverbial locally

also the county boundary between Essex and Hertfordshire. At the end of this mile, and at the corner of the grounds belonging to Plaw Hatch, the parish and county boundaries turn suddenly northward, but the road (here leaving Essex) continues straight on westward for about another mile, when it encounters, at a right angle, the modern north-and-south road from London to Cambridge and Newmarket.¹ Here, the traveller, having traversed the 33 miles from Colchester without anywhere turning even a noticeable corner in the road, receives something of a shock, when, after descending the fairly-steep side of the Stort valley, he finds himself suddenly in a road running at a right angle, and face to face with the wall of a cottage garden on the further side of it.

Although Stane Street has now left Essex and entered Hertfordshire, we may continue to follow it to its end, which is not far distant.

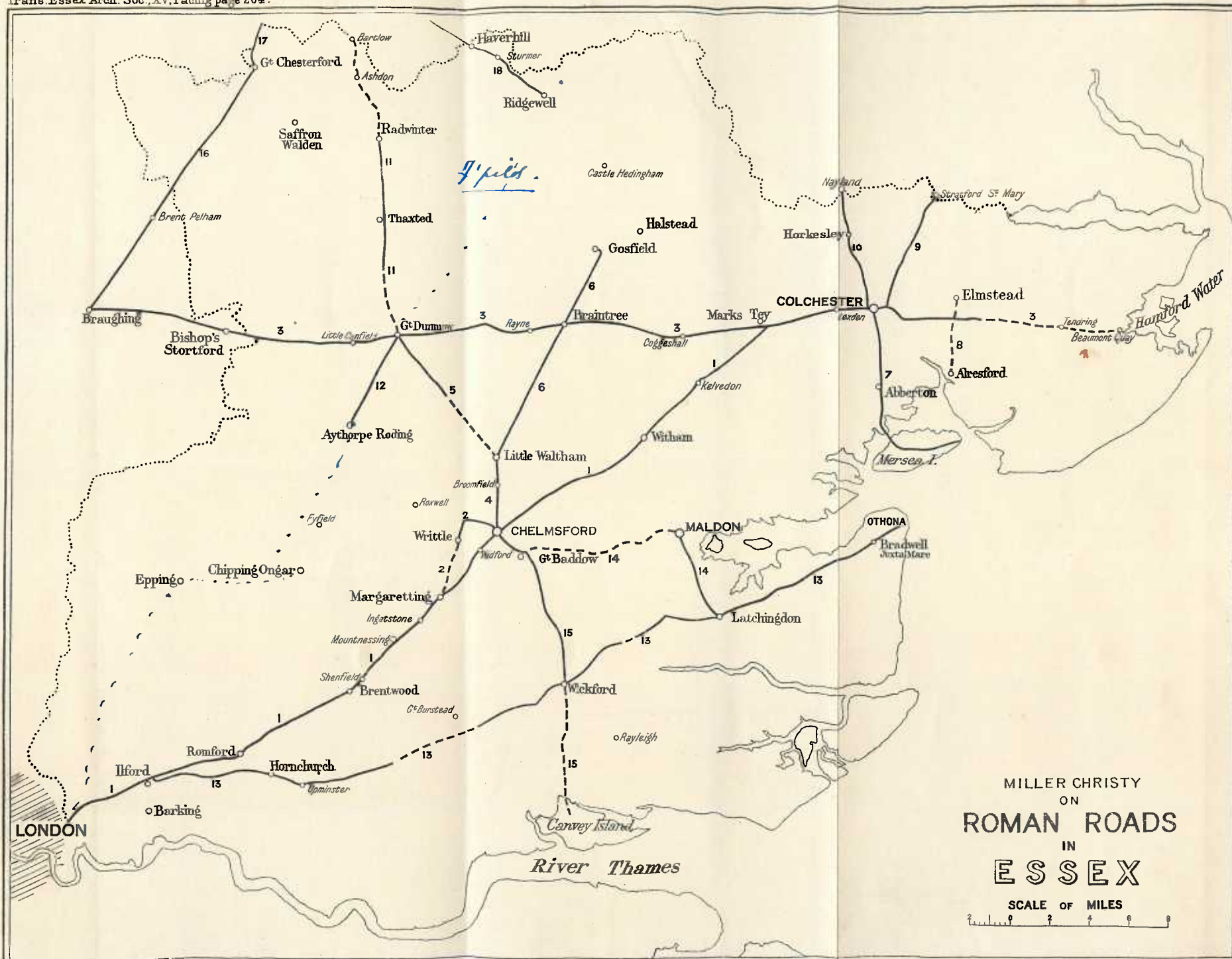
At the back of the row of roadside cottages mentioned above (that is, at Collin's Cross), one can see on the surface of the ground no trace of the continuance of the road, by a causeway or otherwise, across the low grassland in the valley of the river Stort. Yet one cannot doubt that here the road really did run straight across the river valley, a little to the north of the present town of Bishop's Stortford; for, continuing in the same line on the further (Hertfordshire) side of the river valley, one comes, after a gap of about three-quarters of a mile, to a spot at which Stane Street recommences, running still exactly in the old line.² From this point, the road, still almost straight, runs on westward, at an average elevation of about 300 feet, through Little Hadham and a place called Horse Cross (381 feet) to Braughing (49½ miles from Colchester), where it joins Erming street at a right angle and comes to an end.³

Stane Street is certainly the most remarkable road of Roman origin we have in Essex. It runs completely across the county from east to west for nearly fifty miles; it is quite remarkably straight; it is still in use as a road to-day, with the exception of a few very short gaps; and it connects several of our most important Essex towns.

¹ Mr. J. L. Glascock, of Bishop's Stortford (to whom I am much indebted for help in following the line of the road hereabouts) informs me that Roman pottery and coins have been found at several spots in this immediate vicinity.

² The Ordnance map here shows—quite erroneously as I consider—a southern diversion of the road marked as "Roman Road."

³ There are, on the maps, signs that a Roman road ran on, some 18 miles further, in the same direction, through Baldock to Biggleswade; but, as it has now left Essex. I have not attempted to follow it on the ground.



MILLER CHRISTY
ON
ROMAN ROADS
IN
ESSEX

SCALE OF MILES
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

The two great roads (Routes 1 and 3) indicated above, are undoubtedly the two chief roads of Roman origin in what is now Essex—"main" or "trunk" roads, as we should call them to-day. Both ran completely across the county—one from London, north-eastward; the other from east to west; and both are in use as roads to-day, practically from end to end.

There were also, of course, other Roman roads of secondary importance, still largely in use as public roads. Of some of these, the lines may be followed with ease. The lines of others are very doubtful and obscure, their use as roads having evidently been discontinued for many centuries. My next task will be to trace the routes of these secondary roads as well as can now be done.

Route 4: Chelmsford to Little Waltham, 3½ miles.

This road is, for the greater part, still in use as a road to-day. It leaves the "Great Road" (Route 1) at the point where it forded the river Chelmer (=anciently Chelmersford, now Chelmsford). Thence it runs due north, apparently following the present High street and New street, passing just to the east of the church, under the railway bridge in New Street, and entering, about 200 yards further, the gate of the garden of Bishop's Hall. Here, as a modern hard road, it comes to an end.¹

The original Roman road passed, apparently, through what is now the farmyard appended to Bishop's Hall, and continued at the back through the low marshy meadows (about 95 feet) beside the river, where now there is a straight footpath beside a hedge, but no other sign of the former passage of a road.² Passing behind the grounds of Broomfield Lodge, the path (following, no doubt, the line of the old road) leaves the actual river bank, mounts the sloping west side of the river valley, and joins the present Broomfield Road just before it reaches Gutter's farm.³ Hitherto, its line has been highly unusual for a Roman road, in that it has run for over a mile along the low, almost marshy, ground on the very bank of the river Chelmer; but there can be no doubt, I think, that this is really where it did run.

¹ It did not run up Duke Street, though it seems as if another Roman road (see Route 2, p. 202) did enter the town by this road, joining my Route 3.

² Codrington says (*Roman Roads*, p. 216) that the pathway here also follows a parish boundary for a mile. If so, the parish boundaries have been altered recently.

³ I regard the present Broomfield Road, from Chelmsford to this point, as modern.

The Roman road then followed, apparently, the line of the present road to Broomfield¹ (2½ miles) and continued to the Ash Tree at Little Waltham (1¼ miles). For the whole of this distance, the road runs almost due north and is quite straight, except where it crosses a streamlet or a hollow, where (as in the village of Broomfield) it is diverted slightly. There is no sign anywhere that the road was ever raised.

That a Roman station of some kind existed at Little Waltham is proved by the discovery of Roman urns, containing human remains, in the grounds of Little Waltham Lodge, in 1864,² and of a hoard of Roman coins at Sheepcote's farm, in 1902.³

At Little Waltham the road forks, and its two branches require notice next.

Route 5: Little Waltham to Dunmow, 8 miles.

This road forms the north-westward branch of the fork mentioned. For the first mile or two, the line is by no means easy to follow, and is, perhaps, lost altogether; but, further on, it becomes more obvious.

If, however, we follow the road in the opposite direction (*i.e.* from Dunmow south-eastward), we find that it is, for some distance, very straight and has many of the appearances of a genuine Roman road; but that these cease abruptly at Blunt's Walls farm (5 miles from Dunmow), which stands at the top of a sharp slope forming the north side of a narrow steep-sided little valley, down which trickles a small tributary of the Chelmer. I can see no trace of the road having ever crossed this valley, and am inclined to think that it never did so.

It seems possible, therefore, that this road was constructed from the northern (or Dunmow) end, and was intended to run from there to Little Waltham, but was never completed further than Blunt's Walls. At all events, I can find no clear traces of a Roman road further on, though I am familiar with almost every field on the route. If it ever continued further south, it probably passed along the present Howe Street and ran through the park of Langleys, but the line seems to be wholly lost.

¹ The late Mr. F. Chancellor, F.R.I.B.A., regarded (see *Trans. Essex Archæol. Soc.* (N.S.), vol. v., pp. 108-110: 1895) the lower part of the round tower of Broomfield church as actual Roman work.

² See note on Maps of Ordnance Survey.

³ See *Trans. Essex Arch. Soc.* (N.S.), vol. viii, p. 229: 1902.

Route 6: Little Waltham to Gosfield, 11½ miles.

This is the other (north-eastward) branch of the road which, coming from Chelmsford, divides at Little Waltham (see p. 208). It runs through the heart of Essex for nearly 12 miles, and is the most obviously Roman of any road of equal length in the county. It is, indeed, so remarkably straight that it looks on the map as though it might have been laid out with a ruler.

Leaving Little Waltham at the Ash Tree corner, it at once crosses the Chelmer (originally, no doubt, by a fordway) and immediately ascends the steep eastern side of the river valley, threading the long straight street of the village and following for nearly two miles the boundary between the parishes of Great and Little Waltham. Reaching the higher ground (about 200 feet) near Chatham Green, it continues in the same direction (north-east by north) and absolutely straight (except for a slight deflection where it crosses the little river Ter), past the inn known as the St. Anne's Castle, through the parishes of Great Waltham, Little Waltham, Great Leighs, Little Leighs, and Black Notley, to near Marshall's, in Braintree parish, where it crosses the river Brain, or Pod's brook (6¾ miles), being slightly deflected in so doing. Thence it continues, still in the same direction, though a trifle less straight, through the towns and parishes of Braintree and Bocking, crossing Stane street (Route 3) at the first-named place, till it reaches the river Pant, or Blackwater (8½ miles). Here it becomes, for the remainder of its course, even straighter than before—in fact, absolutely straight—the result, perhaps, of there being no streams to cross. It continues thus until it touches the edge of the park surrounding Gosfield Place (11½ miles). At this point, apparently, it ends suddenly.

In this whole distance, the road coincides with a parish boundary in five separate places, and for a distance of about 3¼ miles altogether; while it maintains an average elevation of very nearly 250 feet, crossing the highest ground in the district. Nowhere can I see any sign of its having ever been raised.

After reaching the edge of the park of Gosfield Place, the road loses at once all its essentially Roman characteristics. A road does continue, I admit, in the same general direction, through the parishes of Great Maplestead and Borley, making straight for Long Melford on the river Stour, a distance of about 11 miles from Gosfield; but the Ordnance maps, at any rate, afford no evidence—neither short portions of straight roads, nor bits of parish boundaries, nor foot-paths—of a Roman road having passed that way. Codrington

suggests¹ that the road we are following "perhaps joined a road from Colchester, by Haverhill, to Cambridge" (see Route 18, p. 223). The Rev. H. L. Elliot, vicar of Gosfield, writes me that he believes the Roman road did continue originally to the Stour and on into Suffolk, but admits he has failed to find evidence to prove this. He has pointed out to me that, when it disappears at Gosfield, it is heading straight for a point with the suggestive name of "Rod Bridge," on the Stour, in the parish of Long Melford.

I myself believe that, whatever may have been intended originally, the Roman road was never constructed further than Gosfield, the place at which we lose trace of it. Yet it is noteworthy that, after passing Long Melford, its direction coincides generally with that of an important road, which may possibly be of Roman origin, running through Suffolk in the same direction, though its course is wavy and far from direct.

There are, moreover, other reasons for believing that the Essex road in question did really stop at the point at which we lose trace of it (namely, at Gosfield); for this place was certainly a Roman station of some kind. The Rev. H. L. Elliot writes me:—

I certainly think that there was a Roman settlement at Gosfield. I have found many spots where Romano-British pottery, or fragments of the same, have been turned up, and now and then small Roman coins have been found—some in my own garden.² Thirty years ago, I made many superficial observations of the marks, etc., in the fields, but no excavation work was done, and I did not feel justified in publishing the result of my work.

The road now under notice provided, no doubt, the necessary means of access to this Roman settlement, which has never been systematically explored or described.

Route 7: Colchester to Mersea Island, 9 miles.

The late Mr. Henry Laver, F.S.A., traced with considerable precision³ what he believed to be the course of this Roman road; but I am obliged to confess that I am unable to follow his route with complete confidence. Yet such a road must have existed.

According to Mr. Laver's view, the road emerged from some south gate of the Roman city of Colchester and ran pretty much due southward along the outer side of what is now the old wall of the

¹ *Roman Roads in Britain*, p. 216.

² Many members of our Society who attended the meeting held at Gosfield on 6th June 1912 (see *Transactions* (N.S.), vol. xii., p. 362), will remember seeing, lying about in the Vicarage garden, fragments of Roman pottery and other ware dug up in the immediate vicinity of the vicarage.

³ See *Trans. Essex Arch. Soc.* (N.S.), vol. iii., pp. 131-132 (1889).

precincts of St. John's abbey. Continuing in the same direction, it ran past the Camp and Plum Hall, to Monk Wycke farm, the stackyard of which is, he says, on the actual line of the road. Thence it followed a raised causeway, still usable,¹ along the eastern side of the park of Berechurch Hall and ran on as far as the bank of the Roman river. It is traceable again near Abberton House and also near Peet Tye Green. Thence it runs straight on to the Strood (a causeway, believed to be of Roman origin, crossing the Ray, a narrow creek which divides Mersea Island from the mainland). Reaching the island, the road made, first, no doubt, for West Mersea, around the church of which place Roman remains abound (including the foundations of a *pharos* and a Roman tessellated pavement which forms, to this day, the paving of the foot-path beside the high road, just outside the churchyard wall!).

Soon after crossing the Strood, a branch of the road skirts the very base of a large tumulus, opened by the Morant Club in 1912 and found to contain a very interesting Anglo-Roman interment.² After this, the road continues through the middle of the island to East Mersea, at its eastern end.

As to the line of this road from Colchester southward to the Strood, Mr. Laver's view is very likely quite sound. He knew the district well, and his opinion on such a point was worthy of much respect. Nevertheless, it seems to me equally likely that the road emerged from the town by the Balkerne gate or the Schere gate, and ran southwards across a piece of country where, for about two miles, there is now no sign of a road. At Maypole farm, however, a modern road appears and runs for about two miles further south (a parish boundary coinciding with it most of the way) to near Butler's farm, thence continuing by Peldon to the Strood.

At all events, it is certain that, if the Roman road did not follow exactly either of the alternative lines indicated, at least it followed the general line of both.

Route 8: Elmstead to Alvesford, 2½ miles.

From Elmstead church (at which this road apparently started; for I can see no trace of it further north), it runs almost due south (but inclining slightly to the west), and almost absolutely straight, following a modern road, for nearly two miles. Then the modern road curves away to the west; but, following across country on the

¹ I have never been able to see this causeway.

² See *Trans. Essex Arch. Soc. (N.S.)*, vol. xiii, (1913), pp. 116-139.

line of the supposed Roman road for about a mile, one comes out near the site of the Roman villa at Alresford, which was excavated some years ago.¹

From this fact and its straightness, we are entitled, I think, to regard this short piece of roadway as probably of Roman origin, and as having given access to the Roman villa in question.

Route 9 : Colchester northwards (via Stratford St. Mary), 6 miles.

Emerging from the East gate of Colchester, this road must have turned off northwards almost at once and immediately after crossing the Colne. It then followed the fairly-straight road towards Langham and Stratford St. Mary (where the river Stour is passed), parish boundaries following it most of the way. This road is almost certainly of Roman origin.

Thus, regarding the road from London to the crossing of the Stour as a single road (though, in Essex alone it is made up of portions of three of my routes—1, 3, and 9), we find that it enters Essex on the south at *Stratford* (Langthorne) and leaves it, sixty miley away, on the north, at *Stratford* (St. Mary)—both highly suggestive names. Mr. Laver says² that, after passing the Stour at Stratford St. Mary, “the [Roman] road passes on the right [eastern] side of the present one through the [village] street, if the gravel beneath the garden soil is an indication.” In a letter to myself dated 5th May 1900, Mr. Laver adds:—

Several years ago, I saw in a garden to the right of the road, just at the commencement of the street at Stratford, the remains of several Roman burials. I secured some fragments of the pottery, and a small vase, and placed them in the Colchester Museum, where they now are. It appeared that the Roman road ran a little to the right [east] of the present one from the bridge, and these burials were a little to the east of these remains of a road.

Beyond the river Stour, the road took a rather more easterly direction, making pretty directly north-eastward for Ipswich, where it divides, one branch going almost due north to Norwich and another more easterly to Dunwich; but, as the road has now left Essex, we need not follow it.

Route 10 : Colchester northwards (via Nayland), 9 miles.

The line of this road is somewhat uncertain. Mr. Laver considered³ that it could not have issued from the town on the line of

¹ See *Trans. Essex Arch. Soc.* (N.S.), vol. iii., pp. 136 and 139 (1889).

² *Op. et loc. cit.*, p. 130.

³ See *Trans. Essex Arch. Soc.* (N.S.), vol. iii., pp. 129-130 (1889).

the present North street and over North bridge; for, during recent excavations, the remains of a Roman house were found in the middle of that street opposite the Victoria public-house. Nevertheless, as Mr. Laver was unable to indicate where else this road could have emerged from the town, I cannot help thinking that it did, in fact, follow the present North street and emerge from the North gate, if not exactly on the line of the present street.

If so, it must have run straight on northward for about two miles to what is marked on the Ordnance maps as Mile End villa, where it forks.¹ The other branch bore slightly to the west, passing over Horkesley Heath. Here, says the Rev. H. Jenkins²:—

its *agger*, or ridgeway, more than three miles in length, formed a conspicuous object before the heath was enclosed. The modern road, called Horkesley Causeway, was made by levelling the materials of the Roman *agger*, and runs in a straight line through the parish of Great Horkesley to Nayland.

Beyond Horkesley, its course is not clear, but it appears, when lost, to be making for Nayland, where it crossed the river Stour into Suffolk; and a road (which may be a continuation of it, but presents no Roman characteristics) runs on towards Hadleigh.

Route 11: From (some point north of) Bartlow towards Dunnow (14½ miles from Bartlow to Blunster's Hall).

This is yet another Essex road which has never been regarded hitherto as of Roman origin. Yet there can be, I think, no doubt whatever that it was so.

It originates, apparently, on the high ground about West Wrattling (Cambridgeshire), an open chalk district in which many roads of Roman origin survive. Running southward and crossing the "Via Devana" (Route 18) at Streetly Hall (a suggestive name), it crosses the river Granta near its source and close to its junction with the river Bourne, and enters Essex at Bartlow, whence we must begin to take account of it.

Even from Bartlow its line is, for a few miles, by no means clear, but it appears to have continued southward, through Ashdon, past Goldstones and Bendysh Hall farms, to Radwinter. Its course thus far, though fairly direct, has been somewhat wavy and not obviously Roman, except for the fact that it keeps to very elevated ground (from 250-340 feet).

At Radwinter, however, the Roman origin of the road becomes at once unmistakeable. It runs on southward for 6½ miles with an

¹ The eastern branch of the fork is, I believe, modern. It runs towards Boxted.

² See *Journ. Arch. Assoc.*, vol. xix. (1863), p. 282.

extremely straight course, a modern road coinciding with it for the first mile and one-eighth. About half-a-mile south of Radwinter it exhibits a short, but sharp, triangular "jog" to the east, though it resumes its former course in a couple of hundred yards. From near Jenkinhog's farm, a little further south, it follows high ground (averaging 320 feet or over) the whole way to Thaxted. Its line here is almost everywhere marked by a hedge, a ditch, and a footpath; and, from Jenkinhog's farm, it coincides also for a mile-and-three-quarters with a parish boundary. In one place it follows the edge of a wood. Hereabouts, as one proceeds southwards across the fields, tracking the line of the road, one sees from all points, just exactly ahead, the superb spire (181 feet) of Thaxted church, marking the point for which the road is making. As the road approaches Thaxted, it becomes rather less easy to trace its line; but it appears to have followed a footpath running southward from near Goddard's farm, and then to have crossed the present Sampford road a little to the east of the site of the windmill at the top of the hill on the road to Saffron Walden.¹ Thus it keeps to the high ground (about 350 feet) bordering the river valley, into which the road nowhere descends. It apparently entered the town by a blind field-lane, known as Gulp's Lane, which is almost exactly on the line of the road.

Passing through the town (but apparently not exactly on the line of any existing street), the road continues straight southward along the high ground (averaging 300 feet) on the eastern side of the valley of the Chelmer—here deep, wide, and very picturesque.² Continuing in the same direction, and following the line of the present road, it reaches (a mile-and-a-third south from Thaxted) Terry's farm, where it takes a remarkably-sudden turn to the west, but recovers its former (straight) direction within about three hundred yards. This curious double curve (which is known as Monk Street) is caused, apparently, by a ridge of high ground (300 feet) projecting into the river valley across the line of the road. Originally, no doubt, the Roman road ran over this obstruction; but, of its having done so, there is now no sign.

From this double-bend the road continues on its original (southward) course for about another mile to Green Arbour, where it reaches the edge of the steep-sided valley of a tiny streamlet, a tributary of the Chelmer. Here, so far as one can see, it ends

¹ The road was probably constructed towards the mount (probably Roman) of this windmill. The mill itself has been removed in quite recent years.

² Half-a-mile to the eastward of the road, on Claypits farm, Thaxted, there is the site of a villa, discovered by Mr. Guy Maynard. It has never been explored.

abruptly, as in the case of the road from Dunmow (Route 5) which seems to stop suddenly at Blunt's Walls farm, on the bank of a very similar valley (see p. 208), and the road to Gosfield (Route 6) which also stops suddenly (see p. 209). Here, on the further (southern) side of the valley, is Blamster's Hall, a manor, in Great Easton.¹

From here to Dunmow ($3\frac{1}{2}$ miles further south) I could see no trace of its former continuance—neither modern road, hedge, ditch, nor parish boundary—when, a few years ago, I walked over this bit of country, prospecting for it, in company with Mr. W. Hasler, of Dunmow. On the whole, we could only conclude that the Roman road ceased suddenly at Blamster's Hall, as the other Roman roads indicated above do at somewhat similar points. If that is really the case, it becomes clear that the road in question, like the road from Dunmow to Aythorpe Roothing (Route 12) was constructed from the north towards the south.

Route 12: Dunmow to Aythorpe Roothing, 5 miles.

This road has not hitherto been described as Roman; but there can be no doubt whatever that it was so, for it has obvious Roman characteristics, including its quite remarkable straightness, its great elevation, and the fact that it originates in the centre of a town well-known to be Roman.

It will be remembered that Stane street (Route 3: see p. 205), coming from Coggeshall, appears to turn sharply to the south-west when about half-a-mile short of Dunmow. The deflected road runs on for about half-a-mile, when it reaches a point south of Dunmow, whence it continues as an obviously-Roman road (Route 5). The short connecting road is, however, I believe, *not* Roman. Stane street really ran (see p. 205) straight *through* the town of Dunmow and on into Hertfordshire, through Stortford and Hadham to Braughing. But, at the point in the centre of Dunmow where several Roman roads met,² another Roman road—that now under consideration—started and ran southward. This road followed at first what is now New Street, Dunmow. Crossing what is now the railway line, it came at once upon a steep-sided narrow valley—that of a tiny tributary of the Chelmer, which it crossed abruptly at right angles,

¹ At a spot in the parish of Great Easton, and about a mile west of the *line* of the road (but after the road itself has disappeared) is a moated mound, 20 feet high (see *V.C.H., Essex*, vol. i., p. 293), which must have been there since Norman times at least; for it then gave name to the parish—Easton-ad-Montem.

² Route 3, coming from Colchester; Route 5, coming from Little Waltham; and Route 11, coming from (?) Radwinter.

in a way none but a Roman road would have done. The deflection above mentioned was evidently made to avoid this steep valley. The road next ran through the park at the back of the residence known as Olives; but here, for a mile or so, there is little to indicate that it is of Roman origin. Then, near Truton's farm (where the short piece of modern road above mentioned joins in), it becomes a broad straight road; and, from this point, its Roman features become unmistakeable. From the junction (about 276 feet) it runs due south-west and almost absolutely straight for four miles further, everywhere at an elevation of about 270 feet, passing through High Roothing Street (again a suggestive name), and continuing to near Gunner's farm, in Aythorpe Roothing, where it ends suddenly as a Roman road, though a modern road continues.¹ Just before it ends, it curves temporarily to the right, as though to get round some important homestead, direct for which it had been making.²

In the case of this Roman road, as in that to Gosfield already noticed (Route 6, see p. 209), the question arises:—Did this Roman road cease here, or, did it run further in the same direction? In all such cases, one is tempted to take a rule and, by projecting the line further in the same direction, to attempt to identify the lost road with portions of existing roads which happen to coincide with it in their direction. In this case, the attempt is particularly alluring; for the road, when it stops, is heading straight for London, and there happens to be an important road which continues in the same direction for about another 25 miles, when it reaches London. This is the present main road, which, after crossing the river Roding at Leaden Roothing, runs through Fyfield and Chipping Ongar, over Passingford Bridge, and through Chigwell to London. It has, however, no Roman characteristics and, with its many curves, presents every appearance of being an ordinary Mediæval road. Moreover, it passes through a low and thickly-wooded district of a kind the Romans avoided whenever possible.

I feel no doubt, therefore, that the Roman road from Dunmow ceased at the spot indicated in Aythorpe Roothing. Doubtless it was built to that place to afford access to the villa of some leading

¹ Close to the end of the road is a windmill with an earthen mount. Towards the latter, no doubt, the road was constructed.

² Right opposite the end of the Roman road, just before it commences to curve, is a field of about two acres, which formed, possibly, the grounds of the Roman villa for which the road had been making. In the middle of this field is a small depression, in which I found a tiny fragment of the rim of an earthenware vessel. This, the late Dr. Laver pronounced to be "probably Roman."

Roman official, though, so far as I know, no traces of such a villa have been found. Quite likely the road may have been intended originally to continue further—perhaps right through to London, but, as to this, one can say nothing.

Route 13: London to Othona (Bradwell-on-Sea), about 49½ miles.

The Roman station of Othona, at Bradwell-on-Sea, was one of nine fortresses built round the south-eastern coasts of Britain in the declining days of the Roman power (probably about A.D. 290) to afford protection against the inroads of the "Saxons" and other marauders from the Continent.¹ It was, therefore, a station of considerable importance, and we are quite safe in concluding that there must have been originally some means of access to it by road from its landward side. Without some such means of access, the station would have been left "in the air" (so to speak); which is inconceivable. Yet, apparently, none of the routes traced herein provided that access. We are compelled, therefore, to endeavour to discover some line probably followed by the road, now lost, which ran formerly to Othona.

The road in question must necessarily have run through that portion of South Essex, the surface of which consists mainly (as stated already)² of soft materials, chiefly London clay and alluvium, there being in the district little or no stone or gravel with the aid of which the road-surface could have been made hard. Naturally, therefore, clear evidences of a road having passed this way are soon lost. Nevertheless, one can trace with ease at least two lines, either or both of which may (and one of which *must*) have been followed by the road in question.

The most probable of the two ran almost direct, along a line which is followed to-day by modern roads still in use. It left the "Great Road" (Route 1, London to Mark's Tey) about a mile after it had crossed the river Roding at Ilford, and ran past Goodmayes farm, Valence farm, over Becontree Heath, past Havering Well, through the parishes of Romford, Hornchurch, Upminster, Cranham, Great Warley, Little Warley, Childerditch, West Horndon, East Horndon, Duntun-Waylett, Little Burstard, Great Burstard, Laindon, Wickford, Runwell, Rettendon, Woodham Ferrers, Stow Maries, Cold Norton, and Purleigh, to Latchingdon. From Latchingdon, the road continues (still in the same general line), with innumerable

¹ See *Archæologia*, vol. xli., pp. 421-452 (1867).

² See *ante*, p. 193.

jogs and angles (but everywhere fairly direct), right to Othona, a distance (as stated already) of very nearly fifty miles.

The course of this road is, from end to end, almost everywhere over, or close to, the line of the ancient Roman road. One may almost say, in fact, that the whole of the Roman road is still in use and that its line is remarkably well preserved, considering the nature of the country through which it runs. Its elevation is unusually low for a Roman road, averaging perhaps 50 feet and seldom attaining as much as 100 feet, but this is inevitable in view of the general lowness of the country through which it passes. Here and there, too, there are gaps (as in Woodham Ferrers) or pronounced "jogs" (as at Latchingdon). Nevertheless, its line from end to end has been remarkably well preserved, all things considered; and to-day no other road in Essex, except Stane street, is so straight or so continuous for so long a distance.

Route 14: Chelmsford (and elsewhere) to Othona (Bradwell-on-Sea), about 20 miles.

This is a second, and alternative, route to Othona. That, just described, ran almost direct from London and was, no doubt, excellent; but it can have been of little use to those coming from the north or west.

For such, there appears to have been another route thither, though much less continuous and direct, following, for the most part, portions of other routes, already described. Thus, those travelling along the Great Road, whether north or south, could branch off at Chelmsford, by a road running eastward to Maldon. This road, though of Roman origin in all probability and fairly direct, is largely lacking in that straightness which is so characteristic of most of our Essex roads of Roman origin. It runs through Great Baddow to the bridge over the Sandon Brook, descending slightly all the way (3 miles). From that point, it rises rapidly as it passes through Danbury (345 feet) and continues to Runsell Green (5½ miles), where it branches off to the southward, running through the parishes of Purleigh and Cold Norton till, at Latchingdon (12¼ miles), it strikes the other road (Route 12, already described) from London to Othona, and continues along it.

Yet another alternative route is afforded by the supposition that, instead of turning southward at Runsell Green, the road from Chelmsford continued direct to Maldon, and there turned southward sharply, following a good road which runs through Mundon to Latchingdon and also there encounters the road to Othona (Route 13, already defined), which it follows thereafter. This road southward

from Maldon to Latchingdon is far straighter and more direct, and has much more the appearance of being Roman than that from Runsell Green to Latchingdon.¹

Route 15: Canvey Island to (?) Chelmsford, 14 miles.

This route has never before been described as a road of Roman origin; but, that it is so, I entertain no doubt, and the road itself has many features which are characteristically Roman. It runs almost due north and south.

The road proper commences at a point on the mainland, on the northern bank of the creek behind Canvey Island, just opposite the extreme northerly point of the island where the heads of Hole Haven and Benfleet Creeks join, and rather more than a mile east of South Benfleet church.

From this point on the mainland, the road (at first very ill-defined) ran, apparently, almost due north across low London-clay country, following the somewhat-irregular, but generally-straight, boundary-line between Bowers Gifford on its western side and South Benfleet and Thundersley on its eastern side, for about two miles, to a point where the parish boundary forks, the two branches running, respectively, east and west. But, if one follows the line of the road in the old direction for rather over a mile, passing close to North Benfleet church and rectory, one encounters, near Great Fanton Hall, a corner of a road, one angle of which runs straight and exactly in the required direction (due north and south) for about a mile (following for this distance the parish boundary between North Benfleet and Runwell) till it encounters the road, running east and west from Wickford to Rayleigh, at which point it ceases. If, however, one continues, still in the old direction, for half-a-mile, crossing a field, one reaches a spot on the bank of the river Crouch (here no more than a small rivulet) a hundred yards or so east of the point at which it is crossed by the bridge on the railway-line from Wickford to Southminster.

We are now about five miles north from our starting point (the northernmost point of Canvey Island). Thus far the line has been almost everywhere ill-marked and somewhat doubtful.²

¹ Yet a third remarkably straight road in this vicinity is that from Latchingdon to Dengie (8 miles), through Asheldham, where it passes through a camp of about 16 acres, which has on its eastern rampart a mound much of the size and type of those already described.

² For the southernmost two-thirds of the line hitherto followed, there is an alternative parallel line, perhaps that of a Roman road used occasionally when the other road just described got into a condition too bad to use. It is, of the two, the easier to follow on a map, because it follows largely modern roads; but parish boundaries coincide for very short distances only.

From this point northwards, however, the line becomes clear and unmistakeable. For about a mile, it rises steadily, though slowly, following mainly hedges and ditches between meadows. Then it reaches, and crosses at a right angle, the Roman road from London to Othona (Route 13, see p. 217). At the point of crossing stands New Runwell Hall, alongside the garden wall of which the road runs, afterwards continuing due northward, along footpaths and ditches, for about a mile. It then encounters the southern end of a very narrow, straight, elongated strip of woodland, nearly a mile long, known as Rettendon Shaw, down the east side of which the road continues. After leaving the northern end of this strip of wood, the line continues for about a quarter of a mile further, in the same (northward) direction, till it encounters, at a sharp curve, and combines with, the present main road from Chelmsford to Battles Bridge.¹

From the point of junction, the road continues northward for nearly a mile further (here following again a parish boundary—that between Runwell and Rettendon). When the latter ceases at a tiny brook (which runs ultimately into Fen creek), the road continues almost straight in the same (northward) direction for about $2\frac{3}{4}$ miles. During this stretch its Roman origin becomes particularly obvious. As one proceeds, one sees the road on ahead, topping transverse ridges, several of which it here crosses, falling into the depressions between them and there becoming invisible as one approaches, exactly as one sees in the case of other Roman roads elsewhere, and also in the case of the great modern *Routes Nationales* in France. Hereabouts the road maintains a pretty constant elevation of from 100-140 feet.

At a point (near Little Claydons farm), the modern road turns sharply eastward, leaving the line of the Roman road, though later the two rejoin. Obviously, this *détour* was made by the modern road to avoid crossing the valley, here encountered, of a small tributary of the Chelmer. It is equally obvious that the Roman road originally ran straight on, down the side of the valley of this stream, following hedges, ditches, and a footpath, crossing the brook near Little Sir Hugh's farm, continuing across some fields, and, passing through a small piece of woodland. Ultimately, it rejoins the modern road half-a-mile or so south of Grove House, at Great Baddow.

From a sharp curve of the road, a few hundred yards beyond Grove House, the course followed by the old Roman road becomes

¹ This road which, at this point, curves eastward and runs on, past Rettendon church, to Battles Bridge and Rayleigh, is clearly *post-Roman*.

obscure. Perhaps it curved westward and ran to Great Baddow village, there joining what is now the road from Chelmsford to Maldon and Othona (*see* Route 14, p. 218). More likely it ran straight on to the site of a camp¹ overlooking (and formed, doubtless, to defend) the ford at Sandford mill, where it crossed the river Chelmer. Or it may then have run northward for a couple of miles, when it would join the "Great Road" (Route 1) somewhere between Springfield and Boreham; but, if it did the latter, I can see no sign of the line it followed. Or, it may have turned to the right (eastward) and have continued along the present road (conjecturally Roman: *see* Route 14, p. 218) from Chelmsford to Maldon. I confess that my own ideas as to where it ran after passing the sharp curve are vague; and there I leave it.

Route 16: Brent Pelham to Chesterford, 9 miles.

This road appears to commence at, and to run straight from, Brent Pelham (Herts.), making for Chesterford.² The whole of it is now largely disused, and there are gaps; but, its route is obvious and it runs very straight in a north-easterly direction.

About half-a-mile of straight road, starting from close to the Brent Pelham windmill (about 400 feet),³ half-a-mile or so from the village, indicates the line of the old Roman road. This ceases when it crosses a road which skirts a small wood, through which the old road must have run; for, on the other side of the wood and just at the back of Meesden rectory, there is, in the middle of a meadow, a stretch of from 200 to 300 yards of well-preserved old roadway, with a bank and a hedge on each side. This I take to be a short stretch of the old Roman road. If so, it must have continued to the boundary of the meadow and there entered Essex (in the parish of Clavering) at a foot-bridge over a tiny streamlet, a feeder of the Stort. Here, for a few hundred yards, the line becomes obscure; but, if one continues in the same direction for about a mile, one encounters it again near Butts Green (accompanied now by a parish

¹ This camp (area 15-17 acres: elevation 116 feet) has never, I believe, been recognised or described as such; but, that it really was a camp, I entertain no doubt. It occupies relatively high ground and overlooks everything in its vicinity. Its *vallum* is nowhere very obvious: hence it is difficult to estimate the area with any accuracy. Outside, on the north and west sides, the ground slopes away very sharply and abruptly, this slope being in part natural and in part artificial. Roads from Chelmsford, Canvey Island, Sandon, Maldon, Little Baddow, and Springfield (the latter crossing the fordway), all make for, and meet at, this camp.

² Very likely it started from Braughing, four miles to the south of Brent Pelham, for it comes from the direction of that place. It is there, however, outside Essex, so I have not traced it, actually on the ground, back to its origin.

³ Very probably the mill mound was originally the Roman mark to or from which the road was built.

boundary and a modern road) and is able to follow it with ease for over a mile through the Essex parish of Langley. Here the road is merely a soft country lane, largely overgrown by bushes and all but impassable, except to anyone on foot or on horseback, but it is very straight and parish boundaries follow it for a couple of miles or so.¹ Just beyond Cooper's End farm, in the parish of Arkesden, the road (such as it is) disappears;² but, continuing on the same line for nearly a mile through some meadows, past Rockell's farm, one strikes the edge of Rockell's Wood. Entering this, one finds a number of ordinary woodland "rides," one of which appears to be on or near the line of the Roman road. Emerging on the further side of the wood and crossing a narrow field and then the road from Wenden to Elmdon, one finds oneself immediately opposite the end of a road (evidently of Roman origin) leading directly to the farm known as Elmdon Lee or Lee Bury. Following this road for a mile or so, it curves away eastward; but, proceeding straight on, guided largely by hedges, ditches, footpaths, an ill-defined lane (all exactly in the right line), and skirting the edges of several small woods, one passes between the village of Strethall (another suggestive name) and the west end of Howe Wood, in Littlebury. Next, one crosses the open chalk downs known as Strethall Fields (200-300 feet), and, in about a mile, one strikes and follows a short stretch of the county boundary dividing Ickleton (Cambs.) from Chesterford (Essex), which brings one, in about another half-mile, to the bank of the river Cam. Crossing, one finds oneself at once in the well-known Roman camp and modern village of Chesterford, the meeting-place of many Roman roads.

This I regard as the termination of the route, though another and more important Roman road (? the Icknield Way) runs further in much the same direction.

Route 17: Chesterford to Worsted Lodge (Cambs.) [? the Icknield Way], 6 miles.

Leaving Chesterford by the north-western extremity of the village, the road curves slightly as it ascends the northern slope of the

¹ It was explored by Mr. Guy Maynard and myself during three glorious days in the early part of September 1906. We had to push our cycles along the ruts and round and between the bushes. At one point the road passes very close to a tumulus in a field on the north side of the road. This tumulus (the second on this route) is very low and has, apparently, been disturbed. Very likely it was one of those opened by Lord Braybrooke (see *Sepulchra Explorata*, 1847, and *Antiqua Explorata*, 1848); but of this I can find no proof.

² See Codrington, *Roman Roads*, p. 134.

valley of the Cam. At Stump Cross (1 mile), however, it becomes quite straight and so runs away E.N.E., following for one mile the boundary between Cambridgeshire and Essex. A little further, it crosses the great Fleam Dyke. After a gap of about 200 yards, beyond the point at which the Essex boundary ceases, the road begins to follow the boundary between the parishes of Abingdon and Pampisford (both in Cambridgeshire), and it so continues till it reaches and crosses the (so-called) "Via Devana" at Worsted Lodge. From here, it runs further, very straight, but with a slightly more easterly trend, crossing the Brent Ditch and passing through a country thickly dotted with barrows. Here, however, some ten miles outside our county, we may leave it.

Route 18: Godmanchester (Hunts.), through Cambridge and Haverhill (Suff.), to (?) Colchester, 55 miles (4 miles only in Essex).

This is the road to which the modern name of "Via Devana" has been given.¹

On the Ordnance maps it is traceable with ease for a portion of its supposed route south-eastward. A few miles after leaving Cambridge, it crosses the Gog Magog hills, passing near the prominent hill-fortress Vandlebury. From this point, it continues past Worsted Lodge and Streetly Hall to a point in the parish of Withersfield (Suffolk). Here, just before reaching a tiny tributary of the river Stour, it becomes a mere footpath and appears to end as a Roman road. Less than a mile further, however, it reappears (now in the parish of Haverhill) as a large modern road, which runs on through the town of Haverhill. Little more than a mile beyond, the road crosses the county boundary of Suffolk and enters the Essex parish of Sturmer. For the greater part of the distance from Cambridge, it is a grassy lane, six yards wide and raised to a height of four or five feet.² In Sturmer parish, the "Via Devana" passes just to the north of a large tumulus, doubtless Roman.³ It continues in the same direction, but much less straight than hitherto, to a point in the parish of Birdbrook, where it turns sharply to the north-east, towards Baythorn End; but a footpath continues for about a mile in the old direction, when the road reappears in the form of a modern

¹ The name was given to it about 1750 by Dr. Mason, Woodwardian Professor, and has found its way on to the Ordnance maps.

² Codrington: *Roman Roads*, 2nd edition, pp. 216 and 232 (1905).

³ See Thomas Walford, F.S.A., in *Archæologia*, vol. xiv., pp. 61-74, with plates (1803).

road and runs on in the original line for about another mile. We lose trace of it finally, somewhere in or near the parish of Alphamstone.

Codrington¹ and other writers assume that it ran on through the Hedinghams,² Halstead, and the Colnes, to Colchester, thus crossing the so-called "Suffolk Way." It may have done so; but, after passing the point to which I have traced it (when it is certainly heading straight for Colchester, ten miles distant), I am unable to find on the maps any evidence of its further extension—no short lengths of straight road, no parish boundaries running in the same direction, no traces whatever of a road of Roman origin. In short, its disappearance is so complete that one is driven to conclude that, whatever may have been the intention of its makers, it was, in fact, never constructed further than the point to which I have traced it. Apparently, therefore, this is yet another instance of an undoubted Roman road which, after running more or less straight for many miles, ceases suddenly and for no obvious reason.

The foregoing roads are, to the best of my belief, the only roads in the county which are recognizable from the maps as being of undeniable Roman origin.

There are a few others which, if followed on the ground with adequate care and skill, might prove to be such. The chief of these are the roads from Heybridge, past Langford, to Hatfield Peverel; several in Dengie Hundred (especially that which runs from Latchingdon to Asheldham³; and that, almost exactly paralled with the foregoing, but about a mile further south, which runs from Woodham Ferrers, past Tyle Hall and Althorn, to Southminster, following the ridge of high ground and affording very fine views over Bridgemarsh Island and the whole wide valley of the Crouch⁴); several roads running southward from Maldon; the road from Battles Bridge, through Fambridge, to Canewdon and a little beyond it⁵; several others running north and south in South Essex;

¹ *Roman Roads*, p. 216.

² "Agricola" says (*Gentl. Mag.*, 65, vol. i., pp. 364-365: 1795) that he "once saw some remains of it" in Sible Hedingham.

³ At this place, almost in the centre of Dengie Hundred, there is a camp with a mound on its eastern rampart. If Roman, this camp would be well situated for overawing the native population of the Hundred, which is a peninsula; but it seems more likely (judging from its proximity to the coast) that, if investigated, it would prove to be Danish.

⁴ The late Mr. Henry Laver wrote me a few years ago that he regarded this latter road as "certainly Roman."

⁵ This passes less than a mile north of Plumberrow Mount, which stands very prominently (about 100 feet) and was opened by the Morant Club in 1912 (*Trans. Essex Archæol. Soc.* (n.s.), vol. xiii., pp. 224-237: 1914), when it was shown to be of the Anglo-Roman period, and probably agrimensorial, as no trace of an interment was found.

that, often known locally as "The Suffolk Way," running from Finchingfield towards Clare¹; several in the neighbourhood of Chesterford; and other roads elsewhere.²

IV.—TRACES OF ROMAN CENTURIATION IN ESSEX.

Many years ago my attention happened to be directed to the fact that, in mid-Essex, there are two roads (Routes 6 and 12), both obviously of Roman origin, both remarkably straight, and both running almost exactly parallel in a north-easterly direction, though about $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles apart. It was clear to me that the arrangement must have some special significance, but I was quite unable to explain what that significance might be.

A few years later, the puzzle was greatly increased by the discovery that, some thirteen miles further north-west (but still, for the most part, within the county), there is yet a *third* very straight road (Route 16), unquestionably, also, of Roman origin, which also runs almost exactly parallel with these two.

Even within the last few weeks, Mr. Guy Maynard has suggested to me that there is in the county yet a *fourth* road which may have a definite relationship to the three mentioned above—namely, that, about 6 miles long (Route 9), which runs from Colchester north-eastward to Stratford St. Mary (and beyond). It is not so remarkably straight and, therefore, not so obviously of Roman origin as those already described, but I think it straight enough to be regarded with confidence as of Roman origin. Moreover, its direction is practically parallel with theirs, though $14\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the east of the easternmost of them.

The lines followed by these four roads have been described already above; if we examine and compare them more closely, it

¹ This road has been regarded very commonly as of Roman origin, but I am unable to see any signs of its being so. More probably, I think, it was a Mediæval Monastic road, giving access to the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds and the Priory of Clare, for it runs from the direction of London more or less towards both of these houses. The name "Suffolk Way" appears on many old (but on few modern) maps. It is absent, for instance, from the maps of the Ordnance Survey.

² Mr. G. F. Beaumont, F.S.A., has suggested to me that the road known as "High Street," in Hempstead, is of Roman origin. This name seems here to indicate a couple of curiously-parallel roads, about half-a-mile apart, running north-eastward for about four miles, from Hempstead nearly to Steeple Bumpstead. The southernmost (which starts actually in the village of Hempstead) is rather the longer and the more direct; but the northernmost is probably the more ancient. Near its beginning, it passes just to the north of a large square moat, and, near its end, just to the south of a farm known as Boblow (suggesting the former existence of a tumulus on the spot); while, about midway, a very curious southward projection of the County of Cambridge, about two hundred yards broad and one mile long, comes down to it; and thence eastward a parish-boundary follows it to its end.

will be found that they have in common some striking points:—

(a) All are of *exceptional* straightness—straighter than other roads of Roman origin in Essex;

(b) All are based, at one end or the other, on roads which are unquestionably of Roman origin;

(c) All have one end (in two cases, the south end; in the two other cases, the north end) “in the air” (that is to say, they do not end in any place now recognizable as a station or settlement of Roman origin);

(d) All run from 25° west of south to 25° east of north, and are, therefore, exactly parallel with one another.

On the other hand, these four roads present certain notable points of difference, as follows:—

(e) They vary much in length: No. 9 being 6 miles long; No. 6, 11½ miles; No. 12, 5 miles; No. 16, 9 miles.

(f) The distances between them vary also very much: No. 16 being 13 miles north-west from No. 12; No. 12 being 7½ miles north-west from No. 6; and No. 6 being 14½ miles north-west from No. 9.¹

It is difficult to imagine what the facts mentioned above can indicate unless we assume that they had some connection with, or bearing upon, the old Roman Centuriation of the area which is now the county of Essex²—a subject concerning which I was entirely ignorant when I first observed these roads.

But, assuming that the foregoing explanation be correct, why do the lines not run *due north and south* (as might have been expected), instead of from south-west to north-east? I confess I do not know.

On the whole, however, there can be, I think, no doubt whatever that these straight roads represent some of the principal roads or paths (*limites*), which divided and marked off the plots (*centuriæ*) of the town lands (*territoriæ*) belonging to a Roman *Colonia* or *Municipium*.³

In South-Essex, too, traces of Roman Centuriation seem to be still traceable on the line of the old Roman road to Othona (Route 13). Here there is a considerable area in which all parishes are very long and narrow (averaging about four miles long and one mile

¹ One looks, naturally, for another parallel road between Nos. 12 and 16, their distance apart being about double that between Nos. 6 and 12, but one looks in vain. It is true there is a road (that from Bishops Stortford to Quendon) which has been described as Roman; but this is a *valley road* and presents, in my opinion, no signs that it is of Roman origin.

² The evidence for this seems to me quite as clear as, or even clearer than, that on which Mr. Montagu Sharpe relies for the details of his map of the “Pagus or Hundred of Dengie” (*Parish Churches on the Sites of Romano-British Chapels*, facing p. 12: 1909).

³ See Haverfield, pp. 115-125 of this volume.

broad), and nearly all the larger roads run about 5° west of north and east of south. The area in which these curious features are observable covers, perhaps, some 60 square miles. It lies between the Ingrebourne river on the east, the Warley and Brentwood range of hills on the north, the head of the Crouch estuary on the west, and the river Thames on the south. It will be observed that the orientation of this South-Essex system of Centuriation (assuming that it is such) differs from that in North Essex, already described, in that its main lines lie about 30° more westerly.

It is, perhaps, permissible to surmise that the two parallel Roman roads near Braintree, Gosfield, and Dunmow were connected with the Centuriation of the lands pertaining to Camulodunum (lying some 20 or 25 miles to the east); that the Roman road from Braughing to Chesterford passed through Centuriated lands pertaining to Verulam (lying about 10 miles to the west); and that the road from Colchester to Stratford St. Mary indicates the lines of Centuriation of the *territoria* pertaining to Colchester; also that the strange features exhibited by the roads and parishes in South-Essex, lying beside the line of the Roman road to Othona, have some relationship to the Centuriation of the lands pertaining to Londinium, 15 or 20 miles distant.

In the latter case, however, it is difficult to understand how an agrimensorial system, dating from Roman days, can have persisted long enough to exercise an influence on so comparatively-modern a matter as the configuration of modern English parishes. On this matter, I leave others to decide, for I do not pretend to be able to settle the question.

Nor is it altogether easy to understand what has become of the east-and-west cross-roads which should have divided these long narrow parishes into square or rectangular plots. If one refers to the larger maps of the Ordnance Survey, one finds that, in many parts of the county, the lay-out of the fields, dividing the county into rectangular plots of from eight to ten acres each, has a considerable superficial resemblance to Roman Centuriation. But this appearance may be, of course, accidental merely.

V.—MOUNDS BESIDE ROMAN ROADS IN ESSEX.

Another point, hitherto unnoticed, to which a study of our Roman roads has directed my attention, is the fact that, of a large number of *tumuli* of a certain type existing in the county, all (or almost all) *lie close beside roads which are undoubtedly of Roman origin.*

The *tumuli* in question are all conical, of moderate height and size,¹ and lack both moat and base-court.² It is a fair assumption, I think, that all our *tumuli* of this type are of Roman origin, but the question whether they served funereal or agrimensorial purposes remains uncertain. That at Mersea, referred to hereafter, certainly served funereal purposes, as has been proved. The others may, or may not, have been agrimensorial—a point only actual excavation can determine finally. Very likely some (perhaps most) served both purposes.

In recent times, many of these *tumuli* have been used as mounds for windmills; indeed, it is a fair assumption that wherever in Essex one meets with an old windmill, having an earthen base or "mount," beside a road known to be of Roman origin, the probability is that the mount is of Roman origin, and served originally either funereal or agrimensorial purposes, or both. Yet very few have been actually explored by means of the spade, and I know of none that have been proved by such excavation to be either the one or the other, except that mentioned above.

I proceed to enumerate (very incompletely, in all probability) the mounds in question, arranged according to my Routes. all the mounds being close beside the roads indicated, unless otherwise stated:—

Route 1.—(1) Uphall Mount, Barking; height 28 feet; diameter 90 feet. (2) Brook street, just south of Brentwood; has been used as a mill-mound. (3) A mound at the junction of roads, at Margaretting; still used as a mill-mound. (4) A mound formerly at Widford; removed about 1850.³ (5) A mound in Pod's wood, Messing, over a mile west from the road.

Route 2.—A mound (probably modern) at Writtle; formerly used as a mill-mound; in the meadows close beside the line of the supposed road.

Route 3.—(1) A mound in Tendring, about half-a-mile north from the road.⁴ (2) An exceptionally-large mound at Lexden, opened by the Morant Club in 1910, with somewhat-indefinite results.⁵ (3) An almost-equally-large mound at Lexden, opened by the Morant Club

¹ Lexden Mount, mentioned below, is about 100 feet in diameter at the base and is 15 feet high (originally, perhaps, higher, as it is now flat-topped). Mersea Mount is about 100 feet in diameter at base and 22½ feet high.

² Other *tumuli*, mostly larger, and with moats and base courts, are probably later—either Saxon or Norman.

³ See *Essex Review*, vol. xiii., pp. 171-172 (1909).

⁴ I have not seen this, but it is indicated clearly on the maps of the Ordnance Survey.

⁵ See *Trans. Essex Archæol. Soc. (N.S.)*, vol. xii., pp. 186-192 (1912).

in 1910 and proved to be Roman, but with somewhat-indefinite further results. (4) A mound between Stanway and Marks Tey.¹ (5) A mound formerly at Coggeshall, but long since removed, the site having been residential for three centuries past (*see ante*, 204). (6) A mound at Braintree in the grounds of Mount House, close to the present water-tower; the highest point in the vicinity (*see ante*, p. 204). (7) A mound at Stebbing, on fairly-low ground, about a mile-and-a-half north of the road; possibly not belonging to this series.

Routes 4-6, 8-10.—No mounds at all, so far as I know.

Route 7.—A large mound just beyond the Strood-way on to Mersea Island; opened by the Morant Club in 1912, and proved to contain an important Anglo-Roman burial.²

Route 11.—(1) A mound beside the road near where it crosses the Walden-Hempstead road. (2) A very prominent mound, lately in use as a mill mound, on a hill-top just north of the town and close beside the line of the road. (3) A mound at Great Easton, already noticed (*see ante* p. 215).

Route 12.—A mound, still used as a mill-mound, close to the road at its southern end (*see ante* p. 216).

Route 14.—A mound in the camp at Asheldham (*see* p. 219).

Route 16.—(1) A mound, with mill, at Brent Pelham (*see* p. 221). (2) A mound close beside the road in Langley Parish (*see* p. 222).

The foregoing is a brief and imperfect list of these mounds.³ Their connection with our Roman roads is evidently close, and more attention should be paid to them. I was not aware of their significance when I went over the roads to trace their routes. I paid, therefore, no special attention to them, and I have now no opportunity of going over the ground again. If someone who can go over it would do so, much further light might be thrown on the lines followed by these roads.

¹ I am informed of the existence of this by Mr. G. F. Beaumont, F.S.A., but I have not seen it.

² *Trans. Essex Archaeol. Soc.* (N.S.), vol. xiii., pp. 117-132 (1913).

³ There is, at a place called Acreland Green, a mile or so south-east from Stagden's Cross, in High Easter, a four-want way (two of the branches being now soft muddy lanes), where the road appears to pass right over one of these mounds, one side of which slopes away into a cottage garden. Apparently this road is not of Roman origin; but the site of a high-class Roman house is known to exist, within a mile (in the direction of Pleshey), and it may be excavated, it is hoped, by the Morant Club.

ANCIENT STAINED GLASS IN ESSEX.

BY P. C. HAYDON-BACON, C.C.

STAINED glass is a subject upon which much may be said, but little that is new. One feels a certain diffidence in approaching a subject which has been handled so convincingly by older and greater men, and a natural hesitancy in endeavouring to restate interestingly what has so often been done before in bulky and recondite tomes. Its history, too, is lost in the midst of antiquity—of coloured glass there are in existence Egyptian beads and odds and ends more than 3,000 years old—and if legends are to be believed, the Tower of Babel itself is responsible for the invention of glass by the vitrification of its building materials in the destructive fire consequent on its presumptuous existence; but one has to wait a considerable time after the Tower of Babel for any evidence of a stained glass window.

The earliest date ascribed to any existing stained glass is to the tenth and eleventh century windows at Augsburg, but even that is doubtful, though it is more than probable coloured glass had been used for window purposes some time before. The oldest we have in England dates from the thirteenth century, but as in the development of stained glass we were always a century behind our French neighbours, I think we may fairly state that its use became somewhat general in the twelfth century. There is a good deal of glass about that date remaining in various French churches. The first stained glass windows were (paradoxical as it seems) of white glass, that is to say, of various tints of white, glazed together into geometrical forms, technically called *grisaille*. Later, small pieces of coloured glass were introduced as centres of circles and other panels—still later, borders of colour were used to frame the lights—and gradually coloured glass ousted the white, until it could no longer be called *grisaille*. All this time no paint had been used. The effects gained were solely by the tint or colour inherent in the glass itself.

At this point the interesting discovery was made that opaque glass, or the component parts of glass in a raw state, might be finely powdered, mixed with water or other media, and painted with a brush on a sheet of glass, and fused by heat to its surface. Until

now the art had been that of the glazier; here the painter appears on the scene, and simply at first, and more elaborately later, natural forms began to take their place in the window; now a scroll, here a flower, and finally the human figure—small and barbaric, but still the figure. From this stage the development was rapid. The painter's side of the stained glass took greater and still greater prominence, the glazier's less and less, through the Early, Decorated, and Latin Gothic, through the Renaissance, down to the seventeenth century, when the painter smothered the glazier, and the art was dead and buried, fortunately, I am happy to say, arising again with renewed vigour, Phoenix-like from the ashes of oblivion, for by dint of careful research into the methods of the old masters, this lost art has been revived, thanks to the efforts of such men as the Elder Pugin (nineteenth century). This is a brief and, I fear, very rough history in connection with stained glass.

With reference to the examples of ancient stained glass in Essex, the writer intends to treat its history geographically rather than chronologically, as, if the latter were chosen, it would hardly be possible until a full survey had been made.

Our county is not so rich in the possession of these gems of antiquity as is the case in some other counties. There are few complete windows remaining; most of our possessions are but fragmentary examples, a monogram here, an occasional head, a floral border there, and so on, all beautiful in themselves, but very few perfect as a whole. It is very difficult to account for this state of things. There is no doubt, however, that Cromwell and his followers were responsible for a good deal of this wanton destruction, but personally I am much more inclined to the theory that the greater part of it was perpetrated in much later times, especially in East Anglia, by one Dowsing. I make this assertion for what it is worth, knowing authoritatively of the devastation and destruction caused by him in the Lady Chapel at Ely and elsewhere. Again, this vandalism, to my mind, has also been brought about in the past by sheer ignorance and lack of appreciation, for I have personally come across instances where not only has the old glass been ruthlessly torn from its original setting and scrapped, but the stone mullions have been cut right away for the purpose, one can only suppose, of making a larger opening to receive Early Victorian glass of an appalling nature, both as to colour and drawing, and thus at one blow destroying these gems of antiquity and actually eliminating the essential architectural features of the building itself.

In describing any particular windows, it will of course be essential to state the date or period of the work in question, and the respective

periods may roughly be divided into four: (1) The Norman and Early English, 1050-1272; (2) The Decorated, 1272-1377; (3) The Perpendicular, 1377-1547; and (4) The Renaissance, 1547-1603.

I now propose to start my illustrations of "Ancient Stained Glass in Essex," with examples in my immediate neighbourhood (Romford), taking the east window of St. Thomas' church, Noak hill, as my first subject. This church is a modern one, consisting of nave and small north and south transepts, consecrated in 1848 by the then Bishop of London. It will, therefore, be obvious that the window in question, being of ancient date, has been removed from its original position and placed here. This, I am given to understand, was done by the late Sir Thomas Neave, bart.

This window consists of three lancet lights, the centre light being slightly taller than the sides, and is divided by a transom about 3 feet from the cill. It measures about 8 feet from the cill to the point, and approximately 5 feet over all in width. Above the transom, running through the three lights, is the subject of the Crucifixion with the Magdalene at the foot of the Cross to the left in the centre, with small flying angels holding chalices under the pierced hands of the central figure. Three soldiers are seen in the middle distance casting lots, *etc.* The left light contains the fainting Virgin Mother, supported by St. John, another holy woman standing immediately at the back, and one of the two thieves, also crucified, is beyond. In the right hand panel two figures on horseback are in the foreground, one undoubtedly representing Pilate, he wearing a crown and chain of office as Governor in Judea. These figures are accompanied by other mounted figures, armed and holding spears aloft. The second malefactor, also crucified, fills the middle distance. A very beautiful setting of the city of Jerusalem is seen in each panel, afar off, with turrets and minarets silhouetted against the blue sky. At the top of each light is introduced a canopy, forming a delightful finish to the whole.

The lower portion, *i.e.* under the transom to the cill, is filled with a seated figure of the Virgin, with St. Elizabeth on her right, and at the back Zacharias in attendance (centre). In the left hand panel a single figure of St. John the Baptist holding the emblem of the Agnus Dei is represented, and on the right St. Peter is seen in episcopal robes, holding in his left hand a crozier and a key in his right. The whole of this lower part of the window is treated in a much more conventional form than the upper: this is especially so in the case of the two outer lights, as a screen forms the principal background in both cases with a very beautiful diaper worked thereon. In the opinion of the writer the upper and lower panels

are the work of three distinct artists. The upper lights are all early sixteenth century, while of the lower, the two outside belong to the second half of the same century, and the centre light is of even later date, as evidenced by the nimbus or halo being an ellipse, whereas those in the earlier period are circular.

Since writing the above, I have received a letter from the present baronet, Sir Thomas Neave, to the effect that the Crucifixion above the transom is from Tirlemont; St. John and St. Peter below, from Rouen; and the Virgin in the centre, from Brussels—and that it is part of the collection of stained glass made by his great-grandfather, Sir Thomas Neave.

In the north and south transepts are two other three-light transom windows of similar proportions to the one just discussed, and which contain small panels of figures, or rather subjects, in the bottom portion, and heraldic devices above, contained in oval-shaped wreaths; these latter deserve attention, which I hope they may receive at a future date. It is the lower panels, however, that I am anxious to describe, as they naturally raise a question which is so often asked, and, I fear, rarely satisfactorily answered. We will take the three on the south side as illustrating what I desire to make clear. These three panels consist of three subjects from Our Lord's life and are surrounded by a framework of very floriated filigree work—in the centre the Agony of our Lord in the Garden of Gethsemane; the Incredulity of St. Thomas on the left; and the flagellation of Christ on the right. The whole of the work in this window, as indeed is the case in the corresponding one opposite, is seventeenth century, about 1660. These panels, in my opinion, were never intended as decoration for churches, being far too small and loaded with detail to be of any service to the worshipper in his devotions, and certainly quite useless as a means of beautifying a building of large proportions. Far more likely I think that they were originally intended for religious houses, and rich pious donors, to be placed in private and small chapels, *etc.*

I now come to the point I wish to make, *viz.*: this glass is what is generally known as painted glass, or a painted window, as opposed to a stained glass window; for, with few exceptions, the work is painted on a sheet of white glass, and whatever colour is desired is painted by means of enamels on to the white sheet of glass just mentioned; whereas, in a stained window, whatever colour is introduced, is in the glass itself—so that should a blue robe be desired, the shape of the robe is cut from a piece of blue glass and shaded afterwards. I mention this now particularly, as here we have in the same church two splendid examples of what I hope I have succeeded

in making clear, *i.e.* a stained glass window in the east end, and a painted one in the transept. By this means I hope to avoid in the future course of these papers having to explain, as occasion arises, these two utterly different processes.

The chancel at Lambourne is enriched with five such painted windows as I have just endeavoured to describe, and here again it is obvious that they were never painted for this church, but have been removed from their original position and re-erected here. They are all very beautiful examples of this period, *i.e.* seventeenth century, about 1630, and have probably emanated from a German source. The curiously-shaped horns holding the mantling in position on the helm in the small coats of arms, introduced at the foot of each panel, suggest this.

AN OUTLIER OF THE ROYAL FOREST OF ESSEX.

BY JOHN FRENCH.

THE Forest of Essex, up to the time of the Domesday Survey, and even later, is an inference rather than an established fact. The inferential demonstration is, however, so strong that few will question the reality of its existence, and further, we may suppose it to have occupied practically much of central Essex. Such a feature of the country would lay claim in early times to a deal of legislation and notice, but when we conceive of it shrunk to mere copses with clearances intervening, and peopled with settlements, then the imposing character of the forest becomes lost.

It is to the latter state that our particular narrative has to do, and with one of the woods only, situate on the eastern border of the parish of Felsted. It was known at first as the wood of Black-holehey, but towards the time of its extinction, in the sixteenth century, the name had softened to Blackley. A small farm still retains the name.

*The "Counm
Farm"*

The first mention that I can find for any part of the Royal Forest extending to Felsted are on the Close Rolls:—

- | | | |
|------------------------|---|-------|
| 1231.
16 Henry III. | Mandate to B. de Insula to permit Richard de Gray to cut and carry the timber which the abbess of Caen gave him in her <u>wood of Felstede in the forest of Essex.</u> | 1231. |
| 1246.
Oct. 19. | The king restored to the abbess of Caen 3½ acres with appurtenances in Felsted in the county of Essex which were seised by the king because they were assarts in his forest without his leave. | 1246 |
| 1290.
June 18. | Order to Robert Lestrange, justice of the forest on this side of Trent, to permit the abbess of Caen to <u>fell 30 acres of under-wood in the wood of Blackholehey within the bounds of the forest of Essex, as the king learns by inquisition that it will not be to his damage.</u> | 1290. |

It will be remembered that the manor of Felsted was granted by William I. to the abbey of Holy Trinity at Caen, in Normandy. From the time of Edward I. onwards the possessions of alien religious bodies in England were taken into the king's hands, and under Henry V. they were definitely forfeited. The manor was

then granted to the abbey of Syon, in Middlesex, and after the Reformation it became the property of Lord Rich.

The Crown, consequently, had claims on Felsted in two ways, as forest and as alien property; or we may say in modern language that two Government departments were concerned with it; and various details of the routine of administration are preserved in records. Thus, in 1300, Walter de Felstede appears as farmer of the lands of the abbess of Caen. In 1331 the sheriff was ordered to cause a verderer for the forest of Felstede to be elected in place of John de Terlyngg, deceased. In 1334 a verderer of Blackholehey was to be elected in place of Thomas de Helpeston of Felsted, who was insufficiently qualified. This Thomas held a manor in Felsted, now known as Whelpstones, and was sheriff of Essex in 1365. In 1376 John Nichole, forester of Blackholley, was pardoned for the death of Robert Souter of Felsted. This has the appearance of a poaching affray.

In 1301 Edward I. ordered a perambulation of the forest. This new perambulation resulted in limiting the forest proper to pretty much its present bounds, but it recorded four outliers: one at Hatfield, one at Writtle, one at Felsted, and one at Colchester. The report as regards the Felsted outlier is as follows:—

Item, they say that so much that is on the south side of the Stanstrete in the aforesaid hundreds of Dunmow, Lexeden, and Hengeford, ought to remain beyond the forest except that which is mentioned in the hundred of Lexeden in the vill of Colchester, and except the vill of Felsted with the wood of Blackholehey with their appurtenances in the hundred of Hengeford; which same manor of Felsted with the wood of Blackholehey aforesaid, with the appurtenances, the abbess of Caen holds by gift of King William the Conqueror of England, and claims to hold it as freely as the same manor and wood were held in the time of St. Edward, King of England. But notwithstanding we say that the aforesaid manor with the aforesaid wood with their appurtenances, ought wholly to remain within the Forest.

Among the list of jurors who made this perambulation, and which seem to be representative, so far as the names can be made out, we read the name of John-de-Slamondshey. The manor of Slamondshey, now shortened to "Slamseys," was on the south-eastern edge of Blackholehey wood.

As to the inclusion of Felsted, Fisher, in his well-known book on *The Forest of Essex*, says:—

No reason is given for this decision and it is evident that it was not the same which applied to Hatfield, Writtle, or Colchester; for the ancient demesne lands of the Crown were only such as were set down among the Terræ Regis in the Domesday book, and as belonged to the Crown at the time of the Conquest. Bus Felsted is entered in the Domesday as the property of the Holy Trinity of Caen, and in the time of the Confessor belonged to Earl Algar, from whom the

Conqueror must have taken it. Being forest in his hands as his own demesne, though not ancient demesne of the Crown, when he granted it to the Holy Trinity at Caen in 1082, several years before the completion of the Domesday book, it seems to have been considered that it must so remain notwithstanding the grant.

So far then we have the wood of Blackholehey distinctly affirmed as Royal Forest in 1301. The topography of the eastern end of Felsted parish will explain the limitations of the forest territory. Its eastern and northern sides corresponded to the parish boundary, the north being the Stane Street. Slampseys' manor bounded it on the south-east and the Leighs road and parish boundary (which included Willows green) on the south. The western boundary agreed with the road from Leighs Priory over Willows green, Milch-hill, Bartholomew's green, and Fairy (Fair Hey) green, to Rayne—the greens being included in the forest. The area of the forest included in these boundaries would be about two hides, that is, counting the hide at 240 acres. For the half-yard at Felsted (the unit of measurement) has always been computed at thirty acres, and evidence to that effect was given before the Master of the Rolls in 1567.¹

As we are concerned with the details at Felsted, we must point out that the land from the bridge of Leighs and northwards to Willows green, as also all of the parish west of the road we have mentioned, were ruled out by the disafforestation. This is nowhere specifically asserted, but it becomes quite evident as the history of the parish is proceeded with, and moreover only the wood of Blackholehey comes in for subsequent mention as forest demesne. There had been a wood to the east of this, of which then probably nothing but the name, Naylinghurst, remained. Similarly, there had been a wood to the west of Blackholehey named Hazelinghurst, and a fragment of it remained for some centuries afterwards.

I may here mention that many years ago Mr. Porter of Leighs Priory found horns of the Red deer in his locality. They were denizens of the ancient forest, the Fallow deer becoming more plentiful later.

The last royal mention of the wood of Blackholehey that I have found is in letters patent of 1471, confirming it to the abbess of Syon. When the curtain rises in 1576 we find Blackley a manorial holding, very much reduced to arable, and in fact an ordinary farm. The forest was stubbed, probably as fast as labour could be procured, but nevertheless a small amount in area went to other holders. We may suppose the fine for purpresture (generally made on the greens) to have been always enforced, as it was by her

¹ Particulars given in Manuscript Survey of 1576.

... of B'th
v of Rayne

Two hid
= 480 ac

small
holding
an enclosure
with a building

successors as late as 1576.¹ At that date there was probably a good deal of woodland left. A large patch in the middle is indicated in the Survey, although, being manorial, it is not described.

Rayne Gore. A half-yard and tenement is surveyed under the name of the Swainewick or Swainwickhold. "Swaine" was the earlier Saxon word for a forest attendant. (The Swain-mote was the forest court.) The Swainswick half-yard was also called the "Gore," another Saxon term. It was the 'gore,' or odd corner of the forest, as will be seen by the map. The pond in Rayne, on the other side of the road, still retains the name, and it is noteworthy that a footpath runs alongside the eastern border of what was once the forest gore.

The place of the forester's cottage can be pointed out with tolerable accuracy. It stood at or near the place where the road passes over the railway bridge at Braintree green. This part of the forest seems to have been known as "Make-Merris," for in a deed dated 1428,² there is mention of Make-Merris gore, and the road to the cottage in 1576 is called Mackmore's land.

The manor house of Blackley is that now known as the Common farmhouse, and, except that Fairy Green, part of the forest demesne, had a chequered and unknown history, the other part of the manor remained for long intact.

We have throughout been concerned with its northern end, but we can now with advantage consider the southern half. It would be an instruction to the reader if he would procure the Ordnance 6-inch map. He would then see that, except for Willows farm on the south west corner, no great intrusion on the forest area has been made to the present day. A very small intrusion seems to have been made there very early, and perhaps corresponded to the forester's holding on the north. Two fields known as "Sweatings" reflect probably the name of "Johannes Swetyng," who paid the poll-tax in 1381. And, in contiguity is an old cottage known as the "Pest-house." This name certainly dates back nearly or quite two centuries, and may possibly have been a forester's cottage, for it is placed alone and well within the forest area. A farm at the south is known as the "Gate" farm, and may have derived its name from a gate at that end of the wood. Unfortunately, as it stands just within the Leighs boundary, the Survey of 1576 takes no account

¹ The Survey of 1576, made by order of Lord Rich, then lord of the manor, was based on an earlier one, which was prefaced: "A brieve Abstract of the liberties of the mannor of Felsted, parcell of the possessions of the Abbess of Syon." Its construction is ancient, and the manors are not described. For this I am indebted originally to Dr. Clark, of Leighs (*Essex Review*, vol. xxviii., pp. 62-76).

² Abstract of deeds relating to Rayne. *Transactions*, vol. ix.

of it. A similar farm at the north-west corner of the forest is known as "Gatewards" farm. There is no evidence of any entry to the forest on its eastern side.

The southern boundary of Blackley demesne agrees with the parish boundary. This is remarkable, for it shews the limitation of the wood to be of very great antiquity. It also explains the peculiar prolongation (nearly to Slamsey manor) of the parish in that direction. This has all along been inexplicable to the officials concerned in verifying the parish boundaries, which is periodically done.

Looking at the map, and restoring the forest in the mind's eye, it seems but a small transition and leap to the great woods at Leighs, still in existence. Hardly a mile separated them at one place. Both belonged to the forest primeval, but it is certain they had not been joined for a very long time. Fairwood Common, the intervening space, is not only distinctly named as such through all the centuries of our record, but it bears its own evidence in that it has an isolated heath flora which, as there situated, is indicative of great antiquity.

There remains but to mention the remnant of wood left about in the middle of the area of perhaps less than an acre in extent. That is the last existing vestige of the Royal Forest of Blackholehey.

see Essex Review. Apr: 1919.

Gate-hous
farm
manor
Gate-woods
Mortons
Farm

ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES.

Essex Church Plate.—With reference to the Rev. W. J. Pressey's paper, *Some Lost Church Plate of the Essex Archdeaconry*, vol. xv. (N.S.), part i., p. 23, there is the following interesting entry in the Parish Register of Stock Harvard (p. 76)—

Memorand 9th April, 1631. Mr. William Coy Esquire did give unto ye parishioners of Harvard Stock a faire standing gilded cup with a cover weighing (obliterated).

The same gentleman gave unto ye church a pulpitt with a cover.

Then comes the item which illustrates how a previous chalice was disposed of in 1631—

Ye old communion cup did weigh $11\frac{1}{2}$ oz & was sold for 5s and 1d the ounce, with which money & seaven shillings laid unto it by the parishioners, there was bought a gilt plate for the bread weighing 5oz 7d 12g at 7s ye ounce which came to 01l 18s, and 2 yards $\frac{3}{4}$ broad cloth at 10s the yard which came unto 1l 07s 06d, and so was the money taken for the said cup disposed of by the appointment of the minister & churchwardens.

H. W. LEWER.

Queen Elizabeth's Visit to Tilbury in 1588.—In the *English Historical Review* of January, 1919 (vol. xxxiv., pp. 43-61), Mr. Miller Christy gives an interesting description of the formation of the camp at Tilbury in June and July for defence against the expected invasion by the Spanish Armada, and the visit of the Queen to it on 8th August. She appears to have spent the night afterwards at Arderne Hall in Horndon on the Hill, and possibly the following night at Belhus in Aveley, which is traditionally associated with a visit from her. Various details are quoted from contemporary accounts, including poems by Aske and Deloney.

The Red Hills of Essex.—In the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, second series, vol. xxx., pp. 36-54, Mr. Reginald A. Smith, F.S.A., writes of these hills as the remains of salt works, on the analogy of others at Marsal in Lorraine and elsewhere.

Arms of Lord Audley of Walden (vol. xv., p. 93).—The query raised by Dr. Round, as to the whereabouts of the plate bearing the arms of Sir Thomas Audley, has not been answered, but I have a deed, by which, for the sum of 55*l.*, he released to John, Earl of Oxford, a rent-charge payable out of the manor of

Shryffes (in Colne Engaine), which had been granted to him by the King, *inter alia*, among the possessions of the late priory of St. Botolph, in Colchester. This deed, which is signed and dated 6th December, 30 Henry VIII., has a seal attached, impressed with a shield bearing "On a fess between three coneyes courant, as many martlets," which coat practically agrees with that on the plate mentioned in the *Complete Peerage*, and in Papworth's *Ordinary* is attributed to ANDELEY, Essex, possibly a misprint for AUDELEY. It is, as Dr. Round says, quite different from the well-known coat of Lord Audley, which appears on his tomb at Saffron Walden and elsewhere. Is it a coincidence that Papworth attributes a very similar coat to the family of Christmas, of Colchester, while according to Morant (*Hist. Colchester*, 1768, p. 148) Audley disposed of part of the spoils of St. Botolph's priory in 1536 to one John Christmas? Is it possible that the Audley and Christmas families were connected in some way?

J. J. HOLDSWORTH.

Stondon Massey and its Chapelry.—It is a most valuable contribution which Mr. J. H. Round has made to the *Transactions* under this heading, and only one among many by which our learned President has placed all lovers of truth under an obligation. I hasten to express my regret at the share which I have had personally in confusing the families of Merk and de Marcy. Led astray, no doubt, by Morant and his followers in the past, I had loosely regarded the Latin Marci as the equivalent of both or either names, and had looked on de Marcy, Marci, Merk, Mark, and de Merk as variants of the same patronymic, attributing to the Mark family the original of our *Stondon Massey*, which Mr. Round clearly shows must be traced to de Marcy.

It was an unfortunate day for the careless genealogist when the two sisters of Serlo de Marcy, the owner of Stondon manor, married the one, John de Merk, and the other, Nicholas Espigurnel, who succeeded at Stondon; and a still more unfortunate circumstance that the younger (now Agnes Espigurnel) should have paid homage to the overlords through her elder sister, Alice Merk, who now (except for this) had severed her connection with Stondon.

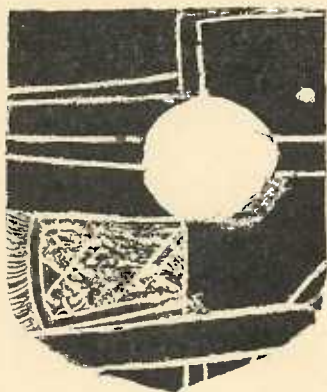
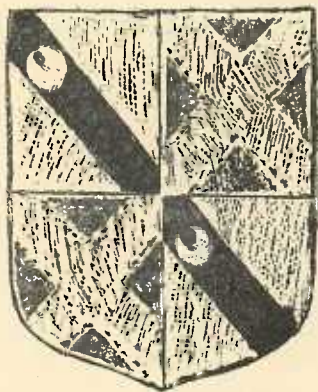
The constant appearance of the name Merk in association with the manor confirmed Morant and others in their interpretation of 'Marci.'

I can only say for myself that, disturbing though it may be to my peace of mind, I welcome the President's strictures in the cause of truth and shall take care to make the correction as widely known

as possible. One word more: Mr. Round writes as though Morant (in 1768), in asserting that in his day tithes were still paid from "Marks Manse in Roding" to the rector of Stondon, might again have been making an ungrounded statement. I can, however, declare positively that these payments have been made throughout the centuries, and that to-day there is still connection between Stondon and Mark's Hall in this respect, tithe being payable to me on the property by University College, Oxford, the present owners.

E. H. L. REEVE.

Palimpsest Brass at Wivenhoe.—Visiting Wivenhoe church on 16th September, 1919, in company with Canon Steele, I found that since my former visit fifteen years before, when I rubbed the fine brasses, the dexter shield in the super-canopy of the Countess of Oxford's brass (1537) had become loose, and that it proved to be palimpsest. There is a good engraving of the memorial in the Cambridge Camden Society's *Illustrations of Monumental Brasses*, p. 185, and from the description given it appears that in about 1840 several detached pieces from this and the Beaumont brass, which had been thrown aside among some rubbish in the church, were speedily replaced under the superintendence of a member of the Society. It is impossible to say whether the shield in question was included among these fragments; at all events, if any of them were palimpsest, the fact was allowed to remain unrecorded. By this discovery, therefore, a slight addition is made to the known palimpsest brasses of Essex, a list of which was published by Mr. Mill Stephenson, F.S.A., in 1901 (*Trans. Mon. Brass Soc.*, vol. iv., pp. 97 ff.).



The shield measures $6\frac{3}{4}$ by $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches, and bears on the *obverse* the arms of Scrope, [az.] *a bend [or] with a crescent for difference*, quartering Tiptoft, [ar.], *a saltire engr. [gu.]*. The *reverse* is cut out of a large fifteenth-century figure of an ecclesiastic in mass vestments: the end of an embroidered stole with traces of a leaf pattern is clearly indicated; and two parallel lines at the base of the shield may conceivably be part of the shaft of a pastoral staff, but the design is so fragmentary that it is impossible to be sure about this. The leaden plug which held the rivet in the stone still adhered to the surface of the brass, and this accounts for the disfigurement in the rubbing here reproduced.

G. MONTAGU BENTON.

Great Birch and the Gernons (*E.A.T.*, vol. xii., p. 89; vol. xiv., p. 76). In previous communications I have been able to carry back the descent of Great Birch and Easthorpe beyond Roger de Planes (1176), to his father-in-law, Hugh de St. Quintin. I now find, that, among the 'new pleas' entered on the Pipe Rolls of 1170 and 1171 (16, 17 Henry II.), is the debt of William de St. Quintin for five marcs (3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*) in the matter of a knight's fee, of which Hervey de Turnebu was depriving him.¹

The importance of this entry is that it brings into conjunction the names of St. Quintin and Turnebu. For, in the early lists of knight's fees held of the Honour of Boulogne we find Hervey de Turnebu holding three of these fees, which were in Birch and Easthorpe.²

Ralf Gernon and William Blund held them a generation later, as I have shown (*E.A.T.*, vol. xii., pp. 89-90). Hervey's name confirms my view that these lists include names taken from a list of earlier date; for he occurs, not only in 1170, but in 1166 (*Red Book*, p. 192).

J. H. ROUND.

¹ "Quod Hervens de Turnebu ei disfortiat (P.R. 16 Hen. II., p. 108).

² "Hervi de Tornebu iij milites in Brich & Esthorpe quam (sic) Willelmus Blundus tenet in Essex" (*Testa de Nevill*, p. 273). On p. 275a, these fees are entered as held by Ralf Gernon. In the *Red Book* (p. 577) Hervey de Tornebu alone is entered as their holder.

IN MEMORIAM.

SIR W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE.

✠ Although not an Essex man, Sir William Hope gave much valuable assistance directly and indirectly to our Society, of which he was made an honorary member in 1911. His papers on the "Testament and Inventory of the Thirteenth Earl of Oxford" and on the "Seals of Waltham Abbey" (*Transactions*, vol. xiv.) are fresh in the memories of many of us; he recently discovered at Cambridge an interesting document relating to Pleshey College; and he was planning a paper on Colchester Castle.

His place in the front rank of archæologists was due primarily to his fine judgment, but this was supplemented by a very extensive knowledge of mediæval antiquities, an excellent memory, and an orderly and accurate mind. He was thus able to make inductions and suggest lines of research in a way that is beyond the power of the local antiquary. His wide experience was always at the service of fellow-workers.

All who have heard him speak will remember him as an admirable lecturer, with a great power of lucid exposition.

PROFESSOR F. J. HAVERFIELD.

✠ There is hardly any county which contains more Roman remains than Essex; and we have therefore special reason to deplore the death of Professor Haverfield, the leading authority on the Roman occupation of Britain, which occurred almost simultaneously with the appearance in this volume of his paper on Centuriation.

PUBLICATIONS.

Borough and County Arms of Essex.

By W. GURNEY BENHAM. (Benham & Co., Colchester, 2s.)

Now that heraldry is no longer vocal to the popular mind, it has come to be regarded as a dry-as-dust subject, fit only for the attention of fossilized antiquarians. In his pamphlet on the "Borough and County Arms of Essex," Mr. W. Gurney Benham does a real service to archæology by showing that this ancient science is not wanting in human interest and romance.

The boroughs with which Mr. Benham deals are *Colchester, *Maldon, *Harwich, *Saffron Walden, *Thaxted, Chelmsford, Southend-on-Sea, West Ham, East Ham. Those possessing ancient armorial bearings or devices are denoted by an asterisk. Following these there is a chapter on "some doubtful" town arms, notably those recorded in *Burke's General Armory*, 1875 and 1878, as belonging to the town of Halstead, and the heraldic device adopted in 1911 by the Clacton Urban Council. Then there is a note on the arms of the See of Chelmsford, and finally a full account of the reputed arms of the East Saxons. A valuable feature of the pamphlet is the excellent series of 14 coloured illustrations and 40 other engravings, for many of which Mr. Benham himself is responsible.

The letterpress is written with the vigour and care which is characteristic of all his literary work, and gives evidence of much patient research. We are glad to notice that Mr. Benham leaves doubtful points for such future elucidation as may become possible, and does not indulge in theories for which he can offer no substantial evidence. The pamphlet should be purchased by all who are interested in the history of our county.

Rotuli de Dominabus.

(*Publications of the Pipe Roll Society, vol. xxxv., 1913.*)

THIS record deals with the value of the possessions of widows and wards in the king's hands in 1185, and Dr. J. H. Round has prefaced to a transcript of it a critical and thorough introduction. Although small, it is, in his words,

of greater importance and of more varied interest than has been hitherto realised. It has been usually regarded only as genealogical evidence; but, great and, indeed, unique as is its value for that purpose, it renders peculiar service, when

the place-names are identified and annotated, to the student of topography as well. For, with the exception of the Pipe Rolls themselves, it is many years earlier than the date at which our series of rolls begins, while the form in which its information is given enables us to connect it, not unfrequently, with the returns of knights in the *Cartae baronum* of 1166.

As an instance of this, the mysterious Hacflæt of Domesday can now be confidently located at Bradwell-on-Sea, through the connection with the Bardulf family.

Information as to the stock on the demesnes of the manors is sometimes given. Thus, Rochford was bare, and at Berden, the other manor of John de Rochford, there was a deficiency not stated. The justices ordered the renewal of the stock required, estimated at four plough-teams, two bulls and ten cows, two boars and 15 swine, 31 rams and 310 sheep. The Pipe Roll of the following Michaelmas records the expenditure of 16*l.* 13*s.* on 30 plough oxen, 23 farm horses, two bulls and 12 cows, two boars and 20 swine, and 19*l.* 10*s.* on 585 sheep. At Little Wigborough the deficiency was reckoned at one plough team, eight cows, 20 swine and 200 sheep. At Fairsted there was a mixed team of six oxen and two horses.

The History of St. Bartholomew's Hospital.

By NORMAN MOORE, M.D. (London: C. Arthur Pearson, 1918.)

SIR Norman Moore's two magnificent volumes are, of course, not primarily concerned with Essex, but he gives several transcripts and a few facsimiles of deeds relating to the possessions of the hospital in the county. The most important of these is the grant by William of Theydon of the church of Little Wakering in the time of Alan, master, and Gilbert, bishop of London, which can therefore be assigned to the years 1182-8. Other grants by William's heirs follow, extending our knowledge of the connection of the family and the parish which was noted by Dr. Round in the *Transactions* (vol. xii., pp. 198-202).

Two deeds have specially interesting clauses. Early in the thirteenth century the hospital granted to William, son of Simon of Rainham, and his heirs land in Rainham at a yearly rent of 5 quarters of wheat, 5 of rye, 5 of barley, 5 of beans and 8 of oats, and four cartloads of hay, all to be delivered at the quay of the hospital, and a payment of a third part of the corn and cattle there at the death of William and his heirs. The hospital gave him 10 marks towards payment of his debts, and stipulated that the land was not to be granted to any Jews or religious body. If William or his heirs wished to cancel the agreement they were to give back the 10 marks

and all the buildings then on the land, consisting of a house with two bedrooms, stalls for horses, a barn, ox-stalls, brew-house, oven and fowl-house.

A grant by William de Bucuinte, probably about the end of the twelfth century, of 10s. quit rent to his servant Edeva, daughter of Wakerilda of Writtle, provides that if she chooses to take the religious habit as a sister of the hospital, the same 10s. shall remain to the hospital, but if she does not do so they shall have 7s. only after her death. It is possible, therefore, as Sir Norman suggests, that she may be the first nursing sister whose name is recorded.

Reginald, prior of Prittlewell, is mentioned in the time of William of Theydon, and John, prior of Blackmore, in the time of Serlo de Marci; these being the earliest heads of the two houses yet discovered.

Other Essex parishes mentioned are Barling, Bulphan, Burnham, Coggeshall, Cricksea, Downham, Dunton, Horndon, Lambourne, Ramsden Belhouse, Woodham Walter.

Guide to the Church of Waltham Holy Cross.

By Rev. GIFFORD H. JOHNSON, M.A.

(London: Oxford University Press, 1919. Second Edition. 1s. net).

FROM the wealth of information available Mr. Johnson has made a convenient selection for the benefit of visitors, expanding this edition to 64 pages with 19 illustrations and a plan. For deeper students of the abbey and its history he gives a copious bibliography, although he has omitted reference to the important paper by Sir William Hope on the abbey seals (*Transactions*, xiv., pp. 303-310).

On pages 3, 16 and 42 he blunders by speaking of 'monks' of Waltham instead of canons; but his work is generally reliable, and he may be congratulated on producing a useful guide.

Church of St. Mary, Dedham.

By GERALD H. RENDALL, B.D., Litt.D., LL.D. (Benham & Co., Colchester.)

DEDHAM has one of the finest and best known of our Essex churches, and many who have never visited it are familiar with the views of its beautiful tower in Constable's pictures.

Dr. Rendall has reprinted in a convenient form his scholarly account of the building which recently appeared in the *Essex Review*. Visitors will find it an interesting and valuable guide.

EXCURSION.

By the kind invitation of the East Herts Archæological Society, members of our Society took part in a combined excursion on 11th September, 1919. After visiting the old Roman road, Ermine Street, from London to Lincoln, where it crosses Hertford Heath and Haileybury College, the party passed into Essex and saw Nether Hall and Roydon church, under the guidance of our member, Mr. Wykeham Chancellor. Luncheon was partaken of at Nether Hall. After leaving Roydon the party crossed the Stort and visited Stanstead Abbots old church and Bury, Rye House, and Stanstead St. Margarets church.

The excursion was a great success, and our thanks are due to the Hon. Secretary of the East Herts Society for the excellent arrangements made by him, and for his kindness and courtesy to our members on the occasion.

GENERAL MEETING AND EXCURSION HELD ON THURSDAY, 25th SEPT., 1919.

GREAT CANFIELD, HATFIELD BROAD OAK,
STANSTEAD MOUNTFITCHET.

At a time when the weather was uncertain, we were fortunate in securing a fine day for this excursion. Starting from Chelmsford we proceeded by motor bus through the Roothings to Great Canfield Mount. Here the hardier members of the party scaled the height, and on its summit listened to some notes by the late Mr. Chalkley Gould, and Dr. J. Horace Round, our President, which were read by the Honorary Secretary.

An excellent description of the very interesting architectural features of the church was given by Mr. Wykeham Chancellor, and the party then proceeded to Barrington Hall, where luncheon was partaken of in the grounds by the kind permission of A. H. Gosling, Esq. During luncheon the Rev. Canon Galpin gave a fascinating account of the monastic and manorial deeds at Hatfield, and exhibited specimens of them. The party afterwards inspected the mansion. After a vote of thanks had been given to Mr. Gosling, we made our way to Hatfield Broad Oak church, which was ably described by Canon Galpin. Stanstead Mountfitchet church was the last place to be visited on this excursion, and there Mr. Wykeham Chancellor gave a full and most interesting account of the ancient features of the building. On the homeward way tea was partaken of at Bishops Stortford.

WINTER MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY.

PRITTLEWELL AND SOUTHEND, WEDNESDAY, 29TH OCTOBER, 1919.

COLCHESTER, WEDNESDAY, 3RD DECEMBER, 1919.

BRAINTREE, TUESDAY, 27TH JANUARY, 1920.

The Society has revived the holding of winter meetings, and those held at Southend and Colchester have fully justified it in doing so. The special features of the meeting at Southend were a visit to the remains of Prittlewell priory, where we had the good fortune to have Mr. P. M. Johnson, F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A., as our guide, and a lecture by Mr. Wykeham Chancellor, M.A., F.R.I.B.A., on the famous church of St. Mary, Prittlewell. Recently Mr. P. M. Johnson and Mr. W. Cater, F.S.A., superintended the carrying out of excavations on the site of the priory, at the instance of the British Archæological Association, and some important discoveries were made. It is hoped that as a result of our meeting the Corporation of Southend will acquire the site and utilize the existing buildings as a museum. The arrangements for the meeting were in the hands of Mr. J. W. Burrows, and our thanks are due to him for the excellent way in which everything was carried out, and to the Worshipful the Mayor of Southend, Councillor F. W. Senier, and the Mayoress, for the interest they showed, by entertaining the party at tea, and for helping to make the evening meeting, over which the Mayor presided, such a great success.

The special features of the meeting at Colchester on 3rd December, were a visit to St. Peter's church, under the guidance of the vicar, Canon C. T. Ward, and Mr. Duncan Clark, F.R.I.B.A.; short lectures at the Castle Library by Dr. P. G. Laver, F.S.A., on certain facts connected with the castle, and by Mr. A. M. Jarmin, F.R.Hist.S., on the Museum and its contents; and lectures in the Town Hall at the evening meeting by Mr. Alderman W. G. Benham on "King Cole, Helena, and the Borough arms," and by Mr. G. Rickword, F.R.Hist.S., on Colchester in the Georgian period. The meeting was well attended, and excellent arrangements had been

made by a local committee, presided over by Mr. W. G. Benham. The Mayor (Mr. Councillor A. Owen Ward, J.P.) was good enough to hold a reception before the evening meeting and subsequently to preside at it. We owe special thanks to Mr. H. Lazell for having made the arrangements for tea and to the ladies who served it.

A meeting was held at Braintree on 27th January, 1920, in the County High School. The chair was taken by our Honorary Local Secretary for Braintree, Mr. H. J. Cunningham, and a most interesting lecture on "Old Homes of Essex," illustrated by lantern slides, was given by Mr. Basil Oliver. Owing to the inaccessibility of some parts of our county, except to those possessing motor cars, some of our "Old Homes" are little known, and such a lecture as Mr. Oliver's is most valuable, not only in calling attention to them, but also in showing the advantages of belonging to the Essex Archæological Society, which by its excursions affords its members opportunities of seeing and studying those interesting specimens of the domestic architecture of our county in bygone centuries.

Our thanks are due to Mr. Cunningham for all the trouble he took in arranging what proved to be a most successful meeting, and to the Braintree Educational Society for the support they gave us.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE
ESSEX ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY,
HELD IN THE GRAND JURY ROOM OF
THE TOWN HALL, COLCHESTER, ON
TUESDAY, 20th APRIL, 1920.

THE RT. REV. BISHOP STEVENS, D.D., F.S.A., IN THE CHAIR.

The Annual Meeting of the Essex Archæological Society was held at the Town Hall, Colchester, on Tuesday, by kind permission of the Rt. Worshipful the Mayor of Colchester, Councillor A. Owen Ward, the Rt. Rev. Bishop Stevens, Archdeacon of Essex, occupying the chair, in the regrettable absence, on account of ill-health, of Mr. J. Horace Round, LL.D. There was a good attendance of members, and the useful purpose of the Society was made apparent. Dr. Round was unanimously re-elected President of the Society.

Ald. Gurney Benham moved a vote of thanks to the President, Vice-Presidents, and hon. officers, including the editor of the *Transactions*, and the auditor. He said Dr. Round's valuable work had been an inspiration and a help to them. They were also indebted to the editor of the *Transactions*, and his labours were much appreciated, as were those of the Hon. Secretary (The Rev. T. H. Curling).—The vote was agreed to.

The annual report showed that during the year the Society had lost 28 members by death and resignation, and 84 new members had been added to the roll. The Council welcomed that evidence of the growing interest that is being shown in the work of the Society, and hoped that every effort would be made to bring the membership up to a total of 500. The Council desired to express its sense of the great loss sustained by archæology as a whole, and by the Society in particular, through the death of its distinguished member, Sir William H. St. John Hope, M.A., Litt.D., LL.D. The total membership, which on December 31st, 1918, was 380, on December 31st, 1919, was as follows :—annual members, 376; life members, 55;

hon. members, 5; total 436. The Council recommended the re-election of the Vice-Presidents, with the addition of the Right Hon. Lord Rayleigh, and of the Council, with the addition of Mr. F. S. Tabor, Bocking.

The Vice-Treasurer reported that the receipts showed a satisfactory increase, the amount being 278*l.* 8*s.* 9*d.*, an increase of 41*l.* 17*s.* 8*d.* over 1918. Annual subscriptions received amounted to 184*l.* 16*s.* 0*d.*, as against 165*l.* 18*s.* 0*d.* last year. Life compositions amounted to 52*l.* 10*s.* 0*d.* Arrears of subscriptions received were 10*l.* 10*s.* 0*d.* The outstanding amount due by members of the Society was 6*l.* 16*s.* 6*d.*, being distributed among eleven members. On the expenditure side there had been a considerable decrease. This was accounted for chiefly by issuing only one part of the *Transactions* during the year, reducing the cost of printing from 150*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.* to 69*l.* 1*s.* 0*d.* The total expenditure amounted to 188*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* On the actual receipts and expenditure for the twelve months, excluding the life compositions of 52*l.* 10*s.* 0*d.*, there was a surplus of 70*l.* 12*s.* 4*d.*, as against a deficiency in 1918 of 19*l.* 13*s.* 10*d.*

Mr. John Avery presented the statement of accounts, which, he stated, was satisfactory, and this and the report were adopted.

Dr. Philip Laver, Mr. H. Lazell, and Mr. Duncan Clark were elected the representatives of the Society on the Museum and Muniment Committee of Colchester Corporation.

Mr. Avery moved an amendment to Rule 3—"That when considered advisable the Council may elect as honorary members for such period as they think fit persons who, in their opinion, should be members of the Society." He said it was thought that there were ladies and gentlemen capable of rendering services to the Society who were unable to continue their membership subscription.—This was agreed to.

Canon Galpin raised the question of the publication of particulars concerning the church plate of the diocese, and after various opinions had been expressed, it was agreed that "The Society welcomes the proposal for the early publication of particulars of the church plate of Essex, and, without pledging official financial responsibility, will use its best efforts to further the work."

The Hon. Secretary read an interesting paper by Dr. Round on "Henry III. in Essex."

Subsequently forty of the members and their friends lunched at the Red Lion Hotel, Bishop Stevens presiding, supported on his right by the Right Worshipful the Mayor of Colchester, Councillor A. Owen Ward. No toasts were proposed, but the Chairman expressed the thanks of the Society to the Mayor for lending the

Grand Jury Room for the purposes of the Meeting, and the Mayor responded.

Dr. R. E. M. Wheeler afterwards exhibited plans of the recent excavations made under the auspices of the Morant Club, in the Castle Park, and described them in some detail. He also expressed thanks to the Museum and Parks Committees for the encouragement given the Club in carrying out the work. He spoke of the origin of it, namely, the traces of houses observed during a dry summer by Mr. A. G. Wright, and subsequently of the discovery, which he averred was of an ambitious Roman type, covering a considerable area of ground. The streets and roads were indicated, and descriptions were given of the various articles found during the operations. A visit was paid to the spot, where Dr. Wheeler was able to afford much useful information.

NEW MEMBERS.

Elected at a Council Meeting held on 8th July, 1919.

ON THE NOMINATION OF—

SIBLEY, H., 106, Market Place, Romford.	The Vice-Treasurer.
SIBLEY, Mrs., 106, Market Place, Romford.	The Vice-Treasurer.
YOUNG, Mrs., 1, Cambridge Road, Colchester.	Mr. P. G. Laver, F.S.A.
SPARLING, Miss, 21, Creffield Road, Colchester.	Mr. P. G. Laver, F.S.A.
ROBINSON, Alderman SYDNEY, 77, Oxford Street Walthamstow.	Mr. S. F. Bosworth.
BULLOCK, The Rev. E., Radwinter Rectory, Saffron Walden.	Rev. G. M. Benton.
WAYMOUTH, J. K., 41, High Street, Southend.	Mr. Wykeham Chancellor.
HOPKINS, Major J. W., 12, Cambridge Road, Colchester.	Mr. W. G. Benham.
BRADHURST, A. M., Rivenhall Place, Witham.	Rev. Canon Galpin.

Elected at Barrington Hall on 25th September, 1919.

ON THE NOMINATION OF—

BUTT, G. C. BENSUSAN, The Minories, Col- chester.	The Hon. Secretary.
BUTT, Dr. RUTH BENSUSAN, The Minories, Colchester.	The Hon. Secretary.
BROWNE, Miss HELEN, Passingford Bridge, Stapleford Tawney.	The Vice-Treasurer.
COLLINGWOOD, Sir WILLIAM, The Grove, Ded- ham.	The Hon. Secretary.
COLLINGWOOD, Lady, The Grove, Dedham.	The Hon. Secretary.
LAY, C. VICTOR, Sir Isaac's Walk, Colchester.	Mr. A. M. Jarmin.
LAY, Mrs. C. V., Sir Isaac's Walk, Colchester.	Mr. A. M. Jarmin.
COUSENS, The Rev. R., Little Warley Vicarage.	Mr. John Turner.
UPTON, Mrs., Coptfold, Margaretting.	Rev. W. J. Pressey.
CARROLL, Rev. W. H., Roxwell Vicarage, Chelmsford.	Rev. W. J. Pressey.
CARROLL, Mrs. W. H., Roxwell Vicarage, Chelmsford	Rev. W. J. Pressey.
CARLOS, The Rev. J. B., 31, Ladysmith Avenue, East Ham.	Rev. W. J. Pressey.
CLARK, the Rev. R. ERSKINE, Panfield Rectory, Braintree.	Rev. W. J. Pressey.

Elected at Prittlewell on 29th October, 1919.

ON THE NOMINATION OF—

RENDALL, The Rev. Canon G. H., B.D., Litt.D.,
LL.D., Dedham House, Dedham.

Mrs. B. Laver.

WILSON, The Rev. S. G., 75, The Vale, Golders
Green, N.W.4.

Bishop Stevens.

Elected at a Council Meeting held on 20th November, 1919.

ON THE NOMINATION OF—

MOSER, G. E., Freshwell House, Saffron Walden
ROBERTSON, HARDY, 16, Genesta Road, Westcliff-
on-Sea.

Rev. G. M. Benton.

The Vice-Treasurer.

SENIER, Miss E. A. T., Terra Nova, Salisbury
Road, Leigh-on-Sea.

The Vice-Treasurer.

SMITH, S. G., 31, Westboro' Road, Westcliff-
on-Sea.

The Vice-Treasurer.

SMITH, C. E., High Street, Hadleigh, Essex.

Mr. G. Biddell.

SMALLPIECE, Dr. DONALD, Felstead.

Mr. H. Worrin.

WARD, The Rev. Canon C. T., St. Peter's
Vicarage, Colchester.

Mr. G. Rickword.

WARD, Mrs. C. T., St. Peter's Vicarage, Col-
chester.

Mr. G. Rickword.

FISHER, The Rev. J. L., Netteswell Rectory,
Harlow.

Mr. Wykeham Chancellor.

Elected at Colchester on 3rd December, 1919.

ON THE NOMINATION OF—

CLARIDGE, Mr. W., St. Chad's, Inglis Road,
Colchester.

Mr. G. Rickword.

CLARIDGE, Mrs. W., St. Chad's, Inglis Road,
Colchester.

Mr. G. Rickword.

CATER, Mrs. ADELAIDE, High Street, Colchester.

Mr. A. G. Wright.

SKINNER, General BRUCE, The Limes, Old Heath,
Colchester.

Rev. W. B. White.

COLLEY, Rev. G. B., B.D., 14, King Edward
Avenue, Chelmsford.

Rev. W. J. Pressey.

PATTISON, Miss, 2, Rothsay Avenue, Chelmsford.

Rev. W. J. Pressey.

HERRING, Mrs. C., 4, West Lodge Road,
Colchester.

Miss Montagu.

CAMPBELL, Dr., Layer Marney Towers, Kelvedon.

Rev. F. W. Dickenson.

CAMPBELL, Mrs., Layer Marney Towers, Kelvedon.

Rev. F. W. Dickenson.

SMYTHIES, Mrs. P. K., The Turrets, Colchester.

Mr. G. Rickword.

WHITBY, Dr. HENRY, Errington Lodge, Col-
chester.

Mr. G. Rickword.

ON THE NOMINATION OF—

WILSON, H. P., 223, Maldon Road, Colchester.	Mr. G. Rickword.
LAZELL, Mrs., Fitzwalter Road, Colchester.	Mr. P. G. Laver, F.S.A.
SHARP, Miss, Endsleigh House, Colchester.	Mr. W. G. Benham.
GRIFFIN, Miss, Endsleigh House, Colchester.	Mr. W. G. Benham.
MILLS, Mrs., Beverley Road, Colchester.	Mr. Lazell.
HARRIS, The Rev. G. M., The Oaks, Colchester	Mr. Lazell.
HARRIS, Mrs. G. M., The Oaks, Colchester.	Mr. Lazell.
WHEELER, J. F., High Street, Colchester.	Mr. Lazell.
WHEELER, Mrs. J. F., High Street, Colchester.	Mr. Lazell.
NICHOLSON, Miss, East Hill, Colchester.	Mr. Lazell.
SALE, W. J., 20, St. Botolph's Street, Colchester.	Mr. P. G. Laver, F.S.A.
WRIGHT, Miss E. K., 5, Colne Road, Lexden.	Miss Willmott.

Elected at Braintree on 27th February, 1920.

ON THE NOMINATION OF—

CLAPHAM, A. W., F.S.A., Malsis, Christchurch Park, Sutton.	Mr. R. C. Fowler.
WHEELER, R. E. M., M.C., 23, Taviton Street, Gordon Square, W.C.1.	Mr. R. C. Fowler.
POLE, Mrs. THOMAS, Hurlocks, Billericay.	Mrs. E. Smith.
SMITH, The Rev. HAROLD, D.D., 3, Roseleigh Avenue, Highbury, N.5.	The Lord O' Hagan.

Elected at a Council Meeting held on 23rd March, 1920.

ON THE NOMINATION OF—

HOPE, Lady, Galewood, Great Shelford, Cambridge.	The Hon. Secretary.
LOMAX, B. H., Scarlett's Road, Colchester.	Mr. H. Lazell.
DAW, S., 11 Victoria Street, Braintree.	Mr. H. J. Cunnington.
BAILEY, Mrs. EMILY, Harefield, Romford.	Mr. P. C. Haydon Bacon
LAURIE, Major ALLAN DYSON, Brook Cottage, High Road, Loughton.	The Vice-Treasurer.
LAURIE, Mrs. J. GORDON, Brook Cottage, High Road, Loughton.	The Vice-Treasurer.
HIGGINBOTHAM, G., 52 Wimpole Road, Colchester.	Mr. A. G. Wright.
SCOTT, Miss A. D., Maldon, Essex.	Mr. Wykeham Chancellor.
JACKSON, Miss MARY, White Bridge House, Ramsden Crays, Billericay.	The Hon. Secretary.
CHELMSFORD PUBLIC LIBRARY, Chelmsford.	Major A. B. Bamford.
LAMPETT, Miss, Great Bardfield Rectory, Braintree	The Hon. Secretary.

Elected at the Annual General Meeting on 20th April, 1920.

ON THE NOMINATION OF—

THE RIGHT WORSHIPFUL THE MAYOR OF COLCHESTER (Councillor A. Owen Ward, Colchester)	The High Sheriff (M. E. Hughes-Hughes, Esq.).
COX, Dr. WILLIAM J., Duke Street, Chelmsford.	Mr. Wykeham Chancellor.
COMER, Dr., The Cloisters, London Road, Chelmsford.	The Rt. Rev. Monsignor E. J. Watson.
DENT, Miss M., Hatfields, Loughton.	Miss T. Buxton.
DICKIN, Miss ETHEL, Brightlingsea.	Dr. E. P. Dickin.
DAVEY, E. O., Tower House, Dunmow.	Mr. Hastings Worrin.
MONKS, The Rev. HENRY, Church House, 88 Romford Road, Stratford, E. 15.	Bishop Stevens.
PIERCE, E. L., 46 William Road, Goodmayes.	The Rev. E. Smith.
RENDELL, The Rev. R. F., B.A., F.R.A.S., Brightlingsea.	Dr. E. P. Dickin.
REES, W. E. F., Wiston, Suffolk.	Mr. H. Lazell.

REPORT FOR 1919.

The Council has pleasure in presenting its sixty-seventh Annual Report.

During the year the Society has lost twenty-eight members by death and resignation. Eighty-four new members have been added to its roll. The Council welcomes this evidence of the growing interest that is being shown in the work of the Society, and hopes that every effort will be made during 1920 to bring the membership up to a total of 500.

The Council desires to express its sense of the great loss sustained by archæology as a whole, and our Society in particular, through the death of its distinguished honorary member, the late Sir William H. St. John Hope, M.A., Litt.D., LL.D.

The total membership, which on 31st December, 1918, was 380; on 31st December, 1919, stood as follows:—

Annual members	376
Life members.....	55
Honorary members	5
	<hr/>
	436

The Council recommends the re-election of the Vice-Presidents, with the addition of the Right. Hon. Lord Rayleigh; and of the Council, with the addition of Mr. F. S. Tabor.

During the year Part II. of Vol. XV. of the *Transactions* was published.

Excursions were held as follows:—

5th June—Margaret Roding Church, Aythorpe Roding Church, New Hall, Cammas Hall, Colville Hall, and Rookwood Hall.

11th September, by invitation of the East Herts Archæological Society—Nether Hall and Roydon Church.

25th September—Great Canfield, Hatfield Broad Oak, and Stanstead Mountfitchet.

Evening meetings were held :—

29th October, at Prittlewell and Southend.

3rd December, at Colchester.

It is recommended that in 1920 Excursions and Meetings be held as follows :—

May: The Wendens and Audley End.

July: Sible Hedingham and Finchingfield.

Sept.: Maldon.

The Vice-Treasurer reports :—

Again the receipts of the year show a satisfactory increase, the amount (excluding excursion receipts) being £278 8s. 9d., an increase of £41 17s. 8d. over 1918. Annual subscriptions received amount to £184 16s. 0d., as against £165 18s. 0d. last year. Life Compositions amount to £52 10s. 0d. Arrears of subscriptions received were £10 10s. 0d. The outstanding amount due by members of the Society is £6 16s. 6d., being distributed among eleven members.

On the expenditure side there has been a considerable decrease. This is accounted for chiefly by issuing only one part of the *Transactions* during the year, reducing the cost of printing from £150 3s. 6d. to £69 1s. 0d. The total expenditure for the year (including excursion expenses) amounts to £188 3s. 4d.

On the actual receipts and expenditure for the twelve months, excluding the Life Compositions of £52 10s. 0d., there is a surplus of £70 12s. 4d. as against a deficiency in 1918 of £19 13s. 10d.

Our thanks are again due to Mr. John Avery, F.C.A., for kindly auditing the accounts of the past year.

DONATIONS TO THE SOCIETY

To March 31st, 1920.

Mr. H. W. Lewer, F.S.A.—

“Bow Porcelain : Early Figures,” by the donor.

“The Earthenware Collector,” by G. Wooliscroft Rhead, R.E.,
A.R.C.A.

“The Silver and Sheffield Plate Collector,” by W. A. Young.
Journal of Roman Studies, vol. vii.

Mr. R. C. Fowler, F.S.A.—

“Essex,” with map of county of Essex, by Robert Morden.

Mr. D. H. Emerson, B.A., M.B. (Cantab.)—

“Further Notes on the Emerson, *alias* Emberson, family of
the counties of Herts and Essex,” by the donor.

Cambridge University Library, Librarian of—

Report of the Library Syndicate to December 31st, 1918.

Mr. Arthur W. Marks—

Bond to Indemnify against Mrs. Pattison's claim of Dower,
2nd January, 1813.

Four old deeds relating to County of Essex.

Miss Lance—

Essex Archæological Society, Transactions, vol. vii., parts
2, 3, 4 ; vols. viii.-xiv., inclusive ; vol. xv., part 1.

Feet of Fines, parts i.-xi., inclusive.

Red Hills Report, 1906-7.

Benedictine Abbey of Barking : Morant Club Report.

St. Thomas the Apostle, Navestock, by F. Chancellor.

Sundry odd reports, Congress of Archæological Societies, *etc.*

National Library of Wales, Librarian of—

Bibliotheca Celtica, 1913.

Catalogue of Oriental MSS., by Herman Ethé, 1916.

Mr. V. B. Redstone, F.R.Hist.S.—

“The Death of a Dog,” by Hubert Airy, M.A., M.D.

Mr. J. L. Glasscock—

“Some Stortford Inns and Inn Signs,” by the donor.

Lady Hope—

MS. Notes for a History of Colchester Castle, with plans, by Sir William H. St. John Hope.

“Last Testament and Inventory of John de Veer, thirteenth Earl of Oxford,” by Sir William H. St. John Hope, Knt., Litt.D., D.C.L.

Mrs. Caroline A. Oates—

Patchett MSS. Notes relating to the parish of Gestingthorpe.

Rev. Canon G. H. Rendall—

Church of St. Mary, Dedham (reprint), by the donor.

Rev. G. F. Johnson—

The Church of Waltham Holy Cross (second edition), by the donor.

Alderman Wilson Marriage, J.P.—

Borough of Colchester and Neighbourhood, by the donor; with platinotype illustrations by W. Gill. Printed for private circulation, 1892.

From Societies in union for exchange of Publications.

Society of Antiquaries of London—

Proceedings, 2nd series, vol. XXX.

Society of Antiquaries of Scotland—

Proceedings, vol. LIII.

Suffolk Institute of Archæology and Natural History—

Vol. XVII., part 1.

ACCOUNT OF RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS

1918.			Dr.						
£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
151	14	1	To Balance from previous year				147	15	3
			„ Subscriptions—						
30	9	0	Arrears	10	10	0			
165	18	0	For the year 1919	184	16	0			
2	2	0	In advance.....	6	16	6			
							202	2	6
15	15	0	„ Life Compositions				52	10	0
4	4	0	„ Sale of publications				5	9	6
			„ Dividends on Investments—						
6	19	1	India 3 per cent. Stock, <i>less</i> Income Tax	4	12	4			
4	16	0	Metropolitan 3½ per cent. Stock, <i>less</i>						
			Income Tax	4	6	8			
2	12	6	War Stock	2	12	6			
1	15	6	Deposit Account	1	10	0			
							13	1	6
2	0	0	„ Sundry Receipts.....				2	14	3
			„ Excursion Tickets				32	16	11
			„ Evening Meetings				2	11	0

388 5 2

£459 0 11

BALANCE SHEET,

1918.			Liabilities.			
£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
236	5	0	To Life Compositions—			
2	2	0	53 Members at £5 5s. <i>od.</i>	288	15	0
			„ Subscriptions paid in advance.....	6	16	6
			„ Accumulations Fund—			
245	0	10	Surplus of Assets in favour of the Society	274	15	0

483 7 10

£570 6 6

I have examined the above Account and Balance Sheet with the Treasurer's
accordance therewith. The Investments have been verified by reference to the

52, Coleman Street, London, E.C. 2.

13th March, 1920.

FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31ST DECEMBER, 1919.

1918.			Cr.						
£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
			By Colchester Corporation—						
35	0	0	Curator's Salary	35	0	0			
10	0	0	Reports of Museum Committee.....	5	0	0			
							40	0	0
10	0	0	„ Editorial Secretary				10	0	0
150	3	6	„ Printing <i>Transactions</i>				69	1	0
10	1	4	„ Postage of <i>Transactions</i> and Notices to Members				10	14	11
5	18	0	„ Stationery, Members' Circulars, <i>etc.</i>				13	0	3
2	7	7	„ Secretarial Postage and Expenses				4	1	1
1	16	0	„ Subscription, Archæological Congress ..				1	0	0
12	0	0	„ Fire Insurance				12	0	0
			„ Binding and Repairing Books.....				4	12	0
			„ Excursion Expenses (excluding Printing, <i>etc.</i>)				30	2	8
			„ Evening Meetings				2	10	0
1	1	0	„ Subscription returned				10	6	0
			„ Bank Cheques.....				5	2	0
10	0	0	„ <i>Essex Review</i>				12	0	0
			„ Sundries				1	1	9
5	0	0	„ <i>Essex "Feet of Fines"</i>						
3	0	6	„ Expenses <i>re</i> Transfer of Securities						
5	0	0	„ F. Chancellor, Memorial Fund						
			„ Balance—						
145	8	9	At Bank	261	12	8			
2	6	6	In Hand	9	4	11			
							270	17	7
388	5	2					£459	0	11

31ST DECEMBER, 1919.

1918.			Assets.				Market Value.			
£	s.	d.		Cost.	£	s.	31st Dec., 1919.	£	s.	d.
			By Investments—							
			£219 15s. 5d. India 3 per cent.							
131	17	3	Stock	192	13	7	109	17	9	0
			£177 1s. 0d. Metropolitan 3½ per cent. Stock	176	17	6	141	12	10	0
154	0	8	£52 12s. 7d. 5 per cent. War Stock							
49	14	8	1929/47	50	0	0	47	18	4	0
				419	11	1	299	8	11	0
147	15	3	By Cash at Bank and in hand				270	17	7	0
			„ Library, Collection of Antiquities, Museum, Stock of Publications (not valued)							
483	7	10					£570	6	6	0

CHRIS. W. PARKER, *Treasurer.*

Books, Bankers' Pass Book and Vouchers and certify it to be correct in Bank of England.

JOHN AVERY, F.C.A., *Honorary Auditor.*
(MIALl, WILKINS, AVERY & Co.)

THE BRITISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.

SEVENTY-SIXTH ANNUAL CONGRESS AT
COLCHESTER, 23rd—26th JULY, 1919.

A large and distinguished company of members and friends, under the presidency of Charles E. Keyser, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., were welcomed by the Deputy-Mayor, Councillor A. M. Jarmin, F.R.Hist.S., and Alderman W. Gurney Benham, on behalf of the town, and by the Rev. T. H. Curling, M.A., on behalf of the Essex Archæological Society.

The first day's proceedings consisted of a walk round Colchester, under the guidance of the above-named gentlemen, assisted by Dr. P. G. Laver, F.S.A. The points of interest visited included Holy Trinity church, where the Rev. E. R. Monck-Mason, M.A., gave an address, and C. E. Benham, Esq., gave a sketch of the life and works of Dr. Wm. Gilbert; The "Schere Postern," St. Botolph's priory, where the vicar, the Rev. W. E. Spencer, M.A., described the points of interest; and St. John's abbey, where a paper was contributed by G. Rickword, Esq., F.R.Hist.S. St. Giles' church was also visited and the vicar, the Rev. John Evans, M.A., and W. A. Cater, Esq., F.S.A., contributed notes on its history. After tea at the Tudor inn, the "Marquis of Granby," and a short address on its history by Mr. Rickword, Dr. Laver took the party along the western face of the Roman wall and gave an address on the Balcerne Gate with its towers and guardroom, both still well preserved.

An official reception by the Mayor, Councillor G. F. Wright, opened the evening proceedings, at the close of which the presidential address by C. E. Keyser, Esq., and an address by the Rt. Rev. Bishop Thos. Stevens, D.D., F.S.A., on the Roman occupation of Colchester, brought a very full first day to a close. The members, and visitors were hospitably entertained by the Mayor and Mayoress during the evening.

On the morning of the second day, by invitation of Alderman Marriage, the "Siege House" at East Mills was visited, some episodes of the siege of 1648, in which it figured, being described by Mr. A. M. Jarmin and Alderman Marriage. Ardleigh and Dedham churches were then visited, under the guidance of the Rev. Canon Rendall, LL.D., Litt.D., and the Rev. F. G. Given-Wilson, M.A.

In the afternoon the members were entertained to tea in the Castle Library by the Chairman and Deputy-Chairman of the Museum Committee, Alderman W. G. Benham and Councillor A. M. Jarmin, after which these gentlemen, assisted by Dr. Laver, gave short addresses on the interesting features of the Castle and Museum, and conducted the visitors round the building, the reserved portions of which had been kindly placed at their disposal by Capt. Charles James Round, the owner.

In the evening the company assembled in the Moot Hall to listen to a lecture by Alderman Benham on "The Legend of King Coel and Helena," illustrated by lantern slides. The Borough regalia and many town records were examined with great interest.

On the third day the Rev. T. H. Curling, the Hon. Secretary of the Essex Archæological Society, conducted the party during a long excursion by motors. Earls Colne priory was first visited by kind invitation of Mrs. Heyworth, after which Halstead church, Little Maplestead church, and Hedingham castle, by kind invitation of Mrs. Majendie, were each in turn objects of interesting study.

Bishop E. N. Powell, D.D., of St. Nicholas, Hedingham, welcomed the Congress to that interesting church, and after lunch a move was made for Sudbury, where the churches of St. Gregory and St. Peter were visited, under the guidance of Canon J. J. Jones, M.A., B.D. Long Melford was the final objective and the Rev. F. T. Bamber, M.A., received the company at the entrance to Holy Trinity church and described its notable features. Sir Wm. Hyde Parker welcomed the members at Long Melford Hall, and F. Starkie Bence, Esq., at Kentwell Hall.

In the evening Councilor A. M. Jarmin, F.R.Hist.S., told "The Story of the Siege of 1648" in the Moot Hall, illustrating his remarks by the aid of a fine series of lantern slides, kindly lent by Mrs. Ernest N. Mason, being a selection from the series of engravings and early prints with which it is proposed to illustrate the "Colchester Historical Record."

On the fourth day, under the guidance of the Rev. E. R. Ruck-Keene, M.A., a motor trip was taken to Copford, where the frescoes at the church were visited. Layer Marney Tower was next inspected, and F. Wykeham Chancellor, Esq., M.A., F.R.I.B.A., gave a

description of the edifice and also of Layer Marney church, where the rector, the Rev. M. Serjeant, welcomed the company.

It should be mentioned that during the whole of the proceedings the company were greatly indebted to P. M. Johnston, Esq., F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A., for much learned and interesting contributions to the ecclesiastical studies of the Congress.

The concluding luncheon at the Old Red Lion at Colchester brought the proceedings to a close. The President and Francis Weston, Esq., F.S.A., voiced the thanks of the Association in felicitous terms, and "one of the most successful Congresses in the long history of the Association" came to an end.



Photo by G. C. Druce, F.S.A.

THE TIGER AND THE MIRROR.
Bench-end at Wendens Ambo.

A BENCH-END IN WENDENS AMBO CHURCH.

BY THE REV. G. MONTAGU BENTON, M.A.

(*Read at the Society's Quarterly Meeting and Excursion,
27th May, 1920.*)

ON the north side of the nave of Wendens Ambo church are seven square-headed benches of the late fifteenth century, with moulded rails and buttressed ends. On the opposite side is a bench-front of the same date, the south corner-post of which is surmounted by a savage-looking animal pawing a circular object, all being carved out of the solid. A drawing of the carving, exhibited by Mr. F. W. Fairholt in 1847, is reproduced in the *Journal of the British Archaeol. Association*, vol. iii., p. 245; and an etching by R[ichard] W[indle], dated 2nd August, 1852, appears in *The Publications of the Antiquarian Etching Club*, vol. iv., pl. 29. The beast, which has a mane extending along its back, has for long been a puzzle to antiquaries: when Mr. Fairholt brought it before the notice of the Arch. Assocn. it was thought 'to represent a hyena grinning at its features in a looking-glass'; other ecclesiologists have considered that it resembled a hippopotamus, or a bear, with one paw on a plate. Certainly it would be impossible to guess, from a mere inspection, that it was intended to represent a tiger pawing a mirror; and it is only recently that the true significance of the carving has been determined. I am indebted to my friend, Mr. G. C. Druce, F.S.A., for calling my attention to the subject, and for pointing out that we have here a partial rendering of the tiger and mirror legend.

This story is found in the Mediæval Bestiaries, or Book of Beasts, an important group of MSS. which had a great vogue throughout the Middle Ages. Frequently illustrated, the Bestiary formed a sort of religious natural history book, in which the nature and habits of animals and birds were described—quotations, more or less apt, from the Bible being introduced—for the purpose of teaching religious or moral lessons. Much of the matter was derived from the works of the early Biblical commentators, and S. Gregory the Great, in his *Moralia*, or commentary on the Book of Job (Bk. v., ch. 20, 22),

gives a long and somewhat tedious dissertation on the tiger, with a symbolic interpretation. He, however, makes no reference to the story, the main features of which may be traced back to Pliny's *Natural History* (Bk. viii., ch. 25).

Mr. Druce, to whom I am indebted for the excellent photograph reproduced (plate), has kindly supplied me with translations of passages from two early Bestiaries, which explain the subject of the carving. The first is from an English Latin Bestiary of the thirteenth century in the British Museum (*Add. MS.* 11283) (fig. 1), and runs thus:

The tigress is so called on account of its rapid flight; for this is the word which the Persians, Greeks, and Medes use for 'arrow.' Now it is a beast adorned with numerous spots and wonderful for its courage and swiftness. (The text of the MS., as will be seen in the illustration, has *Variis distincta mirabilis virtute et velocitate miraclis*; this is a copyist's error—it should read as in *Harley MS.* 4751: *Variis distincta maculis virtute et velocitate mirabilis*.) And from its name the river Tigris is called, as that is the most rapid of all rivers. These (beasts) Hircania especially produces. The tigress, indeed, when it finds its lair empty and its offspring carried off, at once follows on the track of the robber, who, though riding on ever so swift a horse, when he sees that he is being outstripped by the swiftness of the beast and that no possible means of evading it are at hand, has recourse to a cunning artifice, as follows: When he sees it close to him, he throws down a mirror. The tigress is deceived by her own reflection, and believes it to be her offspring. She checks her flight, desiring to recover her cub. Once more relaxing her useless gaze she bounds forward to catch the horseman with all her strength, and under the stimulus of anger rapidly overtakes the fugitive. Again by throwing down another mirror he retards her pursuit, and yet the memory of the fraud does not drown the instinct of the mother. She paws her own empty reflection, and crouches down as if to suckle her cub. Thus misled by her zealous maternal care she loses both her offspring and her revenge.

The different MS. Bestiaries vary considerably both in text and illustration, and the symbolism, or moral, of the story is scarcely indicated in the Latin version just quoted. It is, however, fully developed in an early fourteenth century French (Picardy) Bestiary in the Arsenal Library, Paris (*MS.* 3516), from which the following extract is taken:

Take care you are not like the tiger. And Amos the prophet proclaims that the world is an image of the forest in which the tigers congregate, and adjures us to keep watch attentively over our cub, that is, over our soul. For the hunters (*i.e.*, the devil) lie in wait for us and spy us out. They always have mirrors ready, if they see a chance to be able to seize our cub. The mirrors are the abundant feasts, the great pleasures of the world that we desire: fine clothes, horses, beautiful women, and all the other objects of sin. It is thus that the hunters produce an image in the mirror that they throw before man. It is why every man should consecrate himself to the service of his Creator, for then no enemy would have any power over the soul of man, that is to say, over the cub which he covets.

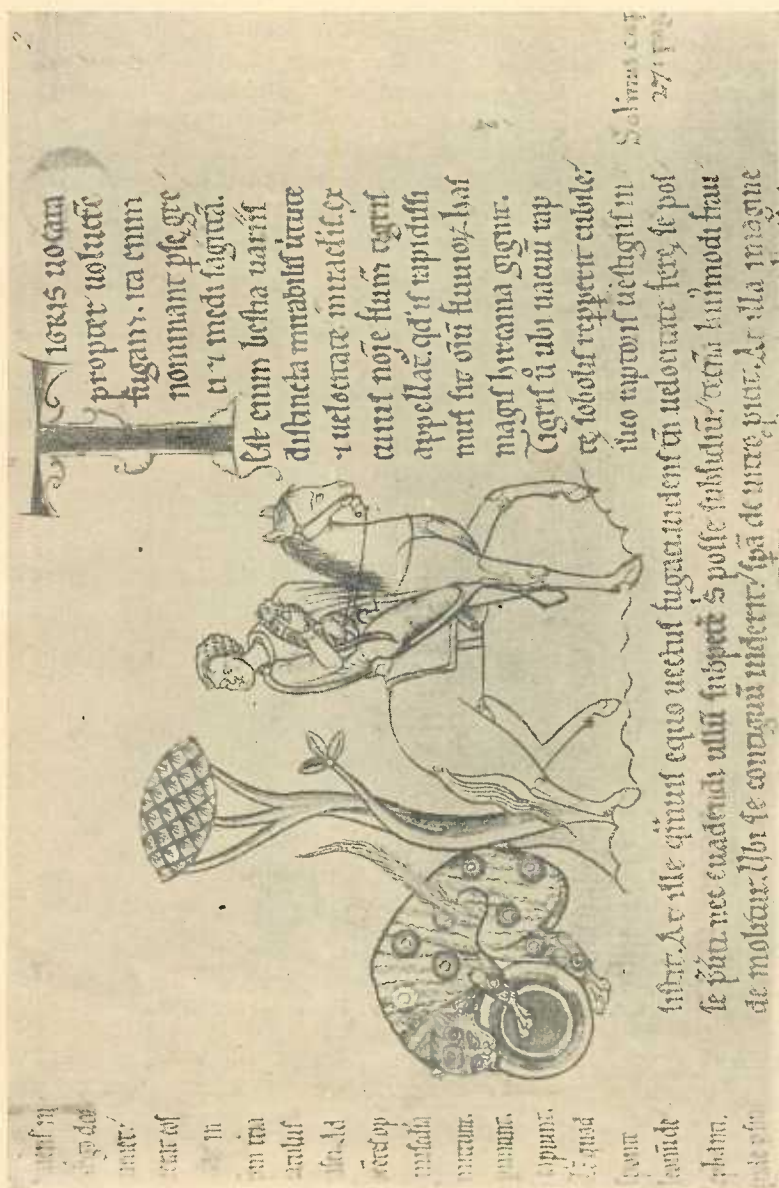


FIG. 1.—TIGER AND MIRROR. Add MS. 11283, BRITISH MUSEUM.

These quotations not only speak for themselves, but also illustrate the ingenuity shown by the writers of the Bestiaries in extracting a moral from the characteristics of the animals they described. And since these books were well-known and widely read, they serve to explain, as in the present instance, many mediæval animal forms in both sculpture and heraldry.¹ The tiger at Wenden, which is a male tiger, and not a tigress, has but three toes, a feature met with frequently in the pictures which illustrate the Bestiaries. It will also be noticed that only part of the subject—the tiger and the mirror—is represented here, the hunter being omitted; on the north end of the same bench, however, there were in 1847 traces, since obliterated, of another figure which may possibly have been that of the horseman.

The 'tiger and mirror,' like many devices that can be traced to the Bestiaries, possessed also a heraldic significance. The Sybill



FIG. 2.—TIGER AND MIRROR ON BRASS AT MUGGINTON.

family bore it upon their coat of arms,² and it also formed the crest of the Kniveton family, being represented on their brass in Mugginton church, Derbs. (fig. 2). It is difficult to say whether the source of

¹ See Mr. Druce's recent paper 'The Mediæval Bestiaries, and their influence on Ecclesiastical Decorative Art' (*Journ. Brit. Archaeol. Assocn.*, Dec. 1919, vol. xxv., p. 41).

² See 'The Sybill Arms at Little Mote, Eynsford.' By G. C. Druce (*Archæol. Cantiana*, vo xxviii., p. 363).

the carving at Wenden was religious or heraldic; certainly its primary purpose was undoubtedly decorative.

Only one other carving of the subject is, at present, known to exist in an English church. A representation of the complete story is shown upon a misericord of the late fourteenth, or early fifteenth,

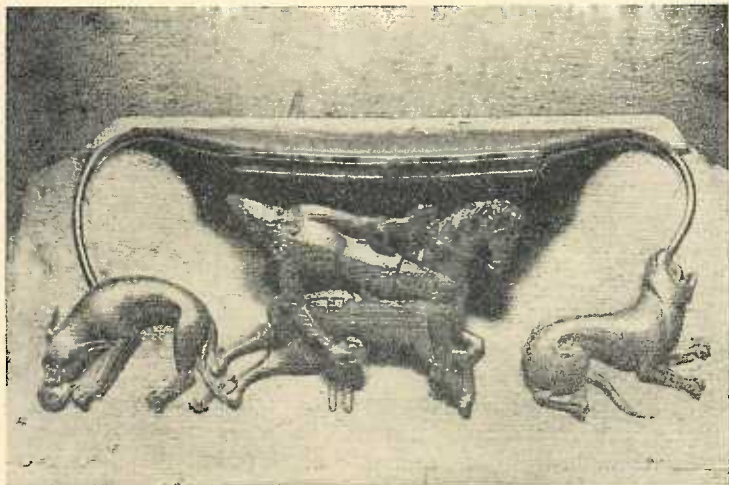


FIG. 3.—TIGER AND MIRROR, CHESTER CATHEDRAL.

century in Chester cathedral (fig. 3): the hunter is in armour, and carries a tiger-cub in his left hand, while with the right he is about to drop a mirror; in this case there are, owing to the claims of symmetry, two tigers—dog-like creatures,—one with a mirror in its mouth.

Three of the illustrations in this paper are printed from blocks kindly lent by the Council of the Kent Archæological Society.

RAYNE AND ITS CHURCH.

BY J. H. ROUND., M.A., LL.D.

THE announcement that in August (1919) the Bishop of Chelmsford had dedicated, in Rayne church, new oak choir stalls, presented by the rector and his wife

to the memory of John (*sic*) de Wells and Henry (*sic*) de Reynes, who founded and endowed Rayne church in 1199,¹

raises afresh—for me at least—two problems.

The first of these is:—What has become of the documentary evidence concerning the foundation and endowment of Rayne church?

The second is:—Did the baronial family, whose name was latinised as *de Ramis*, derive its name, as Morant asserts, from Rayne, or was their lordship of the manor of Old Hall therein a mere, if strange, coincidence?

It is, of course, well established that the 'Raines' of Domesday comprised both Rayne and Braintree, though 'thirty acres' in 'Branchetreu' are entered among 'Invasiones.'² Morant rightly asserts that in Braintree "the bishop's manor" (4 hides and 30 acres) was "by far the largest" (vol. ii., p. 395) and alleges that in "the time of King John or the beginning of the reign of Henry III."³ Braintree "was made a distinct parish from Raine" (vol. ii., p. 394). He proceeds thus:—

One Robert de Welles, lord of the manor of Welles, now Raine Hall, founded the church; and with one Harvey (*sic*) de Raines endowed it with house and glebe.

For this he cites as his authority "a deed formerly in possession of James Fillol, of Old Hall, Esq." His statement here certainly seems to apply to Braintree church; but, further on (p. 404), under Rayne, we discover that Rayne church is meant. Moreover, he

¹ *Essex Review*, vol. xxviii., p. 181.

² See Morant's *Essex* (1768), vol. ii., pp. 394, 397, 400; *Vict. Hist. of Essex*, vol. i. The two parishes now cover nearly 4,000 acres, of which more than 2,200 are in Braintree.

³ Henry succeeded his father John in 1216.

there assigns to its foundation a somewhat earlier date. What he there asserts is that

The church was founded about the reigns of K. Henry II. and Richard I. [1154-1199], not long after the division of the two parishes, by Robert (*sic*) de Welles, lord of the manor of Rayne Hall, to which manor the patronage of this rectory has been immemorially annexed.

This is a clear and definite statement, though no authority is vouched for it. It is, however, a fact that the advowson belonged to the lords of the manor of Rayne Hall,¹ so far back as we can trace it, and this constitutes an obvious presumption that one of the lords of that manor had been the 'founder' of the church.

The early history of the manor was not known to Morant; for he vaguely writes that "some time after" 1086 (the date of Domesday) this lordship became vested in the family of Welles, of which Robert de Welles lived in the reigns of Henry II., Richard I., and King John (vol. ii., p. 401). I was able, however, to print in our *Transactions*² the actual text of the charter by which the manor of 'Reines' was given in fee, by Henry II., to Gervase de Welles, and which I there dated as about the close of 1174. It was to be held of the Crown as one knight's fee. This charter was produced in court in a plea of 6 Ric. I. (1194-5), when Robert de Welles was impleaded³ by Henry de 'Ramesi' for a knight's fee in 'Ramesi.' Robert claimed that Henry II. had given the land to his father Gervase de Welles by this charter.⁴ This supplies the evidence that Gervase was succeeded by Robert.

The other manor in Rayne was that of Old Hall, lying in the north of the parish, which was held as early as the Domesday Survey (1086) by the family of *de Ramis*, of whom I shall speak below. In Mr. Minet's valuable paper on "The Capells at Rayne,"⁵ there are given views of the church tower and of Rayne Hall (in 1905), and an appendix of Rayne deeds mentions both manors. Rayne Hall, which the Capells purchased in 1486, was styled "the manor of Litill Reigne," or "Wellys Reyne." The title-deeds of

¹ The church adjoins the Hall in normal Essex fashion. They are both close to the southern border of the parish, here formed by the Stane street.

² Vol. v. [N.S.], p. 246 (now Add. MS. 15,577).

³ *Placitorum Abbreviatio*, p. 2.

⁴ "Dominus Rex Henricus pater Domini Regis dedit Gervasio de Welles patri suo terram illam que est de constabularia sua, et inde protulit cartam Regis que hoc idem testatur" (*Ibid.*). As this knight's fee was obviously at Rayne, we must boldly emendate 'Ramesi' and read 'Raines.'

⁵ *E.A.T.*, vol. ix., pp. 243-274.

the other manor carry back its history to 1425, when it was styled the "manor of Old Hall in the village (*sic*) of Parva Reyne."¹

The statements as to the church which I am discussing are of more than local interest, for we are notoriously short of direct documentary evidence on the foundation and endowment of our ancient parish churches. It is, therefore, well worth while trying to disentangle the confusion and contradiction in which Morant has left them. He speaks, it appears to me, of only *one* deed, a deed which he thus describes :

Robert de Welles and Harvey (*sic*) de Reynes endowed this church with manse and glebe in 1199, as appears from the original deed still extant. The glebe is about 20 acres. (Vol. ii., p. 405b.)

There is nothing here, it will be seen, about founding the church, and, indeed, Morant, in the previous column, had assigned this founding to Robert de Welles alone. This, I think, was nothing but a guess, though possibly a right one, on his part, for he cites no authority. Whether he had seen the original deed is, I think, doubtful, for it was not till 1768 that his work was published, and these Fillols had sold their Rayne property in 1720. Of its subsequent whereabouts he says nothing.

Mr. George Rickword, of our Society, has kindly examined for me the Holman MSS. at Colchester, but tells me that these throw no light on the matter. I had hoped that they might contain a transcript of this deed.

On one point, however, I have found, in another quarter, a notable confirmation of Morant's statement. The *Red Book of the Exchequer* contains three versions (pp. 613-4, 706-7, 717-8)² of a list which gives the names of those who held knight's fees of "the constablership" (*constabularia, de constabularia*), that is to say, of the constablership of Dover castle. These held, between them, some fifty-six fees. They owed the service of castle-ward, and were formed, for the purpose of performing it, into thirteen groups, each of which has to discharge one month's service.³ Several Essex manors can be recognised in this list—such as Kelvedon, Latchingdon, Marks-

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 263. In *Feudal Aids* (vol. ii., p. 141) the former is entered in 1303 as one knight's fee of the Honour of 'Hawely,' and the other as a quarter fee held by Thomas Baynard.

² The official editor, Mr. Hubert Hall, asserts in a footnote (p. 613) that they are merely "similar lists"; but they are three versions of the same list, except that the three groups of fees with which the list closes on p. 707 are those with which it opens on pp. 613, 717. He also dates the first as "1211-1212," the second as "1261-2" (as stated in the MS.), and the third as "[1261-1262]." As the lists are all the same, the original date must have been the same also.

³ *Red Book*, pp. 706-7. The service was commuted, at an early date, for ten shillings from each fee.

hall,¹ etc.—and one group contains John de Jarponville's two fees (in Totham), one fee in Downham² (*Dunham*), and one held by Gervase de Welles (which was in Rayne).³ Now, when Henry II. gave the manor of Rayne to a Gervase de Welles, it is described as “de constabularia.” Its connexion with Dover castle, which Morant cited from the Inquisitions on the manor, is thus explained.

But the special value of this list consists of its mention of “Hervicus de Reynes” (or “Renes”)⁴ as holding one of the knight's fees, just as the Welles family held another. We saw, at the outset, that Morant gave the names of the two men who endowed Rayne church as “Robert de Welles and Harvey de Reynes,” while the names of those to whose memory the new choir stalls—according to the *Essex Review*—are dedicated are “John de Wells and Henry de Reynes. I had no hope that it would be possible to identify the latter man, but this has here been done. Morant, therefore, is shown to be right and the alleged ‘Henry,’ apparently, is *persona ficta*.

As to the holding of the Welles family, it is true that the list I have been discussing gives the name of the then holder, not as ‘Robert,’ but as ‘Gervase’ de Welles; but another list contains the very definite statement that Robert de Wells is the holder of one fee in ‘Renes.’⁵ The alleged John de Welles is, apparently, not to be found. Our *Essex fines* (vol. i., p. 122) prove the existence of a second Gervase de Welles, living about sixty years after the one who obtained the manor; for in 1239 his widow Mabel brought a suit for dower, namely, one third of his holding “in Little Reynes.”

An interesting addition to our knowledge is made by a document which came to light not long ago. This is a return⁶ made, early in 1267, to an inquisition concerning Robert de Welles.

Robert de Welles held of the king in chief 10 librates of land⁷ in Little Reines by service of one knight's fee. The said land with the advowson of the church is an escheat, for Robert was a robber and a thief (*depredator et latro*) and was condemned for larceny in the court of Sir John de Burgo and beheaded.

¹ Compare *Essex Fines*, vol. i., p. 134, where Thomas de Plumberg grants to Herbert, son of Roger de Merkeshale, in 1239, land in Markshall, to be held by a yearly rent “and service to the ward of the castle of Dover.”

² It is identified by the editor as in “co. Kent,” but was our Essex Downham.

³ See p. 273 above. It appears on p. 707 of the *Red Book* as “Welles,” which became its alternative name. Mr. Hall identifies it there as Eastwell (Kent).

⁴ *Red Book*, pp. 706, 718. He evidently took his name from Rayne, so that we thus get its contemporary form.

⁵ “Robertus de Welles j feodum in Renes in Essexa” (*Red Book*, p. 742). Here again we have evidence of the contemporary form of the name.

⁶ *Calendar of Inq.: Miscellaneous*, vol. i. (1916), No. 590.

⁷ i.e. land worth 10l. a year.

As "Little Reines" is not identified as (Little) Rayne in the index, this important entry might easily be overlooked. It refers to the advowson of the church as well as to Rayne Hall, and its mention of beheading, as the fate of this small tenant-in-chief, deserves notice. So does "the court of Sir John de Burgo," for this must have been the court of the Honour of Haughley (Hagenet¹), when it was in John's hands.

The decapitated Robert had—when he was 21½—succeeded his father Thomas in 1259. This Thomas had held the manor and advowson of 'Little Reynes,' as one knight's fee, of the 'honour of Hageleye.'

My second point in this paper is that the surname latinised as *de Ramis* was not derived from Rayne, as Morant insists, but was entirely distinct. Our county's historian took upon himself to assume that *Ramis* was a mere error for Raines³ and altered the name accordingly. Under Rayne (vol. ii., p. 400) he wrote, of the Domesday holder "Roger de Raines, or, as corruptly written, *de Ramis*" "Undoubtedly this *Roger* took the surname of *Raines* or *Ramis* from this parish" (p. 403).

The unscrupulous way in which Morant took upon himself to alter surnames is probably little, if at all, known. For instance, when he had to deal with the surname of 'Noyl' (which form is quite correct), he coolly changed it into Nevill, without even deigning to give any reason for doing so!⁴ Under *Messing* (vol. ii., p. 175) he similarly wrote of "Roger de *Ramis* (called afterwards Raine)." He appears, however, to have been correct in asserting that "the manor of Old Hall in Little Rayne was the head" (vol. ii., pp. 175, 403) of the family 'barony,' or 'Honour,' and the mention of a 'park' there in the Pipe Roll of 1130 implies, as I consider, the family's residence. Even so far back as 1892, I devoted, in my *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, an Appendix to "Roger 'de Ramis'" (pp. 399-404) and his fief, in which I spoke of the "inevitable confusion" between his name and that of Rayne, and wrote that his surname was taken, "I presume, from the castle of Rames, adjoining the

¹ It is identical with "the court of Hageneth," which occurs on p. 182 of *Cal. of Patent Rolls* 1232-37.

² *Cal. of Inq.*, Henry III., No. 459.

³ He asserted that "*Ramis* seems to have been occasioned by mistaking *in* for *m*" (p. 403 note).

⁴ See my paper on "The descent of West Horndon" (*E.A.T.*, vol. xiii., p. 312).

forest of Lillebonne" (p. 181).¹ Again, in our Society's *Transactions*,² a few years later, I repeated emphatically this correction of Morant. Finally I rejected it anew in the *Victoria History*³ of Essex (1903); for all the further evidence published, such as that in our *Essex Fines* and in the *Red Book of the Exchequer*, confirmed my assertions on the point.

I will now sum up the results of this enquiry. Rayne appears in early records as 'Raines,' 'Reines,' 'Reynes,' etc. The manor of Rayne Hall therein was held so long by the Welles family that it became known alternatively as 'Welles,' or 'Welles Rayne.' The other manor came to be known as 'Old Hall,' and was held as its *caput baroniæ* by the family of Rames (latinised as *de Ramis*).

Among the deeds printed by Mr. Minet, in his paper on 'The Capells at Rayne,' is the marriage settlement of Giles Capell (the son of the founder of the family) in 1512.⁴ Some of the manors there settled are those of "Porters Crekers *alias* Creykers and Humfreveyles in Stebbyng in co. Essex." It may be of use to note that many deeds, rolls and records relating to these manors have now come to light among the muniments of the Earl of Essex and have been dealt with in a report of the Historical MSS. Commission (1914).⁵ With them are extremely fine seals of William Porter, Robert de Crevequer, and Sir Ingram de Umfranville, whose names the above manors preserve. The small manor of 'Oxenheyes'⁶ took its name from a family of Oxenhey,⁷ which was holding there in 1303 and 1346.⁸

An interesting addition to Mr. Minet's paper (pp. 243, 246) will be found in *Banners, Standards, Badges* (p. 205).⁹ He quotes from the will of Margaret Capel (widow of William, the family's founder), in 1522, her bequest to Gyles, their son and heir, of "a bed of crimson satin embroidered with his father's . . . anchors and his word in the valance," and mentions the occurrence of the 'anchor' badge on the tower of the church and in the wood carving in the hall. For the above work gives an illustration of the standard of 'Syr Gyles Capell de Stebbyng,' on which is an anchor, gules and or, and 'pour entre tenir' as the 'word.'

¹ It is shown on the map prefixed to Stapleton's *Rot. Scacc. Norm.*, and reproduced in Prof. Powicke's *Loss of Normandy*.

² Vol. v. (N.S.), p. 246.

⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 247-8, 263-4.

³ Vol. i., p. 349.

⁷ *Ibid.* pp. 268, 271.

⁴ *E.A.T.*, vol. ix., p. 262.

⁸ *Feudal Aids*, vol. ii., pp. 142, 165.

⁵ *Various Collections*, vol. vii.

⁹ Howard de Walden library (1904).

A BURIAL OF THE EARLY BRONZE AGE DISCOVERED AT BERDEN.

BY GUY MAYNARD, F.R.A.I., AND G. MONTAGU BENTON, M.A.

With an Appendix on 'Some Beakers of the Early Bronze Age in the Corporation Museum, Colchester,' by A. G. WRIGHT, Curator; together with Notes and Comments by LORD ABERCROMBY, LL.D., F.S.A.Scot.

IN 1907, workmen excavating for the foundations of the new Wesleyan chapel adjoining the Clavering road, Berden—a remote parish on the north-west border of Essex, nine miles from Saffron Walden—uncovered a human skeleton, accompanied by an earthenware beaker of rich decoration, and by a metal armlet or bangle. The drinking vessel was, unfortunately, broken on discovery, and the bones were soon afterwards scattered; the armlet was sold within a few hours to the late Mr. S. Sibley, the Berden blacksmith, by one of the two men present when the discovery was made. A few days later the Rev. H. K. Hudson, M.A., vicar of Berden, heard of the find and visited the site, where he picked up some of the fragments of the beaker from the earth thrown up by the diggers; subsequently he saw Mr. Sibley, who produced the armlet, but refused to part with it.

It was not until 1918 that the fragments of the beaker were brought to our notice, when Mr. Hudson kindly acceded to our request and presented them to the Saffron Walden Museum, together with such data as were known to him.

The alleged association of a metal armlet with a beaker-burial of the early Bronze Age—an occurrence hitherto unknown in Britain, so far as the early type of beaker is concerned—encouraged us to make every endeavour to obtain reliable first-hand evidence from the persons connected with the discovery. Enquiries at Berden led to our obtaining the names of the three men engaged on the excavation of 1907; but it was found that one had left the village for Tottenham, while the other two were absent on military service. It was also ascertained that before his death Mr. S. Sibley had disposed of the armlet to a dealer. His son, Mr. G. Sibley, who kindly furnished us with these details and forwarded, in every possible way, our investigations, produced the greater portion of a left pelvic, or hip, bone which, he said, had been preserved with the

metal ring as part of the skeleton found in the chapel excavations. The dealer who purchased the armlet was found and interviewed, and, although there is no doubt that it passed through his hands, he could give no clue as to its present whereabouts, nor could he say more than that it was 'a ring.' One of the writers saw a coppery-looking ring, which might have been a plain annular armlet, in the dealer's possession about the year 1910, but no information was proffered save that it had been dug up some miles from Saffron Walden. The ring had been cleaned, which agrees with Mr. Hudson's description of it.

Owing to the length of time which had elapsed, and to the hazards of active service in which those concerned were taking part, it seemed at this point very improbable that any direct personal statement would be obtained; however, in the early summer of 1919, we were able to interview William White of Stocking Pelham (a Hertfordshire village adjoining Berden), who had returned severely wounded after service in the East and in France. Before interrogating him, independent statements were obtained from George Knight of Tottenham, who was present at, but did not actually make, the discovery; and from George Mynott of the Folly, Berden, who, it was proved, had joined the other two after the find was made. In answer to our guarded question that we had heard that something made of metal was found during the work at the chapel in 1907, all three men stated independently that the only metal object then dug up was a ring or bracelet, which they described as of dark metal, and as being found on the arm of the skeleton, thus confirming the account first given by Mr. Hudson of the reports made to him eleven years before. After carefully questioning White, who appears an intelligent and trustworthy witness, we place confidence in the following statement made by him. He says:—

We were excavating a trench for the wall-footings just under where is now the main door of the chapel, and I made the discovery by driving the pick into the skull. The skeleton was about eighteen inches below the surface, and appeared to be lying at full length on the back; all the bones seemed to be present. Near the wrist of the left arm was a ring of dark metal, and the two bones of the arm were stained green where they passed through it. Knight, who was working with the shovel close to me, picked up the ring and sold it afterwards to Mr. Sibley. The earthenware pot was dug out with the bones, and as far as I can remember it seemed to have been on the left side of the skeleton, rather towards the feet. I am certain that the pot was not found away from the skeleton—it came out with the bones.¹ We found the skeleton before

¹ Mr. Hudson states that he understood at the time of the discovery that the beaker was found with the skeleton, which corroborates White's account.

breakfast, after which we discovered that someone had been to the place and scattered the bones during our absence; the skull had disappeared, and we never heard what became of it. After a time we buried the remaining bones in one of the wall trenches.

It is extremely fortunate in the interests of archæology that, after so many dangers and wanderings, the chief participant in the discovery should have been spared to return and enable the foregoing statement to be placed on record.

SITE AND METHOD OF INTERMENT.

A careful examination of the burial-place does not enable us to say that any trace of a barrow exists. The site is near, but not quite upon, the crest of a slight elevation formed by the side of the valley of the stream passing through Berden; and the subsoil is gravel. The piece of ground out of which the chapel site is enclosed adjoins the Clavering road. A few yards from the chapel, and running parallel with the road, is a rectangular area raised about two feet above the general level; but this appears to be the trace of a smaller enclosure, probably a cottage garden, now thrown into the larger area. It is therefore possible that the interment belongs to the very small series of beaker-burials without barrows or mounds, which have been found in Kent and East Anglia. These were, it is believed, in all cases isolated burials, as no flat cemeteries containing a number of interments of the beaker period are as yet known in these islands. Had a burial mound been present,¹ it would probably have exceeded twenty feet in diameter, and may have reached one hundred, with a height ranging from one to fourteen feet. We are informed by Mr. Hudson that the present building was erected on the site of an earlier chapel of timber and plaster, dating probably from the eighteenth century; so that had a barrow of small dimensions originally existed, it may have been obliterated when this former chapel was built.

The shallow grave was excavated in the gravel on which the bones lay; but William White particularly recalls that they were covered with dark earth, with which the grave had probably been filled. The hip bone still bears traces of a light sandy soil, and of a darker material, probably old surface earth. It may be said here that the depth of the burial as given by the witnesses—eighteen inches—corresponds very well with the average of the shallow oval graves of the period in the south of England, if a small amount of surface levelling is allowed for.

¹ And Lord Abercromby, as will be seen, inclines to this view.

HIP BONE.

Dr. W. L. H. Duckworth, University Lecturer in Physical Anthropology, Cambridge, has kindly furnished us with the following report :—

I have had some difficulty in arriving at a conclusion as to the sex of the individual. Finally, though I admit the evidence is far from conclusive, I have decided in favour of the female sex, while admitting that the individual must have been strongly built. In particular, the cavity (*acetabulum*) for the head of the thigh bone is larger than is usual in a woman, though the collection here (Cambridge Museum of Human Anatomy) shows that the Berden specimen is not outside the range of variation in this matter.

GRAVE GOODS.

ARMLET.—As before mentioned, the chief interest of the discovery lies in the association of the metal bangle, or armlet, with the beaker. Only one bronze armlet has hitherto been recorded among the grave goods of all the beaker-burials of the Bronze Age in Britain. It was found at Crawford, Lanarkshire, with a beaker of type C, a late example dating approximately, according to Lord Abercromby, some two hundred years after the first arrival of the Brachycephalic beaker-using race in South Britain; whereas the vessel associated with the Berden armlet belongs to the early, type A, group of beakers, of graceful outline and with profuse decoration. The excessive rarity of personal ornaments of copper or bronze of any kind accompanying burials of the early Bronze Age—only one necklace and two ear-rings are recorded in addition to the Crawford find—renders the Berden discovery additionally important.

Descriptions.—Wm. White, the discoverer, who only saw it for a brief period, says :—

It was a narrow ring of flat section, thin, and of a dark green or black colour, and it had, as far as I can remember, two small 'nebs,' or projections, which I thought were some kind of fastening.

Mr. Hudson, who saw it when in the possession of Mr. S. Sibley, says it was a thin flat ring of a metal which he would describe as copper; he thinks it may have been thinner at one part; as it was bright, it had probably been cleaned by the blacksmith or the labourer Knight. The latter, writing from Tottenham, states that it was a bracelet, in shape like a wedding ring, and the metal, he thinks, was not brass, but copper; and, with reference to its small size, adds that it must have been put on when the wearer was a child. Finally, Mr. G. Sibley says that he understood that the ring was of copper.

BEAKER. *Dimensions.*—The fragments of the beaker (fig. 1), when assembled, indicate a vessel $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height, with a base diameter of $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches. The diameter of the globular part of the body was about $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and that of the lip apparently about the same, although, as only a small part of the rim has been preserved, it is impossible to be precise in this detail; but enough of the waist and upper part of the vessel exists to show that the outwardly splayed neck would provide a diameter at least equal to that of the globular body below.

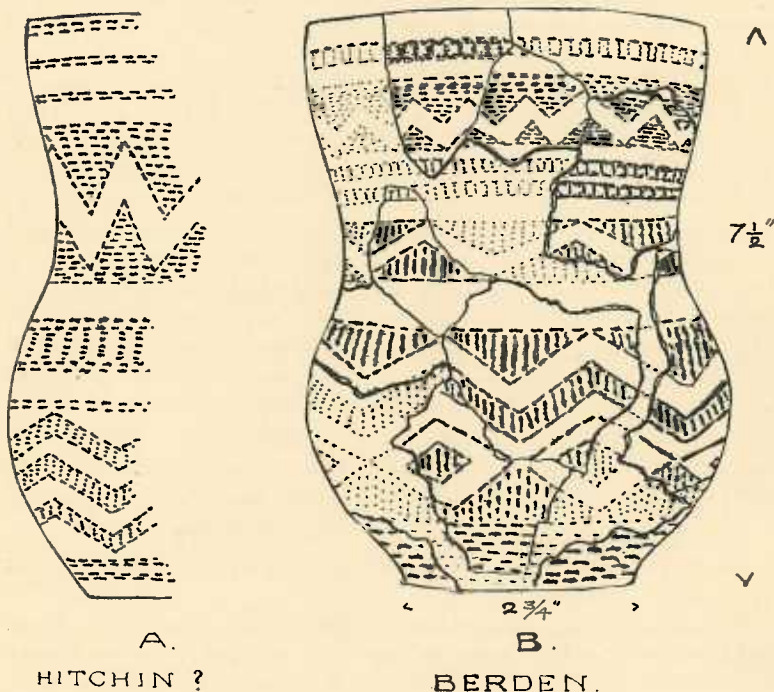


FIG. 1.—BEAKERS OF THE EARLY BRONZE AGE.

Material and Method of Manufacture.—The vessel is composed of a finely prepared and, probably, slightly sandy clay, without any visible admixture of grit or pounded flint. The body-walls are less than three-sixteenths of an inch in thickness, hard in substance and very light. The surface colour is a light buff changing to a pale red in places. The broken edges, however, show a black internal layer due to imperfect firing. The whole is evidently formed by hand without the aid of the potter's wheel.

Type and Age.—The outline and decoration of the vessel agree closely with the type A beaker of Thurnam and Abercromby :—

The high-brimmed cup with globose, nearly globular body, outwardly splayed neck, and having the decoration usually divided by three plain bands or zones,

which Lord Abercromby considers to have originated south of the Thames soon after the arrival of the Brachycephalic race about 2000 B.C. He also considers that the early, type A, beaker degenerated in outline and decoration as the broad-headed invaders made their way northward; and he further shows that it has not been found north of the Tay, where it is replaced by, apparently, later forms. On this assumed association of change of form with geographical distribution, Lord Abercromby has based a time-scale by which he attempts to approximately date the progress of the beaker-using race from south to north. In this scheme Province ii. comprises the territory between the Thames and the Humber, where the duration of the type A beaker is given as from three to ten generations after the first landing on the south coast. Berden is roughly one-third of the distance north of the Thames, and the burial in question, if dated in accordance with this chronology, would thus be placed between 1950 and 1900 B.C. Other views, however, regarding the landing points and inland migrations of the invaders are held by some archæologists, as is subsequently shown by Mr. A. G. Wright, so that unanimity as to the probable date of the burial is impossible.

Decoration.—Divided by a plain central zone into two main groups, the upper of which is sub-divided by lesser zones, the Berden beaker is noteworthy for the occurrence of both the bar-chevron or zig-zag ornament and the lozenge or open diamond-shaped panel on the same vessel; a combination not shown on any of the other Essex beakers, and but rarely found in any form among the whole series of British beakers. The bar-chevron predominates, as will be seen from the illustration, and occurs in the form of plain zig-zag bands outlined and emphasised by enclosing lines and panels of dotted decoration. The design was produced by impressions made by a small square-ended tool or tools, probably the end of a shaped splinter of wood or bone. All the impressions are roughly rectangular, and appear to have been made in succession, as there is nothing to suggest the use of a notched slip of wood or bone to produce series of impressions with one application. The lower half of the beaker is encircled by two zones of plain bar-chevron ornament

outlined by dotted ground-work ; below, and inter-locking with them, is a zone of plain lozenges set with smaller lozenges of dotted work ; from this point, dotted impressions, at first vertical and afterwards horizontal, are continued to the base of the vessel.

The lozenge ornament is a strongly-marked motive in the ornamentation of some early beakers from south of the Thames, on which it covers a considerable part of the decorated surfaces. North of the Thames it gradually loses its predominant place and begins to degenerate ; instead of covering the whole vessel, or occurring in wide zones, it becomes cut up into smaller panels by vertical or zig-zag lines ; and the latter used horizontally as the bar-chevron tends to become the dominant motive, as seen in the Berden example. The Berden beaker, therefore, can be placed in an early, but intermediate, position corresponding, as will be shown, to its geographical situation on the line of cultural and racial advance.

DISTRIBUTION OF BEAKERS IN THE EASTERN COUNTIES.

The relation of the Berden find to the other beaker-burials of Essex and East Anglia must now be briefly considered. The distribution maps of the Bronze Age beaker pottery prepared by Lord Abercromby offer, as he points out, an illuminating commentary on the vegetation and primitive settlement of Britain ; the sites being practically confined to areas, which from geological or climatic conditions, or by reason of surface relief, can be assumed to have been open tracts in an otherwise thickly-forested country. The map of Province ii. (*B.A. Pott.*, vol. i., p. 24) shows that within the eastern counties a well-defined chain of twelve beaker-burials occur along the line of the chalk escarpment of South Cambridgeshire, and the chalk and sandy 'breck' country of West Suffolk and Norfolk. Another line of six beaker finds leads down the valleys opening on Ipswich and Felixstowe ; while three isolated examples occur towards the coastal fringe of East Norfolk and Suffolk. The five Essex beakers are confined to the coastal region, and, in common with the similarly-placed Norfolk and Suffolk examples, are markedly later in outline and decoration compared with the beakers from the anciently open tracts on the west, with which the Berden specimen must be associated. We are indebted to Mr. A. G. Wright, however, for drawing our attention to a sixth, and hitherto unrecorded, beaker of very early form found near the Essex coast, which he describes in the valuable appendix kindly contributed by him.

Lord Abercromby admits that the evidence is not sufficient to prove the direction from which East Anglia was occupied, and it is noteworthy that a gap of fifty miles separates the beaker-burials of South Cambridgeshire from those near Taplow on the Thames. The discovery of the Berden beaker, and of another specimen, now in the British Museum, of similar outline, which it is supposed was found near Hitchin in North Herts., about twenty miles west of Berden, has materially reduced this gap between the Eastern Counties' group of beakers and that of the Thames valley. But as yet no beakers, apparently, have been recorded from south or mid Hertfordshire, or from central Essex; and it seems legitimate to connect this fact with their former densely-forested and and probably impenetrable condition. It therefore appears probable that the Berden beaker was associated with a migration of the Brachycephals along the open scarp-lands overlooking the fens, either from the south-west and the Thames valley, or from the north-east following a landing on the shores of the Wash.

TOPOGRAPHICAL CONSIDERATIONS OF THE SITE.

Berden is situated at the head of the Stort drainage system, close to the Hertfordshire boundary, and although the chalk is exposed on the valley slopes south-east of the village, and begins to increase in area towards Clavering, thereby indicating a small amount of open land in early times, yet the surrounding high ground is covered with boulder clay, and was, presumably, forest-clad in the early Bronze Age and long after.

The continuous open country of the chalk escarpment lies four miles distant across the boulder clay plateau to the north; but the large area of open chalk exposed in the valleys of the Walden basin of the upper Cam, approaches to within two miles on the north-east. The beaker-folk may, therefore, have reached the vicinity of Berden either by direct penetration from the escarpment, or from the open country of the Walden region, where they had spread from the debouchment of the Cam valley into the escarpment below Great Chesterford.

In conclusion, we desire to acknowledge our indebtedness to Lord Abercromby's monograph, *A Study of the Bronze Age Pottery of Great Britain and Ireland* (2 vols., Oxford, 1912); we have also to thank the author of that exhaustive work for kindly reading through our MS., and for contributing the important notes which follow.

Remarks on the foregoing paper, by Lord Abercromby, LL.D., F.S.A.Scot.:—

As restored, the beaker is a remarkably fine one, and a good example of my type A. But the most remarkable incident is finding a copper ring with the interment, for I think the Rev. Mr. Hudson could scarcely have made a mistake on this point, as the colour of copper is so well known. This metal has very rarely been found with interments in this country, though in my *B.A. Pottery*, pl. vi., 19, 21, and probably 24, were associated with tanged knives or daggers of copper (*op. cit.* p. 54). All these are from Wilts., and belong to type B₁, which was contemporary with type A.

I am not aware of any ring of similar type; but Bateman, in *Ten Years' Digging*, p. 167, mentions that on re-opening a large barrow at Castern, near Wetton, he found a bronze armilla. It was made of a flat ribbon of bronze, half an inch broad, with overlapping ends to preserve elasticity, ornamented outside with a neatly-engraved lozenge pattern, and had a span of $2\frac{3}{8}$ inches in diameter. The skeleton found with it appeared to have been placed on its back, but the bones were so imperfect as to render this quite uncertain.

I think the fact that the Berden skeleton lay only at a depth of about eighteen inches rather tends to the belief that at one time the grave lay under a tumulus, though perhaps of low elevation.

The armlet found with a beaker at Crawford (*op. cit.*, pl. xvi. 213) is a ring measuring $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter, and apparently formed of a bar of bronze bent to a circular form and slightly flattened on the inside. The junction of the two ends is imperceptible.

Notes on some Beakers of the Early Bronze Age in the Corporation Museum, Colchester.

BY A. G. WRIGHT, CURATOR.

I HAVE been asked by the authors of the foregoing paper on the Berden beaker to append a few notes on the beakers of the early Bronze Age found in Essex and now preserved in the Corporation Museum at Colchester.

The collection consists of nine beakers, more or less perfect, of which three are without any history or locality and may therefore be dismissed without further remark.

Of the remaining six, only one belongs to that class to which the Berden beaker may be allocated: namely type A of Abercromby's classification of the beakers of the British Isles.

Messrs. Maynard and Benton having fully recapitulated the views of Lord Abercromby on the type and age of this class of beaker, it only remains for me to describe the example in our collection, and attempt to draw from it some conclusions relative to its appearance in Essex.



Photo by Mr. A. G. Wright.

FIG. 2.—THE LANGHAM BEAKER.

(Block kindly lent by Mr. Wright.)

The fragments of this beaker (No. 2019, '10) (fig. 2) were found in a gravel pit near Langham, on the Essex side of the river Stour, about 1910, and were presented to the Museum by Mr. S. Blyth, upon whose farm the pit was situated.

Nothing further is known of the discovery.

The fragments, pieced together and partly restored by me, form a little more than half a vessel which, when perfect, must have been one of the finest and earliest of its class.

It is formed of a thin hard paste with a slight admixture of fine grit, and is of a warm brown colour, with a smooth surface probably produced by polishing with a flat bone or wood tool, or a smooth pebble.

The body is globose and sub-carinate with a high expanding neck slightly curving inwards to the brim. At the junction with the body there is definite constriction, a feature which points to its early origin, which is further borne out by the proportions of neck and body.

Lord Abercromby has divided the series of type A into three phases, and remarks: "In all examples of Phase i. the constriction is nearly at the middle and at first is sharply defined, but afterwards the angle becomes rounded; the body is nearly globular, the neck has an outward splay, and with one exception there are at least three plain bands or zones."

The Langham beaker conforms to this description in every respect, and may therefore rank as the earliest example in the county; the Berden beaker, as pointed out by Messrs. Maynard and Benton, falling into the intermediate phase.

The decoration of this early beaker consists of seven horizontal bands of finely impressed lozenge and lattice work, each between six rows of small rectangular indentations, separated by plain zones. Three of these bands encircle the neck and four the body; an eighth band of five rows of indentations only, covering the junction of the neck with the body. The decoration was most probably made with small tools of bone or wood, as described in the preceding paper.

The measurements of the beaker are as follows: height $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches, of which $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches are given to the neck; diameter of bulge $5\frac{11}{16}$ inches, of mouth 4 inches, and of base $3\frac{5}{8}$ inches.

BEAKERS OF TYPE B.

The remaining five beakers to be described all belong to type B, and with one exception they are of much coarser material and technique. Some of them may be allotted to the sub-class B2, and of these Lord Abercromby remarks: "The forms are so divergent and irregular that nothing can be done with them. . . . It is not impossible that they represent the domestic pottery of East Anglia at a latish period in the history of the beaker."

(1) BEAKER 1824, '09.

The largest of these beakers is composed of fragments pieced together and partly restored to form half the original vessel. They were found in digging for clay or gravel, at Shoebury, a neighbourhood prolific in remains of the Bronze, Early Iron, and Roman periods. It is formed of a coarse ware with a slight admixture of grit, and is of a light tile-red colour. The decoration over the whole surface consists of horizontal rows of "finger-tip" impressions made with a blunt-pointed bone or wood tool. The foot is slightly expanding. The height of the vessel is $9\frac{1}{8}$ inches; diameter of bulge $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches, of mouth 6 inches, of base 4 inches.

(2) BEAKER 1824, '09.

A small vessel found on the same site as the preceding, consisting of slightly expanding base and rather more than half the sides. It is made of thick slightly-gritted ware of a light brown colour. It is decorated on the upper portion with a band of small lozenges between five rows of small rectangular indentations, and on the lower with a band of oblique lines between three rows of rectangular indentations, beneath which is a band of small lozenges. A plain band encircles the centre of the body. The height is $3\frac{1}{8}$ inches; diameter of bulge $3\frac{3}{8}$ inches, of mouth $3\frac{3}{8}$ inches, and of base 2 inches.

(3) BEAKER 2912, '14.

The paste of this little beaker is thin with slight admixture of fine grit, tile-red in colour, burnt in places to a deep brown. The ornamentation is peculiar, consisting of horizontal fringed grooves.

On drawing Lord Abercromby's attention to it, he wrote: "The beaker is ornamented, as you remark, with horizontal grooves and not with a cord. I think the fringes might arise if the grooves were made with a blunt point on clay which was no longer soft and offered some resistance." It was found at West Mersea, and was presented to the Museum by Mr. Ashton Turner.

The height is $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches; diameter of bulge $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches, of mouth 4 inches, of base $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches. It is slightly restored.

(4) BEAKER 104, '92.

This beaker, which is figured by Abercromby (*Bronze Age Pottery*, pl. ix., 85), is of rather thick paste; tile-red in colour with buff exterior. It is decorated with horizontal rows of chevron-like indentations. On taking an impression of these it was at once seen

that they had been produced by making a plait with two coarse cords and impressing the clay while moist.

This vessel was found when digging gravel at Bull Hill, Great Clacton, in 1892. Other vessels were said to have accompanied it, but were destroyed (*Essex Naturalist*, vol. vi., pp. 78, 182).

It was presented to the Museum by Mr. Philip Smith.

The height is $5\frac{5}{8}$ inches; diameter of bulge $4\frac{1}{8}$ inches, of mouth $4\frac{1}{8}$ inches, of base $2\frac{3}{8}$ inches.

(5) BEAKER 350, '97.

This pretty little beaker, also figured by Abercromby (*op. cit.*, pl. x., 87), is made of thin fine clay with light reddish-brown exterior. The foot is slightly expanding, and the decoration consists of lines of fine rectangular indentations, produced apparently by a toothed bone or stick, two bands of which are arranged horizontally. It was found at Fingringhoe, about 1889. The height is $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches; diameter of bulge 4 inches, of mouth $3\frac{1}{8}$ inches, of base 2 inches.

Did the globular bodied Beaker of type A originate in South Britain ?

LORD Abercromby, in his work on the beakers and other fictilia of the Bronze Age in the British Isles, already quoted, infers that the globular bodied beaker of type A originated with later types in South Britain and spread by nomadic invasion northwards. It may be worth while to draw attention to a few facts which seem to point to a different conclusion.

A glance at the map illustrating the distribution of beaker types in Britain, which accompanied his earlier paper in the thirty-eighth volume of the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, shows four areas or groups, each separated from the other by extensive tracts of country in which apparently no beakers have been found.

These areas (omitting the district north of the Tees) are, roughly speaking : (1) Dorset, Wiltshire and Berkshire ; (2) Norfolk, Suffolk and Cambridgeshire ; (3) Derbyshire ; and (4) Yorkshire.

With one exception these areas are situated in close proximity to the sea, which suggests to my mind that more than one invasion by these beaker-using people took place fairly contemporaneously, and

that each group settled in the area in which the remains of their ceramics are found, extending their boundaries by degrees as circumstances dictated.

The Southern group probably landed in the neighbourhood of Christchurch, spreading by way of the Stour and Avon.

The Eastern group making the Wash, would find the Ouse and Lark easy highroads for the penetration of East Anglia, or they may have chosen the modern continental route and worked their way inland by the more sheltered rivers, the Stour and the Orwell.

The Northern occupation was doubtless by way of the Humber ; one party turning south by the Trent, eventually forming the inland colony in Derbyshire.

There was, I have not the least doubt, an important group in the neighbourhood of the Thames estuary. Apart from the two beakers from Shoebury, the Colchester Museum collection includes fragments of others, one of which must have belonged to the earlier globular bodied type, and, as I have before remarked, large quantities of prehistoric potsherds are constantly dug up in the brickfields of the neighbourhood, implying a populous occupation of the district over a long period of time.

On going through the list of beaker finds recorded by Lord Abercromby, I find that no beakers of type A, phase i., have been found in either Hampshire or Dorset, and he himself remarks : "Although the new comers landed on the coast, the earliest beakers which seem to herald their arrival in Britain were found within a couple of miles of Stonehenge," distant over thirty miles from the sea.

Putting aside the doubtful evidence of the fragment from Shoebury, on the Thames estuary, what do we learn from the east coast group in the Colchester Museum? Here we have a finely decorated globular bodied beaker of the earliest type from Langham, less than fifteen miles from the coast and five from the head of the broad estuary of the Essex Stour.

Lord Abercromby also records beakers of this phase at Needham Market, Suffolk, less than twenty miles from the coast and eight from the head of the Orwell estuary ; and at Castle Acre, Norfolk, at a distance of less than twelve miles from the coast. In the Yorkshire group they are found at Garton Slack, about twenty miles distant.

It is, I believe, generally admitted that these "round-head" invaders of Britain came from some district east of the Rhine, crossing over in coracles and dug-outs, frail craft with which to adventure on a rough ocean like the North Sea. Some may

have skirted the coast of Gaul, from some point of which the white cliffs of Britain could easily be seen, luring them on their quest. Crossing on some long, quiet summer day, they would probably be carried by the wind and tide up or down the coast, turning into the first estuary that offered them a haven and furnished them with a highway into the land of their adoption.

Mr. G. Wyman Abbott, in his paper on "The Discovery of the Prehistoric Pits at Peterborough" (*Archæologia*, vol. lxii.) in which fragments of early decorated beakers were found, remarks: "From these potsherds the date of the settlement can be fixed at the end of the Neolithic period, when the first invasion of which we have any tangible evidence was taking place. The newcomers introduced the beaker or drinking-cup, and landing on our eastern shores conquered and drove inland the aboriginal dolichocephalic population. . . . The position of the Peterborough pits on the first high ground overlooking the Wash is quite in keeping with this theory, and the type of beaker is quite as early as any found elsewhere in Britain."

In conclusion, I admit that the theory adduced from the evidence I have put forward is at variance with that propounded by Lord Abercromby, and that only time and further discoveries can prove or disprove its correctness.

A Reply to Mr. A. G. Wright.

BY LORD ABERCROMBY, LL.D., F.S.A.SCOT.

THE isolation of certain groups of beakers is to be generally explained by the physical nature of the country, which is not everywhere equally well-adapted for settlement. In central England, in the midland counties, the country was low, marshy, and no doubt covered with forest and scrub, which would render it unfit for colonization. The rainfall in the south-west of England is double what it is in Kent, and that may have been a factor in the choice of residence. What the settlers seemed to have looked for was highish ground, relatively dry and open, not covered with forest. That they found in the chalk areas, where also flint was obtainable.

Though I have placed the earliest known beakers of my type A round Stonehenge, I have supposed that the very earliest, those that came with the first landing in Kent, have been lost. So early forms

may well have extended north of the Thames into Essex and as far as Peterborough. Though it is to be remarked that in most of Mr. Abbott's reconstructions from fragments the swell in the lower half of the vessels is generally somewhat flattened and less rounded than in those that I have supposed to be the oldest known form of type A. That fact I take to mean that time has elapsed since the first landing took place in Kent.

Looking at the sketch map of province i. (*B.A. Pott.*, p. 19), one might easily suppose that the comparatively dense accumulation of beakers in Wilts and Dorset, apparently quite isolated from Kent with the exception of a beaker of type B2 from the Devil's Dyke, Brighton, was due to a special invasion landing near Christchurch. To the west of Wilts there is a considerable blank space on the map, and the distance from Stonehenge, as a centre, to the north and north-west coast of Somerset is considerable. Yet, if the beakers from Stogursey (pl. v. and vi., 11, 12, 20), and from Culbone, Exmoor (pl. vii., 39), are compared with others from Wilts and Berks (pl. v., 12 with 8, 11 with 10; pl. vi., 20 with 22; pl. vii., 39 with 41), it will be seen how similar they are in form and how difficult it is to separate the two areas of Wilts and the north coast of Somerset. The makers appear to belong to the same tribe, though it is to be remarked that though the skull found with the interment at Stogursey was dolichocephalic (C.I., 77, 6), yet the one that accompanied the interment at Culbone was brachycephalic. Although these two places are quite close to the sea, it seems evident that it was not seafarers who brought them, for it can hardly be assumed that beakers found near the coast have always been deposited there by persons who had landed in the vicinity.

The apparent isolation of the Wilts and Dorset beakers towards the east may be explained by supposing that a good many of such vessels have been lost when parts of the intervening space were brought under cultivation. And their rareness in Kent itself is to be ascribed partly to the same reason and partly perhaps to the destructive habits of the Saxons, who would break into barrows in the hope of finding treasure. Yet I am open to admit that possibly, if the early invaders found their way westwards blocked by the forests of Sussex and Hants, they might have taken to their coracles and canoes and paddled along the coast to about the neighbourhood of Christchurch and thence to Wilts and Stonehenge. But I do not admit that this is to be regarded as another invasion by another tribe quite independent of the original invasion. For it seems to me that the similarity of beaker type A in Wilts and Dorset on the one hand, and of those of Suffolk and at Peterborough on the other

hand, are too great to suppose that they belong to different tribe and to fresh invasions.

It may be observed how similar the Peterborough examples of beakers figured in *Discovery of Prehistoric Pits at Peterborough*, by Mr. Abbott, are to others in Suffolk. Compare Suffolk (*op. cit.*, pl. vii., p. 45) with Abbott's fig. 6 (central figure) and Suffolk (*op. cit.*, pl. viii., p. 61) with Abbott's fig. 5. Here are coincidences of form which I think point to an occupation of the site at Peterborough from the land side and not by sea.

So, too, the likeness of beakers of type A in Suffolk to those in Staffordshire and Derbyshire appears to point to a movement from Suffolk towards the north-west to the high ground of the Peak rather than an advance from the Humber in a south-westerly direction. Compare (*op. cit.*, pl. vii., 45; pl. viii., 46; pl. ix., 70; with pl. viii., 50, 55; pl. ix., 71).

The whole facies of the beaker types from the channel to the Humber seem to me so similar, though always developing as time went on, that I cannot bring myself to believe that they are the handiwork of different tribes who invaded England at different points. The Continental pottery that most resembles our beakers is found on the Rhine and some distance eastward of it, though not so far east as Bohemia or so far north as Holstein, as in these areas the beaker-like vessels have their lower half nearly always plain and undecorated. If the first invaders of Britain lived near the Rhine they very likely followed it, perhaps in canoes, as far as the mouth. From there they would have to coast along Holland till they came well in sight of the coast of Kent, and so reach Britain by the nearest route. Even in the fifth century the Jutes and Saxons from Holstein and north Germany landed in Kent and the Isle of Wight, according to Bede. That evidently means that they did not venture to steer a direct course across the stormy North Sea, but made a coasting voyage from Holstein till they came in sight of the white cliffs of Kent, where they landed. If that was the case in the fifth century of our era what are we to think of the shipping of over 2000 years earlier?

SOME LOST CHURCH PLATE OF THE COLCHESTER ARCHDEACONRY.

BY THE REV. W. J. PRESSEY, M.A.

THE year 1683 marks an important date in the history of what is now the Diocese of Chelmsford.

In that year, both in the Archdeaconry of Essex, and also in that of Colchester, a searching investigation appears to have been made into the condition of the respective churches and their various belongings.

Visitations were held, and careful notes were taken, of all matters connected with the upkeep of the fabrics, the furniture and fittings of the churches, the state of the churchyards, *etc.*, and the results were embodied in two volumes, one for Essex and the other for Colchester, which now form part of the diocesan records in the Registry at Chelmsford.

One of the principal points of interest in these visitations is the information which they furnish as to the character and condition of the communion vessels belonging to the different churches, and in the light of these records, it is possible, not only to account for some of the older plate belonging to our parishes, but also to trace out how much there is both of interest and value which, from one cause and another, has entirely disappeared since these volumes were penned.

The book which gives particulars for the Essex Archdeaconry, and extends from 1683 over a period of some three or four years has already been examined, and the lost church plate of that archdeaconry has been referred to in a previous article upon this subject (*cf. Trans. Essex Arch. Soc.*, vol. xv. pt. 1 [N.S.], p. 17).

It remains to shew how the Archdeaconry of Colchester has been similarly affected.

The book giving the returns for this archdeaconry is bound in parchment and consists of some 96 pages, of which three are blank. the remaining leaves being written on both sides. The condition of the volume is, on the whole, fairly good, though the first thirty

pages have suffered somewhat from damp and decay, and are, in parts, difficult to decipher.

The period covered by the Colchester visitations extends from 1683 to 1708. During this interval seven visitations were held, some of the districts being visited a second time. The work was carried out by the archdeacons, the earlier portion falling to the Venerable William Beveridge, the latter being undertaken by Archdeacon Warly.

It is not possible to give the particulars for each parish; it will be sufficient for our purpose to select the more marked instances as they occur throughout the archdeaconry. Thus, in the Deanery of Colchester, the information furnished is as follows:—

COLCHESTER: In 1683 this church was in possession of:—
S. JAMES.

A silver Challice guilt with a Cover with a triangular pirimid on ye top;
wth John Lawrence & William Boyce Churchwardens
There wants a patten.

This "Challice" was, without doubt, a handsome covered cup, most probably of Jacobean, or even Elizabethan, design, such as may be seen at Berden, or at Farnham to-day. It is not unlikely to have been originally a secular vessel; but, whatever it was, it has disappeared, the oldest piece at S. James' church at the present time being a silver-gilt almsdish, dated 1692.

The next visitation of this parish, in 1705, makes no mention of any communion vessels, and, but for the inventory given above, we should never have known that this church had once owned a valuable standing cup and cover of this description.

COLCHESTER: For the year 1683 the following particulars
HOLY TRINITY. are given:—

There is noe patten.
There is a silver Challice without a cover.

Apparently the visitation led to the prompt purchase of a paten, for in the inventory given at a later date, 1705, we have this entry:—

There is a plate of silver: The Pish of Holy Trinity in Colchester 1683.

The cup mentioned in the first visitation may possibly have been an Elizabethan example, the cover of which had been lost.

All these pieces have vanished, the church to-day possessing nothing earlier than a silver paten on a foot, bearing the date-mark for 1710.

COLCHESTER: The returns of 1683 shew that this parish was
S. PETER. then in possession of the following communion
plate:—

A silver Cup and cover,
A pewter patten and 2 flaggons.

In the inventory for the visitation of 1705, some further information is given, *viz.*:—

There is a large patten, a Salver of silver with the Coat of Arms and Crest of Richard Daniell: Supscribed: Deo et Ecclesiae Sti Petri Colcenbrensis: ex dono Richardi Daniell xl: 24: AD 1691.

And two pewter flagons: Deo et Ecclesiae Sti Petri Colcestriae ex dono Richardi Daniell 76, 28 1696.

Of these vessels none have survived. They perished on the occasion of the fire which occurred in 1842, when the vicarage of S. Peter's was burnt to the ground.

At the present day, the oldest vessel in evidence is a silver salver with the date letter for 1698, and bearing the mark of Benjamin Pyne. It was presented to the church "by a few members for the use of the congregation of S. Peter's, Colchester," in the month of June, 1842, the year in which the present vessels were given, to replace those that were lost in the fire.

COLCHESTER: For this Church there is no record of
S. MARY MAGDALENE. any plate in 1683, the reason being that the
church was then in ruins, as the following
entry discloses:—

There was formerly a Chapple belonging to the hospital in which Mr Honeyfold then Master thereof did constantly read prayers and preach: wch Chappell in the late rebellious times went to decay, that now nothing but the walls thereof are now standing: and the parish reduced to povertie are not able to repaire it. Soe that noe Service has (been) p'formed there since the restoration of King Charles the second

The oldest vessels belonging to this church to-day are a silver cup and cover, dated 1723, and bearing the mark of the maker, William Fawdery.

COLCHESTER: In the inventory for 1683 it is stated that this
S. GILES. church possessed the following:—

A silver Challice and Cover,
A pewter flagon and patten.

None of these pieces are there to-day. The oldest vessels consist of a pair of electro-plate cups inscribed with the date 1826.

In the Deanery of Dedham the following instances will serve to shew how the older communion vessels have been lost or parted with, and others substituted for them.

DEDHAM. The visitation for the year 1684 shews this parish to have been in the possession of some fine examples of church plate, thus:—

There is a very large salver or patten of silver wth (Dedham in Essex 1684 Thomas Gray Vic) engraven on the foote, as also a large Challice & Cover of silver wth (The Guift of George Dun of London Barber chycurgeon) engraven on the Cover (to y^e Towne of Dedham March y^e 25 1631) engraven of (*sic*) y^e challice. And one other large silver guilt challice & Cover & 3 flaggons.

Of all this plate, which must have been both handsome and valuable, not a vestige remains to-day, the vessels in present use being just a century later (1784) and bearing the mark of Hester Bateman.

FORDHAM. The inventory for the year 1684 states that:—

There is a small challice and Cover of silver,
A flaggon & paten of pewter.

These may possibly have been a cup and cover of Elizabethan date, but everything has disappeared, and the vessels which are at Fordham at the present time are electro-plate only.

HOKKSLEY MAGNA. The visitation of 1684 makes mention of:—

A challice of silver, and a flaggon, and patten of pewter.

At the present time, the church can shew nothing earlier than a silver paten with the date-mark for the year 1717.

HOKKSLEY PARVA. The inventory of 1684 shews that:—

There is a Challice & Cover of silver,
A flaggon & paten of pewter belonging to y^e Cōmunion table.

The later visitation of 1707 produced no further particulars concerning the plate, as the following entry (fol. 65a) will shew:—

Mr Husbands refused to lett the Archdeacon into the Church as a visitor, he pretending to be exempted from all visitations because he has the estate that Cardinall Wolsey had free from all Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction.

Mr. Edward Husbands seems to have been impropiator, rector, and churchwarden.

The communion plate recorded above has disappeared, the church to-day having a cup and cover with the date-mark for 1705. Perhaps the substitution of these vessels for the earlier pieces may also be laid to the charge of Mr. Husbands, since these were introduced into the church two years before the archdeacon was kept out of it.

LANGHAM. In 1684 it is stated that:—

There is a small chalice & Cover of silver,
A pewter flagon and patten.

Of these nothing remains. The earliest vessel to be seen at Langham to-day is dated 1889.

WORMINGFORD. The visitation of 1684 states that:—

There is a small Chalice & Cover of silver.
There wants a patten.

In the later visitation of 1707 we find that:—

The Cover of the Chalice is to be changed and a paten bought.

The cup—an Elizabethan example and undated—is still in evidence, but the cover has vanished, perhaps in obedience to this order.

There is a silver paten on a foot, dated 1718, and bearing the stamp of William Petley, which may perhaps have been partly obtained from the sale or exchange of this cover.

WIVENHOE. At a visitation held in 1633 it was reported that:—

Their Cover of the Cōmunion Cup is cracked, and is to be amended or changed.

The inventory of the year 1684 states that there was:—

A Chalice & paten of silver, and
A pewter flagon.

The paten, which is to be seen at Wivenhoe to-day, is evidently not the original cover to the cup, and may not improbably be the one for which the cover was changed. It has no date, but the maker's mark is given in Cripps (appendix A, part II.), under date 1670, which suggests the approximate date at which the vessel was procured.

From the particulars which are furnished for the Deanery of S. Osyth, it is evident that not a few of the older vessels that were in use in 1684 have quite disappeared.

ALRESFORD. The visitation of 1683 shews that:—

There is a small Boule and Paten of silver,
The flaggon for ye Cōmunion to be changed for a new one.

Nothing, however, seems to have been done, for in 1705 we have the following entry :—

There wants a flaggon and a Patten.
There is a silver Cup & Cover.

These two pieces have vanished. The vessels in use to-day are of modern mediæval design, dated 1854, and made by Barnard. In the accounts of the churchwardens for the year 1866 there is an entry :—

Cash received from sale of old silver Cup.

There is apparently no record of what the date of this piece was, why it was sold, or the sum that was obtained for it.

BENTLY MAGNA. In 1683 this church possessed :—

A Chalice and Cover of silver,

These pieces were still there in 1707, as is shewn by the entry made at the visitation of that date :—

There is a silver Cup and Cover, and a pewter flagon.

The flagon is the sole surviving vessel, bearing the name of the maker Dixon, probably William Dixon, who joined the Pewterer's Yeomanry in 1704.

The cup at Bently to-day is quite a modern piece, bearing the date-letter for 1910.

CLACTON : In 1683 both these parishes possessed cups and
GREAT AND covers, which have since disappeared. Thus, for
LITTLE. Clacton Magna, we have the entry :—

There is a Challice without a foote, and a Cover of silver.
There are two flaggons, and a paten of pewter.

For Clacton Parva the following is recorded :—

There is a Challice of silver.
There wants a patten for y^e Cōmunion table.

Of this plate there is not a trace. Great Clacton can show nothing earlier than 1714—a silver paten on a foot by William Petley ; while the vessels at Little Clacton, with the exception of an old pewter flagon, are all electro-plate.

FRATING. The visitation of 1683 shews that the parish of
“frraiting” possessed :—

A Challice of silver and a Cover wch serves for a Paten.

These pieces may have been a good deal older, as an inventory taken in 1633 only makes mention of the want of:—

A decent flaggon for the Cōmunion,

the other necessary vessels being evidently provided.

In 1707 the Church owned among other things:—

A silver Cupp and patten and a pewter flaggon.

These vessels have all been parted with, and at the present time the earliest piece is a silver cup bearing the mark of its maker William Fawdery, and the date-letter for 1722.

FRINTON.

The account given of this parish at the visitation of 1683, reveals a lamentable state of affairs.

Mr. Theophilus Pierne, S.T.P., was rector, and a

Mr. William Pierson the warden.

The archdeacon obtained particulars "*ex informatione* Mag^{ri} Lisle," who was the incumbent of Little Clacton.

They were as follows:—

There is not a decent Cōmunion Table, nor any of the ornaments nor utensils, *viz.* :—

Noe Carpett, nor tablecloth of liline nor Napkin: Noe Challice nor patten. There is noe Bible nor Comon Prayer booke, noe booke of homilies, nor Canons, noe table of marriages, noe pulpit cusheon, noe Surplice, noe Register booke, noe bell.

The earliest vessel belonging to this church is a silver cup by William Fawdery, having the date-mark for 1725.

HOLLAND

The visitation held Die Jovis, 9 Augusti, 1683,

MAGNA.

shews that :—

There is a Challice and Cover of silver,

10lb 1571 on y^e top of y^e cover.

There is a pewter patten.

The flaggon must be changed.

The weight of the cup and cover must have been incorrectly transcribed, and should probably be 10 ounces.

In the later visitation of 1707—although the cup and cover are both mentioned with the date—the weight is not specified.

All this plate has disappeared, the earliest vessel to be seen at Great Holland to-day being a silver paten on a foot, with the date-letter for 1714, and the mark of the maker Hutchinson, who was a Colchester silversmith.

TENDRING.

In the visitation of 1633 it was noted that :—

They want a plate for the cōion.

They want a decent stoope or flaggon for the cōion.

That this order was complied with seems clear from the following entries given in the visitation held in 1683, *viz.* :—

Die Veneris 10 Aug^{ti} 1683
There is a pewter flaggon & Patten.
There is a silver Chalice and Cover.

The cup and cover were Elizabethan (1568) and the work of a well-known maker, William Dyxon, who fashioned many of the Essex cups.

This cup is still to be seen at Tendring, but the cover has disappeared. This loss, however, must have occurred previous to the year 1707, since the visitation notes for that year shew that the cover to the cup was lacking.

THORRINGTON. We find from the visitation of 1683 that :—

There is a Challice and Cover of silver,
A pewter flaggon.

In the later notes for the year 1707 we learn that :—

There is a silver Cup & Cover marked on ye top I H S.—1568.
A pewter flagon & patten.

The cup and cover have both vanished, but the pewter flagon may still be seen, and also a pewter plate with the stamp of Tim Fly, which may possibly once have done duty as a paten.

In the Newport and Stanstead Deanery there are one or two instances of parishes possessing plate upon which fresh light has been thrown by this old record of visitations.

BERDEN. The inventory for 1686 states that :—

There is a guilt Challice wth a round head & pyramid : The Guift of the
Lady Coventry ; wth a Lyin's head erazed between three Crescents.
. There wants a patten for the Cōmunion table.

The faulty description of the metal of the cup and cover given above, is corrected in the visitation notes of 1708, thus :—

There is a silver guilt Challice with a Cover and a pyramid : the Guift of
the Lady Coventry.
There wants a decent patten for the Cōmunion Service.
There is a pewter flaggon.

This interesting cup and cover—an Elizabethan example, made originally for secular use—has been minutely described in the notes on the church plate of this parish printed in the *Diocesan Chronicle* of May, 1915.

The statement that it was the gift of Lady Coventry is new, and has been disclosed by the entries of this old record of visitations.

The armorials, however, are not those of the Coventry family, but appear to have been borne by the Newcomens.

FARNHAM. In the visitation of 1686 it is stated :—

There wants a Challice and paten.

That this want was partly supplied is evident from the following entries in the visitation of 1708, *viz.* :—

There wants a silver patten to lay the Cōmunion bread on :

There is . . . a Challice & Cover of silver washed with gold in the form of a bunch of grapes, and a pewter flagon.

Here, again, as in the case of Berden, we have a cup and cover (1612) of quaint and interesting design, made originally for secular use.

The information given above not only assists in fixing the approximate date at which this plate was presented to the church, but also helps to solve the question as to what the design was intended to represent.

In the notes to the church plate of this parish (*cf. Diocesan Chronicle* for 1915) it is stated that "the form of a pineapple, or a pine cone was intended," but the entry given above seems a good deal nearer the mark, and the suitability of this design in a vessel for the service of the altar will be at once apparent.

The pewter flagon has vanished.

MANUDEN. From the entries for the visitation of 1686 we learn that :—

A patten is wanted.

Nothing is said about any other vessels, although the church possessed a silver cup and cover of Elizabethan date.

In the entries for the later visitation of 1708 it is stated :—

The Comunion Cup & Cover to (be) changed.

There is a pewter flaggon.

Very fortunately this order to change the cup and cover was not carried out, but possibly the vessels had become somewhat dilapidated and in need of repair. It may have been at this date that these pieces were restored (*cf. notes in the Diocesan Chronicle* on the church plate of this parish, 1915). The want of a patten seems to have been supplied a few years afterwards in the vessel dated 1711,

made by Gabriel Sleath, and inscribed with the armorials of Mrs. Ann Waad, and probably her gift to the church.

The pewter flaggon has disappeared.

NEWPORT. The inventory given in the visitation of 1686 states that :—

There wants a Cover (to) the flagon.

There is a Challice and Cover of silver.

None of these pieces are to be seen to-day, the communion vessels at Newport being all of modern date.

RICKLING. In 1686 this parish possessed :—

A small Challice and paten of silver.

These pieces were included in the later visitation in 1708 when it is stated :—

There is a Cup & patten of silver, and a pewter flaggon for the Cōmunion Service.

Everything has disappeared, and the earliest vessel which the parish can shew to-day is a cup of silver, dated 1796.

UGLEY. In the inventory of 1686, there is no mention made of any church plate, but in the visitation of 1708 the following entries appear :—

The Paten to be changed for a new one.

There is a silver Challice & Paten, and a pewter flaggon.

This order to change the paten was evidently obeyed, since the cover to the cup which is now to be seen is not the original vessel, but one which bears the London date-mark for the year 1744. The cup, however, which is stamped with the Norwich date-mark for 1632, is still remaining, and has been described in the notes on the church plate of this parish, given in the *Diocesan Chronicle* for 1915.

In the Deanery of Harwich there are frequent instances of churches which have, for various reasons, parted with the altar vessels which they possessed in 1683, and have substituted others, as the following examples will shew :—

BRADFIELD. The visitation of 1683 states that :—

There is a silver Bowle and a cover convenient for a Patten.

There wants a flaggon for ye Cōmunion table.

The visitation in 1707 shews that these vessels were still at the church, though the want of a paten had not been supplied :—

There is a silver Challice and cover.

To-day, however, the cover is missing. The cup which is still to be seen has no date-mark, but is stamped with the mark of a maker which is given in Mr. Jackson's book on *Plate Marks*, under date 1669, and suggests what is probably the approximate date of this vessel.

BROMLEY MAGNA. The inventory of 1683 gives the following entry :—

There is a Challice & Cover of silver,
A flagon and two Pattens of pewter.

These pieces were all certified in the next visitation (1707), but to-day the old pewter flagon alone remains, the cup and cover having been replaced by vessels of electro-plate.

DOVERCOURT. The visitation of 1683 states that :—

There is a Challice and cover of silver,
There wants a Patten.

This need of a paten seems to have been met, for the visitation of 1707 shews that the church was then in possession of :—

A Challice & Cover of silver,
A pewter flagon & plate.

Of this set of vessels the pewter flagon alone remains, the others have disappeared.

This church has also another pewter flagon of later date, with an inscription giving a quaint designation of the vicar's warden :—

James Clements Esq^{re} High Churchwarden 1773,
Wm Chaser Churchwarden.

With the exception of these two pewter flagons, the church to-day can shew nothing earlier than 1829.

HARWICH. The inventory for 1683 is as under :—

There wants a Patten.

There is a Challice with a Cover of silver; the inscription on the Cup—
" The Cup of blessing wch wee blesse, is it not ye Cōmunion of ye
Blood of Christ, The Bread wch wee break, is it not ye Cōmunion of
ye Body of Christ." On ye top of ye Cover—" Harwiche."

The order to provide a paten was evidently complied with at once, for the only old piece of church plate which this church possesses

to-day is a silver flat paten bearing the date-mark for 1683, and the mark of the maker, John Sutton. It is inscribed round the rim: "Harwich Church Patten 1683." It is very much worn and slightly cracked.

MISTLEY. At a visitation held on August 27th, 1633, the following entry occurs:—

They want a fair stoope or flaggon for the cōion.

They want a plate to set the cōion on.

Compt Dawson, et Doms monuit eum to provide the ornaments
before hallomas & to certifie.

Nothing, however, seems to have been done to supply the necessary vessels, for at the visitation of 1683, the same vicar being present, it is stated:—

There is no Patten for y^e Cōmunion Table.

There is a silver Cupp & Cover, the Cover must be changed.

At a still later visitation in 1707 the only particulars given with respect to the communion plate are as follows:—

There is a silver Cupp & Cover.

As no mention is made of any other vessel, the church was most probably still without either a flaggon or a credence paten. The cup to be seen at Mistley to-day, although the date-letter is wanting and the maker's mark very indistinct, may quite possibly be the old cup alluded to in these records. The cover, however, has disappeared, perhaps in consequence of the archdeacon's order to change it.

There are one or two instances in which these visitation notes fail to record communion vessels, which must have been in evidence in their respective churches previous to the year 1683, and are still there.

HADSTOCK. One case, that of Hadstock, is quite exceptional. The visitation of 1686 gives the following entry:—

There wants a Challice & Cover, and a Napkin.

The church, however, was at this time actually possessed of a cup and cover of early Elizabethan date (1563), which is still to be seen at Hadstock in "excellent condition" (*cf.* notes on the church plate of the Saffron Walden Deanery, in the *Diocesan Chronicle*).

How these vessels came to be so overlooked is a mystery, and in the later visitation of 1708 no mention is made of any communion vessels.

The following short summary, in tabular form, may help to illustrate the loss of church plate which this archdeaconry has sustained in one way and another since these inventories were drawn up.

The number of parishes for which visitations are recorded is 153.

(i.)	Number of parishes for which no inventory of church plate is given	...	...	13
(ii.)	Number of parishes for which full particulars are not yet forthcoming	...	...	40
(iii.)	Number of parishes which still retain a portion of the plate which they possessed in 1683-4			60
(iv.)	Number of parishes which have parted with all the church plate which they possessed in 1683 and 1684 and substituted other vessels			40
				<hr/> 153 <hr/>

Of the parishes for which full particulars have not yet been ascertained, it may safely be assumed that, at least, one third, if not, indeed, one half, have substituted other vessels for those of which these inventories make mention.

It will thus be seen that, partly through the action of the authorities, partly through carelessness or otherwise of the custodians, partly perhaps from the desire to get rid of vessels which were in some cases inconvenient and cumbersome at the ministration, these old altar vessels have passed away, taking with them much that was attractive and interesting, both as regards their history and associations. Leaving out of account the pewter, which, except in a few instances, has entirely disappeared, it would not be far wrong to say that nearly one half of the parishes in this archdeaconry had contributed its quota to the "Lost Church Plate" of the diocese.

CAMULODUNUM.

BY J. H. ROUND, M.A., LL.D.

IT is a useful task for an archæologist to place on record in our *Transactions* the scattered information on the antiquities of our county which appears, or has at some time appeared, in various publications. For a future historian of Essex this would be of much assistance.

To the *Essex County Standard* of 28th August, 1920, there was contributed an article, two columns in length, on "Camulodunum," by Dr. W. de Gray Birch,¹ as a result of "The recent (1919) Congress of the British Archæological Association at Colchester," in which he took part. The writer, in this paper, dealt "more particularly with the numismatic evidence of the British period," especially the coinage of Tasciovanus and Cunobelinus. It is, surely, a singular fact that he does not once mention Morant's work (1768), which contains a plate illustrating the coins of the latter monarch found at Colchester,² or the beautiful plate of "Early British coins current in Essex"³ which faces p. 204 (vol. ii.) of the *Victoria History of Essex*. Nor does he speak of that summary (from numismatic evidence) of the succession of Tasciovanus and Cunobelinus, which is found in that work (vol. ii., p. 203). He also ignores Mr. Cutts' excellent little work on Colchester (1888), in which Tasciovanus and his son, Cunobeline, are duly found (pp. 8-9) on the evidence of coins. It is even more remarkable that, in his observations on the site of 'Camulodunum,' he should have ignored Morant's elaborate dissertation (pp. 12-17) on the problem "Whether this town were the ancient *Camulodunum*."

For our local historian deserves great credit for his summary and criticism of the arguments then current on both sides. He himself relied specially on the evidence supplied by the coins of "King Cunobeline" found at Colchester (p. 13). I have searched in vain the paper of Dr. de Gray Birch for any fresh evidence against the recognised claim of Colchester or in favour of those of Maldon or other Essex localities.⁴ He oddly asserts that "many antiquaries

¹ Only his initials were appended.

² Facing p. 191 and described on p. 184.

³ From specimens in the British Museum.

⁴ Mr. Miller Christy's 'Bibliography' of recent papers on the subject, which is printed in our *Transactions* (vol. xv., pp. 196-7), had already mentioned those of the Rev. A. C. Yorke, etc., etc., cited by Dr. Birch.

appear to have now (*sic*) rejected" the view that 'Camulodunum' was at Maldon "in favour of Colchester." Morant is entitled to a prominent position among those antiquaries, but he is not "now" living.

Since that very untrustworthy guide, the antiquary Camden, urged the (supposed) resemblance in sound between Maldon and Camulodunum, this has remained the stock argument of Maldon's advocates, and Dr. Birch urges accordingly that "the remarkable similarity of the place-name affords very strong evidence in favour of Maldon." No advance, we see, has been made since the days of Camden's guess.

My chief object, however, in drawing attention to the matter is to bring to the notice of archæologists in Essex, and especially in Colchester, a paper which appeared in the *Quarterly Review*,¹ but which seems to be now forgotten. It is entitled "The Romans at Colchester," and was evidently written by someone who combined full local knowledge with a considerable mastery of Roman history. I have seen it attributed to Dean Merivale, who may well have been its author. Holding the college living of Lawford (near Manningtree) from 1848 to 1870, he would have the local knowledge, and a tablet there erected to his memory proclaims him "Historian of Rome."² For his text he took two of the treatises of Mr. Jenkins, a local clergyman—one of them (1842) entitled "Observations on the site of Camulodunum,"³ and the other setting forth his craze that Colchester castle was built as a "Temple of Claudius Cæsar" (1852), with the exposure of the latter by Mr. Cutts, our former honorary secretary, in 1853—and, while discussing the former in a temperate and scholarly manner, denounced, of course, the latter as the folly that it was.

As to 'the site of Camulodunum,' the writer held, from the evidence afforded by the Itineraries, that it "cannot reasonably be placed elsewhere than at Colchester or in its immediate vicinity," and dismissed as follows the claim of Maldon:

The notion advanced by Camden, and adopted from him by Horsley, that Camulodunum is to be found at Maldon, is now very generally abandoned. It can only be reconciled with the Itinerary by supposing a monstrous sinuosity in the Roman road from London; and it was suggested probably on no other ground than the occurrence of the name spelt Camulodunum on a lapidary inscription, which is opposed generally to the MSS. and to the uniform authority of coins, the orthography of which is far more deserving of our confidence (p. 76).

¹ June, 1855 (vol. 97, pp. 71-105).

² *E.A.T.*, vol. viii., p. 290.

³ *Archæologia*, vol. xxix.

He admitted, nevertheless, that Lexden, probably, "stands on the site of the chief British city" in eastern England, basing that conclusion chiefly on the evidence of the "British roads," as he considered them to be, and its topographical position.

The Dean, however, was, we find, far too vague in his language; nor could he support his view by any definite arguments. A careful collation of his conclusions (pp. 76-7), with those of Mr. Cutts (pp. 11-12), a generation later (1888), has shown me that they were identical; both writers held that 'Camulodunum' occupied the triangular area bounded by the Colne and the Roman river to the east, and defended on the west, at the base of the triangle, by the great rampart now known as Gryme's dyke, on Lexden Heath. This dyke runs south from Newbridge, West Bergholt, to the Roman river, as Dr. Laver has shown, in an almost straight line. Now, "this tableland, defended by its rivers and rampart," as Mr. Cutts styles it, was, he wrote, "the large area which we assume to be the Oppidum"; the Dean had described it as "the peninsula on the neck of which Lexden stands, . . . amounting to about twenty square miles." These conclusions may be sound; but, obviously, they do not identify the alleged British Oppidum with Lexden, and Lexden only.

The importance of exactitude in statements is well shown by the late Dr. Laver's comment on the alleged site of *Camulodunum* at Lexden.¹ Dealing with the paper by Mr. Jenkins, which the Dean had taken as his text, but which Dr. Laver described as a "fanciful account, . . . the misleading map and account of the roads of 'Camulodunum'"²—he took "the Rev. Author" and "the Rev. Prebendary Scarth" to have placed the site of *Camulodunum* between two earthworks on Lexden Heath,³ and commented on such a theory as follows:

Had sufficient attention been paid to the locality, I cannot think the authors named could ever have started such a theory. The area enclosed by these banks is a series of valleys. . . . For these reasons I am inclined to think that the present site of Lexden was never the site of the British Camulodunum; if so the camp would have consisted principally of valleys with the eastern defences above the camp, and with an inside ditch, from which the camp would have been commanded.⁴

¹ *E.A.T.*, vol. iii. [N.S.], pp. 128-9.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 134-5.

³ Mr. Scarth, in his "Roman Britain," writes that "their capital was Camulodunum, not far from Colchester, at Lexden, where very extensive earthworks still remain" (p. 28). . . . The vast earthworks still remaining at Lexden, one mile from Colchester, give some idea of the strength and extent of the capital of Cunobeline (p. 33).

⁴ Compare here the comment of Mr. Miller Christy on p. 197 of this volume.

It may be of service to complete this *catena* of opinion by a passage from the *Retrospections* (vol. ii.) of the late Mr. Charles Roach Smith, cited in the same volume of our *Transactions* :

It is not a little remarkable that, even with sensible writers and in standard works, there should be such confusion and error respecting *Camulodunum* and *Colonia*. They were identical; the former being the great British *Oppidum*, the latter the name given by the Romans to the *Colonia* which they built at about a mile from the *Oppidum* (p. 185).

Again, the Dean's arguments, which were afterwards those of Mr. Cutts, are sadly vague in character. The Itineraries, wrote the former, compel us to place the *Oppidum* "at Colchester, or in its immediate vicinity"; "the site of *Camulodunum*," Mr. Cutts urged, upon the same evidence, "was at or near Colchester." Both writers relied upon the fact that "three British roads" converged upon this area; both writers, again, appealed to the dangerous argument that the character of this area suggested a British *Oppidum*, as described by Cæsar. "When we picture to ourselves," the Dean observed, "what a British *Oppidum* was, . . . we shall be struck with the perfect correspondence of Lexden with such a position"; "this tableland," Mr. Cutts wrote, "corresponds very exactly with Cæsar's description of a British *Oppidum*."¹

In his recent interesting and stimulating paper on "Roman Roads in Essex,"² Mr. Miller Christy has said, of "the British town of *Camulodunum*," that its "site was probably on Lexden Heath" (p. 197), and though his phrase (p. 194), "the British headquarters at *Camulodunum* (Lexden)" is somewhat vague, there is at least no vagueness in his statement (p. 203) that on Lexden Heath "is a complication of roads, trackways, and earthworks, which led Sir Richard Colt Hoare and the Rev. Henry Jenkins to conclude that here was the British capital, *Camulodunum*, while the site of the Roman *Colonia* lay two miles further east, where Colchester now is." This, at least, is a definite theory, while that of the Dean, as I have shown, is so vaguely expressed as to remain *in nubibus*. He does, however, later on (pp. 86-7), suggest that the name *Colonia* was "perhaps appropriated to the site of Colchester," and *Camulodunum* "generally to the old British enclosure." He further asserts that "the old British site was abandoned, and the colony of *Camulodunum* confined to the locality of the present town." Finally, in the opening words of his fourth chapter, Mr. Cutts definitely asserted that "within the triangle which has been assumed to be

¹ It is, I fear, impossible for any unbiassed person to consider these coincidences merely accidental. This deprives Mr. Cutts' arguments here of original value.

² pp. 190-229 of this volume *E.A.T.*

the ancient Oppidum of Camulodunum, at the north-east corner of it, . . . a dry ravine runs up from the river valley into the table-land, and cuts off a promontory of it. It was the point of this promontory which the builders of the new *Colonia* chose for their site" (p. 32).

Apart from the site of *Camulodunum*, several other problems connected with "the Romans at Colchester" are discussed by the learned writer; politely describing his fellow-cleric, Mr. Jenkins, a clergyman of the neighbourhood, as "a man of genius," he followed, of course, Mr. Cutts in rejecting the wild theory that the castle was originally a Roman temple. He then touched upon the usual problems, the locality at which Suetonius defeated the British forces, the British bishops at the Council of Arles, the Coel and Helena legend, and the speculations as to the identity of the Pudens and Claudia who occur in the epistle to Timothy. Of more value than these speculations are the learned writer's statements on matters within his own knowledge. I do not here refer to his rejection of "the opinion that the first British Christian was a princess of Camulodunum," on the ground that "the piety and virtues of the ladies of Colchester are too well-known to require any such illustration" (p. 100), but to such personal touches as his statement that he had himself seen a collection of forty or fifty "coins of the emperors, made by a single enquirer by casual purchases from workmen within a period of only six or seven years," or to his mention of the important fact that the Roman road which issued from the Balcerne gate had recently been traced at the point where it crossed the present highway.¹ The late Professor Haverfield enquired of me what was the actual evidence for the existence of this road, and I could then only refer him to Dr. Laver's statement.²

¹ "In digging foundations by the side of the Lexden road, a little way out of Colchester, the workmen came lately upon traces of the Roman way which crossed it. The pavement had vanished, but the stratum upon which it was originally built is a mass of concrete, or indurated gravel, upon which their tools could with difficulty make an impression" (p. 94).

² In his paper on "Roman roads near to and those radiating from Colchester," in our *Transactions* (vol. iii. [N.S.], pp. 124-5, with map), where he states that the Roman road from the Balcerne gate "crossed the present road diagonally just beyond the Hospital." As he dated the discovery of the remains of the Roman road in 1884, this discovery must have been made fully thirty years after that which the Dean records. Of this earlier discovery he must have been unaware, for he makes no mention of it. The Dean's description of the stratum upon which the actual road had rested is entirely confirmed by that which Dr. Laver has given on pp 124, 126. The map which forms the frontispiece to Mr. Cutts' *Colchester* (1888) shows very clearly the crossing of the Lexden road by this "old Roman road," but is quite irreconcilable with his statement on p. 40, that "the discoveries of recent years have proved conclusively that the Roman road left the Balcerne gate nearly, but not quite, at right angles to the western wall." On the map the angle is about 45 degrees.

I may fitly finish this paper by quoting from the Dean's eloquent peroration on Colchester :

Where else in Britain can he [the archæologist] find more abundant traces of Roman life and manners? Which of our towns besides presents such a monument of Roman fortification? . . . About what other locality, we may add, do so many traditions of our primitive Christianity cluster?

Closing with a graceful allusion to the labours undertaken by our own Society, he pleaded for the preservation in a Museum of her own of "the unnumbered treasures" still to be brought to light.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES.

Essex Documents.—Some replies to the circular recently issued have now been received, and the information duly noted and registered. The Rev. H. E. Field, vicar of Ambergate, Derby, has kindly presented to the Society an original deed dated 15th April, 18 Henry VIII., by which John Banaster, Robert Pakyngton, and Humphrey Pakyngton granted to John Yonge, Edmund Castell, John Burton, and Thomas Sylvester two messuages and lands in Chigwell and Lambourne, which they had of the grant of Roger Chalner and Pernel, his wife.

It is probable, however, that the amount of information still to be collected is very much greater, and it is hoped that members and their friends will assist in the search. Although the Society are pleased to receive original documents of interest, the request is not for these but for knowledge of their existence.

Little Birch Church.—The picturesque ruin of this small church, in the grounds of Birch Hall, seems to be little known. It has not, I believe, been visited by our Society, and it is not even mentioned in Mr. Rickword's "Essex Ecclesiology."¹ Morant wrote of it :

The church is ruinous; the tower, which is pretty high, and the walls only being standing. But the roof is quite gone

An engraving of the old hall and the church, about this time, confirms this description, which, indeed, is not inapplicable at the present day. Contrary to his regular practice, Morant had nothing to say of the advowson, and gave no list of the recent incumbents. Newcourt, as usual, carried down the list of rectors to 1700 (his limit), but declared himself unable to trace the descent of the advowson. A trifling addition to this information is found in Morant's account of Olivers, in Stanway (vol. ii., p. 193), where it is stated that John Eldred, "an eminent merchant," alderman and bailiff of Colchester, who was born in 1595, "purchased Olivers, and lived, in the latter part of his life, in Little Birch Hall; the church of which being ruinous, he and the patroness² jointly repaired

¹ Vol. xiv. (N.S.), part 5.

² This must have been Thomasina, Lady Swinnerton, who presented in 1630.

it, and he dying 9th October, 1646, aged 81, was buried in that church. A monument was there erected to his memory, which, when that church grew ruinous again, was removed by his grandson (d. 16th November, 1682) into the church of Earls Colne."

I have lately seen a formal record of the induction of the Rev. John Haggard as rector, 19th January, 1754. He seems to have been first cousin, *ex parte materna*, to Mr. James Round, then of Birch Hall. He was formally inducted by the Rev. Joseph Andrews, D.D., rector of Stanway (where the old church was ruinous, like that of Little Birch, even in Morant's day), by virtue of letters of induction granted by Dr. Charles Moss, archdeacon of Colchester. The new rector, next day (it being Sunday), duly read "openly publicly and solemnly the Morning and Evening Prayers appointed to be read," and made the customary declaration, within the roofless walls of the ruinous church. This was attested by three witnesses, the first of whom was John Round (the writer's great-grandfather), who was, in later years, acting Recorder of Colchester. Mr. Haggard became rector of Bennington not long after, and the livings of Great and Little Birch were united by a private Act of Parliament. Yet the Rev. Edward Green (of the Lawford Hall family) was appointed rector of Little Birch so late as 1813.

A further addition to our knowledge is provided by a Suffolk fine of 21 Edward III. (1347-8), to which Sir William de Tendryngge is one of the parties, and Ralf de Tendryngge, with Roger, rector of "Parva Brythe" (*sic*) church, are the others.³ The fine relates to the manor of Stoke-by-Nayland, in which is Tendring Hall, the seat, at that time, of the Tendrings, who were lords of Little Birch. Morant cites, under that parish, two earlier fines, relating to Ralf de Tendring, Little Birch and Stoke-by-Nayland. In the above Suffolk fine, 'Brythe' should be read as 'Bryche.' The rector's name is an addition to the list in Newcourt's *Repertorium*.

J. H. ROUND.

Church Chest in St. Mary's Church, Saffron Walden.

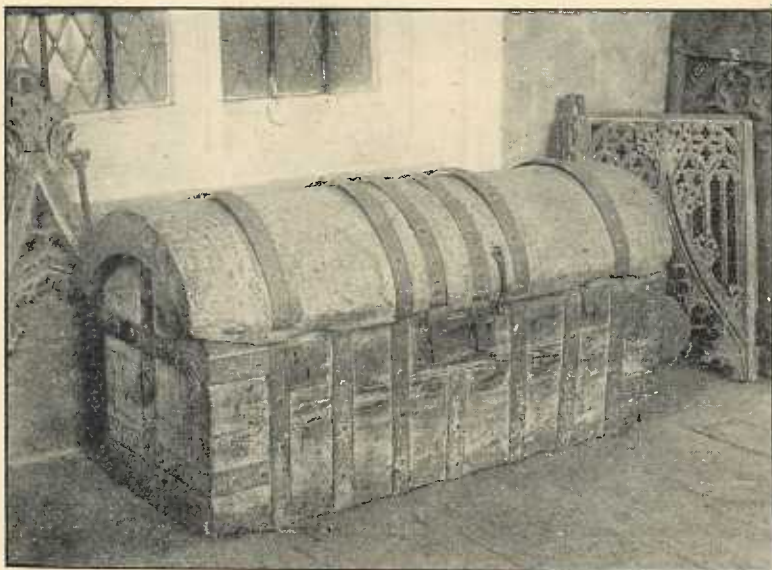
—In addition to the sixteenth century iron-bound chest in the north aisle of the church, detailed and figured in *Church Chests of Essex*, the Rev. Montagu Benton sends me the following note of two early chests in the chamber over the south porch:

"In the south porch chamber is an iron-bound chest, possibly of elm; its coved, overhanging lid, much decayed, is crossed by six

³ Rye's *Suffolk Fines*, p. 204.

iron bands, and is formed out of a tree trunk; a lifting ring hangs at each end of the body. Length of lid, 4 feet 11½ inches; width, 1 foot 10 inches; depth from apex of lid, 2 feet 4 inches. Its probable date is *c.* 1500. It is filled with ancient deeds relating to the town. These deeds, a few of which date back to the thirteenth century, consist of conveyances, bonds, leases, mortgages, letters of attorney, wills, and miscellaneous legal documents of early date.

The following interesting extract,¹ hitherto unpublished, from an early will (1507) of Katherine Semar (preserved at the office of



CHURCH CHEST AT SAFFRON WALDEN.

Messrs. Ackland, Son & Baily, Saffron Walden), suggests that this chest may have been provided by her, and during her life-time, since no mention of it is made in her last will, dated 1514:

Moreover it is so that I have ordeyned such an hutch or Cofre . . . surely bounden wt Irne and [made] wt iij strong lokkes . . . And I woll that the said chest or cofre so provided shall be sette and sauflly kepte in the revestrie of the parisshe church of Walden aforesaid, yf the parisshe wolle suffre it there to stonde, orelles wtyn the Chapell over the South porch of the same church, in sure kepyng. And I woll that wtyn the said hutch or cofre, over and beside the

¹ This is taken from Mr. Benton's work on Saffron Walden Church, which has long been in progress and will, we hope, be published without undue delay.

surplusages of the said issues and profites . . . be laide and putt all the dedes, copies, and evydences concernyng all my said londes and tenementes, and also this my last will ensealed, and a true copy of the same made Bokewise [and artiste wise] in parchemynt, to thentent that the said ffeofees, beyng in doubte of eny thyng theryn conteyned, may at all tymes requysite have the same copy to loke upon, the rather and for bicause that this my present will under seale may be the lesse occupied or handeled, more spared, kepte clene and unhurt.

In the same chamber is a standard, or large stationary chest, panelled, and of late fifteenth or early sixteenth century date; it is full of account books and Corporation papers."

H. W. LEWER.

The Brass of William Loveney (?) in Wendens Ambo Church.—This is dated as 'about 1410' in the description of it in the *Transactions*, vol. vii., p. 30, and as 'about 1415' in the report of the Historical Monuments Commission. If, however, it really represents William Loveney, it cannot have been laid down so early.

His will, dated 25th August, 1436 (*sic*), and proved 5th October, 1435 (correct), is preserved on fo. 38 of the register of Robert FitzHugh, bishop of London. In it he directs his body to be buried in the church of St. Mary, Wenden Magna, with instructions for five wax tapers and twenty-four poor men holding torches, though there is no mention of a brass. He was a fairly well known man; keeper of the great wardrobe 1399 to 1408, and still alive in 1422, according to the Patent Rolls; and he does not appear to have had any relative of the same name. His son and heir was named John.

He may have had his brass prepared in advance, or his executors may have bought one ready-made. In either case, the conflict of date and style is noteworthy.

R. C. FOWLER.

Great Sampford Church.—The church of Great Sampford was granted to Battle Abbey, in Sussex, by William Rufus, and afterwards, with the chapel of Hempstead annexed, it was appropriated to the abbey.

I have recently discovered at the Public Record Office the original deed¹ of appropriation, with ordination of the vicarage, by Stephen Gravesend, bishop of London, dated at Orset, 25th February, 1319-20. This is not found in the extant portion of Gravesend's register, which is imperfect, and consequently the date of the appropriation was unknown to Newcourt and Morant.

R. C. F.

Prittlewell Priory.—Referring to the account given on p. 249, it should be noted that the Priory and park were acquired in 1917 by Mr. R. A. Jones of Southend, and presented to the Corporation 'for perpetual public use,' a condition of the gift being that the buildings should be utilised as a museum, and arising out of my own suggestion it was stipulated that the Corporation should excavate the site.

The Corporation are to be congratulated upon the spirited manner in which they are proceeding to restore, so far as practicable, the buildings to their former monastic condition; and when this work, of which Mr. P. M. Johnston has charge, has been accomplished, it will serve as an object lesson to other towns. The excavations are also proceeding satisfactorily, but these it is impossible at present to complete, owing to part of the site of the church being still encumbered with buildings. The partial work already done points, however, to an erection of greater importance than anticipated, and interesting features in plan.

W. A. CATER.

IN MEMORIAM.

BISHOP THOMAS STEVENS, D.D., F.S.A.

Deputy President of the Essex Archæological Society.

✠ THE sudden death of Bishop Stevens, until his recent retirement better known as Bishop of Barking, has come as a great shock. In spite of advancing years, he was remarkable for the keen and vigorous interest he took in many matters—charitable, educational, fraternal and archæological—in all of which his knowledge and judgment were valued.

Born in 1841, he was educated at Shrewsbury School and Magdalene College, Cambridge; and after strenuous work in London-over-the-Border and Saffron Walden he was appointed Archdeacon of Essex in 1894 and Bishop of Barking in 1901. In 1889 he was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries. Two years later he became a member of our Society, and it is probable that no other member during the past thirty years has been more regular in attendance at meetings and excursions. In 1901 he was elected Vice-President, and from 1911 to 1916 he filled the office of President, in which he was a worthy representative of the Society and an excellent chairman, patient and courteous, popular, and ever ready to impart his knowledge to any who wished to learn.

In boyhood he learned the fascination of the study of things ancient, and spent much time at Stonehenge and Old Sarum, places easily accessible from his home near Salisbury. To some extent he assisted his brother, Edward T. Stevens, in writing *Flint Chips, a guide to Pre-historic Archæology*. While an undergraduate he spent some time in Brittany and Northern France, reading for his degree and incidentally studying, as a recreation, ancient stone monuments in such places as Carnac and Plouharnel. He developed a great love for ecclesiastical architecture, and on this subject gave a series of Cambridge University Extension Lectures. He enjoyed nothing more than wandering about Belgium and France, visiting churches and cathedrals, especially those least well known to the ordinary tourist. In 1913, persuaded by many friends to take a more extended holiday, he travelled to Denmark, Finland, Russia and

Sweden. Only a few weeks ago he was busy taking photographs of the little chapel of St. Peter, Bradwell-on-Sea, the restoration of which to sacred purposes was a scheme in which he was deeply interested. In August he left his daughter's home for a short holiday at Peterborough, from whence he travelled to Wymondham, where, on the 22nd, in the little old-world inn, he passed away. He will be greatly missed, and not least by the members of our Society. His wife, formerly Miss Anne Elizabeth Bertram, whom he married in 1866, died in 1918.

A good portrait of the Bishop was published in vol. xiv., p. 193, of the *Transactions*.

THE REV. HENRY LETTSOM ELLIOT, M.A.

A Vice-President of the Essex Archaeological Society.

✠ By the death of Mr. Elliot at Gosfield Vicarage on 11th July, 1920, the Society lost one of its most distinguished members. Born at Meerut, India, on 4th July, 1831, he was the eldest son of Sir Henry Miers Elliot, K.C.B., who was the third son of John Elliot, Esq., of Pimlico Lodge, St. Margaret's, Westminster. His mother was Eliza Rebecca, one of the daughters of William Wickham Cowell, Esq., of the Bengal Civil Service, and of Amelia Ramsay, a daughter of Sir James Campbell of Inverneil.

Mr. Elliot was entered as a Commoner of Winchester in 1846, whence he passed to Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1850. After taking his B.A. degree in 1854, he was ordained deacon in the same year by the Bishop of Peterborough. In 1855 he took Priest's orders, and in 1857 became an M.A. From 1854-63 he was curate of St. Giles', Northampton; and from 1863-1871 chaplain of Birmingham Gaol, where he did highly successful work in his after care of the prisoners, from many of whom he received letters expressing their gratitude for what he had done for them. In 1871 the late Mr. Samuel Courtauld presented him to the living of Gosfield, which he held until the day of his death.

Soon after his appointment to Gosfield, Mr. Elliot began to devote himself to the study of heraldry, with such success that he became the acknowledged authority on the subject in the county, and achieved a reputation which extended far beyond its boundaries. He was always ready to place his great knowledge of heraldry at the disposal of students, and many writers on genealogical and other

subjects have reason to feel grateful for information received from him. As an instance of this it may be recalled that the whole of the heraldry in the late Mr. Chancellor's large work of the *Ancient Sepulchral Monuments of Essex* was supplied by Mr. Elliot. His executors have presented to the Society his valuable Ordinary of Essex Arms, and it is hoped to give an account of this and other writings in the next Part of the *Transactions*.

Having joined the Society in 1873, Mr. Elliot became a member of the Council in 1886 and was elected a Vice-President in 1917.

In 1859 Mr. Elliot married Elizabeth Burton Buckley, eldest daughter of the late the Rev. John Wall Buckley, vicar of St. Mary's, Paddington, who predeceased her husband in 1917. They had six sons and three daughters.

T. H. CURLING.

PUBLICATIONS.

Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England).

An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Essex.

Volume i., xxxvii. + 430 pp. (London. Stationery Office. 30s. net).

AFTER some delay caused by the War, the long expected first volume of this great work has now been issued. It deals with the district north-west of and including the parishes of Birchanger, Stansted Mountfitchet, Takeley, Great and Little Dunmow, Stebbing, Great Saling, Rayne, Bocking, Gosfield, Halstead, Little Maplestead, Gestingthorpe, Wickham St. Paul and Bulmer; that is to say, the hundreds of Clavering, Uttlesford and Freshwell, most of the hundred of Hinckford and part of the hundred of Dunmow; about a quarter of the county in all.

The greater part of the book is taken up with the inventory of monuments down to 1714, arranged by parishes in alphabetical order and sub-divided in each parish into pre-historic monuments and earthworks, Roman monuments and earthworks, English ecclesiastical monuments, English secular monuments, and unclassified monuments. In addition to the description of buildings, details and fittings, such as glass, panelling, etc., are mentioned; and location is indicated by reference to the sheet of the 6-inch Ordnance map. This is followed by a list of monuments selected by the Commission as especially worthy of preservation; a glossary of architectural, heraldic and archæological terms; and a copious index, with detailed classification of subjects. There are numerous photographs and plans, and two maps.

In a sectional preface the extent and importance of each class in the district are briefly noted, and attention is called to any particularly interesting examples. Pre-historic earthworks are few, but those of later date are more common, the chief being at Clavering, Castle Hedingham, Saffron Walden and Stansted Mountfitchet. The principal Roman remains are the village at Great Chesterford and the burial hills at Bartlow, with farms and country houses at

Ashdon, Ridgewell and elsewhere. It is hardly necessary to refer to the castles of Hedingham and Saffron Walden, the churches of Saffron Walden, Thaxted, Little Maplestead and Castle Hedingham, and houses such as Audley End, Horham Hall, Moyns Park and Spains Hall; but many to whom these are known have never seen the early churches of Little Bardfield, Chickney, Hadstock and Strethall, and manor houses of Little Chesterford, Tiptofts and Broadoaks. More than 200 houses of pre-Reformation origin are scheduled, and many of later date. In all, some 2,042 monuments are described from 85 parishes, an average of 24 to each parish. Among those specially recommended for preservation are the mount and bailey at Great Easton, contour camp at Littlebury, maze at Saffron Walden, almshouses at Audley End, Friends' meeting-house at Stebbing, gildhall at Thaxted and barn at Widdington.

A few subjects, such as church bells and chests, have already been exhaustively studied in special monographs; but the survey of some, such as brasses, plate and glass, is still scattered or incomplete. For these, and for others not yet touched, the present work will be invaluable as a summary or a basis for further study. The Inventory and the Victoria County History together, so far as they have been completed, cover most of the subjects in which this Society is interested; and their treatment of these is so systematic and so nearly up-to-date that no student or enquirer can afford to neglect them.

A Contribution to an Essex Dialect Dictionary.

By Rev. EDWARD GEPP, M.A. ix. + 80 pp. (London: Routledge, 5s. net).

HITHERTO the chief works dealing with this subject have been Charnock's *Glossary*, which is hardly satisfactory, and Wright's *English Dialect Dictionary* (with bibliography), the information in which is largely second-hand. The dialect has been used in novels, but these are of doubtful value for serious study, and some are written by strangers. Mr. Gepp refers to the above, but he has taken care not to admit words until certified by natives or residents or found in old documents, and he has generally confined himself to the parishes of High Easter, Felsted and Little Dunmow, with which he is well acquainted. As he says: 'Dialect speech is shy game It must not be obvious, save to one or two chosen folk, that one is on the hunt.'

Half the volume is taken up by the dictionary, comprising about 900 words. In many cases it is not easy to say whether a word is a

genuine survival or merely modern slang; or whether it is really local or used in many parts of England. Thus 'thrive' appears to be a northern word, with Essex as the southern limit of its use. On the other hand, additions may be found in other parts of Essex. Perhaps in the cases of especially rare words the location might be given, as is done by naturalists.

Probably the most interesting part of the book is the grammar, which includes such well-known expressions as the elliptical use of 'do' and the substitution of 'that' for 'it.' After this come sections on phonology and further observations of historical and general character.

Mr. Gepp has written an interesting and useful book. He disarms criticism by his modest title, and he will no doubt be glad to receive notes and additions for a second edition when it is required.

The Manors of Low Hall and Salisbury Hall, Walthamstow.

20 pp. (Walthamstow Antiquarian Society. Official Publication, No. 7).

MR. G. F. BOSWORTH here continues the series of local monographs which he began in 1915. He describes the position and extents of the two manors, with details of tenements and their acreage in 1743 and 1817 respectively, and gives lists of the lords, with notes on some of them. There are six illustrations and two maps, on which most of the field-names are indicated.

The enterprise of the Society in issuing these publications is to be commended, but references to authorities should be given.

MEETINGS AND EXCURSIONS.

THURSDAY, 27th MAY, 1920.

WENDENS AMBO AND AUDLEY END.

This proved to be a very popular excursion, and, in spite of the fact that it was necessary to limit it to members only, upwards of 150 ladies and gentlemen attended. An able description of Wendens Ambo church was given by the Rev. G. M. Benton, and after an *al fresco* luncheon a visit was paid to the Abbey farm. A great discussion took place there as to the date of the buildings, some, including Mr. Benton, believing them to be of post suppression date, and others of a date which would give them a monastic origin.

At Audley End House the members were received by the owner, the Lord Braybrooke. Having suggested that the party should be divided into two, Lord Braybrooke personally conducted each section over the house, and with his perfect knowledge of its contents made the tours most interesting. Subsequently he entertained the members at tea, and a hearty vote of thanks was accorded him for his kindness and hospitality on the motion of the Deputy-President, the Right Rev. Bishop Stevens.

THURSDAY, 8th JULY, 1920.

FINCHINGFIELD, STAMBOURNE, GREAT YELDHAM, AND SIBLE
HEDINGHAM.

This was generally acknowledged to be a most enjoyable and interesting excursion.

Travelling by motor char-a-bancs from Colchester and Braintree, the party reached Finchingfield church at 10.45 a.m., and here and throughout the day Mr. Wykeham Chancellor acted as guide, giving in his well-known and capable way detailed descriptions of the buildings visited by us. After leaving Finchingfield church,

we proceeded to Spains Hall, where Mr. and Mrs. A. W. Ruggles-Brise gave us a most hearty welcome. Luncheon was partaken of in the grounds, and following this we made a thorough inspection of the mansion under the guidance of Mr. Ruggles-Brise. Before leaving Spains Hall the Honorary Secretary proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. and Mrs. Ruggles-Brise for the kindness they had shown us.

Proceeding onwards towards the Colne Valley, we visited Stambourne and Great Yeldham churches, and on our arrival at Sible Hedingham Rectory partook of tea in a marquee on the lawn, the arrangements for the tea having been most kindly and efficiently made by a number of ladies in the parish. After tea we visited Sible Hedingham church.

THURSDAY, 23rd SEPTEMBER, 1920.

MALDON AND BEELEIGH ABBEY.

Under the able guidance of Mr. A. W. Clapham we had a most enjoyable and interesting day at Maldon and Beeleigh Abbey. During the morning we visited St. Mary's church, St. Peter's tower and the Plume Library, the Moot Hall and All Saints' church. Each of these buildings or their contents presented features of more than ordinary interest. At 1.15 p.m. the party, divided into two groups, lunched at the King's Head and Blue Boar Hotels. We then made our way to Beeleigh Abbey, where our kind host and hostess, Mr. and Mrs. R. E. Thomas, gave us a warm welcome. A fascinating afternoon was spent in hearing Mr. Clapham's description of the abbey and the President's paper on the Heart of St. Roger, and in inspecting the beautiful remains of the monastic buildings, which include the chapter house, the calefactory, and part of the dorter. After reading the President's paper, the Honorary Secretary moved a vote of condolence with the family of the late Bishop Stevens, in which he alluded to his great services to the Society as President and Deputy-President, and to his lovable personality. The vote was passed in silence, all upstanding.

At the end of the afternoon we were entertained at tea in the chapter house by Mr. and Mrs. Thomas, and the grateful thanks of the party were accorded them on the motion of the Honorary Secretary.

NEW MEMBERS.

Elected at Audley End on 27th May, 1920.

DE BURIATTE, Miss G. M., Langford Place, Maldon.
 HICKS, Miss AMY M., Runsell Green, Danbury,
 Chelmsford.
 ADLINGTON, W., Crane Hill Lodge, Ipswich.
 HODGES, Mrs. L. E., Broomfield Hall, nr. Chelmsford.
 GILBEY, ALFRED NEWMAN, Mark Hall, Harlow.
 BLOMFIELD, S., Raonah House, New Town Road,
 Colchester.
 SHAW, HARRY A., Orchard Cottage, Roydon.
 MARLAR, J. F., North Hill, Colchester.
 HILLS, ALFRED, Bocking End, Braintree.
 WORTLEY, STAMP, Brooklands, Chelmsford.

ON THE NOMINATION OF—

Mr. W. Chancellor.
 The Hon. Secretary.
 The Hon. Secretary.
 Miss H. Marriage.
 Mrs. Gilbey.
 Mr. Miller Winch
 The Rev. J. G. Geare
 Mrs. Mason.
 Mr. W. Chancellor.
 Mr. W. Chancellor.

Elected at Finchingfield on 8th July, 1920.

PAWLE, Mrs., Newport House, Great Baddow.
 EVANS, The Rev. J. A., D.D., The Rectory, Sible
 Hedingham.
 CORBETT, The Rev. Canon, The Rectory, Wanstead.
 TINSLEY, JOHN JOSEPH, 2, Runwell Terrace,
 Southend-on-Sea.
 WILKINSON, Miss, Stanway Grange, Colchester.
 TRITTON, Miss OLIVE, Lyons Hall, Great Leighs,
 Chelmsford.
 GEPP, The Rev. EDWARD, M.A., Chaffix, Felsted.
 BRUNWIN, G. W., Haverings, Rayne, Braintree.
 YOUNGHUSBAND, Miss, Monken Hadley, High Gar-
 rett, Braintree.
 PARKER, Mrs. C. W., Faulkbourne Hall, Witham.
 HIRST, The Rev. B. L., St. James' Rectory, Col-
 chester.
 HANBURY, Mrs. J., Great West Hatch, Chigwell.

ON THE NOMINATION OF—

Mrs. Foster.
 The Hon. Secretary.
 The Hon. Secretary.
 Mr. F. Gregson.
 Mr. A. G. Wright.
 Mr. A. G. Wright.
 Miss C. Fell Smith,
 Miss E. Vaughan.
 Miss E. Vaughan.
 The Treasurer.
 Mr. G. Rickword
 Miss T. Buxton.

Elected at a Council Meeting held on 22nd July, 1920.

POLLEY, JOSEPH OTTEWELL, Ormonde Lodge,
 Kelvedon.
 NICHOLSON, Sir CHARLES, Bart., Porters, Southend-
 on-Sea.

ON THE NOMINATION OF—

Mr. W. Sheldrake.
 The Vice-Treasurer.

Elected at Beeleigh Abbey on 23rd September, 1920.

RAYLEIGH, The Lord, Terling Place, Witham.
 BLYTH, Mrs. S. H., Corner House, Ingatestone.
 BLYTH, Miss GRACE, Corner House, Ingatestone.
 CHRISTIE, JOHN, Ongar.

MERRIAM, C. P., Blue Bridge House, Halstead.
 BOWMAN, Capt., Wyvestow, Cambridge Road,
 Colchester.

WHITBY, Mrs. H., Errington Lodge, Lexden Road,
 Colchester.

CHURCH, WORTHINGTON, Salters Hall, Sudbury,
 Suffolk.

ON THE NOMINATION OF—

The Hon. Secretary.
 Major A. B. Bamford.
 Major A. B. Bamford.
 The Rev. Canon E. H. L.
 Reeve.

The Hon. Secretary.

Mr. A. W. Frost.

Dr. Whitby.

Mr. C. F. D. Sperling.

DONATIONS TO THE SOCIETY

To 25th September, 1920.

The Rev. Prebendary Cecil Deedes—

Thirty-four MS. papers, deeds, *etc.*, relating to Essex.

Mr. J. L. Glasscock—

“Some Old Stortford Inns” by the donor (second part).

Viscount Cowdray—

“Cowdray and Easebourne Priory,” by Sir W. H. St. John Hope, Litt.D., D.C.L.

Mr. Miller Christy, F.L.S.—

A set of rubbings of Essex Brasses.

The Executors of the late Rev. H. L. Elliot, M.A.—

Essex Armorial Index, 4 vols.

Heraldic rubbings and tracings in Essex Churches, 2 vols.

Mr. H. W. Lewer, F.S.A.—

The Journal of Roman Studies, vol. viii., 1918.

Sir James Galloway—

“Historical and Topographical Notes: Mersea and its neighbourhood.”

Small volume of photographs to illustrate same.

Messrs. Routledge—

“A Contribution to an Essex Dialect Dictionary,” by the Rev. Edward Gepp, M.A.

The Walthamstow Antiquarian Society—

“The Manors of Low Hall and Salisbury Hall, Walthamstow,”
by G. F. Bosworth.

The Rev. H. E. Field—

Deed relating to Chigwell and Lambourne.

From Societies in union for exchange of Publications.

Royal Archæological Institute—

Archæological Journal, vol. LXXIII.

British Archæological Association—

Journal (N.S.), vol. XXV.

Society of Antiquaries of London—

Proceedings, 2nd series, vol. XXXI.

Somerset Archæological and Natural History Society—

Proceedings, vol. LXV.

Surrey Archæological Society—

Collections, vol. XXXII.

Sussex Archæological Society—

Collections, vol. LX.

East Herts Archæological Society—

Transactions, vol. VI., part 2.

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