

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

Essex Archaeological Society.

VOL. XVII.

NEW SERIES.



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WINDOW

WINDOW

TOMB

WALL-PAINTING REPRESENTING THE MARTYRDOM OF
ST. LAURENCE.

Discovered in the Church of St. Swithun, Great Chishall, 1899.



TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

ESSEX ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

PIGS AND PANNAGE.

A short chapter on mediæval stock-rearing
illustrated by some Essex Manorial Records.

BY REV. CANON F. W. GALPIN.

It is not my purpose on the present occasion to deal with the history of the wild boar in England or even to trace the relationship which may exist between that warlike animal and the *chef d'œuvre* of modern breeding, the Essex pig. Possibly under the outward gloss of *kultur* the blood of the wild still runs in its veins; but many centuries have elapsed since boar-hunting provided a thrilling pastime for Saxon thane and Norman king. For, notwithstanding the attempt made by Charles I. to restore the breed to the royal hunting grounds of the New Forest, and efforts, made by private enterprise in the last century, to popularize wild swine in Dorset, our moorlands and countryside are now fortunately freed from the depredations of so ferocious a creature, which could inspire even prehistoric man with terror.

I intend to deal with quite a homely subject—the domestic pig: for in most civilized and even in partially civilized countries, this animal, dependent upon man for its care and food as he was on it for his fat and bacon, existed side by side with the untamed denizen of the forest. The ancient Egyptians, for instance, maintained large herds of swine, especially in the region of the Delta, and, when the waters of the Nile subsided, they turned them on to the moist land in order to press the seed into the ground and so protect it from the birds. From the Homeric poems also we learn that the much-travelled Ulysses possessed a fine herd—600 sows and

360 hogs—well tended and housed by his faithful swineherd, Eumaeus. The keeping of pigs then is an office both ancient and honourable, and whether it were Roman, Saxon or Norman who held our country, the pigsty figured in the menage of the master's house. In fact so important was the feeding of swine under the manorial system that in the Domesday record the extent of the woodlands is generally reckoned according to the number of swine that could be maintained on the beech-mast and acorns which littered the ground in the winter months, this maintenance being commonly known as Pannage.

According to the *Rectitudines singularum personarum* (Rights and duties of particular persons) written about the year 1000, the care of the pigs was committed to two classes of swineherds, whose duty it also was to prepare the animals for human consumption. There was (1) the rent-paying swineherd. "He must give of his slaughter according to the custom of the estate. On many estates the custom is that he give every year 15 swine for sticking, 10 old and 5 young, and have himself what he needs beyond that. He must take care that he prepare and singe well the slaughtered swine. . . . He must have a horse for his lord's use." Then there was (2) the serf-swineherd who "keeps the in-herd" (*i.e.* the lord of the manor's herd). He was allowed a sucking pig from the sty and *interiora* when he had prepared bacon.

We have an instance of this pig-service amongst the tenures of the royal manor of Hatfield Regis (or Hatfield Broad Oak) in this county, and I take this, as I do other particulars, from the small but valuable collection of deeds now preserved under the care of the vicar and churchwardens in the church library of that parish: for this my thanks are due to them. Two farms on the manor provided swine-keepers, being held on the service of keeping the lord's pigs for the year, one in the forest, the other in the park at Bromesho where there was a small herd but no pannage. Each tenant was given a young pig at Michaelmas to go with the lord's pig till the following Easter: and when the pigs of which he had the care were killed for the larder, he had all their tails with three joints of the chine nearest the tail. During all the time of pannage he had half-bushel of corn every week from the lord.

In *Seneschaucie*—a description in Norman French of the various officers of a manor written in the thirteenth century—we have the following details of the office of Swineherd with some sage advice on profitable pig-keeping:

The Swineherd ought to be on those manors where swine can be sustained and kept in the forest or on moors or waste or in marshes without sustenance

from the Grange; and if the swine can be kept with little sustenance from the Grange during hard frost then must a pigsty¹ (*porcherie*) be made in a marsh or wood where the swine may be night and day. . . . And if there is no wood or marsh or waste where the swine may be sustained without being altogether kept on the Grange, no swineherd or swine shall be on the manor, except only such as can be kept in August on the stubble and leavings of the Grange; and when the corn is threshed for sale and as soon as they are in good condition and well, let them be sold. For whoever will keep swine for a year from the cost of the Grange alone and count the cost and the allowance for the swine and swineherd, together with the damage they do yearly to the corn, he shall lose twice as much as he shall gain, and this will soon be seen by whoever keeps account.

I quote from a translation made by Elizabeth Lamond for the Royal Historical Society's edition.

So much then for the swineherd's duties. But the general tenants of the manor had also the privilege of turning out their swine at the fall of the year into the forest and woodland, and it was this privilege which was originally known as Pannage,² although the term was afterwards applied to the practice as well. This privilege is frequently mentioned in old manorial records and highly valued, at least by landlords. In an extent of the manor of Havering, Essex (1306-7), we are informed that "all tenants in the said manor ought to pay pannage for all the swine which they have between the Feast of St. Michael (29 September) and the Feast of St. Martin (11 November), except those whom the king's charter protects, wheresoever they be within the manor: to wit, they owe a tenth part of the value of each pig which is worth more than 5*d.* whether there be acorns (*pesona*) or not, so nevertheless that for a pig worth more than 20*d.* the tenant shall give only 2*d.*" In the Glastonbury Costumal (c. 1250) it is stated that if the tenant of the manor of Burton (in Marnhull, Dorset), held under the abbot, have porkers, "he can sell them at will before the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin (8 September), but, after that day, not at all unless he give

¹ The Homeric poems give us an interesting account of an early pigsty (*cf.* *Odyssey*, Book xiv., lines 5-20). It was a large enclosure surrounded by heavy stones upon which was placed a fence of thorny bush cuttings: outside, oak posts set in the ground close together afforded protection against wild beasts. Within there were twelve pens with fifty sows in each; the hogs slept outside the pens, guarded by the swineherd, who had a hut on an elevated position, from which with his five dogs, he could survey the herd. The mediæval pigsty was made in much the same way, posts with hurdles of reed, brushwood or wattle protecting the enclosure. At Faulkbourne, in this county, there is a long grassy field with a broad sheltered hollow in its length; at the lower end it is artificially terraced on either side, and at the bottom is marshy ground partially drained. An estate map of 1765 gives it the name by which it is still known, "The Butchery." As it lies between the Hall and the home farm, could it have been the site of the old manorial pigsty and "Butchery" a corruption of the Norman French *porcherie*?

² Various derivations have been given for the word; Spelman (*Glossarium Archaeologicum*, 1664) treats it as a Latinized form of "Pawns, a name given to the fruit of woodland trees and acorns": others connect it with the Latin *panis* (bread-food), but Webster's *Dictionary* (1911 Edition) is probably nearer the mark in stating that it represents the old French *pannage*, low Latin *pannadium* for *pastinicum*, from *pastio*, a pasturing.

pannage to the lord." On the other hand there are frequent instances of tenants proceeding in Chancery for protection against breaches of manorial customs and the loss of pannage.

The fixing of the payment for this privilege and the settlement of place and time of pannage was termed "agisting," and for the royal demesnes in Essex Henry II. appointed four knights "to agist the forests and receive the king's pannage." The king's woods were to be "agisted" first, fifteen days before to fifteen days after Michaelmas. Fisher (*The Forest of Essex*) informs us that under the Forest Charter granted by King John and confirmed by Henry III. "every freeholder might agist his woods at his pleasure and have his pannage: he might freely drive his swine through the king's woods for the purpose of agisting them in his own woods or elsewhere,



SEPTEMBER — AGISTING THE WOODS.

O.E. Calendar, eleventh century.

with liberty to tarry on the way in the Forest for a night." I think it is this scene which is depicted in an English calendar of the eleventh century (Brit. Mus., Cotton MS., Julius A vi., copied with slight alterations in Tiberius B v.), and not "the hunting of the wild boar," as commonly stated. The swine, as shown in the illustration, seem much more interested in the acorns than in the two men and the dogs close at their heels. Here, as I take it, we have the "agisting," and the two swineherds are driving the pigs to the pannage grounds. Such a herd was called "a dryft": if of wild swine "a sownder": if of boars "a singular."

¹ The primary meaning of the word seems to be 'to lie, to linger, or to stop at,' from the Norman French *agiser*, derived through the low Latin *jacitare*, from *jacere*.

The payment for pannage was termed "avesage,"¹ a word which seems to have escaped the notice of most lexicographers. Avesage rolls are rare, but manorial records of pannage courts are not so uncommon: and although I have carefully inspected the Fulham Avesage Rolls in the Public Record Office, I have not found one in so perfect a condition as that dated the sixth year of the reign of King Henry V. (1413), and now preserved at Hatfield Broad Oak. On both sides of a thick skin (2 feet 9½ inches long by 7¼ inches wide) are written the names of the tenants of the royal manor who

[illegible]

AN AVESAGE ROLL — 1413 A.D.
(Hatfield Broad Oak Church Library).

were entitled to turn their pigs into Hatfield forest to feed on the acorns, there to be found in plenty. The vellum is unusually well

¹ It is, I believe, derived through a low Latin word *avezagium*, from *avezare*, itself a corrupt variant of the Latin *adverare*, meaning to value or tax, just as *avezatio* stands for *adveratio*, the actual taxing made. Carpenter (*Glossarium Novum*, 1766) gives the meaning as "aestimare," and instances such phrases as "*avezationes bonorum*," "*pro adverando seu taxando eadem*." It must not be confused with the commoner word 'average' (*aveugium*), which means service or a composition for service due to the lord of the manor from his tenant.

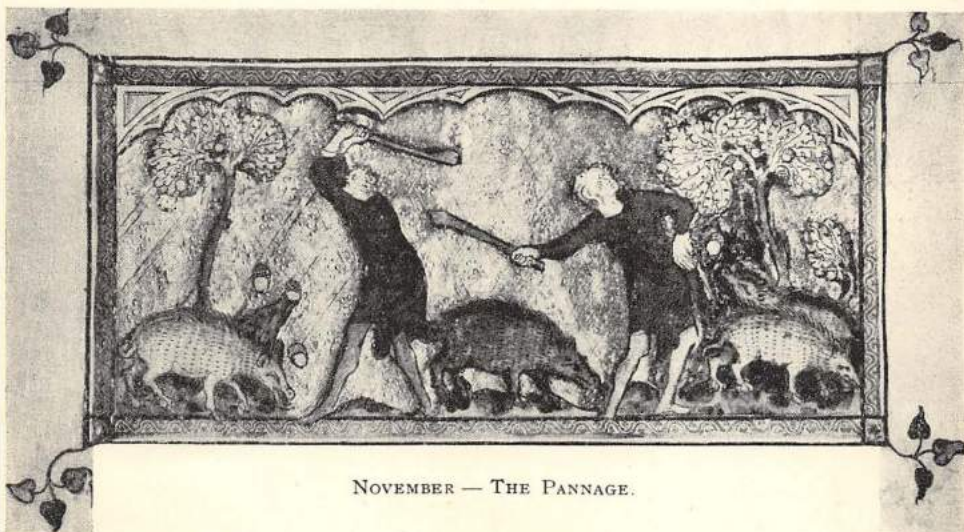
preserved, of a dull fawn colour when closed, but its surface white within, a few stains, and the black ink practically unfaded. On the back of the roll is inscribed in faded writing "VI. H. 5," and below in a seventeenth century hand, "Rolls of the first seaven yeares of Henry the fifthe," as if, at one time, it belonged to a series. The accompanying reproduction of the heading and opening entries will give an idea of its arrangement and contents (see illustration). It begins as follows, and I have inserted a translation of the original Latin where necessary :—

Rotula Avesagii de Hatfield Regis anno regni Regis Henrici quinti a Conquestu sexto [a roll of the Avesage of Hatfield Regis in the sixth year of the reign of King Henry, the fifth from the Conquest].

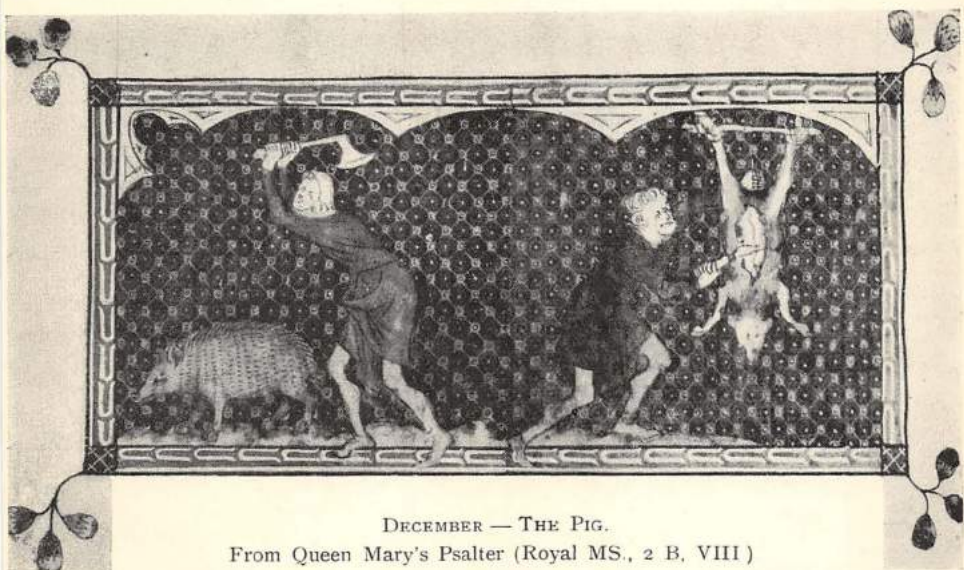
De Richardo Zynge seniore pro ii porcis (<i>for two swine</i>)	-	-	iiid
De Roberto Turtelof pro ii porcellis (<i>for two pigs</i>)	-	-	iiid
De Johanne Algood pro ii porcellis	-	-	iiid
De Johanne Bolonia seniore pro i sue (<i>sow</i>) et ii porculis (<i>porklings</i>)	-	-	iiid
De Rogero Lynberd pro i sue et pro v porcellis	-	-	viiid
De Johanne Lewkyn pro ii porcellis	-	-	iiid
De Johanne Saman pro ii suibus i porcello et v porculis	-	-	viiid. ob.
De William Forthe pro i sue ii porcellis et vi porculis	-	-	viiid
De Johanne Alysandre pro iii suibus, i porco et i porcello, xx porculis	-	-	xixd
(et alii)			

There are in all 138 names; some of them are those of women, as Margaret Grubbe, Alicia West, Johanna Attewoode, Isabella Pekele and Agnes Mott; whilst, of the others, some names such as Cook, Sparwe (Sparrow), Speller, are still known in the district, and Crabbe and Ongar are commemorated in farm holdings. The payments, for reasons given below, vary from an obol ($\frac{1}{2}d.$) to 2s. 1d., the total amounts to 3*l.* 11s. 1d., which is equal to over 50*l.* in present currency.

The scale of payment was fixed according to the age and description of the animal. In a metrical Latin-English vocabulary of the fifteenth century (Harl. MS., 1002) we find the pig-race divided and catalogued as follows: *aper*, a bore; *porcellus*, a pig; *porcus*, a swyne; *sus*, a sow; *scrophæ*, a gelte; *suilla*, a sow pyg. The term gelt or gilt is still employed for a pig not used for breeding. Another vocabulary of the same century (Reg. MS., 17) gives us: *porca*, a sowe; *porcus*, a swyne; *porcellus*, a gryse; *aper*, a bore. Gryse or grice for a young pig is a word of Scandinavian origin now rarely found in our country. In the Cliffe Court Rolls of the thirteenth and fourteenth century (24 Ed. I., and 1 Ed. II.), in the Public Record Office, the Pannage Rolls mention only swine (*porcus*), though some are rated at 1d., others 1½d. each. In a late fourteenth century Avesage Roll of the manor of Fulham (8-10 Richard II.), which manor included Hammersmith, Finchley,



NOVEMBER — THE PANNAGE.



DECEMBER — THE FIG.

From Queen Mary's Psalter (Royal MS., 2 B, VIII)

Ealing and Acton, as supplying, in those days, food in the woods for pigs, we find the following rates: *porcus* 2*d.*, *porcellus* 1½*d.*, *porculus* 1*d.* In the manor of Hatfield the rate was lower; perhaps it was a question of supply and demand. For every pig kept in the forest from Michaelmas to Martinmas the charge was 2*d.* for each pig of two years old or upward (described in the roll as *aper* and *sus*), 1½*d.* for each pig a year-and-a-half old (*porcus*), 1*d.* for a pig a year old (*porcellus*), and a ½*d.* for the porkling (to use Thomas Tusser's word) of six months old or under (*porculus*). I believe that a farthing was demanded for a pig farrowed within the half-year if before the first day of August, but no such calculation is found in this particular roll.

The average prices for swine in the markets of this period would surprise some of the present day stock-keepers, but we must remember that the amount must be multiplied by fifteen at least to bring it up to present value. The average market value of a boar (*aper*) was 5*s.*, of a sow (*sus*) 3*s.* 5*d.*, of a swine (*porcus*) 2*s.* 11*d.*, of a pig (*porcellus*) 4¾*d.*, and of a porkling (*porculus*) 2*s.* 3*d.* It may appear strange that the porkling should command a greater value than the pig six months older, but he had the advantage of being a sucking pig or nearly so, whilst the other was a lean pig out for fattening.

Let me, in conclusion, illustrate some of the difficulties connected with the keeping of pigs from a manorial standpoint by the following extracts from the Hatfield Court Rolls.

First of all, in an open forest attempts would certainly be made by unscrupulous persons to run their pigs free of cost, and there are frequent cases of *avesage* defaulters brought by the woodward before the Manorial Court: two or three instances will suffice. On the Saturday after the Feast of St. Lucia, 1442, a certain William Barber was charged with running various pigs and porklings without stating their number or paying *avesage*, although he had paid for a sow. At the next court Thomas Parys and John Gloucester were summoned for the like offence for non-payment, the punishment being confiscation of the pigs. At another court of earlier date (1314) it was found by inquisition of twelve jurors that John Whytehead made concealment of ten full-aged pigs and two porklings of half a year old on St. Martin's day last past; but the jurors also found that the said John was ignorant of the *avesage* due that day by custom of the manor, being a stranger; and it was stated by the bailiffs of the manor that when the said John was advised of the custom of *avesage* he immediately gave up the pigs and "he is now to pay 6*d.* for the above *avesage*."

The pannage rights, too, were invaded by trespassers who gathered acorns, and a case appeared before the court held on the Saturday after the Feast of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin, 1452, when John Bedwell, of Great Hallingbury, was charged with entering the forest and in the time of pannage collecting and carrying off a great quantity of acorns (*quam plures glandes*)—he did not spare himself—to the serious loss of those who had agreed for pannage. Stray pigs were also offenders, and the attraction of such a forest as that at Hatfield must have been very strong, especially to the young. A minute of the court held on the Saturday next after the Feast of St. Hilary (1466) deals with a little boar (*aperculus*) who, coming from outside (*de extraheniis*), had for a whole year feasted himself in the lord's demesne, and although he had been proclaimed both in the market place as well as in the church (*tam in foro quam in ecclesia*) according to the custom of the country, no one had claimed the waif, and so he was handed over to the lord of the manor, the value being 16s.

Sometimes the pannage fees were commuted and paid in kind. Nicolas of Stortford, the holder of a house and some land, if he had two pigs, had to give them for avesage: "if he has one, he shall buy another of the same size and give them for avesage: but unless he has pigs, he shall not be called upon to give by this custom," which was certainly considerate but not unexpected. Practically everyone in the manor—except Sir Nicolas de Barenton (the king's forester) and his tenants, and the tenants of the prior of Hatfield, whose lands were held by gift to the church—who should at any time between Michaelmas and Martinmas keep pigs was liable to pannage charges: namely, if they had ten pigs of one size they were to give the tenth, being the best but two: but if not of one size they were to pay pannage for each according to custom: if one pig, nothing: if two, nothing: if three, according to their age. From the accounts of the steward of the priory for the year 1326 we learn that the prior tithed the pannage of the manor and received from the Earl of Hereford, the then lord, 8s. at Martinmas.

Before leaving the description of this interesting Avesage Roll, I must draw attention to a sidelight which is thrown upon another curious custom of the manor by an entry made upon it. After the list of the first fifty names are inserted the words "*Stanstrete v vomeres*." Adjoining the north side of the forest runs the old Roman road called the Stane Street, and along this highway there were already settlers: although they did not live in the manor of Hatfield, they were nevertheless allowed to turn their pigs into the forest for pannage on condition that they paid avesage and gave to

the lord of the manor five ploughshares (*vomer*s) annually: hence the memorandum of the woodward. In an extent taken before Sir Humphrey de Walden and Sir Nicholas de Weston in the year 1328 (now in the library at Hatfield), twelve men, living at Stane-street, near the forest of Hatfield, but in the parish of Takeley, claimed a right of common for their cattle in the forest of Hatfield, paying a certain rent at Martinmas, *viz.* two parts of five ploughshares, each ploughshare valued at 1s.

Though the swine were driven into the woodlands in September, the principal month for fattening them seems to have been November: for many of the old English picture calendars illustrate the chief duties of this month by a woodland scene with miniature oak trees, which serfs are belabouring with large cudgels while hungry pigs are catching remarkably fine acorns in their open mouths. The November illustration herewith reproduced by the kind permission of the Director of the British Museum, is from the so-called Queen Mary's Psalter, being English work of the early fourteenth century (Royal MS., 2 B, VIII.), while that for December completes the scene and carries us on to the end of the tale. In a Shepherd's Calendar, entitled *Le Compost et Kalendrier des bergers*, published at Paris, 1499 (Brit. Mus., I B, 39718), the month of November provides us with a view of the whole process from acorn to bacon—the swineherd being helped by his wife, whilst an assistant is coming out of the house with a flaming straw wisp to well-singe the bristles! *Sic transit gloria!*

CHALVEDON, KELVEDON, AND KELVEDON HATCH.

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

Now that there seems, at last, to be a fair prospect of the place-names of all England being studied on a uniform system and on sound scholarly lines, we may hope that those of Essex will receive, for the first time, proper scientific treatment. Hitherto, in common with the place-names of other districts, they have been alternately the prey of confident and ardent amateurs, who have nothing but local knowledge, and of those pundits of philology, who combine with an absolute confidence an ignorance of topography and of local history of which they sometimes seem rather proud than otherwise. Aloof from facts, from maps, from records, the work of these philologists "is not concerned with the question whether the names fit the places to which they are attached, nor (*sic*) whether they ever did so." This passage, I hasten to add, is taken from the Preface to *Place-names of Lancashire*, by Professor Wyld, himself an extremist of this school, who deals with the development of such names "as a purely linguistic problem." It is one of those that are selected by Mr. Allen Mawer—himself a "Professor of the English language"—as involving "a serious defect of principle." Another writer of the same school is quoted by him as similarly writing "solely from the linguistic point of view," and holding that "the explanation of place-names can only be attempted in the first instance by the trained philologist": the historian, he claims, must only be allowed to "supplement his work afterwards."¹

I am in entire agreement with the protest made by Prof. Mawer in his paper² and with his carefully thought-out scheme for dealing with our English place-names, which has received the approval of our Society's Council.³ I have myself no claim to philological knowledge, but, as an historian and topographer, I am thankful to Professor Mawer for his greatly-needed protest against the philologist's tyranny. It is high time for speaking very plainly on the subject; but it must have needed some courage on the part of one

¹ *Place-names of Derbyshire*, p. 1.

² Read before the British Academy (*Proceedings of the B.A.*, vol. x., p. 6).

³ See also his *Place-names: an essay in co-operative study* (an inaugural lecture delivered at the University of Liverpool, 3 February, 1922).

who holds a Professorship of the English language to point out so plainly to his fellow-philologists the defects of extremist claims and of what I may term the arrogant neglect of all but philological methods. "Why not," he justly observes, "give your work a fair chance with the intelligent reader who happens to possess local knowledge? Many men of sound scholarly instincts look askance at the whole study of place-names when they find books on the subject full of explanations that contradict easily recognised topographical facts" (p. 6).¹

Professor Mawer's contention is remarkably confirmed by the case of the three Essex place-names at the head of this paper. My reason for selecting these is that all three are found, as I shall show below, in an elaborate note on the name *Cynlaue dyne*, which is found on p. 124 of *The Crawford collection of early charters*,² a work well-known to philologists and praised by Prof. Mawer himself.³ The argument in this note is somewhat difficult to follow, but it deals with (1) Kelvedon, in Witham Hundred, on the railway line from London to Marks Tey and Colchester; (2) Kelvedon Hatch, in Ongar Hundred, south of Chipping and of High Ongar and north-north-west of Brentwood; (3) Chalvedon in Pitsea, although the authors, we shall see, imagined this place also to be Kelvedon Hatch. I propose to deal with these places in their order.

KELVEDON.

"Kelvedon, otherwise Keldon, or Easterford," as Morant styles it, has, not unnaturally, been the subject of some confusion with Kelvedon Hatch. What is, however, more remarkable is that it narrowly escaped having its actual name eclipsed by that of 'Easterford.'⁴ In Norden's *Description of Essex* (1594) the map shows only "Easterforde" where Kelvedon stands,⁵ and in a paper on English roads in 1603, by Miss G. Scott Thomson,⁶ we find stages reckoned—

from Colchester to Esterfeeld
from Esterfeeld to Chelmsford.

¹ See, for instance, the critical review of Roberts' *Place-names of Sussex* by Mr. L. F. Salzman, Hon. Ed. of *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, in vol. lvii. (pp. 226-8)

² *Anecdota Oxoniensia: mediæval and modern series*, pt. vii. (1895).

³ Speaking of the value "to historical studies" of scientific research on place-names, he writes:—"What may be done in this direction by work on charters is shown by the work of Napier and Stevenson on the *Crawford charters*, while Stevenson's edition of Asser's *Life of Alfred* shows how much can be done with another type of document by one who is both philologist and historian" (*English place-name study*, p. 10).

⁴ This name is now preserved in that of the 'Easterford' Lodge of Freemasons, founded at Kelvedon in 1890.

⁵ Kelvedon Hatch is 'Kelvedon' on this map.

⁶ *Eng. Hist. Rev.* (1918), vol. xxxiii., p. 242.

'Esterfeeld' here is Kelvedon. Then, as to confusion between the two Kelvedons, it is partly due to the singular coincidence that the chief manors in both were held by Westminster Abbey. But the Domesday evidence, happily, makes it quite certain that while the five-hide manor of Kelvedon was already held by the abbey in the days of Edward the Confessor, its manor at Kelvedon Hatch had only been acquired amidst the tumult of the Conquest. The reader is asked to keep in mind this clear distinction, which ought to make impossible confusion between the two.

The acquisition of Kelvedon Hatch was of more than local importance, as will be seen from this passage in Freeman's *Norman Conquest*. Discussing "the operations of the fleet in 1066,"¹ he claimed that "some remarkable entries in the Norman Survey may be taken to imply that some naval engagement between English and Norman ships did take place at some stage or other of this wonderful year." He then proceeded, in his Note:—

Of the entries in Domesday referred to in the text, one, that about Æthelric of Kelvedon, distinctly asserts a battle, but without mentioning its date. It occurs under Essex, II., 14b. Æthelric held Kelvedon T.R.E. The survey adds, "Hic supradictus Ailricus abiit in navale prælium contra Willelmum Regem." This seems to imply an actual engagement, though of course it need not have been a general engagement. . . . The entry goes on to say that Æthelric on his return—when the fleet returned to London in September?—fell sick, perhaps from a wound, and left his lands at Kelvedon (*sic*) to Saint Peter at Westminster. "Quum rediit, cecidit in infirmitate, tunc dedit sancto Petro istud manerium."

I here quote Freeman's words as independent evidence on the meaning and date of the entry; my own translation of it will be found on p. 444 of the *Victoria History of Essex*, vol. i. I shall have to recur to it below.

The reader should observe that Freeman himself here fell victim to confusion; for he styled the place 'Kelvedon,' instead of Kelvedon Hatch. Newcourt, writing in or about the year 1700, fell into the same error, for he wrote, under 'Keldon *alias* Easterford,' that

K. Edward the Confessor, by his charter dated 5 kal. Jan. 1066,² confirmed this place by the name of *Kilwendun cum omnibus ad se pertinentibus* to the Monastery of Westminster, as of the gift of Agelricus, one of his nobles.³

When it came to Morant's turn (1768), he made the confusion worse than ever. For, while he gave, as usual, under Kelvedon (in

¹ See vol. iii., 2nd ed. (1875), pp. 339-340, and Note DD (pp. 728-9).

² This date may have been suggested by the actual date of Edward's death, *viz.* 5 Jan., 1066.

³ *Repertorium*, vol. ii., p. 350.

Witham Hundred), the relevant Domesday entries, he asserted in his text that

In the Saxons' time, some of the lands in this parish belonged to Agelric, who gave them to the Abbey of St. Peter's, Westminster. . . .

The manor of Church-hall . . . near the church, was originally in the Crown and holden under Edward the Confessor by Agelric, one of his nobles, who gave it, as we have said, to Westminster Abbey.

KELVEDON HATCH.

Passing now to 'Kelvedon Hatch,' we find Morant, I think, somewhat unfairly treated as to what he says of 'Hatch.' He wrote that this parish "has the addition of Hatch, *i.e.* a low gate towards the forest, to distinguish it from the other Kelvedon, or Easterford, in the Hundred of Witham" (vol. i., p. 185). In a short paper on this parish, which appeared in our *Transactions*¹ (1908), we read that "Morant gives the derivation of Kelvedon Hatch as the low gate towards the forest," but that, "as Dr. Joseph Wright, Professor of Anglo-Saxon in the University of Oxford, remarks, what part of the name can be translated 'the low gate towards the forest' he is at a loss to understand." It is obvious that our county's historian was here not dealing with the name 'Kelvedon Hatch,' but only with the word 'hatch,' and, moreover, that he was not giving a *translation* of that word, but was describing what a 'hatch' was in such cases as this.² That he was right in his description is shown by a passage in Fisher's *Forest of Essex*, where we read (pp. 276-7) of "the numerous gates or hatches, . . . particularly numerous in and around the ancient forest district." The author names more than twenty, 'Kelvedon hatch' among them. South-east of Kelvedon Hatch lies Fox Hatch, south of which is Pilgrim's Hatch, which has How Hatch to its west-south-west.

I do not here propose to repeat what Morant states concerning Kelvedon Hatch, although his account needs some addition and correction. Unfortunately, the short paper of which I have spoken above affords a glaring instance, not only of that mere repetition of Morant's statements, right or wrong, against which I have had to make energetic protests, but of additions to those statements which prove to be grave errors. Indeed, I cannot understand how such a paper ever came to be printed in the volumes of our *Transactions*. In the first place the title of the paper runs—"Some account of St. Germain's manor, Kelvedon Hatch." On the same page we

¹ *E.A.T.*, vol. x., pp. 345-6.

² For instance, under Barking, he wrote of "Aldbury hatch, denoting an *old seat*, near a *Hatch*, or low gate belonging to the forest" (vol. i., p. 7).

read in the text that "this parcel of land, after the Conquest, was called 'St. Germain's or Jermayne's manor,'" and we are told that "St. Germain's name is preserved in other parts of Essex besides the manor called after him in Kelvedon Hatch."¹ Now we have only to turn to Morant's narrative (vol. i., p. 185) to find that he styles this manor "Germins or Jermayns" and that there is actually no mention of a 'saint,' or of what this paper terms 'his cultus,' in his account!² The next erroneous addition in the above paper is of special interest to myself. As a genealogist I have studied the history of the Essex county families and the gradual diminution of the older ones in number. The oldest of these still remaining in possession of their seats and lands has apparently been that of Wright of Kelvedon Hatch, if the property is still retained. It seems, however, doubtful whether they or the Petres have held their lands the longer. According to Burke's *Landed Gentry* the Wrights have held Kelvedon Hall since 1538; Morant, however, could only say that "the Wright family became possessed of the capital manor in this parish between the years 1524 and 1544" (vol. i., p. 185).³ This is rather a wide margin, but it is clearly a safe one.

Now the erroneous addition of which I speak above is that of the year 1547 as the actual date. This statement puzzled me greatly until the solution occurred to me. This date is merely an almost incredible blunder, derived from what Morant states of the descent of the manor. I will here place the two statements side by side:—

MORANT.

The rectory was appendant to this Manor [of Germins or Jermayns] and by the presentations we can trace out the owners . . . John Wright, Gent., presented in 1547, and his descendants enjoy the estate to this day (vol. i., p. 185).

TRANSACTIONS.

This monarch [*i.e.* Henry VIII.] in 1547 presented (*sic*) the manor of 'Kellewdon' to John Wright, and it still remains in the same family (vol. x., p. 345).

It will be seen at once that, by a ludicrous blunder, this John Wright's 'presentation' of a rector to the living has been transformed, by the writer in our Society's *Transactions*, into a 'presentation' of the manor to John Wright by King Henry VIII.! I have had occasion, more than once, to protest against the mere repetition of Morant's statements, errors included; but, in this case,

¹ Among these places, we read, "there are also lands at Aldham and Little Tey called Germaines."

² In the index to this volume Germaine and Jermyn are found as the names of families.

³ His argument was that, in the year 1524, Humphrey Torrell of Navestock was holding, at his death, "this manor of Germins in Kellowdon of John Bolles, esquire, as of his manor of Kellowden" (*sic*), while, in 1544, Humphrey Torrell, at his death, was holding it of John Wright, "as of his manor of Kellowdon-Hatch."

the above paper is not only mere repetition of what Morant has stated, but has actually introduced error where his statements are perfectly correct! Members, I hope, will agree with me that this is not the purpose for which our *Transactions* are issued.

The third point illustrates the danger of repeating, without revision, Morant's statements. I here again place the two passages side by side:—

MORANT.

Ailric, or Agelric, gave his part of the parish to St. Peter's, which grant was confirmed by Edward the Confessor (vol. i., p. 185).

TRANSACTIONS.

Ailric gave his part of the parish to the abbey of St. Peter, Westminster, a grant afterwards confirmed by Edward the Confessor (vol. x., p. 345).

What I complain of here is not so much the repetition as the statement that this grant was confirmed by Edward the Confessor. For, at least in these days, it is obvious that Edward the Confessor could not have confirmed a grant which was not made till after his death, when the Conqueror, his successor, had mounted the English throne!¹ Making every allowance for the date at which Morant wrote, he ought, surely, to have seen for himself that such chronology as this made his statement impossible. Nevertheless, as I have shown, it was actually repeated, without question, so late as 1908!

Worse still, our county's historian actually assigned Ailric's gift both to Kelvedon and to Kelvedon Hatch.² This he did, apparently, without even realising his own self-contradiction. It was, no doubt, Newcourt's *Repertorium*, on which he relied in ecclesiastical matters, that here led him astray; for Newcourt, as I have shown, wrongly assigned the gift to Kelvedon (in Witham Hundred). We are once again reminded how difficult it is to correct an error when once started, on finding that Morant's strange blunder re-appeared, in due course, in 1903. The first lines of the opening page in vol. ix. of our *Transactions* runs as follows:—

In the year 1066, we find Agelricus, a Saxon noble, giving, with other lands, what has since become known as the manor of Church Hall, to St. Peter's, Westminster, Edward the Confessor confirming the gift a few days before his death.³

The closing words of this passage show that Mr. Hay had adopted the date given by Newcourt,—namely “5 *kal.* Jan.,” that is to say, some days before his death on 5 January. No alteration, however, can make the date possible, for, as I have shown above,

¹ See the quotation above (p. 12) from Freeman's *Norman Conquest*.

² See my quotations from his work above.

³ See a paper on “The parish church of St. Mary the Virgin, Kelvedon (Easterford),” by the Rev. E. F. Hay.

chronology forbids. The solution, however, of the puzzle is quite simple: it is that Edward's alleged charter of confirmation is now known to be spurious.

Strangely enough, one need not go outside our own *Transactions* to find additions that might have been made to Morant's account of Kelvedon Hatch. In 1904 our late regretted Treasurer, Mr. W. C. Waller, contributed a paper dealing with the lands in the Hundred of Ongar, of which there was a roll in the possession of the late Mr. James Round, that Morant had himself seen. We there read, of "Jermanes [manor] in Kelvedon" [Hatch], that it was held by Humfrey Torell, esquire, of Slades in Navestock.¹ This must have been the Humfrey Torrell who, at his death, 12 September, 1544, was holding that manor "of John Wright, esquire, as of his manor of Kellowdon-Hatch" (vol. i., p. 185).² Again, the inquest after death on Humfrey's predecessor, Henry Torrell, in 1524, shows him holding "Germins in Kellowdon of John Bolles, esquire, as of his manor of Kellowden."³ This statement is of some importance for the manorial history of the parish and should be compared with the Bolles wills abstracted on pp. 244, 310, 321, 322 of vol. vi. of our *Transactions*.

Before leaving the two Kelvedons, I would point out that, as is the case with many Essex place-names of three syllables, the second syllable is clipped out when they are pronounced and sometimes was so even when they were written. Newcourt and Morant, for instance, sometimes wrote them 'Keldon,' for local nomenclature was not then so stereotyped as it is now. Another point that has to be remembered is that Kelvedon—a large parish of more than three thousand acres—was divided into several manors, each of which had its lord. One has, therefore, to be careful, when speaking of a gift to Westminster Abbey, not only to make it clear which Kelvedon is meant, but also which manor within that Kelvedon is concerned.

CHALVEDON.

In comparison with the two Kelvedons, Chalvedon is little known as an Essex locality. The reason of this is that it has not given name to a parish. Morant, however, was quite justified in styling it, when he wrote, "a noble estate," of which "the mansion house is old and large."⁴ What I am here specially concerned with is the

¹ *E.A.T.*, vol. ix., p. 215. On Chapman & André's map of Essex 'Germain' is well seen, as a house situate between Kelvedon Hatch and Slades in Navestock.

² Morant took this statement from the inquest after death.

³ Morant, vol. i., p. 185.

⁴ Vol. i., pp. 256-7.

decisive evidence it affords of the failure of philologists to recognise and identify a manor which to historians or topographers presents no difficulty. For the proposition on which I insist, however distasteful it may be to some, is that when the historian or topographer has proved the identity of a place-name, the philologist will claim that this is in accordance with the 'laws' of his science. When, however, he is left to discover that identity for himself, his 'laws' may prove useless: he will either confess that the name baffles him,¹ or he will rashly assert, on philological grounds, that the place is 'probably' one which it certainly is not.

Let us see. 'Chalvedon' is not the name of a parish, but, as that of an important manor, it is duly found in vol. i. of Morant's *History of Essex* (1768), both in text and index, and it is there rightly identified. If this is not sufficient, we will turn to the Pipe Rolls cited by the learned authors. What they say of it is this:—

In the *Inquisitiones Nonarum*, A.D. 1341, Kelvedon is entered as *Kellevedene* (p. 323), and Kelvedon Hatch is called *Kelwedone* (p. 315). It is probably (*sic*) the latter that occurs as *Chaluedene*, *Chaluedon* (ch=k) in the Pipe Rolls, 11, 12, 13, 14, and 15 Henry II.²

Here we need not trouble ourselves as to whether Chalvedon was Kelvedon or Kelvedon Hatch, because, of course, it was neither. On checking the above Pipe Roll references, and examining the volumes subsequently published, we find that the third syllable of the name occurs as *don'*, *den'* or *dun'*,³ but the 'Chalve-' is uniform throughout. As to the place denoted, there can be no question; for the land is described as in Benfleet and Chalvedon. Now a good map of Essex, such as Greenwood's (1825), shows 'Chalvedon hall,' though in Pitsea, barely a mile and a half from the church and hall of North Benfleet, while 'Little Chalvedon hall' is but a mile from them and actually stands just within the border of that parish.

It is an interesting fact that, in Essex, Chalvedon should have retained its full name intact, though Kelvedon, as I have shown, was cut down to 'Keldon,' both in speech and in writing. For

¹ For instance, in the *Cartulary of Eynsham*, edited by the Rev. H. Salter (now Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford) for the Oxford Historical Society, in 1908, he modestly expresses, in the Preface, his gratitude "above all to Mr. W. H. Stevenson, Fellow of St. John's College, for contributing what is the most valuable part of vol. i., viz.: pp. 19-32 and 48-50." Yet we read, of 'Seyldforda,' on p. 20, that "We have not been able to identify Seyldford," and of 'Rameslege,' on p. 22, that "no clue is given as to the situation of this place." In vol. ii., however, on p. xcvi., the reader will find that on these two places "Mr. Horace Round has made two happy suggestions," namely that 'Rameslege,' which had a *portus* appurtenant, was the Domesday 'Rameslie' in Sussex, which included part of Hastings, and that 'Seyldford' was Shelford, Cambs.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 124.

³ Or extended by a final *e*.

'Chalvedon' was cut down to Chaldon (which is still its form) in Surrey and in Dorset.

The history of this place is as clear as the topography. On the Pipe Roll of 11 Henry II. (1165) the entries begin with the sum of 7*l.* 16*s.* 0*d.* from Chalvedon¹ and Benfleet, but thenceforth the amount is 18*l.* a year—then a considerable sum—until 1177. On the Pipe roll of that year (23 Henry II.), 9*l.*, is entered as received by the Crown, but the other moiety of the annual sum—and thenceforth the whole—was received by Ailward, a chamberlain of the king (p. 145), who was, therefore, in possession from Easter, 1177. His eminently English name well deserves attention.² As the rectory of Pitsea belonged to St. John's abbey, Colchester, Ailward had to obtain permission to have a chapel at Chalvedon from abbot Walter and the convent.³

From 1177, when Ailward acquired Chalvedon, I pass to 1190 (2 Ric. I.), at which date, according to the *Red Book of the Exchequer* (p. 79),⁴ the sheriff paid in 5*s.* in respect of Ailward's holding, as from half a knight's fee. The great Inquest which I here date as of 1212 returned 'Callwedone' as half a knight's fee, given to Ailward the chamberlain by King Henry II.⁵ The entry adds that John (*Johannes*) the chamberlain was holding it, and that Robert Fitz Walter held it of John when the return was made.⁶ This seems to be the explanation of the Fitz Walter family being subsequently found as its lords. In 1219 we find an important entry in the *Testa de Nevill* (p. 267), which again recites the gift of 'Chalvedon' to Ailward the chamberlain by King Henry II. It also states that three men were then holding it "per Rogerum (*sic*) filium Walteri," and that its (annual) value was 20*l.* The recently issued *Book of fees* (as yet unindexed) supplies an obviously better version (vol. i., p. 276), in which we read "Robertum (*sic*) filium Walteri."

Of all this we find nothing in Morant's history of the county. His continuous account of the descent of Chalvedon (vol. i.,

¹ There is also, on the Pipe Roll of 14 Henry II. (1168), a contribution (*auxilium*) from 'Chalveduna' (p. 42) towards the marriage of the King's daughter.

² See, for him, Mr. Eyton's book on the court, *etc.*, of Henry II. He will also be found on p. 406 (No. 1424) of the Report on the Historical MSS. at St. Paul's, in a document assigned to 1183-4.

³ *Colchester Cartulary* (Roxburghe Club publication), p. 547. See also Morant's *Colchester* (ed. 1768), 'Addenda,' p. 27. It was the mention of this incident in that cartulary that first drew my attention to the history of Chalvedon. In it there is also printed (p. 18) the charter of William Rufus that gave to Eudo Dapifer the land which the wife of Phin the Dane had held in 1086. Pitsea, which thus passed to Eudo, was given by him to St. John's (*V.C.H. Essex*, vol. i., pp. 348, 565).

⁴ From the Pipe Roll of that year. The editor erroneously dates it as '1190-1.'

⁵ *Red Book*, p. 499, where the date given is 1210-12.

⁶ "Quod modo tenet de Johanne Robertus filius Walteri."

pp. 256-7) begins only in the year 1328, when the Inquest after the death of Robert Fitz Walter records that Chalvedon was held of him by the prior of Bishopsgate as a moiety and a quarter of a knight's fee.¹ This great charitable foundation was that of St. Mary *extra Bishopsgate*, commonly termed St. Mary, Spital (or Spittle), in St. Botolph's parish.² It was at first a house of Austin canons under a prior, like St. Botolph's Priory, Colchester. Its founder, Walter Brun, was one of the sheriffs of London in 1202: he and his wife are said to have founded it in 1197.³ At the Dissolution it came to an end, whereupon the manor of Chalvedon, with its other endowments, was disposed of, as Morant explains, by the Crown.⁴ He tells us that "in 1562,⁵ 12 February, Queen Elizabeth granted the manor and lordship of Chalvedon and Pitchese (sic) . . . to Thomas Duke of Norfolk," after whose attainder, in 1572, Chalvedon "reverted to the Queen." Pitsey Hall, however, was alienated by Philip Howard, it seems, in '1581,' to Roger Townshend and Edward Cook. This explains a letter (preserved at Shadwell Court, Norfolk) from Roger Townshend of Rainham to Robert Buxton, in 1589, in which 'Chalvedon' is twice mentioned. (*Reports on MSS. in various collections*, vol. ii., pp. xx., 242). I have found an entry connecting the manor with the above London priory in 1278 and therefore earlier than any known to the historian of our county. In the *Abbrev. Placit.* (p. 195b) we read as follows:—

Magister hospital' sancte Marie Bushopesgate habet visus (sic) franci pleg' in manerio de Clandon (sic), ad quod manerium pertinet hamlett' de Pychesey (sic), Dunflet et Magn' Sylburg' in hundred de Berdestaple, ut ipse magister dicit.⁶

¹ *Cal. of Inq. p.m.*, vol. vii., 160 (p. 128).

² There are several documents relating to it among the muniments of the dean and chapter of St. Paul's. In 1279 they confirmed the gift by their bishop (John de Chishull) of a water supply "to the new Hospital of St. Mary without Bishopsgate, for the recreation, refreshment (*refrigerium*), and profit of the poor who assemble there" (Ninth Report on Historical MSS., vol. i., p. 29a).

There will also be found several references to this notable foundation in our Society's *Essex Fines*, vol. i., where we read of "the Prior of the new Hospital without Bishopsgate" and his "Brethren" (pp. 130, 141; see also p. 87).

³ It held land in Bemfleet and it benefitted under the will of Richard Hagis, rector of Laindon and Bowers Gifford and previously rector of Pitsea. See, for this, his will 1494, edited by Mr. H. W. King (*E.A.T.* [N.S.], vol. iii., pp. 290-293). It should be observed that these preferments brought him into close proximity to the Spital's estate of Chalvedon.

⁴ The Essex priory of Bicknacre, which was dwindling to extinction, was bestowed, with its endowments, on the Spital in 1509 (see Mr. R. C. Fowler's paper on that Priory in *V.C.H. Essex*, vol. ii., p. 145).

⁵ *i.e.* 1562-3 (5 Eliz.).

⁶ The master of the hospital claimed view of frankpledge in the places named as appurtenant to his manor of Chalvedon, which is here disguised as 'Clandon'! The other place-names also are disguised. Robert Giffard (of Bowers Gifford) claimed to hold the Hundred by hereditary right.

With this one exception the persistence of the form 'Chalvedon' strikes one from first to last: the place is 'Chalvedon' to-day as it was in the twelfth century. Therefore, when the philologist explains that his formula "ch=k"¹ enables us to identify 'Chalvedon' as probably Kelvedon (Hatch), he gives us an unconscious warning against his science and its ways.

Yet even this is not all. In the closing portion of their note on the place-name 'cynlaue dyne,' the learned editors surpass even their own efforts in connexion with this locality. After repeating and accepting the decisive statement in Domesday that "Kelvedon Hatch, in the Hundred of Ongar, was given to Westminster by Ailric," at the time of the Norman Conquest, they seem to have promptly forgotten their own admission of the fact. For, a few lines further down, they announce that it was "Archbishop Dunstan" (in the previous century) by whom land in 'Cealua dun' was "evidently (*sic*) bestowed upon Westminster," and explain—on philological grounds—that "the form in the charter" [of King Edgar to Dunstan] "is not reconcilable with the *Cynlaue dyn* of this will, so that the gift probably (*sic*) relates to Kelvedon Hatch." We learn, therefore, in a single note, that Westminster Abbey's manor in Kelvedon Hatch was given to it (1) by Ailric, at the time of the Conquest; (2) by Archbishop Dunstan, nearly a century before²; and (3) that Chalvedon in Pitsea was 'probably' Kelvedon Hatch! Yet even Professor Mawer tells us—of the value of place-name study "to historical studies"—that "what may be done in this direction by work on charters is shown in the work of Napier and Stevenson on the Crawford Charters."³

What an obliging, accommodating science this philology is! It seems almost cruel on the part of historians or topographers to expose its ingenious conclusions to the rude test of fact. Should there be some who think my criticism too severe, I would point out that what I am assailing is the philologist's tyranny. Those of us who are patiently striving to re-construct our local history, to set topography on the sure basis of demonstration and of proof, are entitled to protest with the utmost vigour against the philologist's claim, which I duly quoted at the outset, that the historian must stand aside until "the trained philologist" has explained the origin of a name. Professor Mawer and Mr. Salzman have independently exposed the ludicrous interpretation of the place-name Hamsey (in

¹ See my quotation above (p. 17).

² The editors do not tell us whether there is any record of Dunstan's gift or of its date.

³ *English Place-name study*, p. 10.

Sussex) on purely philological grounds, as O.E. *hammes ea*, 'stream bordering the enclosure,' or *hammes eg*, 'island or marshy land in the bend of a river' on the basis of a form *Hammes Say*, dated 1321,¹ when its suffix is obviously derived from its tenure by the family of Say.²

In the present paper I have been able to show, beyond the possibility of question, that Chalvedon, which had been rightly identified in 1768, and of which the identification presents no difficulty, was actually discovered by "the trained philologist," in 1895, to be "probably" Kelvedon Hatch! If such is the help that he can render to the mere historian, the latter must decline to be overawed by the jargon of philology or to be told that he must stand aside until the philologist has spoken. After rejecting this amazing claim, Professor Mawer justly observes that

Many men of sound scholarly instincts look askance at the whole study of place-names when they find books on the subject full of explanations that contradict easily recognised topographical facts.³

It is not only on *Cynlaue dyne* or on the luckless 'Chalvedon' that the philologist's conclusions urgently need revision. The former, in the document which contains it, is coupled with *mearcyncg seollan*,⁴ this combination being rendered in the 'Translation' as "at Kelvedon and at Mearcyncg seollan."⁵ We have, surely, a right to expect from the philologist that he will at least be accurate in reproducing his texts; but what do we here find? In three places we find 'Mearcyncg' spelt with a second 'c';⁶ but only just below the third instance, it is spelt twice over with only a single 'c'! In the index, however, it reverts to the form 'Mearcyncg'.⁷

Now it is on the identification of this place-name that I have to join issue with the editors of these documents. They hold that "*Mearcyncg seollan* is perhaps included in Kelvedon"—in which, I hasten to add, no such name is to be found. They are aware that there is a parish bearing the distinctive name of Markshall, "some four miles north of Kelvedon," but they deny that this can be meant by *Mearcyncg seollan*. These places can only be identified, we read, "by assuming . . . and that *seollan* represents the dat. pl. of *sele* 'hall,' and that there is an interchange between *sele* and *heall*

¹ *Place-names of Sussex*, p. 78.

² *Sussex Arch. Coll.* (1915), vol. lvii., p. 227; *English Place-name study* (1921), p. 8. So also Stratfieldsaye is found as 'Stratfeld Say' in 1403.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 6.

⁴ *Crawford Charters*, pp. 22, 123-4.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 123.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 22, 123, 124.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 162.

(or *heale*) in the name: the first assumption presents no difficulty, but the second is insuperable" (*sic*). I ask the reader here to observe the word "insuperable." It is this attitude to which I refer in the phrase "The philologist's tyranny." Immediately after throwing into hopeless confusion, on philological grounds, the history of Kelvedon Hatch, by asserting that what is a mention of Chalvedon "probably relates to Kelvedon Hatch," he proceeds to deny, on the same grounds, that *Mearcyneg scollan* can be Markshall. He finds, however, no difficulty in assuming "that it is perhaps included in Kelvedon," where no such name is to be found. Even this is insufficient as an illustration of his learning. It is not only history or topography that has to be thrown overboard in philology's sacred cause: its laws, we find, rise superior to those of English grammar! For what the authors really mean is, not that an "assumption . . . is insuperable"—a phrase which means nothing—but that a *difficulty* is so.

I would venture, in conclusion, to express the hope that I have at least shown the pretensions of philological learning to be excessive and unwarranted and to tend, at times, to an increase, not of knowledge, but of error.

Since this paper was written, I have had the pleasure of reading, in our Society's *Transactions*, Mr. Reaney's learned paper on "A Survey of Essex Place-names."¹ I would supplement his observations on the need for "early forms" (p. 252), as supported by the case of Langham. Morant wrote: "This is a very long parish, . . . which is undoubtedly the reason of the name Langham." Yet its early form was 'Laingaham,' 'Lawingeham,' 'Lawingaham,' or 'Laingham' (see my *Feudal England*, pp. 468-471).

¹ Vol. xvi., p. 251. See also a Note on the 'English Place-name Society' (p. 294) and Mr. Reaney's Note on 'Holm' (p. 304), with which I am wholly in agreement.

SOME OMISSIONS IN NEWCOURT'S REPERTORIUM.

BY THE REV. HAROLD SMITH, D.D.

Looking through the Bishop's Certificates at the Public Record Office for the years 1604-1646, I have come across a number of names omitted by Newcourt, and a still larger number of cases where he omits a date of institution. By far the most of these belong to the period 1621-1627, for which Bishop Mountain's Register is missing.

An asterisk denotes a name omitted in Newcourt. In other cases he has name but no date. I have not always noticed degrees.

ABBERTON—	William Adams, M.A., 22 Sept., 1624.
ALDHAM—	*Daniel Falkiner, M.A., 2 Nov., 1624.
ALPHAMSTONE—	Robert Lane, 30 Sept., 1612.
ALRESFORD—	Joseph Thurston, M.A., 23 March, 1626/7.
ALTHORNE—	Samuel Gifford, M.A., 10 June, 1614.
ARDLEIGH—	Gabriel Honifold, 29 June, 1614.
ASHELDHAM—	John Michaelson, 28 Feb., 1614/5.
ASHEN—	William Jones, M.A., 23 Nov., 1624 (re-instituted ?).
ASHINGDON—	*William Pulley, M.A., 12 Dec., 1623.
BADDOW PARVA—	V. *John Newton, 16 March, 1622/3.
BARLING—	*Edward Bewsy, S.T.P., 17 Dec., 1634.
BEAUMONT—	*Thomas Nussie, M.A., 26 Nov., 1624.
BELCHAMP ST. PAUL—	*Robert Fisher, M.A., 7 (or 27) Oct., 1625.
BELCHAMP WALTER—	William Smith (<i>sic</i> , but probably Smithies), 2 July, 1623. (William Smithies was there at Visitation, 1628).
BENTLEY MAGNA—	*Christopher Sutton, S.T.P., 12 April, 1622.
	*David Price, M.A., 20 Dec., 1627.
	Joseph Brody, M.A., 16 June, 1626.
BENTLEY PARVA—	Anthony Whiting (<i>sic</i> , M.A.), 10 May, 1626. (This spelling is supported by other sources).
BERDEN—	*Robert Williams, 4 Feb., 1621/2.
BARNSTON—	William Wright, S.T.B., 9 Dec., 1629.
BIRCHANGER—	*Thomas Boothby, B.A., 25 Sept., 1626.
	Richard Paine, M.A., 1 May, 1627.
BOBBINGWORTH—	Nicholas Serle, M.A., 24 Oct., 1622.
BOXTED—	*Nathaniel Kirkland, B.A., 11 June, 1623.
BRADWELL-BY-COGGESHAL—	Edmund Normanton, 21 Sept., 1621.
BRAXTED PARVA—	Christopher Webb, B.A., 17 Dec., 1625.

- BRIGHTLINGSEA— *William Smith, M.A., 16 Feb., 1608/9.
 *Robert Pettit, 18 Jan., 1625 6.
 BRUNDON— Robert Smith, B.A., 4 June, 1624.
 BUMPSTEAD AD TURRIM— *John Borradell, M.A., 12 Aug., 1622.
 BURNHAM— John Carter (*sic*), 30 Jan., 1625/6. (Other sources
 have 'Carver').
 CANEWDON— Edward Burby, M.A., 15 May, 1627.
 CANFIELD PARVA— *Edward Scarlett, S.T.B., 9 Oct., 1621.
 CHADWELL— Richard Astley, M.A., 16 Jan., 1626/7.
 CHELMSFORD— John Michaelson, S.T.B., 27 (?) Oct., 1623.
 CHICKNEY— William Mitchell, 6 Sept., 1621.
 CHISHALL MAGNA— *Samuel Sowthen, 20 March, 1622/3.
 Thomas King, M.A., 8 Dec., 1631.
 CHISHALL PARVA— James Willett, M.A., 30 March, 1622.
 NOTE.—Newcourt has made a mistake as regards Chrishall. Thomas King
 was not there, but at *Great Chishall*. John Griffin, instituted to
 Chrishall, 1609, continued there till his death in 1657.
 CLACTON MAGNA— Samuel Baldock, M.A., 25 March, 1628.
 CLACTON PARVA— *Robert Gilberd, M.A., 5 Nov., 1627.
 CLAVERING— *Jeffrey Watts, S.T.B., 23 Nov., 1616. (Resigned
 1643; also of Great Leighs).
 *John Moore, 28 Oct., 1643.
 COLCHESTER (*St. James*)— *Robert Ram, M.A., 15 May, 1622.
 Samuel Otteway, 19 Nov., 1622.
 COLCHESTER (*St. Leonard*)— *James Conningham, M.A., 4 Feb., 1624/5.
 *John Wall (or Watt), 15 Feb., 1626/7.
 COLCHESTER (*St. Mary*)— *Thomas Talcoate, M.A., 28 Jan., 1626/7.
 COLCHESTER (*Holy Trinity*)— Samuel Ashe, 4 May, 1605.
 COLCHESTER (*All Saints*)— Thomas Warner, B.A., 27 Sept., 1626.
 COLNE COMITIS— John Hawkesby, 13 Nov., 1612.
 CRESSING— *John Hawker, M.A., 12 March, 1624/5.
 DANBURY— Clement Vincent, M.A., 13 July, 1622.
 DENGIE (*Bacon's Portion*)— *William Munning, M.A., 26 March, 1628.
 DODDINGHURST— Theodore Hering, M.A., 5 Nov., 1626.
 DOVERCOURT— Thomas Drax, 9 May, 1615.
 DOWNHAM— Thomas Reddrich, 17 Feb., 1622/3.
 DUNTON— *Edward Hynde, 11 May, 1622 (?).
 *John Norton (or Marten), M.A., 20 Jan., 1625/6.
 EASTWOOD— *Thomas Purcas, 3 Feb., 1614/5.
 EASTER, HIGH— *William Nayler, 18 May, 1614. (The surname is
 very illegible, but William Naylor was there
 at Visitations of 1628 and 1637).
 ELMSTEAD— Edward Flower, S.T.B., 13 June, 1624.
 ELSENHAM— George Wilson, 6 March, 1621/2.
 FAIRSTED— John Etheridge, S.T.B., 7 Nov., 1625.
 FAMBRIDGE, NORTH— *John Gibson, 29 Oct., 1623.
 William Sutcliffe, 16 Sept., 1624.
 FAMBRIDGE, SOUTH— Barnabas Stoven, M.A., 7 Feb., 1626/7.
 FEERING— *Thomas Booth, M.A., 24 Feb., 1625/6.
 FELSTED— *Samuel Wharton, M.A., 11 July, 1614.
 FINCHINGFIELD— Stephen Marshall, 25 Oct., 1625.

- FOULNESS— Roboshery (?) Dove, B.A., 10 Feb., 1625/6.
 FRINTON— John Manby, M.A., 30 March, 1622.
 GESTINGTHORPE— R. Robert Willan, S.T.P., 12 Oct. and 3 Dec., 1621.
 V. *John Tharolby (Tharby), 28 Oct., 1624.
 GOSFIELD— John Crosse, 12 Sept., 1622.
 GREENSTEAD, COLCHESTER— Samuel Baldock, M.A., 25 Sept., 1624
 GREENSTED-BY-ONGAR— William Young, M.A., 9 July, 1622 (?).
 HADLEIGH CASTLE— John Wadesworth, 30 March, 1605.
 HALSTEAD— John Etheridge, S.T.B., 4 April, 1625.
 HAM, EAST— *William Fullwell, M.A., 11 March, 1624/5.
 *William Armiston, M.A., 24 Dec., 1625.
 William Fairfax, M.A., 9 April, 1626.
 *Robert Paley, 5 Nov., 1624.
 HEYBRIDGE— *Edward Cliffe, M.A., 31 Jan., 1625/6.
 HORNDON, EAST— Adam Harsnett, M.A., 9 Aug., 1609.
 HUTTON— Alexander Bonyman, M.A., 15 April, 1622.
 KELVEDON (EASTERFORD)— Edward Slegg, 17 Feb., 1622/3.
 KIRBY-LE-SOKEN— *Richard Rookes (Reekes), M.A., 29 Dec., 1625.
 ILFORD PARVA— Edward Glover, 22 Feb., 1621/2.
 LAMARSH— Robert Edwards, M.A., 2 Aug., 1616.
 LANGDON HILLS— *Nathaniel Carr, M.A., 1 Oct., 1618 (Newcourt
 has *Thomas Edwards*, of the same date. But
 Carr was at the Visitation of 1628 and continued
 until he went to Ardeleigh in 1644).
 LANGENHOE— Thomas Redrich, M.A., 23 Feb., 1624/5.
 LANGFORD— *Thomas King, M.A., 12 Nov., 1625.
 HIGH LAVER— John Hussey, M.A., 13 March, 1626/7.
 LITTLE LAVER— John Bedell, M.A., 13 Dec., 1623.
 LEIGHS PARVA-- *Stephen Nettles, M.A., 19 March, 1609/10.
 LEXDEN— *Benjamin Stone, M.A., 13 Nov., 1624.
 LEYTON— Robert Domvile, M.A., 16 Dec., 1626.
 Benjamin Leech, 20 March, 1621/2.
 ST. LAWRENCE— Josua Mapletoft, M.A., 27 April, 1622.
 MARGARETTING— *John Harrison, 15 March, 1619/20.
 MASHBURY— Robert Grey, M.A., 1 Aug., 1637. (Newcourt's
Greg and *Grey* are duplicates.)
 MAYLAND— *Peter Witham, 16 March, 1624/5.
 Thomas Josselin, M.A., Aug., 1626.
 MERSEA, WEST— *John Burges, M.A., 13 March, 1622/3.
 Thomas Dove, M.A., 26 Jan., 1624/5.
 John Woolhouse, M.A., 9 Sept., 1630.
 MIDDLETON— William Frost, M.A., 15 Jan., 1623/4.
 MILE END— Thomas Talcoate, M.A., 22 Sept., 1626; 2 March,
 1626 7.
 Samuel Hoard, M.A., 11 May, 1625.
 MORETON— *Richard Brooke, S.T.B., 11 July, 1628.
 NAVESTOCK— *Samuel Fisher, S.T.B., 24 July, 1629.
 Nathaniel Pamplyn, M.A., 24 Nov., 1625.
 NEVENDON— *Robert Sparke, M.A., 12 May, 1625.
 NEWPORT— Thomas Goad, S.T.P., 6 April, 1625.
 NOTLEY, BLACK— *Josiah Tomlinson, S.T.B., 22 March, 1622/3
 ONGAR, HIGH—

- ORSETT— William Gilberd, M.A., 12 June, 1626.
 OAKLEY PARVA— Richard Paschell, M.A. 19 Jan., 1625/6.
 PAGLESHAM— *Thomas Wilson, S.T.B., 30 March, 1625.
 Francis Webb, M.A., 31 Oct., 1626.
 *Thomas Dove, M.A., Dec., 1627.
 PATTISWICK— William Osbolston, M.A., 19 Feb., 1610/11.
 PARNDON MAGNA— *William Houghton, M.A., 28 Sept., 1621.
 PARNDON PARVA— Edward Alston, 24 Jan., 1622/3.
 PENTLOW— Jonathan Negus, M.A., 12 April, 1625.
 PRITTEWELL— Thomas Horsmanden, S.T.P., 25 May, 1624.
 PURLEIGH— *Gabriel Solmy (?), M.A., 10 July, 1624.
 RAINHAM— John Elberowe, M.A., 7 Feb., 1626/7.
 Ramsden Crays— Edward Croke, M.A., 23 June, 1626.
 RAMSEY— *William Baynes, M.A., 19 Aug., 1623.
 RAWRETH— *John Jackson, S.T.B., 26 Nov., 1624.
 *John Browning, S.T.B., 7 July, 1625.
 RAYLEIGH— Stephen Vassall, M.A., 19 July, 1623.
 RIDGEWELL— William Swan, 21 Nov., 1608.
 ROCHFORD— Edmund Calumy, S.T.B., 9 Nov., 1637.
 ROYDON— Brockett Smith, 3 Nov., 1625.
 RETTENDON— *Joseph Meddus, M.A., 24 May, 1626.
 Edward Tilman, S.T.B., 3 Oct., 1626.
 Roding, High— John Duke, M.A., 2 April, 1628.
 Roding, Aythorp— Richard Argall, M.A., 29 Aug., 1643.
 Roding, Leaden— Thomas Brand, 11 May, 1625.
 Saling, Great— John Lake, 24 May, 1623.
 SAMPFORD, LITTLE— *Henry Greenwood, 31 Oct., 1614.
 SHELLEY— *Jonathan Brown, 6 Sept., 1621.
 *Edward Greene, B.A., 26 April, 1625.
 SHENFIELD— John Childerley, S.T.P., 13 Nov., 1609.
 SHOEbury, South— *John Smith, M.A., 16 Feb., 1626/7.
 SNOREHAM— Samuel Gifford, M.A., 9 Oct., 1626.
 SOUTHMINSTER— *Edward Jeffrey, 28 Feb., 1621/2.
 SPRINGFIELD BOSWELL— *Isaac Joyner, 26 Feb., 1621/2.
 SPRINGFIELD RICHARDS— Nathaniel Bownd, S.T.B., 9 Nov., 1621.
 STANWAY— Robert Willan, M.A., 6 July, 1614.
 STAMBOURNE— *John Paynell, M.A., 31 May, 1622.
 STEEPLE— *Timothy Rogers, M.A., 11 July, 1614.
 Stephen Nettles, S.T.B., 24 April, 1623.
 STOCK HARVARD— William Pindar, 1 Sept., 1626; 27 April, 1629.
 STOW MARIES— William Bush (or Nash), 7 Sept., 1621.
 William Bull (Ball), 8 July, 1628.
 *Richard Nicholson, M.A., 23 Dec., 1636.
 STAPLEFORD TAWNEY— Nathaniel Ward, M.A., 10 Feb., 1625/6.
 STONDON MASSEY— Caleb Wood, 26 Feb., 1628/9.
 STANFORD-LE-HOPE— Thomas Weld (Wild), M.A., 13 Nov., 1624.
 TERLING— Stephen Wiseman, M.A., 18 Sept., 1612.
 TEY, GREAT— V. *Timothy Rogers, M.A., 24 April, 1623.
 V. Nicholas Wright, M.A., 31 May, 1624.
 THEYDON GARNON— Thomas Darnille, 25 Jan., 1625/6.
 THORPE-LE-SOKEN— *Thomas Smith, S.T.B., 10 Nov., 1625.
 THORRINGTON—

- THURROCK, GRAYS— *Thomas Maschall, S.T.B., 4 June, 1619.
 *Robert Archdale, M.A., 23 Feb., 1625/6.
 *Henry Dyason, M.A., 20 July, 1627. (Dyason was still there at the Visitation of 1637).
- THURROCK, EAST (LITTLE)— *Nicholas Guy, 18 July, 1614. (Remained till death in 1656).
- TILBURY, EAST— *A. Redding, M.A., 10 Nov., 1625.
- TILLINGHAM— *James Conningham, M.A., 7 Dec., 1622.
 John Taverner, M.A., 25 March, 1626.
 *William Sutcliffe, M.A., 29 Sept., 1629.
 *John Donne, M.A., 2 July, 1631.
 *Lawrence Burnell, S.T.B., 10 Nov., 1623.
- TOPPESFIELD— Israel Thornell, M.A., 13 April, 1614.
- UGLEY— William Hull (Hill), M.A., 14 Dec., 1626.
- ULTING— Christopher Denn, M.A., 20 Nov., 1624.
- UPMINSTER— Robert Tooker, M.A., 23 Nov., 1625.
- VANGE— *John Parkhurst, M.A., 25 Sept., 1623. (Stayed till he went to South Shoebury in 1647).
- WAKERING, LITTLE— Gabriel Grant, 28 Oct., 1612.
- WALTHAMSTOW— Humphrey Maddison, M.A., 23 Dec., 1625.
- WANSTEAD— *John Staesmore, M.A., 10 June, 1626.
- WARLEY, GREAT— Nicholas Padmore, M.A., 27 Oct., 1626.
- WEALD, SOUTH— *Francis Wright, M.A., 27 Jan., 1624 5.
- WENNINGTON— John Aylmer, M.A., 24 May, 1626.
- WALDEN, SAFFRON— Nicholas Gray, S.T.P., 4 Aug., 1632.
- *Adiel Baynard, M.A., 25 July, 1643 (Chipping Walden).
- WICKFORD— *Josua Mapletoft, S.T.B., 16 March, 1623/4.
- WICKHAM ST. PAUL— *William King, 20 Feb., 1635/6.
- *Timothy Clay, 27 Feb., 1626/7.
- WIMBISH— R. Thomas Wilson, S.T.B., 17 June, 1625; S.T.P., 29 Nov., 1626.
- WILLINGALE SPAIN— Edward Bosey (?), 11 Nov., 1614.
- WITHAM— Francis Wright, 11 Nov., 1625.
- YELDHAM MAGNA— Robert Meakin, M.A., 29 Nov., 1625.
- YELDHAM PARVA— *Lawrence Burnell, 17 Oct., 1612.
- Ambrose Leighton, M.A., 23 Oct., 1617.

I add the following from the Visitation Books, 1628 and 1637. But these obviously show only that the man was there then, not when he came.

- HORKESLEY PARVA— — Newcomen, 1628.
- HOLLAND PARVA— Peter Newton, 1628 and 1637.
- ST. OSYTH— Edward Theedam, 1628.
 Edward Cherry, 1637.
 John Dicas, 1628.
- PLESHEY— John Wakelin, 1628.
- MARKS TEY— William Pleysey, 1628.
- WIX— Matthew Gill, 1628, 1637 (1650).
- TOLLESHUNT KNIGHTS—

WALL-PAINTINGS IN ESSEX CHURCHES.

I.

Wall - paintings formerly in the churches of Felsted and Great Chishall.

BY THE REV. G. MONTAGU BENTON, M.A., F.S.A.

INTRODUCTION.

DURING the early part of the year several letters on medieval English painting appeared in the columns of *The Times*. In the course of this correspondence attention was incidentally drawn to the importance of the paintings, which from time to time are brought to light on the walls of our churches, and which too often in the past have been destroyed, or else allowed to slowly disintegrate without adequate record being made of them. Public interest has since been stimulated in the subject by an exhibition of copies of English wall-paintings held at the Victoria and Albert Museum, and by the "British Primitives Exhibition" at Burlington House, organized by Lord Lee of Fareham. The recent exposure, at an opportune moment, of the beautiful wall-paintings in Eton College chapel has also contributed greatly towards the proper appreciation of medieval English mural art. But although wall-paintings like those at Eton, or the exquisite little Virgin and Child on the walls of the chapel of the Bishop's Palace at Chichester, reach an obviously high standard of artistic excellence, the majority of examples found in our ancient churches appear to the eyes of the average person extremely crude, alike in expression and execution; and as they are generally faded and difficult to decipher their interest and importance is easily overlooked.

But these paintings, reflecting conceptions of life and religion so vastly different to those of our own day, were not executed to satisfy the requirements of cultivated taste, and an insight into the underlying spirit of this phase of art is necessary for their due estimation. The artist, while often showing within his limited scope, unaffected

efforts at originality, worked along conventional lines, and was largely ignorant of pictorial demands; nor did this hamper him in his aim, which was to suggest thoughts and excite emotion. The very fact that his resources were restricted gave a breadth and simplicity to his compositions that intensified their appeal to the popular imagination. Often quaint, and sometimes grotesque in design, these paintings were of necessity rich in symbolism, and notwithstanding a superstitious element, they touched the finer feelings in human nature and produced a sense of awe and reverence. The people could understand these visible and concrete expressions of religious teaching and aspiration, and by their means were brought face to face with the eternal things of the spirit. In point of fact they were the devotional books of an illiterate age; and from the study of their fragmentary remains the student can trace the development of medieval doctrine, the popularity of various cults, and obtain considerable insight into the religious life of the past.

It should also be remembered that in addition to the religious motive, these paintings fell into the general scheme of decoration, and formed part of the robe of colour with which our churches were clothed in more artistically enlightened days when colour was looked upon as the natural and necessary complement of architecture. They have in consequence lost much by being deprived of their original setting, and this should be taken into consideration when they are viewed from a decorative standpoint.

Both on archæological and artistic grounds, therefore, it is desirable that our English mural paintings should be adequately recorded, and although a good many isolated examples have been illustrated and described in the *Transactions* of the various county archæological societies, some systematic scheme of investigation is urgently called for. It is extremely improbable, however, that any scheme of this sort can be devised to embrace the whole country; the material is so widely scattered, and the work beset with such innumerable difficulties, that even a commission could hardly expect to cope satisfactorily with it, supposing funds were available for the purpose.¹

But much may be done by organized local effort, and at the writer's suggestion the Council of this Society has appointed a small

¹ Lord Lee of Fareham in a letter to *The Times* of 19 October, 1923, stated that the committee responsible for organising the British Primitives Exhibition "has decided to remain in being, with a view to constituting the nucleus of a more permanent movement for the exploration and preservation of medieval English painting." Eventually this committee hopes to take in hand "a permanent record, on a comprehensive scale, of all surviving early British paintings in our churches and elsewhere . . . but that would be a monumental task, involving prolonged research and the assurance of adequate financial support."

sub-committee to deal with the question, so far as Essex is concerned. Nevertheless, the project must inevitably languish without additional support, and it would be gratifying to hear from members who may be willing to assist in the task. We are more fortunate than most counties in possessing, as a guide to existing paintings, the *Reports of the Historical Monuments Commission*, and these, together with Mr. C. E. Keyser's invaluable *List of Buildings having Mural Decorations* (1883), will form a sound basis for our work. What is required is a card index recording all paintings existing, or known to have existed, in Essex churches, and giving references to printed and MS. authorities. Also, when practicable, pictorial records—drawings and photographs—of existing paintings, and copies of available drawings of destroyed paintings, should be procured for the Society's portfolios. Moreover, churchwardens' accounts,¹ wills, and other documents, including MS. church notes in the British Museum and elsewhere, need to be searched for any entries pertaining to the subject. All this implies a vast amount of labour, but with the co-operation of a few enthusiastic members, there is every reason to believe that the task could be brought to a successful issue. Work is waiting to be apportioned. It only remains for helpers to volunteer.

At any rate some progress may be expected, and it is hoped that it will be such as to lead to papers on the subject being contributed to these pages from time to time. The following notes are offered as a first instalment; incidentally, they illustrate the element of romance which sometimes accompanies the search for information of destroyed and well-nigh forgotten paintings.

FELSTED: WALL-PAINTING REPRESENTING *AVARITIA*.

Curiously enough, my knowledge of this painting, which has long since been destroyed, was first derived from a friend in Kent, who had heard of it from Mr. T. Turner Welldon, a former master at Felsted school. Not finding any record of it in print, and the description given being somewhat meagre, I inserted a note on the subject in the *Essex Review* for April, 1923 (vol. xxxii., p. 99), with a view to obtaining additional information. This resulted in Mr. J. French contributing a more detailed account of the painting to the same number of the *Review*; but it did not appear likely that a drawing or photograph of it was in existence. Subsequently, how-

¹ It was an entry in the churchwardens' accounts that led to the recent discovery of the wall-painting of St. Christopher at Little Baddow.

ever, our member, Col. Frank Landon, wrote to me saying that he possessed a water-colour drawing of the painting, accompanied by notes, which had been made at the time of its discovery by the well-known medieval scholar, Dr. G. G. Coulton, Fellow of St. John's college, Cambridge, who was then a pupil at Felsted school. With characteristic generosity Col. Landon sent me an accurate copy of this unique record, and the drawing (pl. 2) is now reproduced by his and Dr. Coulton's kind permission; the latter's notes have also supplied certain details of information not otherwise available.

The painting in question was discovered in the church of the Holy Cross, Felsted, early in the year 1876, by some workmen engaged in removing the west gallery. It was situated on the spandrel between the two most westerly arches of the north arcade of the nave, and was in a very fair state of preservation, due partly to the fact that it had been entirely covered by the gallery.

It depicted *Avaritia* (avarice), and originally formed part of an emblematic representation of the Seven Deadly Sins, the remaining sins being *Superbia* (pride), *Ira* (anger), *Socordia* (sloth), *Gula* (gluttony), *Luxuria* (lust), and *Invidia* (envy). This Morality was a popular one in the Middle Ages, and various versions of it have been found on the walls of our churches. Not infrequently, as in the present case, it took the form of a tree, an idea we meet with in Chaucer, who, in his "Merchant's Tale," makes the old knight say:

. . . though he kepe hym fro the synnes sevene,
And eek from every branche of thilke tree (ll. 1640-1).

Avarice was here personified by a miser seated at a four-legged table: on his left hand stood a demon who supplied him with gold, at the same time keeping a firm hold of his shoulder; while another demon was grasping him on the right side, as if to make sure of his victim. A coffer stood to the left of the principal figure. The table appeared to rest on the thick stem of a vine, whose branches, showing sparse leafage, twined in graceful fashion throughout the design. This vine had its roots in hell, represented in the usual manner by a yawning whale or sea-monster's head, whose gaping jaws followed the curves of the arches for some distance above their springing line. It may be remarked, *en passant*, that the image of the "Jaws of Hell," so general in medieval art, recalls Jonah's prayer of thanksgiving, "out of the belly of hell," after he had been thrown up by the fish. To complete the picture and enforce the moral, two demons were shown in the act of sawing through the vine-stem with a cross-cut saw.

The colours employed in this spirited design were mainly confined to red and yellow—probably ochres; but the vine leaves were black,

and the figure of the miser, the two lower demons with their saw, and hell's jaws, were painted a grey colour.¹

In the upper right-hand corner of the same spandrel the yellow, bird-like leg, claws, *etc.*, of some creature on a green background were visible; but obviously this did not form part of the *Avaritia* picture.

Shortly after the above discovery, the whole length of the wall above the north arcade was denuded of its plaster, "when," to quote Dr. Coulton, "it was found that the painting had extended over the whole space between the arches, and that that which had been first discovered was merely a small part of the complete design; the remainder, however, was so injured by the coat of plaster which had been laid upon it, and by the awkward way in which it had been taken off—it was done by a common workman with a bricklayer's hammer and trowel—that it was only here and there distinguishable The second spandrel contained, at the bottom, the figure of a bishop, and above it, almost life-size, two other ecclesiastics. Above that was the figure of a physician feeling his patient's pulse, and in the grasp of a fiend. The third spandrel was so defaced that nothing could be made of it. The whole design was intersected with vine branches, which divided it into different groups, and interspersed with scrolls, which, however, were illegible."

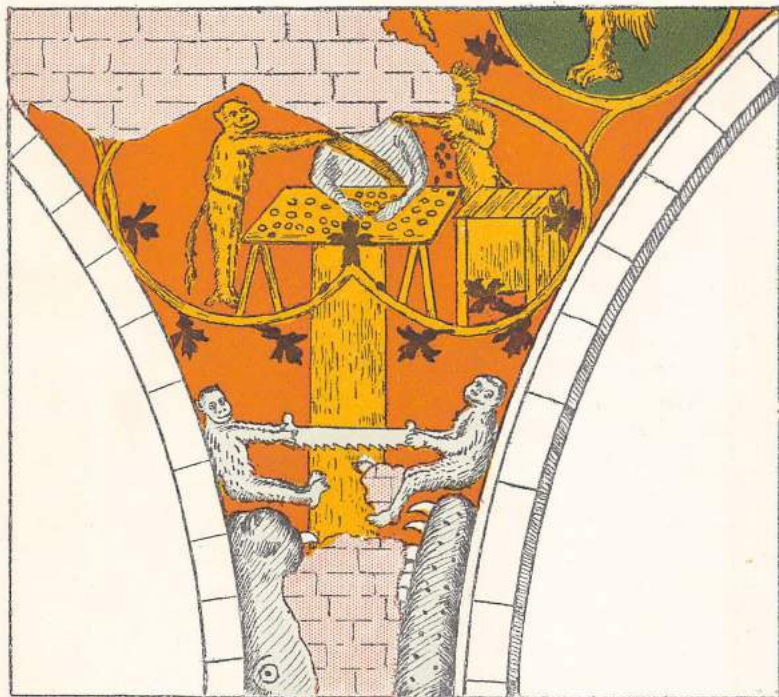
As the above notes were made by a schoolboy, albeit an exceptionally intelligent and observant one, it could hardly be expected that without any definite clue he should have rightly interpreted the two figures at the top of the second spandrel. Instead of representing "a physician feeling his patient's pulse," they doubtless personified another of the Sins, probably *Ira*.

The vicar and restorer of the church, the Rev. J. C. Cox, left the picture on view for a short while, and then broke it away, as it was considered too lurid for the eyes of worshippers in mid-Victorian days! This painting may be attributed to the fourteenth century, and from its style we may perhaps assume that it was executed soon after the erection of the north arcade, which dates from *c.* 1330. So far as is known, about twenty representations of the Seven Sins have been found on the walls of our churches, and although many of them, unfortunately, were not preserved, drawings exist in several cases. The manner in which this Morality was treated varied considerably. At Catfield² and Crostwight,³ in

¹ In the illustration the objects painted yellow are outlined and shaded in black to save expense, but in the original drawing brown was used.

² *Norfolk Archaeol.*, vol. i., p. 133 (illustrn.)

³ *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 355 (illustrn.)



From a Drawing by G. G. Coulton, 1876.

WALL-PAINTING REPRESENTING *Avaritia*, ONE OF THE
SEVEN DEADLY SINS.

Discovered in the Church of the Holy Cross, Felsted, 1876.

Norfolk, the tree took the form of a seven-headed demon, whose jaws held figures symbolical of the several sins. At Raunds, Northants.,¹ instead of a tree, we find Pride, the queen of vice, depicted as a richly robed female, crowned, with sceptre in hand, and from each side of her body issue three winged demons, whose jaws contain figures similar to those at Crostwight. Sometimes Pride is shown as a large nude figure—male (as at Little Horwood, Bucks.²) or female (as at Alveley, Shropshire)—and the demons proceed from those parts of the body in which each sin was thought to reside. Another mode of representing this subject was exemplified by a painting discovered in Ingatestone church during the restoration of 1866. In this instance each sin was placed between the spokes of a large wheel, 7 feet 2 inches in diameter, in the centre of which was hell. After much perplexity the vicar and the churchwardens of the time decided to cover up this picture; but happily an excellent coloured drawing of it is reproduced in our *Transactions* (vol. iv., o.s., p. 140). We there see in one of the compartments a miser seated at his counter, with heads of devils on either side; but at Little Horwood Avarice is shown receiving bags of money from a demon; while at Crostwight and elsewhere a bag of money is simply grasped in one hand.

Manuscript illuminations are closely related both in subject and style to mural paintings, and afford a valuable aid to their study. Miniatures of the Seven Sins, however, are unusual, so there is some excuse for drawing attention to representations of the subject that occur in two splendid MSS. executed in France. In the British Museum there is a MS. (Add. 28162) containing the *Somme le Roi*, a popular compendium of Catholic doctrine, which was written and illuminated in France about 1300. The text is preceded by a series of full-page miniatures illustrating, among other subjects, the Cardinal Virtues, and the Seven Deadly Sins with their corresponding virtues. In some cases these last are followed by their biblical types: for instance, Mercy and Avarice by Abraham welcoming the three angels, and by the widow dispensing her oil generously.³ Avarice, seated at a chest and surrounded by three demons, is engaged in pouring gold and silver coins into a purse.

Occasionally wall-paintings of the Seven Virtues are found associated with the Seven Deadly Sins, as, for example, at Catfield.

¹ *Archæol. Journ.*, vol. xxxiv., p. 221 (illustrn.)

² *Ibid.*, vol. xlix., p. 337 (illustrn.)

³ This page is illustrated in J. A. Herbert's *Illuminated Manuscripts* (1911), pl. xxviii.

A MS. (77) of the Roman de la rose, written and illuminated in France about 1380, and now in the possession of Mr. Henry Yates Thompson, F.S.A., contains a miniature depicting figures of the Seven Deadly Sins, in which "Avarice has a patched gown, and her head is tied up in a clout; she holds two bags of money."¹

GREAT CHISHALL: WALL-PAINTING REPRESENTING THE
MARTYRDOM OF ST. LAURENCE.

In Mr. C. E. Keyser's *List*, brief mention is made of a painting of the Doom over the chancel arch of Great Chishall church; also on the north wall, St. Laurence, remains of texts, *etc.* It is further stated that all had been destroyed. I have not been able to find any other reference to these paintings in print; but Mr. George Weight, writing about 1876, says: "On the north wall of this church there was formerly a painting representing the martyrdom of Saint Laurence, but by an act of vandalism it was destroyed only a few years since."²

Fortunately, however, a copy of the St. Laurence painting recently came into the possession of the Rev. W. J. C. Griffiths, vicar of Great Chishall, who kindly informed me of the fact, and moreover lent me the sketch in order that I might make the tracing which is here reproduced (pl. 1). A few words as to the history of this drawing may not be amiss. Mr. Griffiths acquired it a few years ago from a stamp collector at Henley-on-Thames, who had written offering it for sale; it was said to have been found among a collection of postage stamps that had belonged to a deceased soldier. The drawing had obviously been treasured by its former owner for the sake of the black penny stamp on the letter which accompanied it. This letter, dated 9 February, 1841, was written by the Rev. John Horseman, a former vicar of Great Chishall, and is addressed to his "sincere and faithful friend," Sir Henry Ellis, Principal Librarian of the British Museum. In it, the writer asks for an explanation of "a curious, but rude, painting, of which I send you a sketch. It has been copied from a mural painting, lately discovered in my church of Great Chishall, while undergoing a general repair."

The painting was situated between two windows in the north aisle. St. Laurence, naked, save for a loin cloth, was shown stretched upon a large gridiron, which extended obliquely across the picture. His arms were bound close to his sides; and two rays of light were

¹ *Descriptive Catalogue of the Second Series of Fifty Manuscripts in the collection of Henry Yates Thompson* (1902), p. 188.

² *Holiday rambles in Essex and Herts.* Guildhall Library, MS. 475.

directed on the martyr's face, in allusion, doubtless, to the story that the sun shone on his countenance, and encircled it with a halo of glory. At the back of the gridiron, in the top right-hand corner, stood the Roman prefect, an imposing figure, to whom St. Laurence is alleged to have addressed the ironical taunt "Seest thou not, O thou foolish man, that I am already roasted on one side, and that, if thou wouldst have me well cooked, it is time to turn me on the other?" Behind the prefect was an executioner, holding what appeared to be an implement of torture in his hand; traces of one or two other figures were also discernible near-by; and at a little distance to their right another executioner was busy poking the fire—an imaginary one, as no sign of it is visible—in the sketch. In the foreground were two more executioners: one had a bundle of faggots on his back; the other was shown in the act of blowing up the fire with a large pair of bellows. At the bottom of the design were two figures (one much obliterated), which did not seem to refer directly to the martyrdom. The chief figure, which was nude, appeared to be standing in a tomb, and the arm of what looked like a cruciferous nimbus was visible at the top of his head. Apparently it represented Our Lord's Pity.

Both sides of the complete picture were bordered by a wavy band of twisted rope pattern. According to the sketch the painting was outlined in black, and a flat wash of red was the only colour employed. We may assign it to the fifteenth century.

The story of the unflinching constancy of the youthful deacon, St. Laurence, who suffered martyrdom at Rome in the year 258, during the Valerian persecution, fired the imagination of Christendom from the first. His name is commemorated in the Canon of the Roman Mass (it also occurred in the Sarum Canon), and appears in the most ancient Kalendars; six or eight churches in Rome, and about two-hundred-and-forty churches in this country, are dedicated in his honour. Although the saint is depicted on the painted panels of at least thirteen screens, only about a dozen wall-paintings of him have been discovered in our churches; and probably not more than half of them represented his martyrdom. But miniatures of the subject abound in illuminated manuscripts, and show that our picture conforms in all essentials to the usual conventional representation of the scene, even down to the executioner with the bellows.

I may add that, at the request of the vicar, I visited Great Chishall church on 21 June, 1920, in order to examine traces of a painting which had just been brought to light over the chancel arch, during the cleaning of the walls. These slight and fragmentary

remains evidently formed part of the Doom referred to by Mr. Keyser, but although the workman (John Greenhill) endeavoured to bring out further details by carefully damping the wall, it was clear that the painting had practically perished. On the south side of the arch, however, three little nude figures, outlined in crimson, and with brown hair—representing lost souls—were distinctly visible, and at my suggestion these have been preserved; the background was olive-green, and there were patches of red colour below. One of the gables of the Heavenly Mansions could also be faintly discerned. This picture dated from the fifteenth century.

At the east end of the north wall of the nave, and on the north side of the chancel arch, were traces of texts, with, what looked like, post-Reformation borders.

Search was also made for the St. Laurence painting, but without success; apparently, it had been totally destroyed.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES.

Essex Members of Parliament.—Some additions have recently been discovered to the class of Parliamentary Writs and Returns, from which the official list of Members of Parliaments, published in 1878, was compiled. Among them are records of four Essex bye-elections :—

MALDON.	Writ 8 Feb. [1574].	Vincent Harris, deceased.
	Return 4 Oct. [1574].	Edward Sulyard, esquire.
COLCHESTER.	Writ 24 April, 1579.	Nicholas Clere, deceased.
	Return 11 May, 1579.	Robert Middleton, gentleman.
COUNTY.	Writ 1 Feb., 1581.	Thomas Smythe, deceased.
	Return 7 Feb., 1581.	Robert Riche, esquire, son of Robert, lord Riche.
MALDON.	Writ — Feb., 1589.	William Vernon, egrotus.
	Return 14 [Feb., 1589].	Edward Lewkenor, esquire.

Transcripts from Parish Registers.—At the Bishop of London's Registry, Dean's Court, Doctors' Commons, there are a great number of transcripts from parish registers, which have recently been sorted under the various parishes, with an index showing the years for each parish. In the main they date from about 1800 to 1837, but there are a few between 1629 and 1800.

The index to the transcripts and the transcripts themselves, if necessary, can be seen on payment of the Registry fees, and copies of the transcripts supplied; but as the Registry is unable to undertake searches in this connection, persons so desiring should attend personally or send someone responsible to make the search for them.

Berryfield, Colchester.—Attention has recently been drawn to this locality by two discoveries. One of these was made by Mr. Gurney Benham, who found the name in one of the borough records, on which he has done such excellent work;¹ the other was the unearthing, by chance, of the notable Roman pavement in the cultivated portion of the field, on its western side, of which Mr. Lewis is tenant. There was, at first, some confusion between

¹ See his account of this discovery in *Essex Review* for April, 1923 (vol. xxxii., p. 92).

'Berryfield' and 'Boroughfield,' although the latter, as I have shown, lay quite outside and to the west of the walls of the borough and south of the Lexden road. Mr. Benham, who found a curious entry in the borough records, some five centuries ago, concerning 'Beryfield,' undoubtedly connected it with the 'Boroughfield,' at first, in the *Essex County Standard*, and others followed suit, and argued on that supposition.

I was not surprised at this confusion, for I have always found that the name and identity of 'Berryfield' were hardly, if at all, known. As I have been intimately acquainted with the field and its surroundings, when staying at East Hill House, I am anxious to set them on record in the pages of our *Transactions*. In order, however, that they may not rest on my own statements alone, I desire to show that—as I observed in the *Essex County Standard*—Morant was very well acquainted with the locality and its name.

He began his account of St. James' parish by stating that it contains—"The house of George Wegg, Esq., his garden east of the same, and part of his field and garden south of the said house, formerly called Berryfield." In his detailed measurement of the town wall, he speaks of "the bastion¹ in Beryfield" (still in existence). Berryfield was bounded by the town-wall on the east and the south, which explains the entry in the borough records discovered by Mr. Gurney Benham. A strip has been taken off the east side of the field and planted with trees, now of considerable height. This is called "The wilderness."² On its western side, a similar broad strip, running north and south, has been used as an extensive fruit and vegetable garden, now in the occupation of Mr. Lewis. It was here that the fine mosaic pavement was recently brought to light by Mr. Lewis, presented to the Corporation by the landlord (Mr. Douglass G. Round), and transferred to the castle museum.

Morant, writing of Roman pavements, observed that "there is also one in Berry-field, in St. James' parish, of which part was discovered by George Wegg, Esq. The tesserae were red, intermixed with many white ones, disposed in a star-like form." This may have been the one that was re-discovered by the late Mr. Francis R. Round in the north-east corner of the field, when a bowling green was being made.³ The recently found pavement is

¹ These bastions are shown on Morant's plan of the town.

² This strip, with the winding paths through it, is well shown in Chapman & André's plan of the town.

³ See the late Dr. Laver's paper in our *Transactions*, vol. x., p. 89.

illustrated in our Society's *Transactions* (vol. xvi., p. 295) and in the *Essex Review* (vol. xxxii., pp. 66, 90 and frontispiece).

Portraits of the Mr. George Wegg mentioned by Morant, his wife, *née* Creffield, and her niece, Miss Creffield, heiress of that family (all three by Hudson), used to hang in the fine drawing-room of East Hill House. I mention this because Morant, after describing, as above, the pavement found by Mr. Wegg, makes an important statement that "In the beginning of the year 1748, one was discovered in the garden of Peter Creffield, now of James Round, Esq.; in the parish of Holy Trinity." As portions of urns, together with a coin, were found with it, the discovery was of some importance. It is desirable, therefore, to identify the locality of this find. The Colchester residence of the Creffields¹ was one of the five big houses shown, as such, with its garden, in Morant's plan of the town, immediately to the east of the churchyard of Holy Trinity.² They seem to have occupied a considerable area, south of Culver street, and to have descended to the above Miss Creffield, who married, in 1758, Mr. James Round, eldest son of the squire of Birch. I have never seen this house even mentioned. Another of these notable houses, similarly shown on Morant's map, is mentioned by him in his text, immediately before the residence of the Creffields. This was what he terms "Dr. Daniell's house," of which he states that, while it "was re-building," an urn and a Roman pavement were discovered. This house was nearly opposite St. Martin's church, whence it was sometimes styled St. Martin's house. This seems to be the explanation of his footnote appended to this statement, *viz.*: that the finding of urns "in St. Martin's parish" and the lower parts of the town implies that "the Roman town did not extend to these places." His own evidence seems to me to contradict that view; but I do not profess to speak with any special knowledge of Roman matters.

As in my papers on 'The Hornchurch road' and 'The Mersea road,' the only point I wish to make is that a knowledge of estates and their owners, of antiquaries' statements, of maps, and of plans dating from the eighteenth century, may sometimes be of unexpected use in tracing the places at which Roman remains have been found. For instance, in this case, there is no trace on Mr. Cutts' map of Roman remains in what was the garden of Dr. Daniell's

¹ Lady Creffield was residing there in 1734.

² This garden is also shown on Chapman & André's plan of the town, published in 1777, and appears to be the "garden of Messrs. Cooper & Garrad," shown on the map facing p. 34 of Mr. Cutts' *Colchester* (1888), as having contained Roman remains.

house.¹ Is it possible that this was the pavement mentioned in Dr. Laver's useful paper on "Mosaic pavements in Colchester,"² as "found in 1794 in a garden on the west side of Angel Lane"? I only throw out this suggestion, but the names I have mentioned might perhaps throw light on the locality of some of the discoveries named in Dr. Laver's paper. On the other hand, Mr. Philip Laver, in a note on "The Boroughfield,"³ give the names of the then owner of a certain house as a landmark. This, surely, will be forgotten and become, therefore, useless for the purpose.

I have still to deal with the entrance to Berryfield. Morant, in his Appendix, has printed, from the borough records, an order of 1563, concerning "St. Denyse Faire, *alias* Pardon Faire." The fair is there ordered to "begyn benethe Bery field gate." Morant also, in his account of the borough's fairs, states that "the first day is a fair for live cattle, kept in Berye-field." Now the entrance to this field is extremely well known to me. Indeed, when at East Hill House, I must have used it most days. It is reached from Queen street, nearly opposite Culver street, by what we always termed "The Chase." I did not attach, at that time, any importance to the name; but I now think that this name must be of great antiquity. In Mr. Miller Christy's interesting paper on the Chignals, based on his local knowledge,⁴ he shows, on his second plan, "a field lane (*sic*) called 'Blackwall chase.'" His explanation of the word, however, is not satisfactory to me. A 'lane' might have been named a 'chase' in early days; for we read of 'chasing' and 're-chasing' in those days, as meaning a way for cattle.⁵ But the word, in the two cases I have given, could not possibly mean "a hunting-preserve." The inconvenience of the entrance to Berryfield, in the days I speak of, was bad enough when the field was lent for semi-public purposes; but when live cattle had to enter the field, it must have been much worse, with the consequence that the right to sell them there was eventually bought off by the owners.

J. H. ROUND.

¹ It passed to my great-grandfather, who was afterwards acting Recorder of Colchester, and my grandfather was born there (in 1783). I inherit some of Dr. Daniell's silver plate.

² *E.A.T.*, vol. x., pp. 84-90.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. xv., p. 98.

⁴ April and July, 1923 (*Essex Review*, vol. xxxii., pp. 57, 138).

⁵ See Canon Foster's *Lines. Final Concords* (1920), vol. ii., pp. lxxviii., 128, 271; also our *Fest of Fines for Essex*, vol. i., p. 120 (No. 586)—"ingress and egress for chasing and re-chasing all his cattle and flocks"; and vol. i., p. 229 (No. 1359)—"chase and re-chase."

Roman Remains in Essex.—I happen to have just noted in vol. ii. of the *Archæological Review* (extinct) a paper, with this title (pp. 91-102), which was contributed, in 1888, by Mr. J. E. Price, who was employed on a MS. catalogue of the contents of the Colchester museum.

This paper appears to me to be of considerable value as a record (in alphabetical order) of Essex finds, with references to the many scattered publications in which they are described. Archæologists are only too well acquainted with the difficulties encountered owing to the lack, in many cases, of such exact references. At the close of his list of finds in Essex, Mr. Price deals with Roman roads in the county. I express, of course, no opinion on the conclusions at which he arrived.

J. H. R.

The 'Brightlingsea' family.—Owing to a Note of mine on "The 'Brightlingsea' family"¹ not having been submitted to me in proof, it made its appearance in a very confused and rather unintelligible form. As I have now been able to add to the information which it contained, it is desirable, for this reason also, to deal afresh with the subject. In the Note to which I refer, I observed that Osbert 'de Clacton' and his son Alexander ('de Brightlingsea') "occur so frequently among the witnesses to St. John's Abbey, Colchester, that they were probably connected in some special way with the Abbey." I have now ascertained what that connection was; Osbert, the father, held the important and dignified office of steward (*dapifer* or *senescallus*) of St. John's abbey, Colchester.

From the lists of witnesses to charters in the abbey's cartulary² I have selected those occurrences of Osbert and his family which afford proof of this statement:—"Osberno dapifero Sancti Johannis de Colecestria" (p. 312); "Osberto dapifero nostro, Alexandro filio ejus" (p. 629); "Oseberto de Claketune," "Alexandro filio Oseberti de Brightlingeseye" (p. 451); "Osbertus de Claketune Alexander filius Osberti de Claketune et Johannes frater Alexandri" (p. 300); "Osberno dapifero, Alexandro, Johanne filiis ejus" (p. 134); "Osberto senescallo, Alexandro, Willelmo filiis ejus" (p. 254); "Osberno dapifero, Alexandro, Willelmo, Osberno filiis ejus" (p. 311); "Osberno dapifero, Magistro Johanne, Alexandro, Alelmo, Osberno filiis suis" (p. 211); "Osberno de Claketune, Alexandro filio Osberni, Willelmo fratre ejus" (p. 347); "Alexandro

¹ *E.A.T.* (N.S.), vol. xiv., pp. 76-7.

² Printed for the Roxburghe Club, 1897. It has no index to personal names.

filio Osberti, Magistro Johanne fratre suo, Alelmo fratre suo' (pp. 627-8); "Osberno de Clakestone, Alexandro filio Osberni, Rannulfo fratre ejus" (p. 285); "Osberno dapifero, Rannulfo filio ejus" (p. 313); "Osbertus de Claketune, Alexander filius Osberti de Claketune, et Johannes frater Alexandri" (p. 300). In the next generation we have, as the first two witnesses to a charter:—"domino Alexandro de Brichlingeseia, Osberto filio suo" (p. 605); "Alexandro filio Osberti, Osberto filio Alexandri" (p. 627); "Alexandro de Brithlingeseya, Oseberto filio suo" (p. 315). It will be observed that these extracts prove the pedigree in the male line.

When Osbert de Brightlingsea, the son and successor of Alexander, died in 1247, he left as his heirs his three sisters, as is proved by the return to the Inquisition after his death.¹ I give their names and marriages in the appended chart pedigree. Unfortunately, there is a lack, in this pedigree, of dates, so that we cannot use it for dating the documents in the cartulary, most of which are undated, by the names of Osbert 'de Claketune,' his son and grandson, where they occur as witnesses. So frequent is their occurrence that, if we take at random the first eighty pages of the second volume, we find Osbert himself occurring some twenty-one times, his son Alexander thirty-one, and his grandson Osbert once, besides some of Alexander's brothers occasionally. The reason why Alexander occurs so frequently is that his attestations begin under abbot Osborn (who died about 1195) and that he was still attesting at least so late as 1240.²

Of the three places with which he was connected, (Moverons in) Brightlingsea and Abberton are found in a *Testa de Nevill* list (p. 279) of free tenants and their services due to the abbey of Colchester:—

Alexander filius Osberti tenet in Adburgeton pro vjs.

.....
Alexander filius Osberti tenet in Brithlinges (*sic*) duas virgatas terre pro xxvijs.

as is Iltney (in Mundon) in its list of fees held of the Honour of Boulogne³ (pp. 274-5), where we read

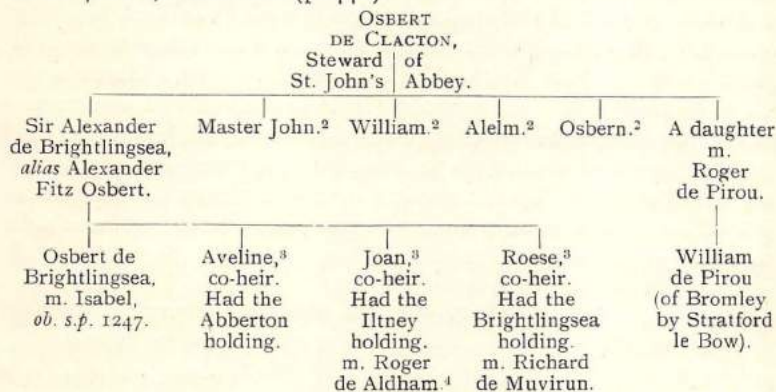
Engeram de Blendec; militem in Merseye, *Elteneye*, Doniland, de quibus Alexander de Britlingeseye tenet dim. militem, et prior de Bykenar' (*sic*) de eo.

¹ *Cal. of Inq.*, vol. i., No. 447.

² *Colchester Cartulary*, p. 326.

³ This list also contains (in both its forms) an entry that Alexander de 'Britlingeseye' holds 'Edburgeton' (Edburton), with a moiety of 'Laufar' Triket, as half a knight's fee. This holding is explained on pp. 248-9 of the cartulary, where Alexander's nephew, William (son of Roger) de Pirho gives to St. John's abbey the homage of Alexander for his holding "in Adburtune et in Lagefare."

The relative documents are found in the Colchester cartulary, where they begin with the grant to Osbert 'de Claketune' from Geoffrey de Tilety (son of Maurice 'the sheriff,' of Tilty) of all the fee he held of Fulk de Blandac in Iltney (pp. 453-4) and the confirmation by Thomas, prior of Bicknacre, of all Fulk de Blandec's fee in Iltney, as Osbert held it of Geoffrey, son of Maurice, by the service of half a knight and of 25s. a year (p. 450). This was confirmed by Prior Ralf to Osbert's son, Alexander¹ (p. 451), in the time of John, son of 'Engelram de Blandec.' From Alexander it passed to his daughter and co-heir, Joan 'de Audham,' who gave it to St. John's, Colchester (p. 448).



J. H. R.

Roman Pavements at Colchester.—In the statement of the find in Mr. Frost's garden (*Transactions*, vol. xvi., p. 295) the coin of Nero was described as being "between the two floors." Strictly speaking, there were not two floors at the spot mentioned; the coin was under the pavement described.

Again, on p. 296, the statement is made that "there is no record of any other mosaic pavement of pictorial design having been found in Colchester." Surely that described as being found in St. Martin's lane in 1793, in Mr. Bragg's premises, and duly figured in *Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. iii., pl. xxxix., is pictorial.

P. G. LAVER.

¹ "Alexandro filio Osberti de Brichtlingeseye."

² All these sons of Osbern are found in the cartulary as witnesses, as is also a son, Ranulf, on p. 313.

³ See *Essex Fines*, vol. i., p. 220.

⁴ I have retained the names and order of the three sisters as given in the return to the Inquest, but have rejected the marriage of Aveline to Peter de Aldham and of Joan to Roger de Blakeham, as given in it and repeated by Morant and Dr. Dickinson, because the Colchester cartulary proves that "*Johanna* de Audham filia quondam Alexandri de Brichtlingeseye" had the Iltney land (pp. 448 *bis*, 664), while a record cited by Morant proves that *Avelina* de Ramesey had the Abberton land. The marriage of Roese is correct, as is proved by the cartulary (p. 665, 666).

Blacham.—Among the unidentified entries in Domesday Book we find the following under Thurstable Hundred :—

In BLACHAM four free men held half a hide which they could sell. Count Eustace holds it now. Then as now 1 plough. It was worth 10 shillings then and 10 shillings when received ; now 7 shillings.

A deed in the possession of Mr. W. Wilson of Little Braxted, dated at Great Totham on Sunday before All Saints, 14 Edward II. (1320), records a grant by Adam, son of Richard le Vanwrighte, of Great Totham, to John le Herde, of Steychworthe, and Sibil his wife and their heirs and assigns, of half-an-acre of land with a house built on it, in Great Totham between the way called Blachamstrate and land of John Granhose and Avice his wife, one head abutting on land of Robert le Holdere and another on a messuage of the said John Granhose and Avice. This appears to locate Blacham in Great Totham, and the mention of street suggests that it was on one of the main roads, perhaps that from Maldon to Colchester.

The charter of Richard I. to Beeleigh abbey confirms a grant of land at Blacheham by Bencelina the wife of Roger de Langeford. The abbey owned land in Great Totham, but I have not been able to get any further by either clue.

R. C. FOWLER.

Pant or Blackwater.—On the modern Ordnance maps this river is marked as Pant above Bocking church and as Blackwater below it. The usual statement that it was formerly called Pant and later Blackwater is roughly correct, but the history of the name is rather more complicated. Rivers and streams are named so rarely in records that a full explanation is not possible, though we can collect a little evidence.

Dr. J. H. Round has pointed out some early instances of the use of the name Pant for the estuary.¹ It is first mentioned by Bede (d. 735) in his *Eccl. Hist.*, lib. 3, cap. 22 ; and in the song of the Battle of Maldon, which was fought in 991 near the site of Heybridge church. Its flow here has been somewhat altered in consequence of the formation of the Chelmer Navigation canal, but the Blackwater proper runs under Heybridge ; the stream under Fullbridge, now the larger of the two, being the Chelmer. The estuary is called Paunte near St. Lawrence in a fine of 1258, and Poonte near Bradwell-on-Sea in a fine of 1285. Later, it is called Pontwatr in connection with Admiralty Court jurisdiction in 1491 ;² Ponte in a survey of Stanesgate temp. Henry VIII. ;³ and

¹ Essex Arch. Soc. *Transactions*, vol. xi., p. 266 ; vol. xvi., p. 53.

² *Colchester Red Paper Book*, p. 122.

³ Exch. T.R. Misc. Book, 163, f. 3.

Pont in connection with oyster fisheries in 1638.¹ Dr. Laver has noted that it is still spoken of locally as Pont.² The upper part of the river was known as Ponte at Sampford in the fourteenth century,³ and is supposed to have given the name to the parish of Panfield.

We have no description of the river before the sixteenth century. Camden (1557) writes "The river Froshwell (more properly Pant, afterwards Blackwater) rises from a small source at Radwinter." Norden (1594) speaks of the estuary as 'Blackewater creeke' and the river Blackwater as rising near Wimbish, but as he also mentions the Pante among 'other rivers,' it seems that he did not properly understand. Drayton (1622) also refers to it in his *Polyolbion*.

A very much better account is given by William Harrison (1577) in the 'Description of Britaine' which we wrote for Holinshed. He was rector of Radwinter on presentation by Sir William Brooke, Lord Cobham, to whom he dedicates the Description; and also vicar of Wimbish; and therefore had a personal knowledge and interest. He writes:—⁴

There is a pretie water that beginneth neere unto Gwinbach or Winbeche church in Essex, a towne of old, and yet belonging to the Fitzwaters, taking name of Gwin, which is beautifull or faire, & Bache that signifieth a wood: and not without cause, sith not onlie the hilles on ech side of the said rillet, but all the whole paroch hath sometime abounded in woods This said brooke runneth directlie from thence unto Radwinter By the waie also it is increased with sundrie pretie springs, of which Pantwell is the cheefe (wherof some thinke the whole brooke to be named Pant) Certes by the report of common fame it hath bene a pretie water, and of such quantitie, that botes haue come in time past from Bilie abbeie beside Maldon unto the moores in Radwinter for corne But to leave these impertinent discourses, and returne againe to the springs whereby our Pant or Gwin is increased. There is likewise another in a pasture belonging to the Grange, now in possession of William Bird esquier, who holdeth the same in the right of his wife, but in time past belonging to Tilteie abbeie. The third cometh out of the yard of one of your lordships manors there called Radwinter hall. The fourth from Iohn Cockswets house, named the Rotherwell, which running under Rother bridge meeteth with the Gwin or Pant on the northwest end of Ferrants meade, southeast of Radwinter church, whereof I haue the charge by your honours favourable preferment.

I might take occasion to speak of another rill which falleth into the Rother from Bendish hall: but bicause it is for the most part drie in summer I passe it over Now to resume our springs that meet and ioine with our Pant.

The next is named Froshwell. And of this spring dooth the whole hundred beare the name, & after this confluence the riuer it selfe wherunto it falleth

¹ S.P. Dom, Charles I., ccxcix., 23, 55.

² E.A.S. *Transactions*, vol. xi., p. 366.

³ *Essex Review*, vol. xix., p. 45.

⁴ *Holinshed*, vol. i., p. 179.

(from by north) so farre as I remember. Certes, all these, saving the first and second, are within your lordships towne aforesaid. The streame therefore running from hence (& now, as I said, called Froshwell, of Frosh, which signifieth a frog) hasteth immediatlie unto Old Sandford, then through new Sandford parke, and afterward with full streame (receiuing by the waie, the Finch brooke that commeth thorough Finchingfield) to Shalford, Bocking, Stisted, Paswije, and so to Blackewater, where the name of Froshwell ceaseth, the water being from hencefoorth (as I heare) commonlie called Blackwater, untill it come to Maldon, where it falleth into the salt arme of the sea that beateth upon the towne; and which of some (except I be deceived) is called also Pant: and so much the rather I make this coniecture, for that Ithancester stood somewhere upon the banks thereof, & in the hundred of Danseie, whose ruines (as they saie) also are swallowed up by the said streame, which can not be verified in our riuier that runneth from Pantwell, which at the mouth and fall into the great current exceedeth not (to my coniecture) aboue one hundred foot.

It has been suggested¹ that the name Blackwater can be traced back to the Idumanus of Ptolemy, with which the estuary has been identified; and that this is of Celtic origin and nothing more than Celtic for Blackwater, *Y-du* meaning 'black' and *aman* 'river' or 'water.' There is, however, no early use of the name to support this theory. We first read of it in connection with the bridge and hamlet where the Stane Street crosses the river at Bradwell by Coggeshall. In 1308 the bridge was called the bridge of Stratford,² but among the Westminster Abbey muniments³ is a rough sketch of 'Blakwater brigge' between Coggeshall and Braintree with notes of holders of lands in the vicinity, which is of the date of 12 Henry VIII. The hamlet of 'Blak Water' is mentioned rather earlier, in a Feering court roll of 1477,⁴ and in connection with lands of John Doreward in 1495.⁵

The reasonable conclusion seems to be that the name Blackwater originated in the fifteenth century in a small part of the river at the Stane Street. It afterwards spread up and down stream, but did not establish itself definitely above Bocking, and did not entirely supplant the earlier name in the estuary.

R. C. F.

A hospital at Rainham.—A hospital of Reynham *inxta monaster' cornut'* is mentioned in 1302 (*Exch. K.R. Acc.*, 362/4); a master of the hospital of Reynham in 1285 (*Assize Roll*, 244, m. 2d.);

¹ *Archæologia*, vol. xli., p. 441.

² Chan. Misc. Inq. 68(1).

³ Nos. 6578, 6579. I have to thank Canon Westlake for this reference.

⁴ P.R.O. Court Roll 171/81.

⁵ P.R.O. Anc. Deed A, 12,278; Chanc. I.P.M., ser. ii., 11 (2a).

and William, master of Renham, *circa* 1240 (*Hornchurch Priory Documents*).

Nothing more seems to be known of this hospital, which may have been without endowment.

R. C. F.

Heads of Essex Religious Houses.—The following names or dates supplement the additions already given in *Transactions*, vol. xi., pp. 49-52, 367-8:—

PRIORS OF BLACKMORE.

John Dawedry occurs 1416 [*De Banco, Trin.* 4 *Hen. V.* 300d.]

Thomas Colyn occurs 1511 [*Aug. Off. Misc. Book*, 104 2nd 80.]

PRIORS OF ST. BOTOLPH, COLCHESTER.

G. occurs *circa* 1200 [*B.M. Add. Ch.* 28341]

Richard de Westbrom occurs 1348 [*B.M. Campb. Ch.* XXIII. 14.]

MASTER OF ST. MARY MAGDALEN, COLCHESTER.

Benjamin Clere occurs *circa* 1558-79 [*Chanc. Proc. Ser. II.* 132/67.]

WARDENS OF ST. CROSS, COLCHESTER.

John Bastard occurs 1331 [*Harl. Ch.* 44, c. 35.]

Thomas Safare, resigned 1438 [*Lond. Epis. Reg. Gilbert*, 13d.]

John Stevyn, appointed 1438 [*Ibid.*], resigned 1445 [*Ibid.* 61d.]

John Qwene, appointed 1445 [*Ibid.*], died 1459 [*Ibid. Kemp*, 67d.]

Walter Andrewe, appointed 1459 [*Ibid.*]

John Combe died 1479 [*Ibid.* 174.]

Thomas Turnour, appointed 1479 [*Ibid.*]

PRIORS OF COLNE.

John occurs 1312 [*Colchester Court Rolls*.]

Roger occurs 1355 [*Lond. Epis. Reg. Gilbert* 186d.]

MASTERS OF HALSTEAD.

William Wodecok, resigned 1471 [*Lond. Epis. Reg. Kemp*. 126.]

Thomas Candour, appointed 1471 [*Ibid.*], resigned 1475 [*Ibid.* 150d.]

William Davyson, appointed 1475 [*Ibid.*], died 1488 [*Ibid.* 217d.]

Antony Ynglissh, appointed 1488 [*Ibid.*]

PRIOR OF HORKESELEY.

Nicholas occurs *circa* 1200 [*P.R.O. Anc. Deed A.* 13890.]

MASTER OF ILFORD.

George Brysewoode, appointed 1498 [*Pat.* 14 *Hen. VII.* pt. 1 m. 6(17).]

PRIOR OF LATTON.

Geoffrey occurs before 1292 [*Assize Roll*, 252 m 7d.]

PRIORS OF LEIGHS.

Henry occurs 1364 [*Coram Rege, Mich.* 38 *Edw. III.* 3d.]

John Webbe, elected 1476 [*Lond. Epis. Reg. Kemp*. 157d.]

PRIOR OF MERSEA.

John occurs 1312 [*Colchester Court Rolls.*]

PRIOR OF PANFIELD.

Peter occurs 1307 [*Assize Roll*, 254 m. 7d.]

ABBOT OF ST. OSYTH'S.

Thomas occurs 1364 [*Coram Rege, Mich.* 38 Ed. III., Rex 28d.]

PRIORS OF STANESGATE.

Alexander occurs 1276 [*Exch. K.R. Alien Priories* 319.]

Peter occurs 1356 [*Fine R.* 30 Edw. III. m. 6.]

ABBOTS OF STRATFORD.

Herman occurs 1380 [*Hornchurch Priory Documents.*]

John Reyfeld occurs 1464 [*P.R.O. Ancient Deed*, c. 6820.]

Hugh Watford occurs 1487 [*Conf. Roll*, 3 Hen. VII. pt. 1 No. 8.]

PRIOR OF TAKELEY.

Hugh occurs early 13th cent. [*B.M. Add. Ch.* 28384.]

Firmin occurs 1374 [*Coram Rege*, 48 Ed. III.]

PRIORS OF THOBY.

Helyas occurs circa 1189-98 [*P.R.O. Anc. Deed A.* 13893.]

Roger occurs 1292 [*Assize Roll*, 252 m. 2.]

Nicholas occurs 1318 [*P.R.O. Anc. Deed B.* 9040.]

William Ely, called late prior in 1460 [*De Banco, Eas.* 38 Hen. VI., 33.]

WARDENS OF TILBURY.

Robert Chancy, presented 1404 [*Pat.* 6 Hen. IV. pt. 1 m. 16.]

Stephen Gernier occurs 1439 [*Cal. Papal Lett.*, IX. 80.]

ABBOT OF TILTEY.

Edmund occurs 1307 [*Assize Roll*, 254, m. 2d.]

PRIORS OF TIPTREE.

John occurs in 13th century [*P.R.O. Anc. Deed A.* 14525.]

Benedict occurs circa 1221-8 [*Havl. Ch.* 50, c. 3.]

ABBOT OF WALTHAM.

John Lucas occurs 1468 [*Pardon R.* 8-9 Edw. IV. m. 32.]

WARDEN OF BROOK STREET, SOUTH WEALD.

Stephen Gernier occurs 1439 [*Cal. Papal Letters*, IX. 80.]

R. C. F.

Edward the Confessor and the church of Clavering.

—An entry on the Liberate Roll, to which Mr. C. Johnson, F.S.A., has called my attention, proves that the chapel endowed by Henry III. was situated in the cemetery of Clavering church, and not at Langley as stated in *Transactions*, vol. xvi., p. 187.¹ About the year

¹ cf. vol. xvi., p. 306. The chapel was still in use in 1353. In the time of Elizabeth it was believed to have been founded by a countess of Salisbury.

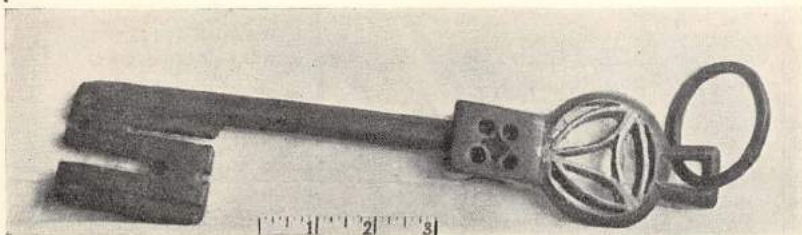
1251 Henry III., out of devotion to the Confessor, had the roof of the chapel repaired and installed a chaplain. He also caused to be painted a picture of Edward the Confessor offering the ring to St. John the Evangelist. The text of the writ is as follows:—

Rex¹ vicecomiti Essex salutem. Quia Ricardus de Wytsaund² quondam vicecomes noster Essex cui iniunximus subscripta facienda prout ei iniunximus non fecit, tibi precipimus quod cooperturam capelle sancti Johannis Ewangeliste in cimiterio de Clavering que miraculose denominatur capella beati Edwardi regis et confessoris bene emendari et imaginem ejusdem beati Edwardi ex parte orientali inferioris partis hostii cum anulo porrigendo imagini beati Johannis Ewangeliste ex parte superiori hostii ejusdem capelle depingi facias et quandam lampadem coram altari in eadem capella ardentem invenias et cuidam capellano in eadem capella divina cotidie celebraturo facias habere L. solidos per annum. Et computabitur tibi ad Scaccarium. Teste ut supra [28 August, 1251]. Per regem.

V. H. GALBRAITH.

Fifteenth-century Key belonging to Heydon Church.

—Of the minor fittings of our ancient churches that have been preserved, pre-Reformation door-keys may be counted among the rarest; and it is doubtful whether a church in Essex possesses a key at all comparable to that which is still used to fasten the old lock on the south door of the church of the Holy Trinity, Heydon. This beautiful example of mediæval smithing has been known to me for many years, and I have at length been able to obtain, through the kindness and skill of our President, an excellent photograph of it, here reproduced.



The key, which is of iron, dates from the fifteenth century, and its total length, without the ring, is $11\frac{1}{4}$ inches. It has a circular bow, filled with a traceried pattern formed of three *vesicae* set in a triangle, and surmounted by a large rectangular loop through which

¹ Liberate Roll, No. 27 (35 Henry III.), m. 4.

² Sheriff in the previous year.

passes a suspension ring (diameter $2\frac{2}{3}$ inches). The collar, square-shaped and of bold projection, is pierced alternately on each of its four faces with a lozenge between four roundels, and three trefoil-headed lancets. The stem is piped, with slightly flattened sides; and the grooved web has two long vertical slits and two small crescentic notches for a simple-warded lock.

G. MONTAGU BENTON.

Armorial Glass formerly in Clavering Church.—The following extract from the Holman MSS. in the Colchester Museum will form an appendix to the paper on the Clavering glass which Mr. F. C. Eeles contributed to the last volume of the *Transactions* (vol. xvi., p. 77).

CLAVERING.

. . . In the North window of [the north] isle . . . are severall escocheons, with inscriptions, in the glass.

Barley's armes . . . underneath, this inscription :

William Barlee of ye Middle Temple. . . .¹

Under this another escocheon: Riddlesden, *argent, a chevron betw. 3 crosse crozlets fitched sable*. Underneath it this inscription :

Frances Riddlesden, second Daughter of William Riddlesden, Esqr., Son & Heir of Sr. Steven Riddlesden Knight, & Elizabeth his wife, ye daughter of John Palgrave Esqr., wch said Sr. Steven was Knighted by King James the first on board his Highnes Royall Ship, ye Elizabeth Jonas, in ye second year of his Reigne, Anno Dom̄, 1604; her mother was ye daughter of Sr Isaac Jermy, of Stutton in the county of Suffolk, Knight. The said Frances departed this life ye 9th day of January, in ye 58th year of her age Annoque Dom̄ 1697, & lyeth buried in this vault.

In the same window, even with the first, Barlee's armes, with a labell of 3 points gules, under it this inscription in gold letters on a black feild :

Haynes Barlee, eldest sonne of Haynes Barlee Esqr., Borne the 30 Octobr 1646, departed this life April 6th 1661, and lieth Buried under this window.

There was another escocheon and inscription, but imperfect (Symonds' Collect., 3rd vol., fol. 47).

These 3 coates are in old glasse in the North windowe aloft in the church : (1) *Sable, a crosse lozengie argt. et gules quarter pierced of the feild*; (2) *Greene of Sampford*; (3) *palle of 6 vert et argt., impaling vert, a cross potent argt.*

This coate is in old glasse in the window of the South isle of the church : *Argt., a bend vert cotised gules.*

This inscription on a scroll on the head of the escocheon :

Scutum Radulphi Grey cujus aīē ppicietr Deus.

This on the South window aloft in the church : *Sable, on a fesse cotised and 3 masles in cheif argt. as many pheons of the feild.*

G. M. B.

¹ This shield and inscription still exist; see *Trans.*, vol. xvi., p. 79.

PUBLICATIONS.

Hornchurch Priory Documents.

By H. F. WESTLAKE, M.V.O., M.A., F.S.A.

Demy 8vo, 152 pp. London: Philip Allan & Co. 7/6 net.

THIS house, the only dependency in England of the Hospice of St. Nicholas and St. Bernard, Montjoux, in Savoy, originated in a grant by Henry II. about 1158-9, and was sold in 1391 to New College, Oxford. The title deeds and some other documents, including a few of the time of the transfer and later, more than five hundred in all, are preserved at the college and have now been calendared in convenient form. It is hardly necessary to say that they give a great deal of detailed and valuable information about the history of Hornchurch and Havering.

Among subjects of general interest we have an account of charges brought by the parishioners against the master of Hornchurch in 1315, which the bishop of London after inquiry declared to be unfounded; and a list of the goods and ornaments of the church in 1385. John Hermer had licence in 1345 to have a chapel of St. Mary at Maryland, and chapels at Dovers and Sutton in Havering are also mentioned. Nineteen masters are named between 1233 and 1385, and there is mention of some of the buildings of the priory. It is interesting to note that a seal of the master representing a bull's head with horns is attached to two deeds.

In No. 324 Alnechelye should be Alvethelye (Aveley), and in No. 320 pope Clement (VI.) should apparently be Clement (IV.). Other misreadings are Richard de Mufich in 39, Regerole Rus in 43, and Reginald de St. Waleran in 78. But there are not many mistakes, and Canon Westlake and Messrs. Allan & Co. are to be warmly congratulated on their enterprise.

Walthamstow Deeds.

48 pp. (Walthamstow Antiquarian Society Official Publication No. 11).

THE 110 deeds here calendared, ranging in date from 1595 onwards and mostly relating to properties within the chief manor of Walthamstow Toney, are the property of the town of Walthamstow and are housed in the Central Library. Like the Hornchurch deeds, they give a great amount of local information; although they differ from the others, being later and fuller in detail.

Mr. S. J. Barns has given a full calendar of their contents and a useful introduction. The Walthamstow Antiquarian Society has set a good example to other Essex towns by this publication.

Essex Units in the War. 1st Bn. the Essex Regiment (44th). 1741-1919.

By J. W. BURROWS.

Vol. i., 8vo., xiv. + 158 pp. Southend-on-Sea: John H. Burrows & Sons. 5s. net.

THIS volume is divided into two almost equal parts by the year 1914; and General Sir Ian Hamilton remarks in an interesting foreword that "it is, perhaps, inevitable that the second half of this history should be out of proportion to the admirable first half." For many years to come the battalion will be chiefly remembered by its exploits in Gallipoli and France, which helped to make the fame of the incomparable 29th Division, although to this Society as such the interest lies mainly in its early history.

The 44th (originally 55th) Regiment was raised by Col. James Long in 1741, it received the name of East Essex in 1782, and it became the 1st battalion of the Essex Regiment under the Cardwell scheme in 1881. Since its formation it has seen service in many countries, earning its badges of the sphinx in Egypt and the eagle at Salamanca, and has only been 25 years in England, nine of these since 1881.

Mr. Burrows has told its story simply and straightforwardly, and the book is brought out attractively, with numerous illustrations and maps, though unfortunately without an index.

Estaines Parva: a venture.

By REV. R. L. GWYNNE.

7½ x 5¼, 76 pp. London: Silas Birch. 3s. net.

Mr. Gwynne has not written an account of the parish of Little Easton or of the church, but his aim has been to persuade parishioners to link up phases of history with a portion of the church or an object in it. In each of eight chapters he deals with a century, from the twelfth to the nineteenth; giving a few questions and answers about it, a short illustrative story, and for the earlier centuries a short sketch of social conditions; with several photographs of the church and its contents.

He has probably no authority for introducing some of the world famous characters whom he brings together; but, in the words of Mr. H. G. Wells, who contributes an appreciative foreword, we find our imagination quite helpfully stirred by his writing.

County Borough of Southend-on-Sea.

*Seventeenth Annual Report of the
Public Library and Museum Committee, 1922-3.*

AN account is given of work at the Museum recently established in the restored buildings of Prittlewell priory, with photographs of the Refectory and the Prior's Chamber. A large number of visitors have already attended.

Joan: a fourteenth century love story of Chigwell.

By F. J. BRAND. 22 pp. Ilford. 1s. net.

MR. Brand has based a tragic romance on an extract from an Assize Roll of 1351 given by Mr. W. C. Waller in *Transactions*, vol. x., p. 312.

QUARTERLY MEETING & EXCURSION, THURSDAY, 12 JULY, 1923.

BERDEN, CLAVERING, AND ARKESDEN.

Favoured with brilliant sunshine, this excursion through a picturesque and altogether unspoilt corner of north-west Essex, was much enjoyed by the 112 members and friends who attended; nor did the excessive heat—upwards of 90 degrees in the shade—seem unduly oppressive in this well-wooded district.

The Society assembled at Berden church at 11.30 a.m., when the building, dating mainly from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, was described by the Rev. Montagu Benton, who also described the other churches visited during the day.

The party then proceeded to Clavering, where the fine church, dating from about 1400, with its interesting stained glass (see *Transactions, E.A.S.*, vol. xvi., p. 77), screen, pulpit, and monuments, provided a feast of good things. The vicar (the Rev. S. M. Morton) was present, and kindly showed the plain old Communion cup and paten (1662) belonging to the parish. On the way from the church to the Castle grounds, where an al fresco luncheon was partaken of by kind permission of the tenant, Mr. J. F. Hawkes, a stone coffin, recently discovered in the north-west corner of the churchyard was viewed, and briefly described by our member, Miss flytche, who had only uncovered it on the previous day.

Miss flytche contributes a note:—

“The stone coffin which we uncovered yesterday lies to the north of Clavering church on the edge of the Castle moat, 2 feet below the surface. A fence, replacing one that was about 50 years old, was put down last winter, and the coffin was found and recovered. The outside measurements are—length: 7 feet, 4 inches; width: head 34 inches, foot 22 inches; thickness of lid, 7 inches; thickness of coffin, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches; depth, with lid, 28 inches: bottom, 5 inches; inside depth, 16 inches. The lid, of split stone, unworked, overhanging coffin about 2 inches, the aforesaid 2 inches being made up

with plaster. The coffin itself is hollowed out of one piece of stone,¹ the marks of the chisel very deep and blunt. The skeleton was in good condition, without lead or wooden shell. Circumference of skull, $21\frac{1}{2}$ inches; teeth in lower jaw, perfect. The lid was very much broken and had, I think, been removed before. At the head were two large flints, otherwise nothing but bones and fresh soil which had fallen in. No sign of an inscription or of any carved ornament. The soil to the west is worked clay; on the east a flint wall, hollow; on the south, light. There are worked flints again about 3 feet beyond the head; the tradition in the village being that there was a bridge across the moat at this spot. An old inhabitant, Mr. Livings, has told me that when he was a boy he used to find bones and skulls here in quantities."

Dr. W. L. H. Duckworth, of Jesus College, Cambridge, writes:—

"The skeleton is that of an adult male individual in the prime of life. His stature was between 5 feet 6 inches and 5 feet 7 inches. The form of the skull does not allow me to assign this individual to a particular race or nation. Similar skulls from this district have been assigned to the period of the Roman occupation.

"So well preserved are the bones that at first I was inclined to assign to them only a very moderate degree of antiquity. But upon consideration I conclude that in respect of their preservation they are not unlike some bones of undoubted "Roman" age. I should be glad to renew my study in the endeavour to clear up this part of the problem."

He considers that the material of which the sarcophagus is composed is almost certainly "Barnack" stone from the neighbourhood of Peterborough. A sarcophagus almost identical in shape, thickness of sides and material, was found at Lord's bridge, three miles from Cambridge, some fifteen years ago. It was of "Roman" antiquity and date. In it potsherds were used to support the head, as the flints here may have been. Generally, the evidence points to the find as of Roman antiquity, but of "late" Roman and "early" Christian associations. Unless there is positive evidence to show that the sarcophagus was rifled, it seems reasonable to suppose that the skeleton is of similar antiquity.

After luncheon Miss ffytche personally conducted small parties over her charming home, 'The Old House,' an illustrated account of which appeared in the *Connoisseur* for August, 1922. Attention was also paid to the fifteenth-century house adjoining.

¹ Shells were found embedded in the stone

The Assist. Hon. Secretary's whistle sounded at 3 o'clock and a move was made for Arkesden church, which was reached within a few minutes. Here the vicar (the Rev. J. H. Gordon Smith) welcomed the visitors, and kindly exhibited the Elizabethan Communion cup (1562) and cover (1567). The chancel and nave were built about the middle of the thirteenth century; the aisles were added rather more than a century later; and although the building has been much restored, it still retains various interesting features, including some fifteenth century heraldic glass, now in the west, but formerly in the east window, and a curious effigy of a priest in cassock and surplice, also of the fifteenth century. According to Weever (*Antient Funeral Monuments*, ed. 1767, p. 407) the following inscriptions once existed in this church :—

Pray for the sowls of Thomas Alderton, stock fishmonger of London, and Alis his wyff, which Alis decessyd on saint George his eve, 1513.

The inscription following is upon the north wall of the church :—

Thomas Alderton was a goodd benefactor to this chirch, as by his last will and testament, remeyning in this chirch, mor pleynty it doth appere. He gave certeyne lands towards the sustentatyon of a chantry prest, to sing at the awter, and to help devyn servis at the same on the holiday. He built this isle from the north dor hitherto, on whos soul Jesu have mercy. Amen.

On leaving Arkesden church, a short ride brought the party to Wood Hall, where Mr. Charles Beadle entertained his many guests to a generous and welcome tea in his beautiful garden. Subsequently the grateful thanks of all present were accorded to Mr. Beadle for his kindness, on the motion of the President, who also thanked Miss ffytche for her help in making the excursion a success, and further expressed a wish that her example might embolden other ladies to speak at the Society's meetings.

Before departing, some of the members inspected the house, built in 1652, but much altered and enlarged in recent years. Over a large open fireplace, in a room formerly the kitchen, is a massive early sixteenth-century beam, beautifully carved with foliage, grotesques, *etc.*, and said to have come from Newland End farm.

QUARTERLY MEETING & EXCURSION, WEDNESDAY, 12 SEPTEMBER, 1923.

ST. OSYTH AND BRIGHTLINGSEA.

This popular excursion was favoured with ideal weather, and the attendance was probably the largest on record, 145 tickets having been issued to members and friends.

The party assembled in front of the Great Gatehouse of St. Osyth's at noon, when it was met by the vicar of the parish (the Rev. J. H. Mitchell) who, in the unavoidable absence of Mr. Wykeham Chancellor, very kindly, and at short notice, acted as guide to the monastic buildings and parish church. The former were inspected by kind permission of Brig.-Gen. K. Kincaid-Smith, who also allowed the members to partake of luncheon in his delightful grounds. The history of the abbey is given in the *V.C.H. Essex*, vol. ii., pp. 157-162, and the buildings are described with several illustrations in the report of the Historical Monuments Commission. An illustrated account of them by the Rev. T. H. Curling also appeared in *Country Life* of 7, 14 and 21 December, 1918.

At 1.45 p.m. the members adjourned to the Institute, where tea and coffee had thoughtfully been provided by Mr. and Mrs. Mitchell. Afterwards a meeting for the election of members was held when, on the motion of the President, hearty votes of thanks were accorded to Brig.-Gen. Kincaid-Smith and Mr. and Mrs. Mitchell for their much-appreciated kindness.

The fine church of SS. Peter and Paul was next visited, special attention being paid to the remarkably early sixteenth-century brick arcades of the nave, and the Darcy monuments; the Elizabethan communion cup and cover (1575) were also on view.

The members saw little to remind them that St. Osyth was anciently a seaport, so a note by Dr. Dickin on that point may not be amiss here:

"Four of its mariners were pressed for the Navy in 1512, and were paid a halfpenny a mile (from St. Osyth to Gravesend) as 'Connduyte money.'

“‘The Margaret’ of Saint ‘Owzes’ was carrying coals from Newcastle in 1565, and ‘The Elizabeth,’ 35 tons, was arrested for service in the Navy in 1570.

“Pirates, who infested the coast, were helped by shoredwellers. In 1577 commissioners, of whom Lord Darcy of Chich was one, were appointed to suppress the piracy, and had deputies to assist them in every coast town and village; they had four in St. Osyth. At this time it was noted that the lading places in the parish were the common quay, Black Stone lading, no doubt the modern Blakeston’s Hole, and Borefleet lading.”

On leaving St. Osyth, the party proceeded to Brightlingsea church, where it was welcomed by the vicar (the Rev. R. F. Rendell), who afterwards exhibited the two interesting and remarkably early Elizabethan communion cups (both 1560) belonging to the parish. Dr. E. P. Dickin, the historian of Brightlingsea, then gave a lucid account of the building, noteworthy for its lofty and handsome west tower (*c.* 1500), which forms a prominent land-mark for miles around; its many image-niches; and its fine series of brasses to the Beriffe family.

Departing at 3.30 p.m., a short ride brought the party to Brightlingsea town, where “Jacobcs,” in the High street, was inspected. This interesting old Tudor house, built *c.* 1500, has good timbered ceilings, and was owned by the Beriffe family until after 1624. The best room in the house is now used as a tea room, and a shop is attached to the front, but the present occupier and owner has done much towards revealing and preserving its ancient features.

Subsequently the members were kindly entertained at tea in the Foresters’ Hall by Dr. and Mrs. Dickin, who are to be congratulated on the admirable way in which they coped with the needs of their many guests. A debt of gratitude is due to them for all that they did to make the Society’s visit a success, and a hearty vote of thanks to them was proposed by the President.

NEW MEMBERS.

Elected at Clavering on 12 July, 1923.

BEDDOES, Mrs., Ickleton, Cambs.
 BOWLBY, Mrs., Gilston Park, Harlow.
 BRADLEY, Mrs. H., Dunmow.
 BROWNE, Miss HELEN S., Woodham Walter Lodge,
 Maldon.
 BURRA, Mrs. W. POMFRET, Freshwell, Saffron
 Walden.
 CALDWELL, J., Lyndocks, Margaretting.
 DRUMMOND, E. T., The Priory, Hatfield Broad Oak.
 HIGSON, Major, 25 Lexden Road, Colchester.
 HIGSON, Mrs., 25 Lexden Road, Colchester.
 PIKE, Mrs., Pishiobury Park, Sawbridgeworth.
 WOODHOUSE, Miss MARY, Wormingford Hall,
 Colchester.

ON THE NOMINATION OF—

Mrs. Turner Collin.
 Mrs. H. E. M. Bourke.
 Mrs. Brooks.
 Major A. B. Bamford.
 Mr. C. S. D. Wade.
 The Rev. W. J. Pressey.
 Mr. F. C. Hill.
 Miss Lewis.
 Miss Lewis.
 Mrs. H. E. M. Bourke.
 Miss S. M. Round.

Elected at St. Osyth on 12 September, 1923.

BARNES, Mrs., Feering House, Kelvedon.
 BARRETT, HENRY J., The Hall, North Fambridge,
 Maldon.
 EDWARDS, Miss, Malting House, Great Canfield.
 FOX, GEORGE J. BUSCALL, 12a Barons Court Road,
 West Kensington, W.14.
 GARDINER, Miss EMMA, Rose Cottage, Sandon,
 Chelmsford.
 GREENFIELD, PERCY, Clock House, Ingatestone.
 HOBKIRK, C. H., Middleton Rectory, Sudbury,
 Suffolk.
 LIVESEY, The Rev. CECIL EDLESTON, B.A., Stebb-
 ing Vicarage, Chelmsford.
 MITCHELL, The Rev. JOHN HENRY, M.A., St. Osyth's
 Vicarage, Colchester.
 PALMER, Miss M., 12 Hospital Road, Colchester.
 SMITH, DOUGLAS BEVINGTON, Wickham Hall,
 Witham.

ON THE NOMINATION OF—
 The President.

Mr. Wykeham Chancellor.
 Mr. F. Robus.
 Miss Willmott.
 Mrs. Blyth.
 Rev. W. J. Pressey.
 Mr. C. F. D. Sperling.
 Rev. W. J. House.
 Assist. Hon Sec.
 Mr. G. Rickword.
 Miss C. Fell Smith.

STANGE, Miss E. A., Mulberry Close, Earls Colne.
STOPFORD, The Rev. GROSVENOR FRANCIS, C.F.,
10 Shrub End Road, Colchester.

WORTHINGTON-EVANS, The Right Hon. Sir LAMING,
Bart., M.P., 6 Eaton Place, S W. 1.

ON THE NOMINATION OF—

Mrs. Walter Grimston.

Mr. W. Gurney Benham.

Assist. Hon. Sec.

Elected at a Council Meeting on 1 November, 1923.

DUNNE, The Rev. J. W., M.A., Colne Engaine
Rectory.

NORRIS, Mrs. E. J., The Chase, Harold Wood.

THOMPSON, Miss EDITH, The Vicarage, Writtle.

ON THE NOMINATION OF—

The Rev. T. H. Curling.

The Vice-Treasurer.

Mr. Wykeham Chancellor.

DONATIONS TO THE SOCIETY.

To 31 October, 1923.

Messrs. Robus Bros.—

“Dunmow and its Charters,” by Fredk. Robus.

Anonymous—

“St. Edmundsbury Pageant,” 1907, 2 vols.

“Colchester Pageant,” 1909.

Mr. Hector B. Pettitt—

“The History of Rochford Hundred,” by Philip Benton, Nos.
26 and 27.

Mr. P. H. Emerson, B.A., M.B. (Cantab.)—

Notes on the Emersons, *alias* Embersons, of Ipswich, Massachusetts' Bay Colony, 1638, and of Bishops Stortford, co. Herts., England, 1578, by the donor.

Mr. H. W. Lewer, F.S.A.—

“The Essex Review,” 1922 and 1923.

“Journal of Roman Studies,” vol. xi. (1921).

Capt. Frank Corner, M.D., F.G.S., *etc.*—

“The Essex Harmony,” 2nd edition, vol. ii., by John Arnold, of Great Warley, Essex, 1777.

Mr. R. C. Fowler, O.B.E., F.S.A.—

Diocesis Londoniensis, Registrum Simonis de Sudbiria. Pars
Tertia.

Mr. F. J. Brand—

“Joan: a fourteenth century love story of Chigwell, Essex,” by
the donor.

The County Borough of Southend-on-Sea—

Seventeenth Annual Report of the Public Library and Museum
Committee, 1922-23.

Rev. R. L. Gwynne—

Home History, “Estaines Parva: a Venture,” by the donor.

Dr. Philip Laver, F.S.A.—

“East Bergholt in Suffolk,” by T. F. Paterson, M.A., Rector.

The Walthamstow Antiquarian Society—

Walthamstow Deeds (Official Publication, No. 11).

Messrs. John H. Burrows & Sons—

“Essex Units in the Great War: 1st Bn. the Essex Regiment,
1741-1919,” vol. i., by J. W. Burrows.

From Societies in union for exchange of Publications.

Society of Antiquaries of London—

The Antiquaries' Journal, vol. III., part 3.

Royal Archæological Institute—

Archæological Journal, vol. LXXVI.

Bristol and Gloucester Archæological Society—

Transactions, vol. XLIV.

Cambridge Antiquarian Society—

Proceedings, vol. XXIV.

List of Members, to 31 March, 1923.

List of Publications, 1840-1923.

Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire Archæological Society—

Transactions, vol. IV., part 6.

Chester Archæological and Historic Society—

Journal (N.S.), vol. XXIV., part 2.

East Herts. Archæological Society—

Transactions, vol. VI., part IV.

Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-on-Tyne—

Proceedings, 4th series, vol. I., Nos. 5-9.

Suffolk Institute of Archæology and National History—

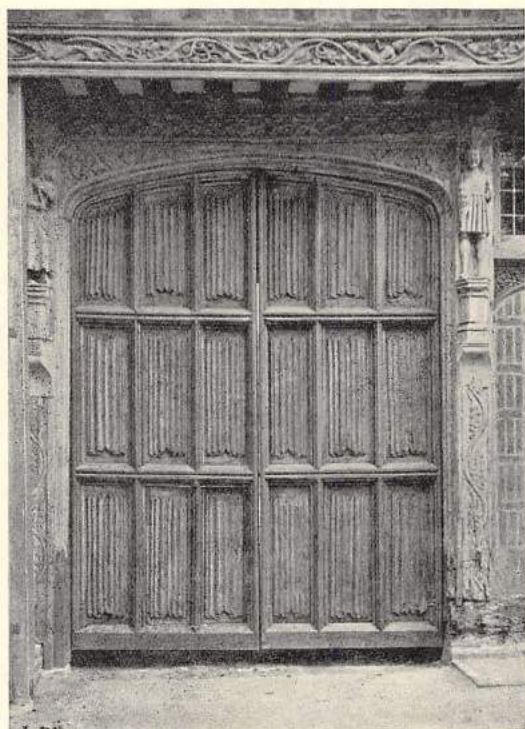
Proceedings, vol. XVIII., part I.

Sussex Archæological Society—

Collections, vol. XLIV.

East Riding (Yorks) Antiquarian Society—

Transactions, vol. XXIV.



PAYCOCKE'S GATEWAY, COGGESHALL.

ESSEX ARCHÆOLOGY.

A brief review of its present position.

BY THE REV. CANON F. W. GALPIN.

THE completion of *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Essex*, of which the first volume was issued by the Royal Commission in 1916 and the fourth and final volume at the close of the past year, stands as a landmark in the record of antiquarian research in our county. It therefore suggests the opportunity of a passing review of the position which archæology holds among us at the present time—an opportunity which is further emphasized by the fact that our Society has just finished the fiftieth year of its New Series of *Transactions*.

Within the limits of a Presidential address, which, I think you will agree with me, should combine enthusiasm for its subject with consideration for its audience, we can hardly expect to begin our survey from the far off days of Domesday: in fact, much valuable information on early writings connected with our county has been provided for us by Dr. Horace Round's paper on *Some Essex Records* recently published in vol. xv. of our *Transactions*. Moreover the annotated catalogue of our library issued last year has brought to our notice many new and interesting sources for past history.

Nor need I touch, except lightly, on such names of older writers on Essex antiquities and heraldry as John Norden at the close of the sixteenth century, Thomas Jekyll, Sir Simonds d'Ewes, John Weever, Richard Symonds and Le Neve in the seventeenth, and Tindal, Newcourt, Ouseley, Salmon and Morant during the early and middle part of the eighteenth century. Upon several of these and their works the late Mr. Edward Fitch and Mr. C. F. D. Sperling have written at length in the early volumes of the *Essex Review*.

But I should like on this occasion to add my own little appreciation to the many already given of the work of William Holman of Halstead—partly because he was Dorset born as I am, but chiefly for the reason that he was the first to arrange the records of earlier observers as well as his own personal researches in some definite order of parochial sequence. I cannot but quote the words of another great pioneer of archæological study in Essex, the late Mr. H. W. King, for many years one of our Honorary Secretaries,

to whose zeal for collecting and transcribing we owe so lasting a debt of gratitude. Writing in the year 1890 he said "For the preservation of a record of the monumental and fenestral antiquities of the County we owe tenfold more to Mr. Holman than to any antiquary past or present." As you know, Holman undertook his historical labours in the first quarter of the eighteenth century, and the Corporation of Colchester is to be congratulated upon the possession of his valuable manuscripts descriptive of the manorial and ecclesiastical antiquities of the various parishes. By the kind permission of the Corporation they can be consulted at the Museum. Morant copied freely from them for his history of the county, but he condensed or even suppressed Holman's details of the churches and their contents: it is said that he intended to remedy these omissions by issuing a third volume, but it never appeared. I consider that our Society would render a great service by publishing either in our *Transactions* or in an extra volume these valuable notes on the Church treasures of two hundred years ago.

Holman's original papers, from which he gathered this history, are preserved in 30 volumes in the Bodleian library at Oxford among the Rawlinson MSS.: but it may not be generally known that a complete and detailed catalogue of these papers is in the Corporation library at the Museum, and from its perusal we gather that what Morant contemptuously called "refuse" is to us, poor mortals of a later day, of peculiar interest and importance.

With these few remarks on the past let me hasten to the latest of county histories, unfortunately at present incomplete, *The Victoria History of Essex*, of which the first and second volumes were published in the years 1903 and 1907 respectively. Tempted as I may be to deal with the exhaustive articles on the botany and natural history of our county to be found in the first volume, I must needs confine myself on the present occasion to its archæological standpoint.

Now the knowledge that we are in the hands of such recognized experts as the late Mr. Chalkley Gould for the account of the earth-works and Dr. Horace Round for the Domesday survey is a sufficient guarantee that both these subjects have been skilfully and adequately treated in its pages. The section on Early Man, for which Mr. Gould had the assistance of our former secretary, Mr. G. F. Beaumont, and the report of the Saxon remains by Mr. Reginald Smith would now probably be more fully dealt with in the light of additional discovery and research. Unfortunately the death of Professor Haverfield in 1920 took from us one whose acquaintance with the Roman antiquities of our county was unique and whose promised contributions thereon to the *Victoria History* would have

been most interesting and important, Here, at any rate, is one of the *lacunæ* in the archæological survey of Essex : who will fill it ?

The second volume, wherein the Ecclesiastical History is treated by the late Dr. Cox and Dr. Round and that of the schools by Miss C. Fell Smith, contains also papers on the Political, Maritime and Economic History, and Mr. R. C. Fowler's exact and detailed record of the Religious Houses—our former Abbeys and Priories. Even in dealing with the industries of the county, Mr. Miller Christy, Miss Fell Smith, the late Dr. Laver, Mr. Shenstone, Mr. Avery, and others, have carried back their enquiries into the region of bygones and rescued from oblivion the customs and handicrafts of our forefathers.

It is most regrettable that, owing to various difficulties, the remaining three volumes of this great history are at present un-issued, and I think our Society might well consider whether it could not in some way accelerate and ensure their production. It is true that we have had the four volumes on the Historical Monuments compiled by the Royal Commission, and our congratulations are sincerely given to all who have contributed to the completion of the intricate task. I am certain that these volumes shame many of us of our ignorance of the treasures we possess—though it is whispered that some of them have still been left out. At any rate the often unsuspected relics of antiquity herein revealed remind us of Richard Crashaw's lines, though penned in another connection :—

The modest front of this small floor
Believe me, reader, can say more
Than many a braver marble can.

But the work of the Royal Commission is only an inventory of things as they are, the authors do not pretend otherwise, and inventories, however charmingly adorned with plan and picture, lack life and feeling. We long to people these old halls, these grassy lawns, these wainscoted rooms, with the dames and gallants who called them their homes in the centuries now past. And it is here that Parochial History and Manorial Records would help us, such reliable histories and records as we should expect to find in the remaining three volumes of the Victoria History. We want them badly : Holman still in manuscript, Morant only for the few, Wright so often wrong, Ogborne incomplete, we sorely need some authentic accounts in an easily accessible form such as Mr. Sperling might have contributed or Dr. Round have given us, and for which he has already raised our expectations in the scattered pages of our *Transactions*.

I pass, however, to a more grateful subject. It appears to me

that Essex as a county is well to the fore in monographs dealing with particular phases of its archæology. I may mention, for instance, the late Mr. Ernest Godman's *Norman and Mediæval Architecture in Essex* in two volumes, his early death in 1906 robbing us of the remaining four. Our veteran member Mr. Frederic Chancellor bequeathed us a work on the *Ancient Sepulchral Monuments of Essex*, of which we may be justly proud. *The Church Bells of Essex* have received close attention from the Rev. Cecil Deedes and Mr. Walters. To our Vice-Treasurer, Mr. H. W. Lewer, and Mr. J. C. Wall we are indebted for a well considered account of *The Church Chests of Essex*; to Mr. Miller Christy's unceasing research we owe a very interesting book on *The Trade Signs of Essex*, not to mention the refreshing draughts he has given us in conjunction with Miss Thresh from the neglected *Mineral Waters and Medicinal Springs of Essex*, whilst a new edition of his *Handbook to Essex* is long overdue. With that wide subject, *The Forest of Essex*, Mr. W. R. Fisher has dealt thoroughly; and the Rev. Edward Gepp has already produced what is something more than *A Contribution to an Essex Dialect Dictionary*, now in a second edition. Within a few months we hope that the Rev. W. J. Pressey and his collaborators will give us a minute and illustrated account of *The Church Plate of Essex*; and Mr. P. H. Reaney has led us to expect a work of great interest on *The Place-Names of Essex*.

For the Heraldry of our county we have—in addition to the items recorded by the Royal Commission and the Armory and particulars to be found in the King Collection of MSS.—the very valuable *Essex Armorial Index* arranged as an ordinary with heraldic rubbings and tracings by the late Rev. H. L. Elliot, vicar of Gosfield, which has happily found a place in our Society's library. The Heralds' Visitations of our County, though now in print, are in need of critical treatment. Almost all the Monumental Brasses and Coffin Slabs have been carefully described and figured in the *Transactions* and elsewhere by Mr. Miller Christy and other experts, and we hope that in due course their complete researches will be published in book form. Epitaphs and Inscriptions, however, have still to be systematically dealt with. In the *Transactions* too will be found important papers on the Roman Roads; the Religious Gilds; the Chapels; the Field-names of our county; and the Token Coinage, that of Colchester being issued separately by Mr. E. N. Mason; and also various references to papers in other publications.

Of Ancient Records not a few have already been deciphered and published in the *Transactions*, for instance the Monastic Inventories and the Inventories of Church Goods (temp. Ed. vi.). The Calendar

of the Feet of Fines for the county is making (thanks to Mr. Fowler) steady progress, though slow. To the Roxburghe Club we owe the publication of the Cartulary of St. John's Abbey, Colchester, though there are many similar monastic documents, still extant, practically untouched.

Of the more important Religious Houses, Waltham, Coggeshall, St. Osyth's and Beeleigh abbeys, and Hornchurch and Prittlewell priories have received especial consideration.

The town of Colchester is particularly well provided for, thanks to the constant zeal of our member Alderman Gurney Benham, who has dealt so thoroughly with *The Borough Charters*, *The Red Paper Book* and *The Oath Book*, belonging to the Corporation, whilst Mr. Jeayes is unravelling the Court Rolls, and Mr. Rickword, the Borough Librarian, has shown us how thoroughly the good citizens were taxed 600 years ago.

Nor must we in our review forget the many local histories which have appeared from time to time. I cannot mention them all, nor need I, for you will find in the Corporation library at Colchester a manuscript bibliography entitled *Essex History and Topography*, arranged by Mr. Rickword, with subjects and parishes, which will at a glance give you references to everything published either in books or magazines on the history of any parish in the county, and kept up to date.

But I will say this—that from Leyton, Waltham and Harlow in the west, to Maldon, Tendring and Brightlingsea in the east, from our *ultima Thule* Chesterford, Audley End, Saffron Walden, and the Bartlow Hills to Dagenham, Hornchurch, Stifford and Rochford Hundred in the south, we possess a most interesting series of parochial memoranda—in some cases no doubt mere compilations from material already published, in others certainly the outcome of much local enquiry and research.

This is all to the good, especially when the efforts of previous investigators are duly acknowledged, authorities correctly tested and quoted, and there is not too much parrot-like repetition: for there are few topics which appeal more strongly to the average mind than the history of that most important item in our lives—the place we live in. I hope that with the encouragement now given by the educational authorities to the study of local history in our schools and the excellent work done by means of the winter lectures of our own Society, this interest will expand and bring an added brightness and meaning to town and country life.

For we must not suppose for a moment that the archæological treasures of our county are exhausted or further research is uncalled

for. Let us take some ideas from other counties. Surely such points as these, for instance, would repay more careful study and fuller treatment:—the old stained glass in our churches, museums and halls; church fountains; the screens of our chancels and chantry chapels; the woodwork of our ornate porches; the ironwork of our church doors; old bridges; the seals of the bygone religious houses and gilds; the manuscripts with old maps and plans hidden still in private libraries, muniment rooms and church vestries, of which our late treasurer, Mr. W. C. Waller, gave us so rich an example in his paper on *The Contents of an Old Church Chest*. Then there are the old wall-paintings and the pargetting already touched upon in our *Transactions*; the continued transcription of early parish registers and wardens' accounts; while certainly a book on old Essex customs and folklore would abound in interest.

In conclusion let me pay a tribute of thanks to our fellow workers in this domain of county archæology—to our attractive contemporary, *The Essex Review*, commenced in 1892, which deserves much more enthusiastic and solid support than it receives—to the Morant Club, which has turned many a sod for the solution of hidden mysteries—to the Essex Field Club for its diligent research in the natural history and pre-historic archæology throughout the county—to the Walthamstow Antiquarian Society and to our youngest helper, the Southend-on-Sea Antiquarian and Historical Society. Of the value and careful curatorship of our Museum at Colchester, held in conjunction with the Corporation, too much cannot be said, its treasures of Celtic and Roman art are famous far beyond our borders; whilst we have also at Saffron Walden a collection of antiquities full of more than local interest and importance, and at Prittlewell a museum in the making which should grow apace.

Thus, while not under-estimating the work yet to be done, we may be thankful for the position which our county and our Society within our county hold in the sphere of archæology.

May our enigmatical Red Hills and Dene Holes; our heirlooms of Roman dominion; that hoary shrine of Saxon worship nigh thirteen hundred years old, yet still "on the walls"; those Norman castles; those spire-capped churches; our wealth of red-bricked halls and moated manor houses; our timbered cottages and black-beamed homesteads, still continue to inspire the labour of loving and accurate research, until the records of our historic past lie as an open page before the eyes of generations yet to be—a noble heritage worthy of the county and the country we are privileged to call our own.

THE MAKING OF BRENTWOOD.

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

THE mention of so mysterious a place as 'Tothsted (co. Essex)' in the index to the official edition of the Close Rolls (1905) for the years 1231-1234 drew my attention to an entry of exceptional importance, which seems to be quite unknown, at any rate in Essex. Its date is 18 July, 1234, and it runs thus:—

Pro Thoma de Canvill'.—Dominus rex concessit Thome de Caunvill' quod apud le Boysars hospitari faciat terram suam ex una parte strate regie in villa sua de Senefeld', sicut terra abbatis Sancte Osithe est hospitara ex alia parte strate in villa sua de Tothsted'. Et mandatum est Ricardo de Muntfichet quod hoc sine impedimento fieri permittat. Teste rege ut supra (p. 478).

Permission is here granted to Thomas de Canvill' (or Caunvill') to have habitations on his land at Brentwood (*Boysars*), on one side of the King's highway (*strate regie*), in his 'vill' of Shenfield, even as the abbot of St. Osyth's land is inhabited on the other side of the road, in his 'vill' of 'Tothsted.' The mention of Brentwood and of Shenfield makes it easy enough to solve the mystery of 'Tothsted.' This place was obviously what Morant styles 'the Manor of Brentwood, otherwise Cost-hall or Cocksted-hall,' which belonged to the abbots of St. Osyth's. What has happened is that the officer responsible for the text, misled by the resemblance of 'c' and 't' in the manuscript, has mis-read 'Cochsted' as 'Tothsted,' a place, of course, which could not be identified in the index. As for Shenfield, Morant—as I showed in my paper on 'Architecture and local history,' read at the Romford meeting in 1918—was strangely and completely in the dark as to its tenure by the Camvilles, who passed it (with Fobbing) to the King and Queen in 1279.¹

The reason why the permission here given was required is supplied by the name of Richard de Muntfichet (of Stansted Mountfitchet), to whom these letters close were addressed. For he was holding at this time the 'bailiwick' of the forest of Essex.² Brentwood, we shall find, was 'within' the forest under Henry II., as it was now in

¹ *Essex Fines*, vol. ii., p. 28.

² See, for instance (*Close Rolls*, 1231-1234, p. 409) the licence of 24 April, 1234, to Richard Fitz Hugh to chase with his hounds the hare, the fox and the (wild) cat "per forestam nostram comitatus Essex'." It is addressed by the King "Ricardo de Muntfichet, forestario suo Essex'." The existing accounts of his tenure of the office are very vague and unsatisfactory, but he was restored, after losing it for a time, in 1251, by an instrument of which Mr. Fisher gives a facsimile in his *Forest of Essex*, but which he wrongly dated 1252.

1234; about 1292 it is found giving name to that 'bailiwick' of the forest which comprised the Hundreds of Barstaple and Chafford.¹ Hence the necessity of a special permission for either cultivating ('assarting') or building upon any land within the area of the (legal) forest.

Brentwood, I take it, was not strictly the name of any manor, but was an area lying partly in the manor of Cocksted (in South Weald) and partly in that of Shenfield, though they were in different hundreds. Morant observed of Shenfield that "some of its houses stand in the eastern² part of Brentwood town, from which it is divided by the road leading from Billericay to Ongar." This is a very strange description, for one cannot understand why, in the middle of the eighteenth century, a road from Billericay to Ongar should pass through Brentwood. The high road from Billericay leads to Shenfield, not to Brentwood. But there is a road—not, apparently, well-defined in the eighteenth century—leading from Ingrave through Pilgrim's Hatch and Kelvedon Hatch³ to Chipping Ongar, and crossing at right angles the London road at Brentwood. It is this road to which our document seems to refer, for it divides at this point the two parishes (Shenfield and Brentwood). But it is rather surprising to find it styled 'strata regia.' It was possibly the crossing of these roads which (as was the case with some other towns) gave to Brentwood its first importance. One difficulty presents itself: as Brentwood town arose originally on Cocksted manor, the position of that manor seems clearly indicated⁴; but, this being so, what relation, if any, had it to the name of Coxtie Green⁵ (as it is now named on the Ordnance map and in *Kelly's Directory*) in the north of South Weald parish and more than two miles distant from the cross-roads at Brentwood, with Langtons and Calcoat (Caldecot) intervening? They would seem to have been quite distinct.⁶

When we first meet with the name of Brentwood⁶ (*i.e.* Burnt wood) it is in the Latinized form *Boscus arsus*. The earliest occurrence of the name, so far as I know, is on the Pipe Roll of 22 Henry II., which was compiled in the autumn of 1176. We have there an

¹ *Forest of Essex*, pp. 137-8.

² *Rectius* north-eastern.

³ And Great and Little Myles'.

⁴ As confirming this conclusion the manor of 'Costeard' will be found mentioned under Brentwood in *Kelly's Directory*.

⁵ Formerly Coxey green, and on Chapman & André's map simply 'Cox Green.'

⁶ Compare the names of manors named Brenthall (or Brendhall) in Boreham, Finchingfield, Harlow, and Hatfield Broad Oak (Essex), Brent Eleigh and Brendhall in Clopton (Suffolk), and Brent Pelham, 'Pelham Arsa' (Herts).

entry that eight shillings were received for the chattels of Reginald of Brentwood (*de Bosco Arso*), who was among the fugitives and outlaws or those who failed in the water ordeal under the Assize of Northampton (p. 9).

Next, apparently, in order of date is a charter of Henry II. in favour of the canons of St. Osyth's, in which the name of Brentwood and 'Cocstede' are both found. This charter was inspected and confirmed by Henry III. in 1268, as we learn from a further *inspeximus*, in 1286, by Edward I. This is now printed in full in the *Calendar of Charter Rolls* (II. 332-334). Henry II. first confirms the gift by William de Wokendone of the land at Brentwood called 'Cocstede' and then grants permission to the canons to assart (*i.e.* break up for cultivation) forty acres at Brentwood.² The first question that arises as to this charter is that of its date; for on this depends that of its mention of Brentwood (*Boscus Arsus*). For the date of a charter of Henry II. we are usually dependent on deduction from the names of its witnesses; nor is this charter an exception to the rule. The official editors have approximately dated it 1173-1187 (p. ix.), but this limit can, I think, be reduced to half that period. For us in Essex the charter is of interest as having been granted by the king at Waltham Holy Cross, and the name of Ralf, prior of Waltham, is that which determines the date. For, as Mr. Robert Fowler has shown, Waltham was a priory of which Ralf was the head, from 1177, when the king destroyed the old foundation, to 1184, when Walter de Gant became the first abbot under the new foundation.³ Mr. Eyton, whose work (*Court, etc., of Henry II.*) is generally used for dating the charters of Henry II., held that Walter was appointed in 1177, not 1184 (pp. 210, 256, 343), but I have been able to show that the date should be 1184, in my introduction to the Pipe Roll of 30 Henry II. (Pipe Roll Soc., p. xxvi.). I think, therefore, that the charter to St. Osyth's may be safely dated 1177-1184.

The next point to be considered is the identity of that William 'de Wokendona' who made this grant to St. Osyth's at some time before the king confirmed it by the above charter. On this point Morant went strangely wrong. He wrote that:—

The donor seems to have been the same William de Wochendon, *Camerarius*, who held land in North Okendon; and, if he was the King's Chamberlain, might easily obtain from the Crown so much forest-land as this.

¹ "Ex dono Willelmi de Wokendona apud Boscum arsum terram que vocatur Cocstede" (p. 333).

² "ut assartent et excolant quadraginta acras ad Boscum arsum." This permission was, as explained above, necessary because the land was within the "forest" of Essex.

³ *V.C.H., Essex*, vol. ii., p. 167.

But this alleged person was of his own invention; Domesday has 'In Wochenduna tenet Willelmus Camerarius de abbate (de Westmonasterio),' and says nothing of this William being named 'de Wochendon.' But I think that we can identify the benefactor of St. Osyth's. When a great religious house was founded by a feudal lord, it was customary for his tenants also to bestow benefactions upon it. Now the bishop's return of his knightly tenants in 1166¹ names at their head William 'de Wokindone,' who admitted that he held of the bishop $4\frac{1}{2}$ fees, while the bishop claimed that he owed the service of *five* knights.² Nine years later (1175) Ralf de Pelham (Herts), another of the bishop's tenants, is found claiming $4\frac{1}{2}$ fees, of which he was wrongfully deprived by William de 'Wockendon.'³ These were evidently those that were returned as William's in 1166. When we pass to the later return of 1212,⁴ we find a second William holding of the bishop $4\frac{1}{2}$ fees, which were distributed thus:—

	FEES. CARUCATES.	
Southminster and 'Crukefeude' ⁵ -	2	$2\frac{1}{2}$
(Bishop's) Ockendon, <i>i.e.</i> Cranham -	$1\frac{1}{2}$	2
Chadwell - - - - -	$\frac{1}{2}$	2
(Little) Braxted - - - - -	$\frac{1}{2}$	1
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	$4\frac{1}{2}$	$7\frac{1}{2}$

Of these holdings it is only the first that affords any difficulty; the other three are all entered under the bishop of London's fee (*feudum episcopi*) in Domesday,⁶ and, while Cranham is there found held of him by 'Hugo,' the Chadwell and Little Braxted lands have 'Hugolinus' (a diminutive of 'Hugo') as their tenant. We may, therefore, safely infer that these three names denote the same man, and that his three holdings descended together to William de Wokendon (named from Cranham), the tenant in 1212.

This William appears in a fine of 1205-6 (7 John) as granting to Felice, widow of his predecessor and namesake, for her dower, out of his Chadwell and Cranham ('Wokindone') lands, all the Chadwell holding, except the advowson, to be held of himself as half a knight's fee.⁷ Yet another William de 'Wokenden' is

¹ *Red Book*, p. 186.

² *Ibid.*

³ Pipe Roll, 19 Hen. II., p. 17.

⁴ *Red Book*, pp. 541, 542.

⁵ This mysterious name may represent some mediæval form of Cricksea.

⁶ Possibly the Southminster holding was a subsequent enfeoffment.

⁷ *Essex Fines*, vol. i., p. 36 (No. 193), 'Wokindone' should be identified in the index as Cranham.

found dealing with land in (Little) Braxted in a fine of 1254,¹ so that he must have held also the Cranham and Chadwell lands. Finally, in 1303, Nicholas de 'Wokenden' was holding Cranham (as 'Wokendon Episcopi') of the bishop,² and in 1304 he is found holding 'Plumberwe' marsh in Southminster.³ An inquisition taken at Chelmsford in 1338 shows us Nicholas de Halughton⁴ and Margaret his wife holding of the bishop of London by knight-service all the three holdings of the 'Wokendon' family, *viz.* at Chadwell, Cranham ('Wokendon Powel') and Little Braxted.⁵ His heirs were his daughters Margaret and Joan, aged respectively two and one. In 1346 Roger de Northwode was holding Cranham in right of his wardship of this Nicholas' heir (*sic*).⁶ Although this has been somewhat of a digression, it has been of service as establishing the descent of these three manors together for two hundred and sixty years, a fact hitherto quite unknown.

Those who have followed my argument on the making of Brentwood will have seen that the name first emerges in the reign of Henry II. They will, therefore, be as surprised as I was to find our county historian writing (vol. i., p. 120):—

It was grown so considerable a place in the reign of K. Stephen as to have of his grant a Market and Fair.

Morant, contrary to his usual practice, does not cite any authority for the statement he here makes. Such a grant in Stephen's reign would have been, in any case, of historical importance and, in that of Brentwood, would carry back its rise to a much earlier date than the evidence which I have cited. Indeed, it is incompatible with the actual records known to us.

Morant appears to have taken his statement from Newcourt's *Repertorium* (vol. ii., p. 646); for we there read that Brentwood is 'noted for a considerable market on Thursdays and a fair on July 7, both granted by King Stephen' (*sic*). Newcourt's marginal reference for this is to Camden's *Britannia* (a somewhat unsafe guide), which illustrates the growth of error. The true date at which the market and fair were granted is not Stephen's reign (1135-1154), but 1227, when they were granted by Henry III.⁷

¹ *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 207 (No. 1214). Here again the place can now be identified as *Little Braxted*.

² *Feudal Aids*, vol. ii., p. 151.

³ *Cal. of Inq.*, vol. iv., p. 730.

⁴ *i.e.* Hallaton, Leics.

⁵ *Cal. of Inq.*, vol. viii., p. 153.

⁶ *Feudal Aids*, vol. ii., p. 169.

⁷ See *Cal. of Charter Rolls*, vol. i., p. 43, where the place is styled 'Bois Ars,' and *V.C.H. Essex*, vol. ii., p. 157, where Mr Robert Fowler gives the right date under St. Osyth's.

The grant seems to have been anticipated some years before it was made, for when Brentwood chapel was founded in 1221, special provision was made for the fair time, if a fair should be there established.¹ Morant observes in a footnote that the foundation deed speaks of the chapel as 'apud Novum Locum' (the New Place), which 'implies that the name of Brentwood was not then known or used' (vol. i., p. 123). *Boscum Arsum* occurs, we have seen, in the charter of Henry II.

To the credit of our late treasurer, Mr. W. C. Waller, belongs the discovery of two licences from the rector of South Weald to the abbot and convent of Waltham (Holy Cross), as lords of the manor and patrons of the advowson, to erect a chapel within their *curia*.² But this had nothing to do with Brentwood and its chapel, which lay in 'Cocksted' in the north of the parish.

I may close with a short summary of the dates as now ascertained:—

1176. Reginald 'de Bosco Arso' occurs on the Pipe Roll of 22 Henry II.

1177-1184. Henry II. confirms to S. Osyth's 'Cocstede' at Brentwood (*boscum arsum*), as given by William of Ockendon.

1221. Brentwood chapel founded.

1222. Brentwood (*boscum arsum*) mentioned under Navestock.³

1227. Fair and market granted.

1233. 'The road leading to the Burnt wood' mentioned.⁴

1234. Thomas de Canvill authorised to have habitations on his Shenfield land at Brentwood (*le Boysars*), as the abbot of St. Osyth's had on the other side of the street.

It is obvious that the grant of a fair and market must have given a marked impetus to the growth of Brentwood. This grant it doubtless owed to the fact that the lords of the soil were a religious body, as was the case with Braintree, of which the bishop of London was lord, and other market towns.

¹ "tempore nundinarum, si ibidem fuerint constitutæ . . . si ibi fuerint nundinae, persona matricis ecclesiae toto tempore nundinarum," etc., etc. See Newcourt, vol. ii, p. 646; Morant, vol. i., p. 123; *E.A.T.* (N.S.), vol. viii., pp. 338-9, where will be found an abstract of the deed by Mr. H. W. King.

² *E.A.T.* (N.S.), vol. v., p. 249; vol. viii., p. 335.

³ *Domesday of St. Paul's* (Camden Soc.), p. 78.

⁴ *Essex Fines*, vol. i., p. 94.

THE PAMPHILONS :

An Essex Family of Violin Makers.

BY W. MINET, F.S.A..

THE village of Little Hadham, in Hertfordshire, has at all times been closely connected with Essex, for the Bauds, first owners of its manor, were also lords of Corringham, as were their successors, the Capells, also lords of Rayne. Of lower degree, but interesting for another reason, the family of Pamphilon supplies a further link between the two counties.

In Little Hadham is an old house now known as the Common House, owing no doubt to the fact that its site adjoins a field known, until its enclosure in 1844, as Tasfield Common. Some particulars of a sale in 1827 showed that at that date the house was called Fiddler's Croft, a change which seemed to invite enquiry. A deed of 1644, the earliest so far found, shows that John Sabyn was then the owner of the "newly-erected house standing in a freehold yard called the brickyard of 2 a. 1 r." The ordnance survey gives the area as 2 acres 1 rood 18 poles, and the present owner tells me that he often finds traces of bricks in his garden, while the appearance of the house to-day fully confirms the date of its erection. Passing through various hands (and the devolution of John Sabyn's property is quite clear down to the present day), in 1694 it is sold by Arthur Philips, butcher, of Little Hadham, to Nicholas Pamphilon, 'musical instrument maker of Rickling,' who both owned it and lived in it until his death in 1726. His will is of double interest, for it establishes the reason which drew him from Rickling to Little Hadham, and accounts for the name Fiddler's Croft; moreover the relationships it mentions provide a foundation on which, by the aid of registers and wills, can be built a very full pedigree of Pamphilons, extending from 1615 down to 1745.

First, however, as to Nicholas's profession. In 1694 he was, as we have seen, a musical instrument maker; his will, however, describes him more specifically as a violin maker. In it he names Nicholas and Frances of Little Hadham, and Richard of Clavering, all

Pamphilons, all cousins, and all violin makers. Here, then, we have enough to account for the name which attached to the house down to 1827. What more likely than that the villagers, hearing the testing and practising of the three Little Hadham virtuosos, aided at times by their Clavering cousin, should have called the house whence the sounds proceeded Fiddler's Croft?

Violins were then in much more common use in England than they are to-day, for nearly every village church had its orchestra, in which violins took their part. What is remarkable is to find so many members of a purely yeoman Essex family engaged in such a skilled profession. Mr. A. F. Hill, F.S.A., the admitted expert on violins and their makers, informs me that he has seen the name Edward Pamphilon on a violin, but he knows nothing of our four makers; he adds: 'according to our traditions Edward Pamphilon travelled about the country and sold his fiddles at village fairs. We think he learnt his trade from Thomas Urquhart *circa* 1660, and that most of his instruments were made before 1700. We have wondered if Daniel Parker, the fiddle maker, was mixed up with Pamphilon; in the Essex Poll book for 1734 Parker voted at an election in respect of a freehold at Chelmsford.' The pedigree I have drawn up, largely from the registers of Rickling and other Essex parishes in the neighbourhood, for the family was spread over all that district, does contain two Edwards (one born before 1656, one baptized at Widdington 1669), but neither of these can so far be identified with Mr. Hill's Edward, though the date would fit. Adding this Edward to the four we have already, gives us five members of one family all violin makers exercising their art about 1700, and all in the same district.¹

Now let us turn to the inducements which brought Nicholas to settle in Little Hadham. Clearly at the time of his death his two cousins, Nicholas and Frances, were living there, and a document in my possession shows that in 1715 a Richard Pamphilon gave up the tenancy of Westfield farm in Little Hadham which he had held until then; for how long cannot be known, though it would seem that he had been there some time. There are many Richards in the pedigree, and I cannot identify this one, though possibly he is a Richard whose marriage took place at Clavering 1699, in which case he would be an uncle of our Nicholas.

Mary Pamphilon, aunt to Nicholas, had married one Mann; they had a daughter, Pamphilon Mann, who would therefore have been

¹ A token, obv. 'Edward Pamphilon,' rev. 'Living at Clavering,' said to have been struck between 1648-1672, is known, but it is not possible to say to which Edward it is to be attributed.

Nicholas' cousin. She married in 1714, at Little Hadham, Daniel Dellow of Much Hadham, and it is clear that after the marriage the Dellows lived with Nicholas at Fiddler's Croft, and here their eight children were born (1715-1725). This appears from Nicholas' will by which he leaves Fiddler's Croft to his 'loving cousin' Pamphilon Dellow, with remainder to her children, who continued to own it until 1767.

And here one notes a touch of pretty pride in the family name: Mary Pamphilon christens her daughter Pamphilon Mann: this daughter marries Daniel Dellow, and in turn christens her daughter Pamphilon Dellow.

Interested for local reasons in Nicholas of Little Hadham, I was led to make some searches in the district, but nothing that I have found throws any light on the origin of the family, nor can we account for finding in the seventeenth century so many of its members engaged in violin making.

In Debden is a seventeenth century farm-house (noted in *Hist. Mon. Com., Essex*, vol. i., p. 78) which may take its name, Pamphilon's, from the family, though it is not mentioned in any of the wills I have found; nor do the few entries of the name in the registers of this parish connect them with the farm. The adjoining parish, Widdington, would seem to have been the headquarters of the family, and here the Pamphilons held considerable land. Beginning, unfortunately only in 1666, these registers contain in the next ninety years 42 Pamphilon baptisms, 7 marriages, and 21 deaths. At Rickling, Quendon, and Clavering, all near by and also all in Essex, are many more which it were tedious to number, some even spread as far as Bishop's Stortford; but the first named villages, which all lie close together, were evidently the main habitation of the family.

From the register entries, aided by the wills, can be constructed a very full table of the family for six generations. I have arranged the following notes taken from the wills in such a way as to show the descent of Nicholas of Little Hadham from the first member of the family met with—Margaret, who died 1620.

I.

Margaret Moughton, *alias* Pamphilon, widow, of Widdington, will dated 18 April, 1615, proved 10 November, 1620 (P.C.C. Soame 100). Com. issued to John Tuer, Dr. of Law, to administer, Joan, daughter of deceased, renouncing. February 4, 1621, Com. issued to Joan Tuer, *alias* Pamphilon, daughter of deceased, to administer goods not fully administered by John Tuer.

Her children were:—

1. Edward, of whom hereafter.
2. Joan=John Tuer, D.LL., leaving a daughter Joan.
3. Mary=Thos. Hodgson.
4. Daughter=Stacey, leaving a daughter Frances.
5. Daughter=Tailleur, leaving a daughter Frances.

II.

Edward of Widdington, yeoman, will dated 29 December, 1634, proved 21 January, 1639 (Com. Lon., Essex and Herts, 1639, 139). Executrix, Sarah, his wife, to whom he bequeathed copyholds called Wyse, Pys, Makeshawes, Puryes held of Manor of Widdington; Pryorshall *alias* Stonehall in Widdington (22½ acres); one acre, freehold, in Hanwell Close 'near my tenement Wyse'; with remainder to son Nicholas at 21; messuage in Widdington called Cambridges and copyhold land called Hungerden, held of manor of Widdington Wyse, with remainder to son William. To William two crofts called Cambridges, between said messuage and Highwoods; a meadow, Brickmeade, and 4 acres in Widdington in Bradley field, lately bought of Edward Elrington, and land there called Alkewell field, next land of Edwyn Lukyn, and other land in Staple field, and a parcel next land of John Coxe and Thos. Creede, called Cobben Shot, and 3½ acres in Burgate field, and 1 acre in Bradell field, and land in Alkewell field, and 2 acres in Baggsoldwick field. To son Richard, land in Holtsfield. To son John, 2 acres called Newcrofts in Widdington, at age of 21. He married Sarah, who was living in 1656.

Their children were:—

III.

1. Edward (born before 1615)=Elizabeth, by whom he had Sarah (bap. 22 September, 1655, died 18 December, 1666); a child [blank] (bap. 18 December, 1666); Leah and Rachel (semble twins, bap. 18 July, 1675). The last four dates from Rickling registers.
2. Nicholas, yeoman, of Widdington. Will dated 21 August, 1656, proved 6 September, 1656, by his brother John, exor. (P.C.C. Berkeley 323). To be buried at Widdington (where the registers only begin ten years later, so this cannot be checked). The only land dealt with is 1 acre, freehold, in Hanwell (see will of Edward II.), bequeathed to John, his brother, for life, with remainder to his son Nicholas, which is all he seems to have inherited from his father; but the will is most useful as naming many brothers, sisters,

nephews and nieces, who will be dealt with hereafter. He names his mother, who must have been yet living, and it would seem certain that Nicholas was never married.

3. William, senior, yeoman, of Widdington; will dated 11 July 1688, proved by Charles his son, exor., 6 April, 1689 (Com. Lon., Essex and Herts, Hamoy 266). He bequeaths freehold messuages called Cambridges and land belonging thereto, except pasture called Baggsoldwick Mead, to his son William (these he had taken under his father's will, *vide* II., *supra*). He names daughter Anne, wife of Richard Pamphilon of Clavering¹; daughter Sarah, wife of Philemon Rolfe of Great Hallingbury. Charles, semble the eldest son = Mary (died 1716), and had children and grandchildren, who can be traced in the Widdington registers down to 1747.
4. Sarah = Lagden. This appears from her brother Nicholas' will (III., 2, *supra*), who leaves her 30*l*.
5. Richard, who had six children, all legatees under their uncle Nicholas' will: these must, therefore, all have been born before 1656. Edward, Sarah, John, Nicholas, Mary, do not interest us, but of Richard we have some information. Yeoman, of Widdington, his will dated 7 July, 1714, is proved 3 July, 1720 (Com. Lon., Essex and Herts, Goodwin 66), by his son Thomas. To Emma, his wife, he bequeaths 3 roods, freehold, in Broadfield, lately bought of Richard Pigg, with remainder to son William; a copyhold house held of manor of Prior's Hall, Widdington, with Hamclose and a freehold orchard, with remainder to son Thomas; copyhold held of manor of Prior's Hall, Widdington; a piece in Staplefield called Cobbin Shot, and a piece in Akewell field, and a piece in Burgate field called Landpitts, with remainder to son Edward. Under slightly changed names the last four parcels are found in the will of his grandfather Edward (II., *supra*). This Richard married Annie (or Emma) Coleman 8 May, 1684, at Bishop's Stortford, where both are described as of Widdington. Seven children (1685-1708), fifteen grandchildren (1707-1748), all to be found in the Widdington registers, carry on the line.

¹ The Clavering Registers do not help here, though the name is found there. An Anne, wife of Richard Pamphilon, is buried at Rickling, 29 August, 1728, and Richard, a farmer, is likewise buried there, 26 November, 1730. Seeing how the family shifted about among these adjacent villages, possibly the same.

6. Mary = Bernard, as appears from her brother Nicholas' will (III., 2, *supra*), who leaves her the interest on 20*l.* for life.
7. John, exor. and residuary legatee to his brother Nicholas (III., 2, *supra*). Yeoman, of Widdington, his will is dated 7 October, 1680, proved 10 December, 1680, by his wife Hester (Arch., Colchester, Collin 46), to whom is bequeathed the only land named, *viz.* arable land in the common field of Widdington, and land called Little Odenshot, also in the common field; neither of these parcels can be identified in his father's will (II., 1, *supra*). Hester survived him until 1709, when she died at Quendon but, by her own direction, was buried at Widdington on January 18th, 1709. Her will, dated 9 August, 1709, was proved by William Trot, her son-in-law, 28 April, 1710 (Arch. Col.). Of their ten children five are in the Widdington registers, while three of them—Nicholas, John, Richard—being named in their uncle's will of 1656 (III., 2, *supra*) were certainly born before that date. Four of the ten only have any interest for us, as through these or some of them we reach the violin makers.

IV.

Of these four who represent the fourth generation, while the fact that one or other of them was parent of the fifth generation is clear, we have not sufficient detail to attribute their children to any one of them definitely:—

1. Mary = Mann. The date of her birth is not known, though it would seem to have been between 1656-1667.¹ Her husband must have been of Little Hadham, Herts. They had a daughter baptised Pamphilon, who marries Daniel Dellow (of Much Hadham) at Little Hadham on 1 November, 1714, and evidently lived thereafter at the latter place.
2. John, whose baptism we have not got directly, but as he was buried at Widdington 8 January, 1740, aged 87, his birth was in 1653; this agrees with his being named in the will of 1656. He married a Mary and I incline to think lived at Clavering, for I find there the baptism of three children of John and Mary, *viz.* Richard, 17 May, 1696; John, 11 February, 1699; and Ann, 27 December, 1700. This

¹ She is not named in her uncle Nicholas' will of 1656, and the Widdington Register in which we should expect to find her only opens in 1667. She was still living in 1742.

supposition becomes almost a certainty when we consider the will of Nicholas of 1726, in which this Richard is described as 'violin maker of Clavering'; he also married a Mary, and his two children and a grandchild can be traced down to 1724 at Widdington.

3. Nicholas, born before 1656, as he is named in the will of that date (III., 2, *supra*).
4. Matthew, baptized at Widdington 7 August, 1674. These two must have been the parents of two sets of brothers (V., 1-2, 3-4), though it is impossible to say which pair belonged to which parent; but in the next generation we have

V.

1. Nicholas } Brothers and both violin makers of Little Hadham
2. Frances } and sons of either IV., 3, or IV., 4.
3. Richard } Brothers; the first of Rickling, tailor; the second
4. Nicholas } of Little Hadham, violin maker, who died and
was buried there 1 December, 1726. His will, dated 9
November, 1726, was proved 16 January, 1726, by Richard
and John Pamphilon, his cousins, sons of his uncle John
(*vide* IV., 2). This will is the main foundation of what I
have been able to collect, supplemented of course by the
registers of the various parishes in which this scattered
family lived. To his brother Richard, tailor, of Rickling
(V., 3), he leaves 6 acres of land at Newport, as also his
freehold and copyhold land at Rickling, with remainder to
Richard his cousin, son of John (IV., 2) of Clavering, violin
maker. To John, son of John (IV., 2), officer of excise, a
tenement and all freehold and copyhold land at Widdington,
as now in the possession of William Pamphilon, yeoman
(? his uncle, son of John and Hester, III., 7). He evidently
lived with Pamphilon Dellow, his cousin (IV., 1), in the
house known as Fiddler's Croft at Little Hadham, which he
bequeaths to her with remainder to her children (of whom
there were ultimately eight), and adds to this a legacy of
50*l.* and all the furniture. To Sarah Smith, widow, of
Clavering, he leaves 2 acres of freehold land in 'Debding.'
Nicholas and Francis, his cousins (V., 1, 2), violin makers,
have 10*l.* each. Daniel Dellow, husband of Pamphilon
Delloe, takes 20*l.*, as also forgiveness of all monies owing
by him to the deceased 'on account of rent or otherwise,'
a legacy which affords a glimpse into the ménage at Fiddler's

Croft. The residue goes to Richard and John, his executors and cousins, sons of John, his uncle. Seldom is a will so detailed in expressing the relationships of all the devisees.

This slight sketch of an Essex yeoman family, five members of which turned to violin making, raises many questions, chief among which is whence came the name? Hardly English, it suggests an Italian, if not a more remote classical origin, and yet it is found at Easton as far back as 1487 (*Trans. Essex Arch. Soc.*, vol. ix., p. 118). To-day the name survives at Bromley in Kent, and at Hertford, where it would seem to have been long established, both these probable migrations. In the same Essex district as were the Pamphilons is found in the sixteenth century a large family of Pamflyn, under many variants; these, who probably have given us the Pamplin of to-day, are a distinct family found at Rickling, Shalford, Dunmow, Elsenham, and Takeley, though at first I was inclined to confuse them. I have further found a Walter Pampylon of Ramsey, in 1473 (P.C.C. Wattys 12), who, though in no way connected with Essex, does give us what might be an early form of the name.

ON ROMAN ROADS IN ESSEX:

Second Supplement.

BY MILLER CHRISTY, F.L.S.

SINCE the publication, in 1920, of my article under the foregoing heading,¹ I have contributed a brief Supplement describing a short Roman road (that from Feering to Colchester) which I had overlooked inadvertently.² I now contribute the first portion of a Second Supplement, giving additional information as to several of the "Routes" previously traced, correcting a few errors, and tracing several routes overlooked hitherto.

Inasmuch, therefore, as my observations on these roads will have appeared, when complete, in at least four (possibly five) instalments, and inasmuch as the numbers assigned at the outset to certain of the "Routes" have become inappropriate owing to the subsequent addition of more Routes, the whole plan of the Routes and the system of numbering them will have become confused and difficult to follow. To rectify this as far as possible, it is proposed to give with the final instalment a Systematic List of all the Routes, showing both the old and a new system of numbering them.

Route 1 (13): London to Othona (Bradwell-on-Sea), about 49½ miles.

When I traced this important road,³ I traced wrongly the first fifteen miles of it, covering its westernmost portion, including the point of its departure from London. I assumed that it left London by way of the "Great Road" (Route 1: London to Mark's Tey), branching off at Ilford and running thence, over Becontree Heath and through Hornchurch, to Upminster. Dr. Horace Round has since pointed out⁴ that, in so doing, I was in error, and that the portion of road from Ilford to Hornchurch is certainly not of Roman origin. Even before the publication of Dr. Round's paper, however, I had begun to perceive my error and to recognise that this westernmost portion of the road from London to Othona followed in reality a different and more southerly route. I suggest

¹ See *ante* (N.S.), vol. xv. (1920), pp. 190-229.

² See *ante* (N.S.), vol. xvi. (1922), pp. 127-130.

³ See *ante* (N.S.), vol. xv. (1920), pp. 217-218.

⁴ See *ante* (N.S.), vol. xvi. (1922), pp. 178-182.

now that it left London at Aldgate and ran through East Ham and Dagenham to Upminster, whence it continued to Othona by the route already indicated. This amendment has the effect of bringing this westernmost portion of the road to Othona into almost perfect alignment with the rest, which (as Dr. Round pointed out) was not the case with the route suggested in my former article.

There has always been doubt as to what road left London at Aldgate, the eastern gate of the Roman city of Londinium, and I submit that the following solves that doubt. It is true that evidences of the former existence of a Roman road covering the first portion of the route suggested (that from London to Upminster) are slight, but they suffice. At all events, they are quite as obvious as one could expect; for this portion of the road crossed the low river-gravels and alluvial flats close to the north bank of the Thames, including the shallow valleys of several small tributaries of that river; and, in such circumstances (especially in districts from which good road-making material is largely absent, as here), traces of Roman roads are necessarily very slight and impermanent.¹

The exact point within Roman London from which the Othona road started is doubtful.² It will suffice to begin to take note of it at Aldgate, from which apparently it emerged. Mr. Lethaby has observed³ that "there *must* have been a [Roman] road by Holborn and Whitechapel, through Newgate and Aldgate." Pennant says⁴ of Aldgate (but without citing his authority) that "the Roman road passed under it."

Emerging, then, from Aldgate, the east road from London probably crossed the Lea (3 miles), thus entering Essex, at a point near the present Bromley station, about half-a-mile south of Bow bridge (by which an existing road crosses) and nearly a mile south of Old Ford, where the Roman road to Mark's Tey and Colchester (my Route 1) crossed that river.⁵ At this point, the gravel-beds on

¹ See *ante* (n.s.), vol. xv., pp. 192-193.

² Not improbably it was connected with a Roman road running along what is now Cannon Street, a fragment of which, pointing towards Aldgate, was discovered in 1833 (see Mr. Reginald A. Smith, in *Archæologia*, vol. lxxviii. (1917), pp. 234 and 240).

³ *London before the Conquest*, p. 59 (1902).

⁴ *London*, p. 246 (1790).

⁵ Very numerous Roman remains have been discovered close to Old Ford and beside the road on each side of it. For particulars and figure of a Roman coffin of lead, found in 1884, 5 feet deep, about 150 yards to the south of it; also of Roman cinerary urns and coins found near, see C. Roach Smith, in *Archæol.*, vol. xxxi. (1846), pp. 308-311. For information as to sarcophagi and other Roman remains found close by, see Joseph Wilkinson, in *Archæol. Journ.*, vol. xxii., p. 173. During dredging operations in the bed of the river, there were brought up "large lumps of herring-bone [?] brick" causeway" (see Sir Montagu Sharpe's *Antiquities of Middlesex*, p. 80, and *V.C.H., London*, vol. i., pp. 31-32).

both sides of the actual river-bed lie unusually near together, being less than half-a-mile apart, this fact causing an exceptionally-easy fording-place. The gravel, indeed, actually forms here the western bank of the river. Thence the road must, of necessity, have taken a slightly more north-easterly course, in order to avoid the low-lying West Ham and Plaistow marshes (about 5-10 feet), which in Roman times were very likely tidal. Possibly it followed the line of the existing very-straight road to Plaistow, where, having reached higher and drier ground (20-25 feet), it must have taken again an easterly course and made direct for East Ham ($5\frac{1}{2}$ miles). No signs of its passage are now to be traced on the surface of the ground; but numerous Roman remains have been found in the parish. In November 1863, in the course of digging for gravel for ballasting the sides of the Great Sewer, then in course of construction, a Roman cemetery was discovered just to the west of the church—always good evidence as to the course of a Roman road; for the Romans buried beside their roads. On this occasion, there were dug up a large stone sarcophagus containing *two* skeletons, several leaden coffins having a corded pattern and scallop-shells cast on their lids, many simple interments, and a number of funeral urns.¹

Leaving East Ham, the road, continuing much in the same line, but slightly more northerly, must have crossed the river Roding ($6\frac{1}{2}$ miles) a little to the south of the present town of Barking. There is here a raised causeway leading from the direction of East Ham church to a point on the river bank a little below the pool of the Abbey mill, and this probably marks the point of crossing. At all events, it is a specially good fording-place; for here the gravel deposits on the two sides of the river-bed approach within less than half-a-mile of one another. Moreover, this must have been the lowest point at which the river was fordable in Roman days; for lower down it enlarges into Barking creek, which even to-day is not crossed by either ford or bridge.

Having crossed the Roding, we find apparent evidence of the continuance of the Roman road in a modern road, known as Boundary road, which runs in the same line across Westbury Levels, pointing

¹ See *Trans. Essex Archæol. Soc.*, vol. iii. (1865), pp. 104-116, and vol. x. (1906), p. 19: Albert Way, in *Archæol. Journ.*, vol. xxi. (1865), pp. 104-116; C. Roach Smith, *Coll. Antiq.*, vol. vii., p. 191; and *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (2nd ser.), vol. iii. (1865), p. 92. The leaden coffins are now in the British Museum. On the 6-inch Ordnance Map, a short length of road (about 300 yards) immediately to the south of the church is marked "Roman Road," but I am informed by Mr. O. G. S. Crawford, F.S.A., the Archæological Officer of the Survey, that this was added to the maps as recently as 1895, as the name of a group of workmen's dwellings, and that it does not indicate the existence of any ancient road there.

a little south of Upney ($7\frac{3}{4}$ miles), where the road probably crossed the Mayes brook. Thereafter, one finds further apparent traces of its course in the form of continuous foot-paths and minor roadways running due east and quite straight to Dagenham church ($10\frac{1}{2}$ miles). For the first mile-and-a-half, the line is indicated by the field foot-path which passes Gale Street farm: for the remainder, by an existing road, known as Church Elm lane. The village of Dagenham stands on a low rounded hillock (about 25 feet) rising out of a low gravelly level (about 12 feet), and on this the Romans doubtless set up some prominent mark, towards which they built their road.

After passing Dagenham, the Roman road must have followed, for the next four miles, a course slightly (about 10°) more northerly than before, making direct for Upminster (15 miles), across a level flat of river gravel. Without doubt, it was laid out from a landmark on the hillock of Dagenham towards a similar mark on the higher ground (80 feet) on which Upminster church now stands. Throughout this four-mile stretch, the road must have run almost exactly parallel with the line of the present railroad, but about 300 yards further south. Of its former existence, however, there is now no trace on the surface of the ground. Its complete disappearance is explained, doubtless, by the fact that it here ran over a flat of fine river-gravel (about 30-35 feet)¹ and crossed the shallow valleys of two small streams—the Beam river and the Ingrebourne.

From Upminster, the Roman road (which here leaves the gravel and begins to run over the London Clay) followed, for the remaining thirty-five miles of its course to Othona, the route already indicated. It is desirable, however, to trace that route in greater detail; for, in my former article, I sketched it with unconvincing brevity.

First, however, one may note that the road, for about $17\frac{1}{2}$ miles (that is, for about one-third of its entire course), runs through a very remarkable belt of parishes, fifteen in number, beginning with Dagenham and ending with Downham, each of these parishes being very long and very narrow (averaging about four miles long by one mile broad), and each running north and south, though with an inclination of about 5° west of north and east of south, this inclination being less marked in the case of those at the two ends of the belt. One may note, further, that the courses of all the principal roads in these parishes also run from north to south with exactly the same slight inclination. It is observable, too, that the

¹ These low-lying flats of valley-gravels seem to preserve less trace of the passage of a Roman road over them than even the London Clay. In the case of this particular stretch, I suggest that evidence of the former passage of the road might be obtained by means of aerial photographs taken when the sun is low.

road runs through the first eleven of these fifteen parishes at or near their middles: through the remaining four, near their southernmost extremities.

It is impossible, I think, to avoid the conclusion that the road in question and the remarkable configuration of the parishes and roads referred to are, in some way, connected. I have already suggested¹ that, in the curious shapes of these parishes and in their intersection by this road, we have a relic of the old Roman centuriation of the district, now lost; and from this suggestion I see no reason to depart.

However this may be, the Roman road, after leaving Upminster, continued eastward, with a slight inclination to the north, following approximately the line of the existing road, for two miles and a half, through the parishes of Cranham and Great Warley. At a certain point in the last-named parish, the present road undergoes a small jog northward, causing a gap of about one mile in the line of the Roman road, this gap covering the width of Little Warley and part of Childerditch. Continuing across this gap, one re-encounters the road; but, after running half-a-mile, it undergoes, just on the boundary of West Horndon, another jog northward, causing another gap of about half-a-mile, covering most of the width of that parish. Continuing, one again encounters the road near the boundary of East Horndon; but, after running little more than a quarter-of-a-mile, it undergoes still another jog to the north, just where it crosses the important road (undoubtedly Roman²) running north and south from Brentwood to Tilbury, causing yet another gap of about half-a-mile. Continuing, one recovers the road near the boundary of Dunton. From this point, it runs on straight, with the exception of one very small northward jog, but here inclining rather more northward than hitherto, through Dunton and Little Burstead (parish boundaries coinciding at several points) to Laindon barn (23 miles), in Great Burstead. Here it undergoes a considerable jog, this time to the southward, causing a gap of two miles, covering the whole width of Great Burstead. Continuing on the old line, however, one finds that the course of the Roman road straight across this gap is quite clearly indicated on the ground by a succession of small lanes, known as Oak lane, Blind lane, and Borwick lane, and that a parish boundary coincides with these for over a mile. On reaching the further side of the two-mile gap, one re-encounters the road just on the boundary of Ramsden Crays, whence it runs on fairly

¹ See *ante*, vol. xv., pp. 226-227.

² See *post*.

straight, right through that parish, for about a mile, when it reaches the boundary of Ramsden Bellhouse ($25\frac{1}{2}$ miles). Here the road undergoes another jog to the northward, causing a gap of nearly a mile; after which, proceeding forward, one re-encounters it, exactly on its former line, at Woolshot's farm, in Ramsden Bellhouse. In a field known as Stoney Hills, on this farm, a Roman interment in a stone sarcophagus and traces of another interment in a leaden coffin were discovered in 1838.¹ Continuing on the road for nearly another mile, one reaches Friern farm ($27\frac{3}{4}$ miles) in Downham.

Here, one may note that, for the last four or five miles, the line of the road has run continuously down the valley of the Crouch and less than half-a-mile south of the river itself, though on fairly-high ground (about 85 feet). It is unusual for a Roman road thus to run in a river valley; but, in this case, the reason for so doing is obvious; for the route followed was, as will be seen, that which best enabled two rivers further on to be crossed by fords situated just above their highest tidal points.

Returning to Friern farm, in Downham, one finds that at it the present road undergoes a considerable jog to the south, causing a gap of rather over a mile, where it crosses the wide valley of the river Crouch. Continuing, however, in the old direction and crossing the river a little to the north of the present village of Wickford, one reaches the further side of the gap and recovers the road close to Runwell church (29 miles). Thence a road which, though slightly wavy, is certainly on the general line of the Roman road, runs on past New Runwell Hall, where it crosses the Roman road from Chelmsford to Canvey Island (Route 15²), and continues through Rettendon,³ now taking (except for one small jog) an even more northerly course than before. The object of this change of course was clearly to secure a crossing of Fen Creek, a tributary of the Crouch, above its highest tidal point and to avoid crossing Woodham Fen.⁴

Having crossed Fen creek ($32\frac{1}{2}$ miles) and entered Woodham Ferrers, the Roman road (still following its more-northerly course,

¹ See J. Adey Repton, in *Gentl. Mag.*, (N.S.), vol. x. (1838), p. 433.

² See *ante*, vol. xv., p. 220.

³ In 1860, when land-ditching in a field about 400 yards south of the road and midway between it and Little Hayes farm (probably on the spur of high land which there exists), labourers discovered, about 20 inches below the surface, a Roman sarcophagus of stone, measuring 7 feet by 3 feet by 2 feet, weighing about a ton-and-a-half, and containing the skeleton of a man with one leg only. Other human remains were found below the coffin. In 1864, the coffin was still in the possession of Mr. F. J. Pertwee, of Brickhouse farm (information kindly supplied by the Ordnance Survey, through Mr. O. G. S. Crawford, F.S.A., Archæological Officer; see also note on 6-inch map).

⁴ As a fact, it crosses little more than two hundred yards above the limit of present-day ordinary spring tides. The railroad crosses almost at the same point.

obviously in order to reach the high ground on the north side of the valley of the Crouch) runs on for about a mile, when, soon after passing Hambert's farm, it undergoes, just south of Wellinditch farm, a considerable diversion to the southward, causing a gap of nearly a mile. The modern road runs round this gap, clearly to avoid crossing a projecting shoulder of high ground (over 100 feet); but it is easy to see that the Roman road ran straight on, over the shoulder of high ground, for its route is still indicated by an existing footpath, which was a road in 1777, as shown on Chapman and André's map of Essex of that date. On the further side of the gap, the Roman road re-appears, running on, exactly on the old line. It has now entered Stow Maries, through which it runs (a short stretch of parish boundary here coinciding with it) into Cold Norton. Having reached the northern boundary of the latter, at a certain elevated spot known as Beacon Hill (about 150 feet), the highest point in the vicinity, the road, hitherto running north-east, suddenly turns at Three Ashes Cross and runs due east. The object of this sudden turn is obvious; for, at the elevated point indicated, the road has attained the summit of the height-of-land between the Crouch and the Blackwater rivers, and it there turns eastward in order that it may continue along it, thus avoiding numerous undulations which exist on the southern edge of that ridge.

From this sharp bend, the road continues for about three miles, running eastward across a southerly extension of Purleigh and a portion of Latchingdon (parish boundaries here coinciding at several points) to Latchingdon church ($3\frac{1}{2}$ miles). At this point, the present road becomes extremely irregular, zig-zagging both to the north and to the south, causing a gap of about three miles and a half.¹ During the continuance of this gap, one can get no guidance as to the exact route the Roman road here followed, except from two very short stretches of existing road near the middle of the gap. Proceeding forward, however, on the former line, one re-encounters the Roman road unmistakably against Steeple church (42 miles). This shows clearly that at Latchingdon church it left the high ground, turned more northerly, and ran through Mayland, following the edge of the low marshy ground (25-40 feet) along the southern side of the Blackwater estuary, being in some places within a mile of the actual water.

From Steeple church, the Roman road clearly ran straight on, except for one small jog, for rather more than two miles, to St.

¹ The reason for this zig-zagging of the roads in Dengy Hundred is fully explained in Mr. Henry Laver's remarks on the subject already published (see *ante*, vol. xv., p. 193).

Lawrence church ($44\frac{1}{4}$ miles). Here, just to the north of the boundary of Bradwell, the present road becomes again very irregular, being diverted first to the south and then to the north, causing a gap of nearly three miles. Yet there can be no doubt as to the exact route the Roman road here followed, for it was quite obviously making straight for Othona, now near at hand. Accordingly, on the further side of the gap, one re-encounters it, on its old line, close to Bradwell church ($47\frac{1}{2}$ miles). Thence it continues, quite straight and unmistakeable, for two miles further, when it reaches the coast actually at the Fortress of Othona ($49\frac{1}{2}$ miles), where it necessarily ends.

The straightness and clear definition of the road during the last two miles of its course is obviously due entirely to the fact that here it runs across a patch of brickearth, a deposit which seems to retain evidences of the passage of a road over its surface better than the London Clay, over which the road in question has run continuously for the preceding 33 miles: that is, from Upminster to Bradwell church. Othona itself is, however, situate on a small patch of London Clay.

That the line of road thus traced, almost exactly fifty miles in length, is really of Roman origin, I have not the smallest doubt. I am confident, indeed, that no one who had actually been over it (as I have been—portions of it many times) and was also familiar with the crooked twisting nature of our ordinary Essex roads (few of which run straight for even one mile) could feel the least doubt on the point. One would be practically safe in asserting that *any* Essex road which runs, or can be shown to have run, quite straight for as much as three miles, especially if accompanied by parish boundaries, was a road of Roman origin: Yet here we have an Essex road fifty miles long which, though not actually straight, is so *direct* that only one portion between its two extreme points lies more than two miles out of the direct line; while, as to that portion, thirty-five miles long, between Upminster and Othona, there is, in spite of jogs, no portion which lies more than *one mile* out of the direct line between the two extreme points. Neither the "Great Road" nor Stane Street (the only Essex roads of Roman origin which are comparable with it) runs a more direct course. It is true that there are, on the line of this road, many jogs, causing gaps (some ten or a dozen altogether), and that some of these are as much as two or three miles wide; but even these are largely bridged (so to speak) by existing lanes, foot-paths, and parish boundaries, which clearly mark the original line of the road. Moreover, the fact that, in every case, the road re-appears on the further side of each of these

gaps, and that it continues *always in the same line*, shows clearly that, though now somewhat broken, it was originally continuous throughout. If the road to Othona had run (as the other two roads just mentioned do) mainly over the stable Chalky Boulder Clay, instead of mainly over the unstable London Clay, various gravels and alluvium, there can be no doubt that its course would have been to-day as continuous and as obvious as theirs. Furthermore, there exist along the course of the road considerable, though not numerous, evidences of Roman occupation, as already pointed out. These evidences would have been, in all probability, much more numerous to-day, in the shape of Roman bricks built into the walls of churches on or near the line of the road, but for the fact that nearly all such churches have been rebuilt, wholly or mainly. This extensive rebuilding has been rendered necessary, no doubt, by the fact of their being built on London Clay, which affords at all times an unsatisfactory foundation. It is noteworthy that the only churches along the line of the road which do show traces of Roman brick (namely, Asheldham, Dengey, and Southminster¹) are all built, not on London Clay, but on small patches of gravel.

One may assume with confidence that this road was constructed late in the Roman occupation; for the coast-fortress of Othona, to which it was obviously intended to afford direct access from London, was one of a series of nine which is believed not to have been built until about A.D. 290.²

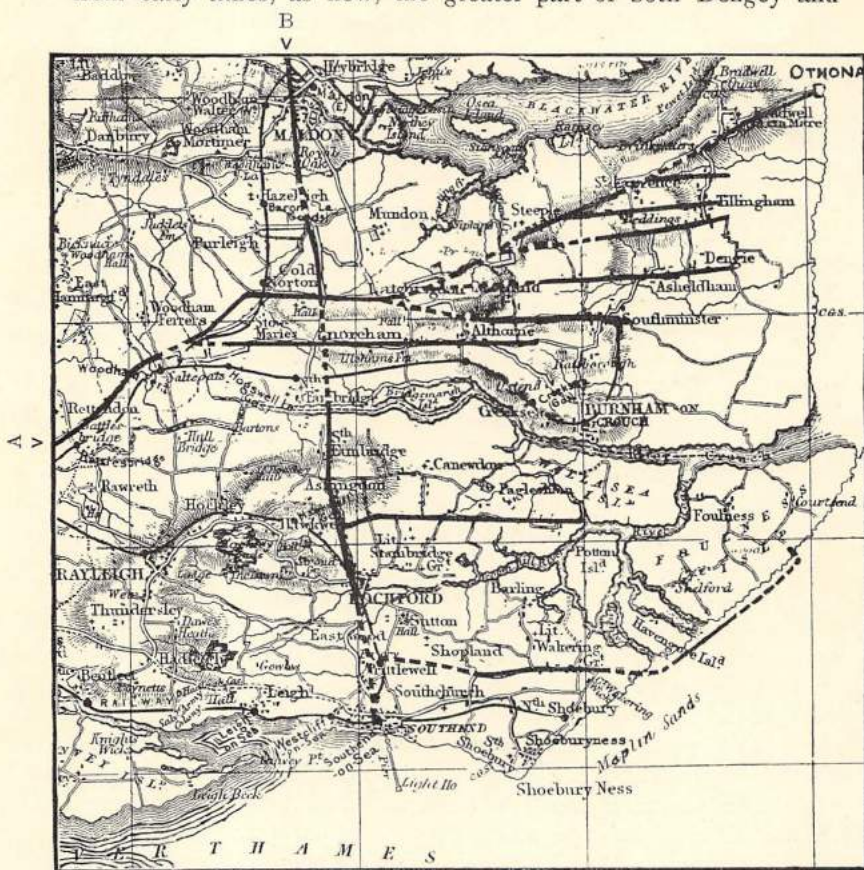
Here attention may be called to a very remarkable fact in connection with this road from London to Othona: namely, that, after crossing Fen creek, in Woodham Ferrers, *it throws out, on its southern side, no fewer than six branch roads*, which, spreading out fan-wise, cover the whole of the peninsula of Dengey Hundred, other than those portions which consist of low-lying coastal marshes. There are gaps and jogs in the course of each of these branch roads; but this is no more than is to be expected in view of the scarcity, in the district through which they pass, of good road-making material by means of which they might have been made permanent. They are all remarkably straight; the courses of most of them are indicated for considerable distances by existing parish boundaries; and, allowing for a certain amount of fanning-out, they are all remarkably parallel with one another, averaging about a mile apart. Such a regular arrangement would certainly never have

¹ See *post*, pp 94, 95.

² For an account of the results of excavations on the site of Othona, undertaken in 1865, by the owner, the late Mr. J. Oxley Parker, see W. Lewin, in *Archæologia*, vol. xli. (1867), pp. 439-452 (with plan), and C. Roach Smith, in *Gentl. Mag.* (N.S.), vol. xix. 1865), pp. 403-408.

been planned and carried out by any but Roman road-builders. That all these branches are of Roman origin, I entertain no doubt.¹

The most probable explanation of the existence of this remarkable arrangement of branch roads is to be found in the fact that, from early times, as now, the greater part of both Dengy and



MAP OF ROMAN ROADS IN DENGY AND ROCHFORD HUNDREDS, ESSEX.

(A, from London. B, from Rivenhall.)

Rochford hundreds, especially the former, was *open country*, whereas all the rest of Essex (except, perhaps, the Chalk district in the extreme north-west), was thickly wooded. Dr. Horace Round has shown² that, in both hundreds, in Norman times, "the scarcity of

¹ In regard to two of them, I have already expressed my view to this effect (see *ante*, vol. xv., p. 244, n.).

² *V.C.H., Essex*, vol. i. (1903), p. 376.

woodland was very marked" and that, east of Latchingdon, "the Hundred of Dengey was almost devoid of woodland." Without doubt, they had always been open—probably more so in early times than at present; for there is reason to believe that the common elm (*Ulmus nitens* Moench), which is now by far the most abundant tree there, is a tree of comparatively-recent abundance—perhaps, even, was introduced by the Romans.¹ There can be little doubt that these extensive open lands were used in Roman times for the growth of the wheat which is known to have been then one of the chief exports from Britain. For this, the heavy clay soil was, and is, exceptionally well suited. The arrangement of roads traced hereafter was such as to afford easy access to the whole of these wheat-lands. Moreover, the fact that, in Dengey Hundred, these roads were extended right to the edge of the coastal marshes, some of them ending little more than a mile short of the present sea-wall, suggests that, even in Roman days, those marshes were valued as highly for the grazing of sheep as they were in Norman times.²

The system of branch roads indicated may be traced in detail as follows:—

Route 2 (13a): Woodham Ferrers to Althorne, 7 miles.

This branch leaves the main road to Othona just after it has passed Lambert's farm, in Woodham Ferrers, at the point where the modern road is diverted sharply to the south.³ From this angle, the branch clearly ran straight on almost due east (following a line slightly more southerly than that of the main road), but it is here lost for one mile-and-a-quarter. On the further side of this gap, it is recovered at another sharp angle about 200 yards north of Great Hayes ($1\frac{1}{2}$ miles), in Stow Maries. From this point, it runs on, almost absolutely straight and with none but very minor gaps and jogs (parish boundaries following it for short distances at several points), through Cold Norton, Purleigh, and Snoreham, past the site of the disused church of Snoreham and Tyle Hall ($5\frac{1}{4}$ miles), to Althorne (7 miles), ending apparently when it reaches the boundary of Mayland, though there are signs that it may have continued another mile through Mayland and Southminster parishes.

¹ While I am convinced that these Hundreds have always been without woods, through natural causes and not as a result of clearance, it is difficult to prove this or to assign a definite cause. Probably, however, their bareness is due to a combination of causes, such as deficiency of rainfall, deficiency of water in the London Clay, and the prevalence of high winds off the adjacent open sea.

² See Dr. Horace Round, *op. cit.*, pp. 367-374.

³ See *ante*, p. 89.

Throughout its entire course, this branch follows the sloping northern side of the valley of the river Crouch, maintaining an average elevation of about 50 feet, though rising considerably for short distances where it runs (as none but a Roman road would) over projecting shoulders of the higher ground to the north, as at Snoreham church (170 feet) and Althorne village (150 feet), and keeping everywhere about a mile north of the river bank and half-a-mile north of the railway-line. From end to end, owing to its position, it affords very fine views to the southward over the whole wide valley of the Crouch, with its many creeks and islands, including the extensive Bridgmarsh Island, and its wide-spreading marshes, as well as over most of Rochford Hundred and the estuary of the Thames beyond.

The late Mr. Henry Laver, F.S.A., who was born in the neighbourhood, wrote me some years ago that he regarded this road as "certainly Roman."¹

Route 3 (13b): Purleigh to Southminster, 6 miles.

This branch left the main Othona road about four miles further on than the foregoing: namely, near Dyegood's farm, just beyond the point at which the Othona road is crossed by a north-and-south road from Rivenhall to Prittlewell, which is certainly of Roman origin.² From this point, the branch clearly ran almost due east, but is completely lost for the first two-miles-and-a-quarter. Doubtless, it fell into disuse very early, owing to its close proximity to the main road to the north of it, which rendered it more economical to maintain *one* west-to-east road only and to reach the smaller by a short north-to-south road across the narrow angle between them, as is to be seen in Latchingdon village. That the Roman road did actually run formerly right across this gap of two-miles-and-a-quarter seems clear from the fact that, proceeding straight on, across a small portion of Purleigh, the whole width of Latchingdon, and a portion of Althorne, one picks up the road, running exactly on the line indicated above (that is, almost due east) at a sharp angle a few hundred yards south of the Bull inn, in Althorne. From here it runs on, almost straight and quite unbroken, for the remaining three-miles-and-a-half, past Southminster church,³ to Southminster Hall (6 miles), where it ends of necessity, for there is nothing beyond except low-lying marshes. Its course is almost parallel

¹ See also *Trans. Essex Arch. Soc.* (N.S.), vol. v., p. 35.

² See *post*.

³ The walls of the church contain "some Roman brick" (see *Rep. Roy. Hist. Mon. Comm.*, vol. iv., p. 146).

with, and nowhere more than a mile north of, that described above, but its elevation is greater, averaging about 100 feet.

Though this branch can only be regarded, I think, as of Roman origin, it is less obviously so than any other of the six branch roads, and parish boundaries nowhere coincide with it.

Route 4 (13c): Latchingdon to Asheldham and Dengey, $8\frac{1}{4}$ miles.

This road must be regarded as a northern branch of the branch traced above, rather than as (like the others) a southern branch of the Othona road itself. It is remarkably straight, having none but the most inconsiderable jogs and gaps, though slight wavers occur at two points. Parish boundaries coincide with it in several stretches totalling nearly half its entire length.

Starting from the northern side of the line of the branch road last noticed (that branch road itself being lost at the point in question), just where it touches the southern end of the village of Latchingdon, this branch runs about 15° north of east throughout its entire course, passing through parts of Snoreham, then following the boundary between Latchingdon and Althorne (being known hereabouts as Green lane); then crossing Mayland; then again following a parish boundary (that dividing Southminster from Steeple and Ashingdon) for two miles; then, having entered Asheldham parish, it makes directly for the Ancient Camp ($5\frac{1}{2}$ miles), running straight up to the middle of its western edge. The road, though now diverted round the northern margin of this camp, clearly *ran originally straight through it*, for, after a gap of scarcely 200 yards, it recommences just beyond its eastern edge, running thence straight on past Asheldham church and Hall (6 miles) and Dengey church and Hall ($6\frac{3}{4}$ miles), the two churches being less than three-quarters-of-a-mile apart and both actually on the road.¹ It traverses, indeed, nearly the whole width of Dengey Hundred, ending only on the very edge of the marshes (just south of Tillingham Grange), within a mile of the shore. For most of the way between Mayland and Asheldham, it is a narrow slightly-sunken road, picturesquely overgrown by trees and bushes, and running at an elevation of about 100 feet, near the foot of the slope of the higher ground lying to the north.

That this road is of Roman origin cannot reasonably be doubted. Its straightness, its close association with parish boundaries, and the manner of its passing through a camp, all tend to prove it such. This camp, though mutilated by gravel-digging, is of interest. It

¹ The walls of Asheldham church contain "septaria, with some Roman brick," and those of Dengey also contain "red Roman brick" (see *Rep. Roy. Hist. Mon. Comm.*, vol. iv., pp. 2, 33).

is about sixteen acres in extent¹ and occupies a low mound of gravel (about 75 feet), bounded on three sides by a small stream and rising out of a lower clay flat (about 25 feet). Its comparative prominence is shown by the fact that the tower of the Southminster waterworks has been erected within its bounds. There is an ill-defined mount (possibly a Roman look-out) on its eastern rampart. Standing almost in the centre of the peninsula of Dengey Hundred, this camp has been regarded generally as Danish, doubtless because of its nearness to the coast; but, in view of the fact that a road obviously of Roman origin ran actually through it, excavation would probably prove it to be Roman.

Route 5 (13d): Mayland to Tillingham, 6½ miles.

This branch leaves the Othona road about three miles further on than the branch to Southminster: that is to say, at the point where that road crosses the boundary between Latchingdon and Mayland. It runs thence eastwards, with a slight inclination to the north, almost parallel with and nowhere more than a mile north of the foregoing. Except just at the start, it is remarkably straight, though there are wide gaps. Parish boundaries coincide with it for four stretches, totalling more than a third of its entire length.

The course of this branch for the first half-mile (through Mayland) is curiously zig-zagged, probably for a reason already explained.² After this, there ensues a straight stretch of about an eighth of a mile, the parish boundary between Mayland and Steeple coinciding; then follows a gap of one mile, from Lower farm to near Steeple vicarage; then a stretch of about a quarter of a mile, ending at Batt's farm; then another gap of three-quarters of a mile; then a short stretch of a quarter of a mile (the boundary between St. Lawrence and Asheldham parishes here coinciding); after which the road (here called Hodge's lane) reappears and runs straight on, being accompanied most of the way by parish boundaries, past Reddings, to Bridgemans (6½ miles), in Tillingham parish, ending on the edge of the marshes, little more than a mile short of the sea-wall.

It is to be noted that this branch does not run through the village of Tillingham, where the church is, but about three-quarters of a mile further south.

Route 6 (13e): Steeple to Tillingham, 3 miles.

This branch runs throughout almost exactly parallel with that last traced and about three-quarters of a mile further north. It

¹ See I. Chalkley Gould, in *V.C.H., Essex*, vol. i. (1903), p. 184.

² See *ante*, vol. xv., p. 193.

leaves the Othona road at the point where that road crosses the boundary between Steeple and St. Lawrence, a short portion (about 400 yards) of which coincides with it. The branch then runs on for about another 400 yards, when it turns sharply northwards and joins the main road, but a foot-path, which evidently marks the former line of the road, continues straight on for two miles-and-a-quarter, surmounting a ridge of higher ground (over 100 feet) a little to the south of St. Lawrence church. Just before reaching East Hyde ($2\frac{1}{2}$ miles), in Tillingham, it again becomes a road and runs on in the original direction, reaching the north end of the village street of Tillingham (3 miles) about 200 yards north of the church. Here all signs of it are lost.

Although most of this branch has disappeared as a road, there can be no doubt that the long straight footpath mentioned as running straight over a ridge marks its former course.

Route 7 (13f): St. Lawrence through Tillingham, $2\frac{3}{4}$ miles.

This branch (the northernmost, shortest, and least-clearly-defined of the six branches under notice) runs almost exactly parallel with the two branches last traced and just half-a-mile north of the northernmost of the two. It leaves the line of the Othona road near the point where it crossed the eastern boundary of St. Lawrence parish. From this point, a parish boundary (that between Bradwell and Tillingham) runs on straight for nearly a mile and a half, when, on reaching the Bradwell brook, it becomes diverted. Continuing, however, on the same line, through Heron Grove and Hall Grove, for a quarter of a mile, one encounters, at a sharp angle, a short length of road (about 250 yards only) running exactly on the former line; and, when this becomes diverted northward, a smaller road, known as Mark road, runs on almost straight and in the same line three-quarters of a mile further, ending at Packards ($2\frac{3}{4}$ miles) on the very edge of the marshland.

Little of this short branch has survived as a road, but the indications of its former course are unmistakeable.

Route 14 (1a): Feering to Colchester, 7 miles.

When, in 1922, I traced the line followed by this road,¹ I had not actually walked over that very short portion of it (less than half-a-mile) which crosses the Roman river and passes through the small wood known as Gol Grove, in Stanway parish, though I was

¹ See *ante* (N.S.), vol. xvi., pp. 127-130.

personally familiar with all the rest of its course. The modern road avoids this short stretch by making a sharp bend to the south and crossing the river at Heckford Bridge, about half-a-mile to the southward. I have recently had an opportunity of walking over the short portion indicated, with interesting results.

Going back a couple of miles and starting afresh from Easthorpe church, it is clear that the Roman road, after passing the church (which is largely built of Roman bricks) ran eastward, with a slight trend to the northward, exactly on the line of the existing road, for about three-quarters of a mile, to a five-want-way, in Birch parish.¹ Here the modern road leaves the line of the Roman road and curves northwards by way of Boarded Barn and Claypit Green, but returns to the line of the Roman road about a mile further on. It is, however, easy to see that, from the five-want-way, the Roman road continued quite straight on, for its line is clearly marked to-day by a field foot-path for half-a-mile and a hedge and ditch for the remaining half-mile. The line of the Roman road and the modern road re-unite at a sharp angle of the latter situate exactly at the point where the united road leaves Birch and enters a small southward projection of Copford parish. From this point, the road continues eastwards, exactly on the original line, following the north side of the boggy valley of a tiny streamlet, for about half-a-mile, when, having entered another small northerly projection of Birch parish and reached the very bank of the Roman river, just against a strong spring of water, the road turns suddenly south-eastward and makes for Heckford Bridge, as already stated. From the point at which the Roman road left the Great road at Feering to the bank of the Roman river, a distance of three miles and a half, it clearly followed a perfectly straight course.

If, instead of taking the sharp modern diversion to the southward just mentioned, one continues straight on, following the original line of the Roman road, one sees at once that it ran straight on; for, entering a low pasture and following a hedge bounding its northern end, one sees clearly that one is on an ancient track-way which is still lined by a few old pollarded elms. After proceeding about one hundred and fifty yards, one reaches the right bank of the Roman river and sees before one the eastern slope of its small valley, which here rises steeply, almost from the river's bank, and is covered by the trees of Gol Grove. Crossing the river and ascending this opposite (left) bank, one perceives that the crossing-place

¹ It is not in Copford, as I stated, but in a small portion of Birch which projects northward into Copford.

was well chosen, the river being more easily fordable there than at any other point in its vicinity; for the 100-foot contour-lines on each side of the valley here approach within about 300 yards of one another. Moreover, there is here something of a gap in the steep eastern side of the valley, by means of which it may be ascended with greater ease than elsewhere; and up this gap the Roman road climbed (as shown by two separate track-ways cut deeply in the soft gravelly soil of the slope) in a way which none but a Roman road would have attempted.

On reaching the more level ground at the top of the slope, one finds still clearer evidence that the Roman road ran straight on, following the northern edge of Gol Grove, for here its course is clearly marked by bank and ditch. The bank in question is approximately 25 feet wide and averages from two to three feet high, but was, no doubt, higher originally, being composed only of the very light loose sandy gravel of the district. On its northern side is a ditch of corresponding size, which now forms the northern boundary of the grove. Both bank and ditch continue the whole length of the grove (approximately 400 yards). The bank is more pronounced than any other Roman *agger* I have seen in Essex, where, except in the Colchester district, the Romans seldom banked their roads, owing, doubtless, to the absence of sufficient good road-making material; or, if they did so, the banks they made have been destroyed by long-continued cultivation. In this case, however, the bank, though constructed of such loose material, has continued to exist—no doubt because it runs through a wood, the soil of which has probably never been under the plough.

The Roman road, on reaching the north-east corner of Gol grove, continued on the same line, the course of its ditch being marked by an existing lane, which carries it about 300 yards further, when it encounters a road from Heckford Bridge northwards. Crossing this road, one finds oneself in a ploughed field, of very light gravelly soil, where all signs of the continuance of road, bank, and ditch have been destroyed by the plough; but, continuing on the same line, across the field, for about 300 yards, one descends into the valley of a small stream, at the bottom of which one can see where the Roman road crossed, at an easy crossing-place, the 100-foot contour-lines on each side being here no more than 200 yards apart. After reaching the top of the opposite slope of the valley, the road reaches and traverses the level ground of Stanway Heath, in the light gravelly soil of which (now everywhere under the plough) no trace of it now appears. If, however, it continued on the same line (as, doubtless, it did), it passed the southern end of an entrenchment

(probably Roman) running north and south; crossed the line of the great entrenchment known as Gryme's Dyke; traversed an area in which the foundations of Roman villas and other Roman remains abound; and, in about a mile-and-a-half, reached Bottle End, on the boundary of Lexden parish. In the stretch of two miles from the Roman river to Bottle End, it thus ran absolutely straight. The present road between these two points (that going round by Heckford Bridge and Stanway Hall) runs for the most part several hundred yards to the south of the line indicated and may be regarded as *post*-Roman. The Roman road, beside being more direct, followed a line the gradients on which seem so much easier than those on the longer modern road that one wonders why the older road was ever discarded in favour of the new.

After passing Bottle End, the existing road (which is now, apparently, once more on the line of the Roman road) runs on, quite straight, with a slightly more northerly inclination than before, passing Shrub End, for nearly another mile, when it becomes lost just at the boundary of Colchester parish, though a wavy road, clearly *post*-Roman, runs on. At the point when it disappeared, it was heading as stated already, straight for the Balcerne Gate of Colchester, one mile-and-a-quarter further on.

It may be noted that this Route is formed of three different stages, each quite straight, but each having a slightly more northerly inclination than the preceding: (1) From Feering to the Roman river, $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles, running east 10° north; (2) from the Roman river to Bottle End, 2 miles, running east 15° north; and (3) from Bottle End to the Balcerne Gate, $1\frac{3}{4}$ miles, running east 30° north. Total $7\frac{1}{4}$ miles.

Mr. A. G. Wright has been good enough to point out to me that I was in error in what I said¹ as to the XIth Legion being largely exterminated as it was marching to the relief of Camulodunum in A.D. 61. That Legion was not in Britain at the time. It was (he points out) the IXth Legion, marching from Lindum (Lincoln) that was cut up, only the cavalry escaping. The Britons were finally defeated by the XIVth Legion, which marched from Deva (Chester) with picked men of the XXth Legion and some auxiliaries under Suetonius.

(To be continued.)

¹ See *ante*, vol. xvi., p. 139

LAND OWNERS AND PLACE-NAMES.

BY PERCY H. REANEY, M.A.

ONE of the most characteristic features of Essex place-names is the disappearance of the original English name and its replacement by that of some prominent owner. In some cases the pedigree of the name can easily be traced, *e.g.*, Bigods in Great Dunmow was originally *Alferestuna*,¹ the *tun* of Ælfhere and took its modern name from Bartholomew le Bigod who held it in the early years of the thirteenth century.² Here we have to deal with a well-known name, but the key to the change would be given in any case by the description *Bigods otherwise Alfrestones Hall*.³ Rockells in Arkesden and Bretts in Aveley are other well-known examples,⁴ but in many instances we have not at present the necessary material for identifying the names that have disappeared with those that have survived. This material is often to be found in manor rolls, deeds, and wills, and requires patient research and local knowledge. Valuable work can be done in making available such unpublished material.

It is noteworthy, too, how relatives and men who flourished at the same time and came into personal contact have left their names in small groups in various localities. Here, again, we have to rely at present on the printed material, but the results already achieved shew that much valuable information and many interesting discoveries await volunteers who will search the documents preserved in the Society's library and elsewhere.

In Sir Norman Moore's *History of St. Bartholomew's Hospital* are printed a number of charters and deeds relating to the hospital's land in Dunton. The witnesses to a charter of 1277 concerning land in Dunton⁵ are: John Malegress, Thomas Gobion, John of Newenton,⁶ Sawall of Waleton, William Ames, Elias of Langedon, and John of

¹ *V.C.H., Essex*, vol. i., p. 510a.

² *Liber Feodorum*, vol. i., p. 590; *Red Book Excheq.*, vol. ii., p. 804; *Abbr. Plac.*, p. 114b.

³ 1486-93, *Early Chancery Proceedings*, vol. iii., p. 95.

⁴ *V.C.H.*, vol. i., pp. 476a, 490b.

⁵ *Hist. Bart. Hosp.*, vol. i., p. 506.

⁶ John de Newynton possessed land in the towns of Stanford le Hope, Mucking, Corringham, Fobbing, Horndon, Hutton, and Mountnessing (1350 *Close Rolls*, p. 270).

Meadow.¹ Four of these seven men belong to families that have left their names in the district. *Malegress* is, no doubt, a mis-reading of *Malegreff*. The manor of Malgraves is in Horndon on the Hill, where there are two farms, Great and Little Malgraves, rather less than a mile apart, on opposite sides of the road. The Malgrave family was established here from the end of the twelfth century to at least the first half of the sixteenth. In 1198 Alolf' Malegreff' is mentioned in connection with Barstable Hundred and in the following year was a party to a suit relating to the marsh of Radeworth,² which may well have been in Horndon, for in 1210-12 Alfred Malegreffe held one fee in Hornindone.³ The two farms were already distinct in the early years of Elizabeth's reign, for in 1568 we find mention of a "farm called Malgraves on the east side of the highway from Horndon to Duntton"⁴ (*i.e.* Little Malgraves), whilst Great Malgraves is indicated by the description in 1585 of the "manor of Malgraves in Horndon and Horsed *alias* Orsett or elsewhere on the west side of the highway from Horndon to Duntton."⁵ In 1518-29 we find the spelling *Mulgraves*,⁶ which appears again in the Electoral Register for 1922.

About two miles north of Great Malgraves is Great Gubbins Farm, which preserves the name of our second witness or that of his family. Great Gubbins is in Laindon parish, on the borders of Little Burstead. The name implies a Little Gubbins and the 1922 spring Electoral Register gives a Gobions Farm in Great Burstead which I cannot find on the six-inch map. John Gubion had 7 acres of land in Borwstede in 1279 and witnessed a deed relating to Burstead in the same year.⁷ According to Morant, Thomas Gobyon, junior, held land in Langedon in 1334.⁸ We are now able to connect the family with this parish nearly a century earlier, for in 1278 William de

¹ Among the witnesses to a grant, dated at Coringham in 1344, by Robert Travers of Bartlesden (Basildon), to John le Baud of a yearly rent of seven marks to be received in the church of Coringham and land in the towns of Bartlesden, Leyndon, and Nevenden (1344 *Close Rolls*, pp. 472-3), were: Thomas Gobyoun, John de Waltone, Robert Gerlaund, and James Tirel. Robert Travers is himself a witness to a Duntton charter (*Hist. Bart. Hosp.*, vol. i., p. 376). The Bauds had land in Coringham and South Weald (*E.A.T.*, vol. x., pp. 145 *seq.*, *Essex Fines*, vol. ii., p. 34). The Waltons and Gerlaunds are discussed later, whilst the Tyrells have left their name in White's and Ramsey Tyrells in Buttsbury.

² *Rot. Cur. Reg.*, vol. i., pp. 181, 345.

³ *Red Book Excheq.*, vol. ii., p. 501. For other references to the family in this parish see *P.R.O. Anc. Deed*, vol. i., A 451 (23 Ed. I.); *Inq. p.m.*, vol. vi., p. 154 (14 Ed. II.); *ibid.*, vol. viii., p. 305 (17 Ed. III.); *P.R.O. Anc. Deed*, vol. vi., C 7220 (1523).

⁴ *P.R.O. Anc. Deed*, vol. vi., C 7767.

⁵ *Ibid.*, C 7969.

⁶ *Early Chanc. Proc.*, vol. v., p. 555.

⁷ *Hist. Bart. Hosp.*, vol. i., p. 514.

⁸ *History of Essex*, vol. i., p. 248a.

Berdefeld and Alice, his wife, held one messuage and 43 acres of land with appurtenances in Leyndon and Estle of John Gubyon and Margaret his wife,¹ whilst in 1258 John Gubiun and Joan, his wife, were parties to a fine relating to 2 acres of land with appurtenances in Leydone and two parts of 106 acres of land with appurtenances in Estle.² Slightly over a hundred years later we find mention of "one knight's fee in Estilbery sometime of Edmund Kemsek and lately held by Thomas Gobyoun, knight, at 100s."³ This is called the manor of Gobions by Morant, and the name survives in Gobions in Mucking, just beyond the boundary of East Tilbury.⁴

Our fourth witness, Sawall of Waleton, takes us into the same parish where the family name is preserved in Walton's Hall. He is mentioned again in 1293, when we learn he was son of Thomas de Walton and held 1 messuage, 8 acres of land, and 4 acres of heath in Mockyng and Orseth.⁵ His father Thomas, and his grandmother Agnes, put in a claim for 5 acres of land and 5 acres of marsh in Mucking, held of Eustace de Mucking in 1262.⁶ In the same year Roger de Brumford and Matilda, his wife, quitclaimed 12*d.* of rent with appurtenances and 10 acres of marsh with appurtenances in Mucking to Thomas,⁷ whose father Swanus and mother Agnes were parties in 1258 to a fine relating to land in Mucking.⁸ In 1199 Simon de Waleton was one of the parties to a suit concerning a free tenement in Moking.⁹ The family also had possessions in East Tilbury.¹⁰ The name of William Ames survives in Amess in East Horndon.

The place marked *Kantys* on Norden's map long eluded me. It reappears as *Cantis* on Chapman & André's map and as *Cantus Farm* on the 1805 edition of the ordnance survey, and is now represented by *Canter's Shaw*, a wood in Horndon on the Hill. The modern

¹ *Essex Fines*, vol. ii., p. 18.

² *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 226. See also p. 224.

³ 1374 *Close Rolls*, p. 22.

⁴ In 1245 Robert Gubion granted to the dean and chapter of St. Paul's land in a field called la Were, in the parish of Fobbing, next the road before his door (*P.R.O. Anc. Deed*, vol. vi., C. 4049).

⁵ *Essex Fines*, vol. ii., p. 74.

⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 250.

⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 249. This Roger de Brumford was witness in 1277 to a grant of land in Dunton to Symon de Dunton (*Hist. Bart. Hosp.*, vol. i., p. 506). His name survives in Great and Little Bromfords in Nevendon, where Hubert de Brumford had lands and chattels in 1303 (*Essex Fines*, vol. ii., p. 94).

⁸ *Essex Fines*, vol. i., p. 227. This fine is endorsed: "Roger de Brumford and Matilda his wife put in their claim."

⁹ *Rot. Cur. Reg.*, vol. i., p. 396.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 385; *Essex Fines*, vol. i., pp. 21, 24.

form is unauthorised, for the name enshrines that of Robert le Canteys (the Kentishman) who witnessed a grant of Ralf de Ginges about 1285 and a deed relating to the parish of Hornindon in 1277.¹ Walter le Canteis, too, witnessed another deed,² whilst in 1235 Walter le Kenteis complained that Roger, Bishop of London, had distrained him for default of Ralph de Ginges and Ralph granted he would acquit Walter from the services which the Bishop of London exacted from his free tenement which he held of Ralph in Horendon, and from which the Bishop exacted 2s. by the year to the ward of the Castle of Storteford and that he should do suit to his Court of Storteford.³ In 1327-8 David de Tillebury granted to "Kenteys of Horndon" a yearly rent arising out of lands in Horndon.⁴ This was probably the Robert Kenteys of whom Maud de Haudlo of Wythefeld (*i.e.* Wyfields in Horndon) held in 1337 an acre of land by yearly service of 6*d.*, its yearly value beyond the rent being 3*s.*⁵ The family had a long connection with the neighbourhood. In 1321 Malcolm de Beaumeys and Thomas Kenteys were appointed conservators of the peace for the hundreds of Chafford and Barstable.⁶ Benedict le Kenteis was concerned with land in Orsett in 1230,⁷ whilst Roger le Kenteis, father of Michael de Styfford, had made the last presentation to the church of Stifford before 1213.⁸

A collection of unpublished deeds to which I have recently had access throws some interesting light on the extent and later history of this family's possessions. In 1668 *Kantis* was described as a "capital messuage, ffarme, and tenement" which, with the closes thereto belonging, consisted of 231 acres. During the Commonwealth this farm, with *little Gore Oake ffarme* (now Gore Ox Farm), were parcel of the possessions of Thomas Andrewes, alderman of London, who was "attaynted of high Treason for the Murther of his late Majesty of ever blessed memory King Charles the first." They came into the possession of James, Duke of York, afterwards James II., who mortgaged them in 1661 for 2,000*l.*, whilst in 1668 part belonged to George Evelyn, the elder, of Wotton, Surrey (of the same family as John Evelyn the diarist). It is clear that

¹ *Hist. Bart. Hosp.*, vol. i., pp. 503, 506.

² *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 522.

³ *Essex Fines*, vol. i., p. 110. In 1240 Walter quitclaimed one hide of land with appurtenances in Horendon to the Abbess of Barking, *ibid.*, p. 124.

⁴ *Placita de Banco*, p. 158.

⁵ *Inq. Misc.*, vol. ii., p. 381; *Close Rolls*, 1337-9, p. 180.

⁶ *Patent Rolls, Ed. II.*, vol. iv., p. 61.

⁷ 1230 *Close Rolls*, p. 576.

⁸ *Abbr. Plac.*, p. 89*b*.

Canties Farme, now the name of a wood, was originally the name of a farm, for in the later deeds it is called *Cantis alias* Saffron Garden, a name that appears on Norden's map and still survives as that of a farm about half-a-mile west of Canters Shaw.

Another witness to the first of these charters was Alexander Fucher,¹ whose name we find in Fouchers in East Horndon, earlier *Gynge Puelle* once held by Nicholas Foucher.² This is probably the Sir Nicholas Fucher who held a manor in Harlow in 1265,³ land in Good Easter in 1262,⁴ and in Aythorpe Roding (Roynges St. Mary) in 1235.⁵ The family has also left its name in Fouchers in Good Easter, where they were established as early as 1198.⁶ Their earliest connection with East Horndon seems to be a little later, for in 1228 Henry de Kemeshet granted 30 acres of land with appurtenances in Estthorndon to Warin Fitz Fucher for a yearly rent of 12*d.* and a pair of gilt spurs at Easter,⁷ but that this was not their first holding is suggested by the complaint, four years earlier, of Roger Fitz Simon that Warner Fitz Fulcher had thrown down his fence to the injury of his free tenement in the town of Thorendon.⁸ Martines, in Hutton, preserves the name of the father of another witness to the second of these charters—Laurence, son of Martin, who is, perhaps, Martin of Langedon, himself a witness.⁹ This farm is quite close to Ellis's Farm. There is also a Martin's Farm in Bulphan, a mile north-west of Lorkin's Farm, and about two miles west of Great Malgraves. Perhaps the same family gave name to both farms. The same name also occurs in Martin's Grove, Stock.

The 1279 charter witnessed by John Gobiun was also witnessed by Sir William Giffard, of the family to whom Bowers Gifford owes its surname. There is a Gifford's Cross in Corringham which may have the same origin. A third witness to the same charter is Thomas Cheure, who also witnesses two others relating to the land of Gundreda atte Weylete,¹⁰ and has left his name in Chivers Farm in Doddinghurst.¹¹ Gundreda owed her surname to the fact that

¹ *Hist. Bart. Hosp.*, vol. i., p. 503.

² 1374 *Close Rolls*, vol. xiv., p. 23; *E.A.T.*, vol. xii., p. 115

³ *Inq. Misc.*, vol. ii., p. 206.

⁴ *Essex Fines*, vol. i., p. 253.

⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 107.

⁶ *Rot. Cur. Reg.*, vol. i., p. 193.

⁷ *Essex Fines*, vol. i., p. 81.

⁸ 1224 *Patent Rolls*, pp. 485-6.

⁹ *Hist. Bart. Hosp.*, vol. i., pp. 506, 521, 522.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, vol. i., pp. 514, 521, 522.

¹¹ On the borders of Mountnessing. Christiana Cheure was party to a fine in 1293 relating to a messuage and 24 acres of land in Gyng Munteney (*Essex Fines*, vol. ii., p. 74). In 1242 the advowson of the church of Gynges Munteney was quitclaimed to the prior of Ginges (*i.e.* of Thoby) by Ernulf de Munteney, who acknowledged the right of the prior and his church as that which he had of the gift of Michael Chevere, Ernulf's ancestor, whose heir he was (*op. cit.*, vol. i., p. 141).

she lived at the cross-roads (O.E. *weg gelatu*). She was the wife of William, son of Richard the smith, formerly of Leyndon, and in 1280 she demised a piece of meadow to John of Walton for 4s., and a little later (1281-5) she granted and quitclaimed for ever to the master and brethren of St. Bartholomew's Hospital the messuage she held of their fee in the vill of Dunton on the king's highway from Horndon to Chelmsford.¹ This is the origin of Dunton Wayletts, which owes its name to the owner whose surname was derived from the position of her residence. It is a quarter of a mile north of Friern Manor, the land of the Hospital.

The last of this group of witnesses is John de Sancto Claro, of the family that has given name to St. Clair's Hall, St. Osyth, St. Cleers, Danbury, and St. Cleres, East Tilbury. A John de Sencler held land in Langdon and West Burstead in 1242,² and in 1262 John de Sancto Claro had 100 acres of marsh in Berdestaple³ (in Basildon). In 1294 Robert de Sancto Claro held the manors of Est Tillebury, Danebury, and Liston, and 1 messuage, 50 acres of land, 260 acres of marsh, and 63s. 10d. of rent in Fenge, Fobbynge, Coringham, and Stanford, and the advowson of the church of Danebury.⁴ William de Sancto Claro held the manor of East Tilbury and land in West Tilbury in 1265,⁵ another William de Seincler held land in Cuningham (Coringham)⁶ and Stanford (le Hope) in 1202,⁷ whilst Hugo de Senclers is mentioned in connection with Stanford in 1201.⁸

Two other documents, some seventy years later, throw further light on the origin of place-names in the same district. In 1349 mention is made of the land of John le Herde (apparently in Dunton).⁹ There is a Heard's Farm in Shenfield, and John le Herde is one of the witnesses to a deed of Gundreda atte Weylate in 1280.¹⁰ Alice, widow of Andrew le Hirde of Navestock, was plaintiff in 1327-8 in a suit relating to land in Shenefeld.¹¹ The witnesses to this deed of 1349 are: William Piket, Walter Turk, Robert Travers, William Lorchun, John Elys, and Henry le Hayward. Some of

¹ *Hist. Bart. Hosp.*, vol. i., pp. 521, 515, 522.

² *Essex Fines*, vol. i., p. 142. John Malegresse is mentioned in the same fine.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 253.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 79.

⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 262.

⁶ Also spelled *Cunigheham*, cf. *E.A.T.*, vol. xvi., pp. 253-4.

⁷ *Essex Fines*, vol. i., p. 24.

⁸ *Abbr. Plac.*, p. 286. The modern spelling of this name is *Sinclair*; St. Cleres in East Tilbury is *Sinclairs Farm* on the 1805 Ordnance map.

⁹ *Hist. Bart. Hosp.*, vol. i., p. 576.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 515.

¹¹ *Placita de Banco*, p. 145.

these names occur in 1341 among those of men assessed for payment of a ninth: Andrew Nygge and William Lorechonn at Dunton; Robert Travers at Leyndone; John Travers at Magna Bursted; John Elys (with Thomas Gobyon, junior) at Langedone, Westle, and Estle.¹

In Buttsbury is Turkshill wood. Walter Turk was a citizen of London and had held a tenement in Oldefisschstreet before 1340.² He was a man of importance, not only in the city of London and in Essex, but also in Kent and Buckinghamshire.³ His father, Robert, was buyer for the kitchen of the king's household,⁴ and with his wife Elena had possessed a tenement abutting on Lombard Street on the south and Cornhill on the north.⁵ Walter himself was keeper of the king's exchanges of London and Canterbury, an appointment revoked by commission in 1330.⁶ In the following year he was collector of customs in the port of London,⁷ sheriff in 1335,⁸ and mayor of London in 1349.⁹ He died not long before 1376, leaving a bequest to the dean and chapter of the king's free chapel of St. Martin le Grand.¹⁰

As for his connection with Essex, he witnessed deeds relating to Southchurch in 1334, White Roding in 1344, and West Tilbury in 1348.¹¹ The first of these deeds was also witnessed by John Berland and John Coleman, both of whose names long survived. Coleman's in Prittlewell represents the messuage and 120 acres of arable held of Margaret Grapinel by service of 1*d.* yearly by John Coleman in 1305.¹² Barlands in the same parish has disappeared since 1898, owing to building operations at Southend. It was situated at the corner of West Road and Leigh Road, and was formerly woodland.¹³ In 1422 it was owned by John Baud (of Downsell), who had married Elizabeth, daughter and heir of William Berland.¹⁴ The Berland family was prominent in Rochford Hundred between 1285 and 1422,

¹ *Nonarum Inquisitiones*, pp. 308-9.

² *Hist. Bart. Hosp.*, vol. i., p. 572.

³ 1328 *Close Rolls*, pp. 253, 285, 351.

⁴ 1321 *Patent Rolls, Ed. II.*, vol. iii., p. 566.

⁵ 1318 *ibid.*, p. 246; 1328 *Close Rolls*, p. 379.

⁶ 1328 *Close Rolls*, p. 326; 1330 *ibid.*, p. 87.

⁷ 1331 *ibid.*, p. 383.

⁸ 1335 *ibid.*, p. 668.

⁹ 1349 *ibid.*, pp. 149, 150.

¹⁰ 1376 *Patent Rolls*, p. 363.

¹¹ *Close Rolls*, pp. 336, 447, 493 respectively.

¹² *Cal. Inq. p.m.*, vol. iv., p. 181.

¹³ *Berlondeswode boscus*, 1422 *Cal. Inq. p.m. (Rec. Comm.)*, vol. iv., p. 74a.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. iv., p. 106b.

and were settled in Prittlewell at least as early as 1353, in which year John de Berland and Isabel, his wife, were granted a plot of land out of the king's highway in Prittlewell, 9 perches long by 15 feet wide, worth $\frac{3}{4}d.$, for the enlargement of their dwelling place, at the rent of $1d.$ at the exchequer at Michaelmas by the hands of the sheriff.¹

This John de Berland was associated with Walter Turk and others in 1338 and 1346 as commissioner *de walliis et fossatis* in the marshes of the Hundred of Rochford.² In 1326 Walter Turk and Idonia, his wife, were granted custody of the lands of John de Chaunceux, in Canewdon, during the minority of Hugh, his son and heir³; in 1337 we find mention of him at Rochford and Berden,⁴ and in 1341 at Little Oakley and Walton.⁵ A hundred years before this (in 1235) Simon Blund held of Henry le Turc, by the yearly rent of $1d.$ at Michaelmas, 5 perches of land in length and 5 perches in breadth, with appurtenances in Herewardstoc. Simon gave to Henry $\frac{1}{2}$ acre of land with appurtenances in Ginge Johiberd (*i.e.* Buttsbury), lying next the land of William Blund towards the west.⁶ Turkshill Wood is just beyond the borders of Stock.

William Lorchun's name survives, in all probability, in Lorkin's Farm in Orsett, and that of John Elys in Ellis's Farm in Hutton, on the opposite side of the road from Martines. In 1345 John Elys of Langedon, who may well be our witness, acknowledged he owed Roger de Wodeham 10 marks.⁷ It was probably the same John Elys who, with John de Sutton of Hadele and John le Cook of Horndon, was appointed on 7 March, 1362, to take carpenters, masons and other artificers and workmen for the king's works at Haddele, Reylegh, and Thunderle, and to put them on those works at the king's wages, to stay as long as shall be required, also timber, stone, iron, lead, tiles, fuel, and other things necessary for the works and the carriage of the same; and to imprison contrariants and rebels until the king give order touching their punishment.⁸ A similar appointment, with the substitution of William de Hynton for John de Sutton, was made on 31 October in the same year.⁹ In Hutton, too, is Haywards, with which we may connect Henry le

¹ 1353 *Patent Rolls*, p. 436.

² 1338 *ibid.*, p. 74; 1346 *ibid.*, p. 178.

³ 1326 *ibid.*, p. 344.

⁴ 1337 *ibid.*, pp. 446-7, 451.

⁵ 1341 *ibid.*, p. 201.

⁶ *Essex Fines*, vol. i., p. 99.

⁷ 1345 *Close Rolls*, p. 484.

⁸ 1362 *Patent Rolls*, p. 172.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 269.

Hayward. In 1248 Ralph le Heyward vouched to warranty Walter le Cunstable, a party to a fine relating to Doddinghurst.¹

William Picket's name survives in Pickett's Bushes, a wood in East Horndon; he was presumably a relative, perhaps the father, of Robert Pycot, citizen and draper of London, to whom, in 1365, was granted and quitclaimed all the lands, rents, and services, and the reversion thereof which Joan, wife of John "in the Hale" of Reynham, held for life in Bulvan, East Horndon, Langdon, and Basildon.² On 16 November of the same year he quitclaimed to Sir Robert de Marny the manor of Arden Hall in Horndon on the Hill.³

In 1354 Walter of Basingbourne and the brethren of St. Bartholomew's Hospital granted to John atte Hope of West Billerica and Johanna Flips of Leyndon, his wife, and their heirs, a croft of land with a house upon it, in the vill of Donton.⁴ In Little Burstead is Hope House, which appears on Chapman & Andre's map as *The Hope*. John presumably took his name from the fact that he lived by this hope.⁵ Among the witnesses to this deed are Andrew Nyng and Richard Stokwell, the latter of whom either gave his name to or derived his name from Stockwell Hall. John, son of Robert de Stokwell of Alsewyk held land in Great and Little Burstead and Laidon in 1364.⁶

About three-quarters of a mile north-west is Ninge's Farm, in which we may trace our other witness. I think we may assume he is the Andrew Nyng who is said, in 1613, to have held five crofts of land here,⁷ and the Andrew Nygge who, with three others, was assessed for payment of a ninth at Dunton in 1341.⁸ Nearly 200 years later, in 1518-29, Amphyll and Elizabeth, grand-daughters of William and Margaret Nyng, were parties to a suit concerning the detention of deeds relating to land in Billericay.⁹ Some time between

¹ *Essex Fines*, vol. i., p. 170.

² 1365 *Close Rolls*, p. 205.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 197. See also pp. 168, 201-2. An indenture relating to Pycot's lands in Horndon was witnessed by William de Wauton and Hugh Malgraf, among others.

⁴ *Hist. Bart. Hosp.*, vol. i., p. 579.

⁵ O.E. *hop*. meant "a piece of enclosed land," and occurs only in the compounds *fenhopu* and *mor hopu*. The probable meaning was "an enclosure of dry land in a fen," for O.E. *mor* meant "marshy, boggy land" (cf. Ekwall, *Lancs. Place-names*, p. 13). The term is not uncommon in Essex.

⁶ 1364 *Close Rolls*, p. 159. In 1613 we read of "one tenement and one croft of land called *Stockwells*" which had formerly been held by James Stockwell (*Essex Review*, vol. xv., p. 117). This, with the reference above, seems conclusive evidence that the family gave name to the place.

⁷ *Essex Review*, vol. xv., p. 117.

⁸ *Nonarum Inquisitiones*, Edward III., p. 308a.

⁹ *Early Chanc. Proc.*, vol. v., p. 450.

1529 and 1532 there was another suit concerning the detention of deeds, tenements, and lands in Little Burstead and Ingrave, formerly belonging to John Nyngge of Billericay. The plaintiffs were John Sheryff and Amphilene his wife, grand-daughter of William Nyngge, citizen and draper of London, and of Margaret his wife; among the defendants were Roger Genge and his wife Margaret.¹ A third suit of interest in this connection is that in which Richard Ryche sought permission to examine witnesses concerning the legitimacy of Amphilis, grand-daughter of Margaret Nyngge, from whom he had acquired the manor of Brundish and messuages and lands in Shelley, Fyfield, Moreton, and Bobbingworth.²

The family had thus extensive possessions and has left its name in the parish of its origin. Ninge's Farm is in Little Burstead, near one of the small streams forming the source of the river Wid. Prof. Mawer has suggested that the *Ings* of this district (Ingrave, Mountnessing, etc.) contain an old form of the name of the Wid, somewhat similar to the Ginge of Berkshire,³ and this farm-name seems to lend some support to this theory. Assuming the Wid to have been formerly the *Gynge(s)*, the surname would be in Middle English *atten Gynge*⁴: Andrew, who lived "by the Gynge." With the loss of the initial *y*, the *n* became attached to the following word, giving *atte Ninge*, a process common in dialect and place-names in various parts of the country and found in the Essex *Noak Hill* and *Nelmes*.⁵ The name of Roger Genge mentioned above is interesting

¹ *Ibid.*, vol. vi., p. 149.

² *Ibid.*, vol. vi., p. 230.

³ *Place-names: An essay in co-operative study*, pp. 12-13.

⁴ The *g* was pronounced like *y* and would regularly disappear. In fact it was in process of disappearing at the time Domesday Book was compiled, for the *Ings* vary between *Inga* and *Ginga*. Ilchester, Som., formerly *Yeulchestre*, is the camp on the Ivel, which occurs as *Gifle* in Alfred's will. An interesting example of the loss and retention of the initial *y* in the same county occurs in Bedfordshire, where Yelden or Yelden is the "Ivel valley" (*Giveldene*), and Northill (*Nortgiuele*), and Southill (*Sudgiuele*) mean "the northern (and the southern) place upon the Ivel." See Skeat, *Place-names of Bedfordshire*, pp. 12, 33, 34.

⁵ This explanation of the surname must now be considered extremely doubtful. The initial *n* can only be explained thus if *Ginges* was a river-name. Professor Mawer has admitted to me that there are phonological difficulties in this identification, but it was the most probable explanation at the time of writing. Recently, however, Professor Ekwall of Lund has discussed this name among others. In his *English Place-names in -ing*, pp. 45-7, he points out that *Ginges* must have denoted a large district and suggests that the original form was either *Gegingas* or *Gigingas*, meaning originally "the descendants or followers of *Gega* or *Giga*," and later, the district in which they lived. He points out further that the etymology cannot be definitely settled, so long as Old English forms have not been found. His reconstruction is rather daring, too, as none of his early forms points to a dissyllabic personal name. Some of my forms, however, though late, do point to a dissyllable: 1428 *Patent Rolls*, p. 486, *Margarete Guyng*; 1441 *ibid.*, p. 362, *Margaret Guyng*, *Guyng*; 1491 *Cal. Inq. p.m.*, Henry VII., vol. i., p. 335, *Marget Guyng*, whilst 1363 *Close Rolls*, p. 478, *Mounteneye Gynge*, provides strong support for an original *Gigingas*. A surname derived from this would take the form *Ing*, *Inge*, or possibly *Yng*. The farm is undoubtedly named from the family discussed above.

as it preserves, in the spelling at least, the original initial *g*.¹

Two deeds of 1484 provide material for some interesting identifications in the parish of Writtle. The first is a grant by John Wheler, the elder, son and heir of William Wheler, to Thomas Grafton of London, merchant of the staple of Calais, Master William Carpenter, vicar of Wretill, and five others, of a barn and garden with the lands called Wheler's at Heighwode, in the parish of Wretill, late of Henry Wheler, between the land called Wodlande, *etc.*, abutting on Hale Croft, John Welde's land at Barwe called Hokfeld, and the highway called Dovestret leading from the parish cross to the common of Heighwode.² The second is a conveyance by William Illy of Wretill and John Munke of Storteford to six of the seven men mentioned above, of 15 acres of land called Barrettes and Andrewys, late of Henry Wheler, at Heighwode, in the parish of Wretill, abutting on the land called Danys and the common called Heighwode.³

At Highwood is a farm called Monk's and Barrow's. It is near the site of a hermitage founded in the reign of Henry I.⁴ and known as Bedmannesberga in 1176-7.⁵ The first half of this name has disappeared,⁶ leaving the common Barrow, which survives as an unauthorized personal name coupled with that of the John Munke who held the estate in 1484.

Seven years earlier we have a certificate by William Wheler, the elder, of Wrytell, William Illye, John Welde of Barowe, John Geffrey and John Pyneton of Highwode, Richard Birle and John Wheler of Wretill, that Harry Wheler of Highwode willed by express words of his mouth, spoken at the time of his death, that 17 acres of land called Elkins in Wrytell should be sold by Anne and Joan his daughters and the proceeds divided between them.⁷ There is now no place in Writtle of this name, but a quarter of a mile north-east of Blackmore and just beyond the parish boundary of Writtle, we find Elkins Green, which owes its name to the predecessors of the Wheelers, for in 1477 William and John Wheler and

¹ For a similar surname which survives as a place-name, *cf.* Stour's Farm in Ashen (near the river Stour), which owes its name to Richard atte Sture (Latinized as Ricardus de Stura) in the reign of Edward I. *East Anglian N. & Q.*, vol. iii., pp. 222, 292-3, and vol. iv., p. 215.

² *P.R.O. Anc. Deed*, vol. vi., C 6538.

³ *Ibid.*, C 6559. In 1533-8 Henry Colyns and John Wheler were parties to a suit relating to a tenement called Pyncheons in Writtle "held of feoffees to the use of a certain gild" (*Early Chanc. Proc.*, vol. vi., p. 338). The name long survived in Pincheons field (*E.A.T.*, vol. ix., p. 292).

⁴ *V.C.H., Essex*, vol. ii., p. 94a.

⁵ *Pipe Rolls, Henry II.*, vol. xxvi., p. 149.

⁶ *cf.* Stock, formerly *Herewardstok*, 1268 *Charter Rolls*, vol. ii., p. 92.

⁷ *P.R.O. Anc. Deed*, vol. vi., C 6615.

William Illegh granted to William Tacley of Burstead, Anne his wife, and Joan, daughter of Henry Wheler, deceased, 7 acres of arable in Wrytell abutting on the high road to Blakemor, which they had by gift of John Little, $7\frac{1}{2}$ acres of land lying in three crofts in Wrytell, which they had by gift of John Elkin, 1 acre of land called Pakemannescroft and a garden abutting on Paryscroft and on a lane leading to the land called Elkennesforman, which they had by gift of Thomas Caleys of Abbesse Rothyng, John, son of William Bedill, and Thomas Hawken, deceased.¹

Several of these names occur again in 1462 in an indenture whereby William Wheler, John Bedell, Thomas Hawkyn smith, and others, conveyed to Henry Wheler, brother of the said William, John Munke, and others, a garden, two crofts, and a piece of pasture containing about 9 acres, lying in Writill between the land called Andrewes, a common called Highwode, *etc.*, which they had jointly with Thomas Hawkyn, smith, the elder, deceased.² We have now established the origin of the names Beadell's End³ and Hawkin Smiths Farm, the latter a curious compound of owner's name and occupation.

Our next deed, one of 1460, is important, for it not only proves conclusively that Thomas Hawkin was a smith but also shews that Elkin was a name adopted by a family previously called Adam, enables us to trace the family back another hundred years, and incidentally gives us ground for believing we have solved the origin of yet another name in the district. This deed is a conveyance by Thomas Caleys, late of Wretele, and now of Rothyng Abbesse,⁴ John, son of William Bedell, and Thomas Hawkyn of Wretele, smith, to Henry, William, and John Wheler and William Illegh, of a croft called Pakemannescroft in Wretele, between the land called Elkynnesformar, *etc.*, together with a way belonging to it and a

¹ *Ibid.*, C 6547.

² *Ibid.*, C 6556.

³ The family name occurs much earlier, for in 1288 William le Bedell, of Wrytele, and Agnes his wife held in villeinage land in Felsted (*Abbr. Plac.*, p. 218a). Is this the origin of Beddall's End in Braintree, which is only just outside Felsted? Curiously enough John Bedyll was one of the witnesses to livery of seisin named in an unpublished Bocking deed of 1448/9, in the possession of Mr. H. J. Cunningham, to whom I am indebted for the loan of a transcript. Is this the John, son of William Bedyll, mentioned several times above, between 1442 and 1477? This supposition seems to be confirmed by the fact that some time during the fourteenth or fifteenth century William Bedell was engaged in proceedings relating to lands and tenements in Godestre Writill, Rothyng, Margrete Rothyng, and Marney (*Early Chanc. Proc.*, vol. ii., p. 531). The unidentified Rothyng is probably Aythorpe Roding in which is situated Beadle's Green.

⁴ Is this the origin of Callis Wood, a narrow strip of woodland in Aythorpe Roding running along the High Easter boundary? It is mentioned as *Caleis* in the reign of Elizabeth (*Duc Lanc. Cal. Inq. p.m.*, vol. iii., p. 512) and is said to be in High Easter. It is some miles from Abbesse Roding, but Thomas Caleys may well have had land there as well as in Writtle and Blackmore. The name also occurs in field-names: Callis Caltes (High Roding), Callis field and mead (Aythorpe Roding), and Callous field and mead in High Easter (*E.A.T.*, vol. ix., p. 247).

tenement between the high road from Wretele to Blakemore, which croft and tenement they had by the gift of John Adam *alias* Elkyn.¹ In 1442 we have a grant by John Elkyn of Wretele to John and Henry Whelere of 7½ acres of land in Writtle, which fell to him at the death of Ellis Adam his father; and also a quitclaim to Thomas Elkyn of Blakemor, his son, of his right therein,² thus definitely connecting the Elkyngs with Blackmore as well as with Writtle. A year earlier "John Adam commonly called Elkyn" had granted to Thomas Caley, John, son of William Bedyll, William Chalk and Thomas Hawkyng the younger, the land mentioned above (in deed C 6547).³

Ellis Adam was apparently an important and long-lived personage whose name perhaps survives in Ellis Wood. Three deeds of his are preserved, one of 1359 when he grants 4 crofts and 15 acres of land in Wretele to his son John for life; one of 1368 by which he grants 4 crofts and 15 acres of arable to his three sons—John the elder, John the younger, and Roger: and another of 1386 in which he grants John his son one acre of land in a croft called Pake-mannescroft.⁴

This set of deeds, then, has established the origin of six place-names in the north-western corner of Writtle parish; has shown that some of these lands were formerly denoted by other owners' names that have disappeared; and has given us three descriptive names that have been replaced by those of owners.⁵

Another interesting group of farm-names is that connected with the Rolphs and the Beauchamps. In Fairstead, not far from White Notley, is Beauchamp's Farm, which is, no doubt, the land granted by Matilda, daughter of Stephen de Beauchamp, to Aline her sister.⁶ Three-quarters of a mile s.s.w. is Rolf's Farm, in Terling parish. Between 1515 and 1518 Winifred, grand-daughter and heir of Robert Rolff, was plaintiff, and Thomas Rolff defendant, in a suit relating to lands in Great and Little Waltham, Broomfield, Terling, Hatfield Peverel, and West Hanningfield.⁷ This suit is of importance, as it definitely connects the Rolfs with three parishes in or near which their name still survives. Another suit, a little later

¹ *P.R.O. Anc. Deed*, vol. vi., C 6467.

² *Ibid.*, C 6446.

³ *Ibid.*, C 6581. There is a Chalk Hill near Ellis Wood. Is this name due to the fact that the soil here is chalk, or was it originally (William) Chalk's Hill?

⁴ *P.R.O. Anc. Deed*, vol. vi., C 6592, 6413, 4339.

⁵ *Wedlands, Hale Croft, and Hokfeld*. The meaning of the first is obvious; *hale* means "corner, nook," and often "low-lying, level ground by the banks of a river." O.E. *hoh* means "a ridge or slope," and it is tempting to identify *Hokfeld* with the open country rising to a height of 285 feet west of the modern Hockley Shaw, the south-west corner of Writtlepark Wood.

⁶ *P.R.O. Anc. Deed*, vol. i., A 491, n.d.

⁷ *Early Chanc. Proc.*, vol. v., p. 150.

(1518-29), dealing with lands in the same parishes and in Wickford, is equally important, for from it we learn that the Rolfs and the Beauchamps had intermarried. The parties are described as Magdalen and Winifred, grand-daughters and heirs of Robert Rolfe, and John Rolfe, grandson of Margery Beauchampe. Thomas Rolfe, defendant in the first suit, was brother of Robert.¹

In Little Waltham the land of the Rolfs is still known as Rolphsbarn Farm. It is a quarter-of-a-mile from the Broomfield border and one mile south of Chatham Hall in Great Waltham. About three-quarters-of-a-mile south-east of the boundary of the parish of West Hanningfield is Ralph's Farm in East Hanningfield, which, no doubt, represents the Hanningfield possessions of the Rolfs and the Beauchamps. In 1475-85 Thomas Clopton and Anne his wife, daughter of Robert, son of William Beauchamp, were plaintiffs in a suit relating to a messuage in West Hanyfeld, late of William Beauchamp. The defendants were Thomas Rolfe and Johane his wife, sister of the said Anne, and John Rolfe, their son.² About the same time Thomas Rolff held the manor of Peverelles (now Little Peverels) in West Hanningfield.³

We saw above that these two families had possessions in Wickford. This is now represented by Belchamps and was the subject of a suit in 1431-42 between John Bechamp of Thundersley, Robert Bechamp his brother, and Alice, late wife of John Beawchampe.⁴ In 1341 John Beauchamp was one of five men assessed at Wikford for payment of a ninth.⁵ In 1240 William de Beauchamp was a party to a fine relating to land in Black Notley, Broomfield, and Chatham.⁶ William was clearly an ancestor of the Beauchamps we have been discussing for, although these parishes are not those in which the family names have survived, we have shewn that they are within a very short distance of the modern farm-houses.

In conclusion I would once more appeal for help in dealing with the deeds, *etc.*, that are known to be available, and would urge those who possess documents likely to be of value, and which they cannot deal with themselves, to allow them to be used for the purpose of this survey.

¹ *Ibid.*, vol. v., p. 488.

² *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 225.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 171.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 75.

⁵ *Inq. Non.*, p. 309. Another was John Soppere whose name survives in Sappers Farm. It is mentioned as *Sopers Lands* in the reign of Henry VIII. (*East Anglian N. & Q.*, vol. xi., p. 237), and appears as *Soppers* on Chapman & André's map and as *Suppers* on the 1805 Ordnance map. The ninth was found to be worth less than 20s. and so not worth collecting.

⁶ *Essex Fines*, vol. i., p. 127.

THE GOSHALMS OF EAST TILBURY.

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

A FAMILY of which the name is now long forgotten, but which succeeded in stamping that name on the map of Essex, is that of Godsalm or Gossalm, whose estates at Ingrave, East Tilbury, *etc.*, passed—in some way not as yet ascertained—to Sir Lewes John, the founder of an important family in the south of our county. For information on this subject we are largely dependent on a notable paper by the late Mr. Elliot on “Fitz Lewes of West Horndon and the brasses at Ingrave.”¹ His great knowledge of Essex heraldry enabled him to connect the two families by armorial evidence on one of the Ingrave brasses.² He did not trace the Goshalms at Ingrave further back than “the time of Edward II.,” evidently following, in this, Morant, who traced their connection with that manor to 1317, when “Richard Gossalin (*sic*) and Alice his wife” acquired its reversion by a fine (vol. i., p. 215). Our county’s historian also traced to the same Richard “Gossalyne” and Alice his wife a manor in “the villages of East and West Tilbury” (vol. i., p. 235). He observes that this “manor of Gossalyne or Gossalme” took its name from their family, and we duly find it as “Gossalme Hall” on Chapman & André’s great ‘Atlas’ of Essex, published in 1777. This was its ‘manor house,’ of which Morant states that it stood about three-quarters of a mile north-east³ of the church (of East Tilbury). Early in the year 1333 this Richard ‘Godsalm’ or ‘Goshalm’ was found by his *Inq. post mortem* to have died seised, jointly with Alice his wife, of the manor of Ingrave (‘Jynge Rauf’), leaving a son and heir of his own name, aged fifteen, and of a messuage and sundry lands in East and West Tilbury.⁴ Two years earlier he is similarly found holding ‘Gynge Rolf’ manor and advowson, as half a knight’s fee⁵ on the large and interesting fief of which Swanscombe in Kent was the head.⁶ In

¹ *E.A.T.* (N.S.), vol. vi., pp. 28-59.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 30, 40, 42, 45, 47.

³ It was, more exactly, east-north-east of the church.

⁴ *Cal. of Inq.*, vol. vii., p. 329 (No. 465).

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 231. It was held, at the time of the Domesday Survey, by Ralf, son of Turolf of Rochester.

⁶ See my Introduction to Domesday in *Vict. Hist. of Essex*, vol. i., p. 342.

one of our recently issued 'fines' relating to Essex a Robert 'Godsalm' and Maud his wife quitclaim to Sophia, daughter of Sewal 'de Thurrok,' a few acres in 'Hornedon' (*i.e.* Horndon on the hill¹), early in 1293.

The origin and even the right form of this family's surname seem to have remained unknown, and Morant observes that "the name of this family is written these different ways: Godsaline, Godsalf, Godsolm, Goshalm, Gosholme, Gossalin, Gossalyne, Goselyn, Gosselyne" (vol. i., p. 215 *note*).

I was fortunate enough, in 1903, to find, in a most unexpected quarter, an Essex deed² which solves the puzzle. In the great collection of muniments preserved at Berkeley castle and calendared by Mr. Isaac Jeayes—then of the Department of MSS., British Museum, and now a member of our Society—a grant from Geoffrey de Helyun, probably of White-hall, in Little Burstead, to the poor's hospital of St. Mary in Tilbury³ of a rent-charge of 8s. from Aveley, which is of special value for the names of the witnesses, who were mostly holders of land in the neighbourhood.⁴ Henry de Kemesec may have been identical with the man of that name, whose widow had admeasurement of her dower in (East) Tilbury, *etc.*, in 1239-1240.⁵ He was lord of the manor of East Tilbury. "Aulf de Malegrave," as Mr. Jeayes reads the name, was of the family that gave name to 'Malgraves' or 'Malgreffes' in Horndon on the hill⁶ under the Counts of Boulogne. His name seems to be the same as that which is found in the suffix of Boughton Alulf. The next witness is "William de Thorend" (*sic*), that is to say, 'Thorendone,' probably the name which is now corrupted into (East or West) Horndon.⁷ William 'Torell,' the next witness, held the manor of Torell's Hall, in Little Thurrock, by 'Napery' service.⁸ Richard 'de Berdestapel' was, obviously, of Barstable Hall (in Basildon), which gave name to the Hundred.⁹ The next name is that of John 'de Langedun,' who is found dealing with land in Langdon—now,

¹ *Essex Fines*, vol. ii., p. 77 (No. 558). This is as yet unindexed.

² See *E.A.T.*, vol. ix., pp. 102-104.

³ See my paper on this foundation in *E.A.T.*, vol. ix., p. 103, and Mr. Fowler's account of it in *Vict. Hist. of Essex*, vol. ii., p. 191.

⁴ *op. cit.* No. 213, p. 72.

⁵ *Essex Fines*, vol. i., pp. 136-7. This occurrence of Henry is omitted in the index.

⁶ Morant's *Essex*, vol. i., p. 218. As Arnulf, Alulf, Alured, or 'Alof' Malegreffe, he occurs in the *Red Book of the Exchequer*, pp. 174, 501, 579, apparently in John's reign.

⁷ See my introduction to the Essex of Domesday in *Vict. Hist.*, vol. i., p. 400, and Morant (vol. i., p. 211).

⁸ There has recently appeared in the *Times* a very interesting plan of the great projected industrial town in the Thurrocks.

⁹ Morant, vol. i., pp. 248-9.

by corruption, Laindon Hills—in 1203, 1238-9, 1241-2.¹ John, “son of Pagan,” a witness who is named just before him, is the ‘John Fitz Payne’ who occurs with him in the ‘fine’ of 1203 relating to Langdon.

It will have been seen that the names of the witnesses to this document are fairly in accord with the date assigned to it by Mr. Jeayes, namely “early Henry III.,” although, I think, it may possibly be as early as the reign of John (1199-1216). Of the date to which the hospital was founded we only know that it cannot be later than 1213.

I now come to the point of this paper, namely, the occurrence, as a witness, of a “Godselm de Tillebury” in this early deed. We have here, I venture to say, the founder of this Goshalm family. Once again, the value of our early ‘fines’ is illustrated, for in the month of November, 1227, a Godsalm son of Turbern was a party to a ‘fine,’ at Chelmsford, relating to land in West Tilbury.² Moreover, even so early as 1212, a “Joceaume” son of Turbert, is party to a fine concerning land in Tilbury,³ which I have already cited, because the other party, Clement, son of Tuold, is also a witness to our deed. His name occurs last but one, and he is also found as party to a fine of 1201,⁴ which again relates to Tilbury. The other party thereto, Simon de Pateshill, is also mentioned in the fine of 1212 that I have just cited. So also is Stephen de Toulouse, of East Tilbury, who was son of Ralf and father of Emma de Toulouse.⁵ These names are useful as indications of date: they prove that Godsalm (or ‘Joceaume’), son of Turbern (or Turbert), *alias* Godsalm (or Godselm), of Tilbury, was living in 1201, 1212, and 1227. We may further learn from the true form of the name Godsalm how much depends on the right reading of ‘minims.’ It is easy to mistake ‘m’ for ‘in’ in mediæval MSS., and thus to misread ‘Godsalm’ as ‘Godsalin.’

Lastly, I would express the regret we must all feel that our late zealous Treasurer, Mr. W. C. Waller, to whose initiative we owe the printing of our county’s ‘fines,’ was not spared to see the fruits of his labours in the great additions they have made to our knowledge of its local history.

¹ *Essex Fines*, vol. i., pp. 33, 122, 142. See also Morant, vol. i., pp. 246-7, and my paper on ‘The advowson of Langdon’ (*E.A.T.*, vol. xvi., p. 137).

² He reigned from 1216 to 1272.

³ *Essex Fines*, vol. i., p. 82.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 46.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 23. His father is there styled ‘Thorold.’

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 22, 23, 46.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES.

Beryfield.—Dr. Round's note on Beryfield draws attention to one of the most interesting and difficult sites in Colchester, and prompts me to add some further facts bearing on its early history.

First, however, let me draw attention to one inaccuracy in his description, where he says that a strip on the eastern side of the field is "planted with trees now of considerable height."¹ Those trees have been removed for over two years—the "Wilderness" has given place to a "cabbage patch."

Then with regard to the pavements in this area. I should like to point out that the suggested correlation of the one discovered by Dr. Wegg, of "star-like form," with that found by Mr. Round, is more than unlikely, for the latter as exemplified by the remaining portions now built into the wall separating the Minories from East Hill House, and to my knowledge, when first exposed, shows neither a "star-like form" nor a large intermixture of white tesserae.

In the description of "Roman Colchester," by Dr. R. E. M. Wheeler and myself, published in the *Journal for Roman Studies* (1919), a list of three pavements is recorded for the grounds of East Hill House: these are numbered 42, 43 and 44.² I admit there is an inaccuracy in stating that No. 42 is 80 yards south of the house; it should be 50 feet. I am informed some evidence of this pavement remains to this day.

It is unfortunate that the locations of early finds were not accurately determined with regard to some permanent or well-known object, such as the town wall; much trouble would have been saved by so doing. The best solution that appears to me is the correlation of the Wegg pavement with No. 43, as in our list. The Round pavement, No. 44, lies to the south-west of No. 43. Since that paper was printed I have acquired a copy of Morant, formerly the property of Wire, and containing many insertions and notes by him, and one of these show a further pavement at the south-west of the field close to the town wall, which we may call 44a.

¹ *E.A.T.*, vol. xvii., p. 38.

² The pavement in Peter Creffield's garden is No. 73 in our list.

To these last must be added the fine zoomorphic pavement found last year and now in the Colchester Museum, of which the middle was 320 feet from the town wall on the east, and 250 feet from the same on the south, these distances being taken at right angles to the run of the wall. This we may call 44*b*. A further find made during this week (31 January, 1924) adds yet another fragment, of plain red tesserae, lying immediately in front of (*i.e.* to the east) the arbour or summer-house on the terrace. This is at a depth of 6 feet 6 inches from the surface, extends for 7 feet eastward, and is underlain by a floor foundation of an earlier building. This we may call 44*c*.

For leave to make this digging I am under a debt to G. C. Bensusan-Butt, esq.

I have the following entries relating to this field¹:—

1374-5. Henry de Cogeshale for making an earth wall opposite le Bery, thus taking soil of the commonalty.

1376. The tenants of le Bery for having an earth wall on the soil of the commonalty.

1374. Geoffrey Dawe² for keeping land called le Bern several and for having a wall standing on the common ground.

1381-3. Geoffrey Dawe for appropriating to himself le Berifeld near Abbehalwich³ as several.

1382-3. Geoffrey Dawe for having a wall near Berigarden opposite Roger Kirketon's tenement.

1385-6. Geoffrey Dawe for holding le Bery several and it used to be common.

1424-5. Thomas Merssh for having habitually enclosed le Beryfeld, *etc.*⁴

The last but two of these entries is of considerable interest, for in Roll xxiii., 7-8 Rich. II. (1383-4), M. 26, is recorded the probate of the will of Roger Kyrketon, dated Monday after the feast of St. Nicholas, 1383, where he leaves marriage portions of 40*l.* each to his daughters, Ann and Christina, and to the child with which his wife is now pregnant, 20*l.*; other legacies are to his wife Joan and Robert his son, and mentions as feoffees of his manor of Tendryng Master John de Donewich and Roger Wolfreston. Morant does not mention Roger. In his description of the Tendring manors, under that of Old Hall, he records an Oger de Curton (Hen. II. and John) held two parts of a knight's fee in Tendring of the Honor of Boulogne. His next entry is "Sir Andrew le Blund, by deed without date, gave his manor of Tendring and the advowson of the church to his daughter and heir."

¹ Jeayes' translations of the Borough Court Rolls. These Rolls begin 47-8 Ed. III.

² Geoffrey Dawe, bailiff and M.P., 1378. Apparently came from Alresford, as one of that name from Alresford was admitted as a burgess in 1346. Gave land for the repair of Hythe street. *R.P.B.*, p. 46.

³ Allhallows church.

⁴ See *Essex Standard*, 31 March, 1923.

The date of the entry of the Blund family is shown in the *Feet of Fines* as 1235-6,¹ where Simon Blund, pl., and Eustace de Curton, imp., conclude a fine embracing one knight's fee and the advowson of the church.

In the *Feet of Fines* will be found several entries of the Curton family of Tendring, ranging from 1195-6 to 1235-6.²

In Newcourt the first patron of Tendring recorded is John de Sutton, 1327.

There is a Kirton wood in Berechurch, on the Borough boundary, just west of Layer mill.

In the *Red Paper Book*³ John de Kirketon appears in the company of Robert de Marny, knight, Robert de Teye, and others, as witnesses to an agreement "between Lord John de —⁴ and the Bailiffe of Colchester concerning a piece of ground called 'le Wodesende' at Eldeheth, the said land is between the land of the said John wherein is the ancient hill of a mill extending to the king's highway to the bank of the Hythe on the west and north sides," *etc.*⁵ The date of this is 15 Ed. III. (1341).

The importance of this entry when added to the other evidences connected with this site will be seen in the final suggestion with which these notes conclude.

Another entry⁶ of great interest is that which refers to the Dovecote which gave the name to Culver street, at the eastern end of which it stood.

In 1384-5 Thos. Joye, of Colchester, left by will "his tenement in Eststrate situate between Richard Parrok's tenement and 'le Duffhoushawe' with five rents 'de novo constructos sub uno cumulo' in Eststrat situate between the tenement lately Simon Strutyns now Abbot of St. John's, and J. Knight's tenement, with reversion to his son John," *etc.*

This carries us a step further, for there can be no doubt now as to the location of "le Duffhous," but there is still the doubt as to where Estrate began and Frere Strete⁷ ended, for apparently up to this date Estrate began at the corner of the present Queen street and it is not till 1385 that I find the name Frere street. Of the

¹ Vol. i., pp. 114, 523.

² *ibid.*, pp. 9 (2), 49 (4), 63 (102), 96 (330), 114 (523).

³ *Benham's print*, p. 77.

⁴ Name, unfortunately, either illegible or omitted. It apparently should be "Clinton

⁵ See Round, "Haymesocne," *E.A.T.*, vol. xv., p. 78.

⁶ Jeayes' Court Rolls, R. xxiv., 8-9 Ric. II. (1384-5), M. 41.

⁷ Grey Friars, founded before 1279. *V.C.H.*

actual date of erection of the cote I can find no record, but Colver-
aslane appears in the Oath Book¹ in 1334-5.

Who built "le Duffhous"? Was it a member of the Curton family, men of substance as we find, or the bailiffs? I know of but one instance of a town dove-cote,² perchance more exist? I think we must rule both these suggestions out.

Then when and how did the bailiffs acquire the right they contended lay in them over the Beryfield? for I can find in the town rental, as fully entered in the Oath Book³ for the years 1387-8 and subsequently, no entry relating to property immediately adjacent to Beryfield.

Did the Beryfield in early times reach to East or Friar street on the north, and Queen or Southgate street on the west? it almost certainly included the "Duffhous." In the Morant MSS. is an entry: "pro terris in le Bery de Haynsokne."⁴ Does this enlarge our knowledge and explain why a small area⁵ within the town walls should be called "le Bery"? and did the lords of Lt. Wigborough build "le Duffhous"? Was this the head of the early soke?

PHILIP LAVER.

Blacham.—How large an area in times past went under this name I do not know, but Blachamstrete was called until recently Blacham row, and is that part of Wickham Bishops parish adjacent to Gt. Totham, west of Broom hill. On the one-inch O.S. map the "op" of Wickham Bishops almost covers the locality. I have seen it recorded on a copy of a map of 1718.

P. L.

Broomfield Church.—The appropriation of this church to the priory of Holy Trinity, London, has been recorded by Newcourt, and the details of the ordination of the vicarage given by Morant⁶; both writers quoting from transcripts in bishop Stokesley's register. A number of original deeds relating to its history are preserved among the Ancient Deeds at the Public Record Office, and these seem worth noting as illustrating the procedure.

¹ *Benham's print*, p. 48.

² Markham's *Northampton*, 1898, vol. ii., p. 154. Doorhouse close, half-an-acre, with a dove-house in it, and an elm tree, tenant Henry Bayley, rent 8s. Temp. Eliz.

³ *Benham's print*, pp. 208-11.

⁴ 21 Hen. VII.

⁵ Compared with the Borough fields without the town walls, and not to be confused with them. See Round, *Essex Standard*, 24 Feb., 1923.

⁶ *Essex*, vol. ii., p. 78.

Walter de Mandavilla granted the church to the priory¹; Robert, bishop of London [1141-51], confirmed the grant²; and the canons were inducted by Richard, archdeacon of Essex, in a chapter at Baddow after the death of the bishop³; from which it seems that the grant was made in 1151 or not long before. Walter's successor, Ranulf de Mandeville, confirmed it by charters⁴ in the times of B(aldwin), archbishop of Canterbury [1184-90], and Gilbert, bishop of London [1163-88]; Walter's widow Mirabilis released all right by a fine in 1191,⁵ and John de Mandeville by a fine in 1262. Bishop Richard [1189-98] ordered that the canons should have 5 marks yearly at the hands of the vicar, and stated that he had inspected instruments of bishops Robert and Gilbert and charters of Walter and Ranulph.⁶ Bishop William also confirmed the grant in 1214, ordering that the canons should have 100s. yearly.⁷ Bishop Roger [1229-41] instituted Master Walter Niger and Master Walter de London to the church at the presentation of the prior and convent.⁸

Later in the century the canons appear to have realised that they were not getting the most they could out of the church and to have complained to bishop Richard Gravesend, for on 8 December, 1288, he ordered the dean of Chelmsford to enquire whether they possessed it.⁹ The dean replied on 18 December that he had made inquiry by various clergy and laity, including Roger, rector of Great Leighs, Thomas, rector of Little Waltham, William, rector of Springfield, Ralph, rector of Chikehale Tany, William, vicar of Little Waltham, and Geoffrey, vicar of Little Baddow, and found that the prior and canons were lawfully inducted and possessed it for fifty years and more, although afterwards by their simplicity they fell from possession by presenting sometimes to it.¹⁰ The next step was an inquiry¹¹ into the value of the church made on Wednesday (12 January) before St. Hilary, 1288-9, by Master J. de Selvestone, official of London; in which several of the clergy already named appear again, and also William, rector of Chygenhale Soyn, and Stephen, rector of [Chignal] Smytheley. Then came a delay of several months until the bishop on 7 November, 1289, commissioned Selvestone to examine the business of the appropriation and to make proper ordinance; and the latter on 15 June, 1290, formally decided¹² in favour of the appropriation of the church at the next vacancy,

¹ P.R.O., Anc. Deed A. 15659.

² A. 15660.

³ A. 15661.

⁴ A. 15664, 6942.

⁵ A. 6943, 6944.

⁶ A. 15662.

⁷ A. 15665.

⁸ A. 15666-7.

⁹ A. 15671.

¹⁰ A. 15669.

¹¹ A. 15670.

¹² A. 15672.

reserving to the bishop the nomination to the vicarage; which was confirmed by the bishop on 26 July, 1291,¹ and by the dean and chapter of St. Paul's on 31 December, 1291.² In the meantime on 8 July, 1291, Selvestone made the ordination³ of the vicarage as given by Morant.

Even now the proceedings were not complete. The bishop on 14 May, 1292, appropriated⁴ the church to the priory when it should be vacant by the departure of Sir Walter de Wydihull, then rector, without mention of nomination; and this was confirmed by the dean and chapter on 27 May.⁵ On 8 November, 1294, the church was vacant by the resignation of this rector, and the bishop granted it to the priory.⁶ Still nearly a year elapsed until on 28 October, 1295, he ordered the dean of Chelmsford to induct the prior, which was done next day.⁷ Finally, on 9 May, 1303, after making fine to the king, the prior and convent received letters patent of pardon for having appropriated the church without his licence.⁸

R. C. FOWLER.

Rouncefall in Ashingdon.—This lies about half-a-mile south-west of Ashingdon church, between two parts of Hawkwell parish. The name, which has puzzled many people, is interesting because of its foreign origin.

William Marshal, earl of Pembroke, founder of the hospital of St. Mary, Roncesvalles, by Charing Cross, granted to it a carucate of land in Ashingdon; and in the Taxation of 1291 it is recorded as owning temporalities in Ashingdon and Hawkwell, apparently the property now known as Rouncefall.

The hospital took its name from the priory of St. Mary, Roncesvalles, in the Pyrenees, to which it was a cell. The pass of Roncesvalles is celebrated as the scene of the ambush in the evening of 15 August, 778, in which the rearguard of Charlemagne's army under Roland was completely destroyed by the Basques, and which afterwards inspired one of the most famous poems of the world, the 'Chanson de Roland.'

R. C. F.

Wood Carvings at Laindon and Basildon (*Trans.*, vol. xvi., p. 277).—Mr. Biddell's description of these carvings seemed to me unsatisfactory, and feeling that his interpretations were, to say the least, open to question, I ventured to submit a copy of his paper

¹ A. 15675.

⁵ A. 15680.

² A. 15676.

⁶ A. 15681.

³ A. A. 15678.

⁷ A. 15682.

⁴ A. 15677, 15679.

to my friend, Mr. G. C. Druce, F.S.A., the well-known authority on medieval Bestiaries. Mr. Druce has kindly given the matter his attention, and the following remarks occur in a letter which I have received from him:—

The carvings are certainly by the same hand, and I think must have originally been in the *same porch*.

Laindon: While the left figure is a "dragon" form, there is nothing to indicate which of the serpents it represents. It may be a crocodile—there are some 25 creatures illustrated in the *Bestiary* in dragon form for the carvers to choose from. The author *assumes* the right figure to be a salamander shooting forth flames at its adversary. The 'flames' is a spray of foliage set in the creature's mouth, to balance the opposite spandrel. The salamander is nearly always in dragon form in the MSS., rarely or never as a lizard as far as my knowledge goes. It symbolises the three Jews in the furnace, and I see no ground for supposing it to stand for spiritual man contending with Satan. I cannot say what the creature is, though it happens to resemble the figure of the scorpion in the Westminster Bestiary. The cross would suggest the Agnus Dei, and I should like a close examination made to see if the other forefoot is visible and supporting it. The creature doesn't look like a lamb.

Basildon: If the left figure is muzzled, I think it must be a bear; it could not be a boar. Nor is the device in the spandrel a sword; surely it is a conventional flower spray. Perhaps the gap in the tree is a scrap lost. I do not see how the boar can represent man. It is a ferocious beast, as the author says, and in the Bestiary signified Vespasian and Titus, who as the "boar out of the wood" ravaged and exterminated whole peoples in a cruel way. I don't quite see why the bear chained to a tree need necessarily everywhere represent the Warwick badge. The right figure is another dragon, the carver having copied one of a different style.

If I might suggest an explanation of *Laindon* it would be the crocodile facing the hydrus or ichneumon. This would bring them into relation; the legend is laid out in my paper on the crocodile in *Arch. Journal* (vol. 66, p. 311). Over eastern counties' doorways the savage man and dragon appear in similar relation. I should like to see that "bear." The illustrations look good, but I prefer the original. There is no relationship that I know of between the bear and dragon.

G. MONTAGU BENTON.

The Ancient Bridges of Essex.—Recently I received a circular letter from Mr. A. R. Powys, secretary of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, with reference to the danger of alteration or demolition with which many of the ancient bridges in this country are threatened. Attention is therein drawn to the importance of placing on record particulars of all the old bridges in Essex, in order that either the S.P.A.B., or our Society, may be in a position to supply the Ministry of Transport with information when an old bridge is menaced. And at the present time, when the relief of unemployment often takes the form of alteration to our roads, this is likely to occur at any moment. That the Minister of

Transport welcomes the assistance of Societies interested in the preservation of historic buildings, and, when occasion arises, is disposed to consider individual cases carefully and sympathetically, was clearly shown by his recent utterance regarding the proposed alteration to Clopton bridge, Stratford-on-Avon.

Bridges in Essex of a date prior to 1714 are, of course, scheduled in the inventories of the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments; they only number seven, and, as none of them is subjected to heavy traffic, are in no immediate danger. But the fate of later bridges is less certain. Robert Adam's beautiful stone bridge at Audley End, on the road leading to Saffron Walden, although built as late as 1771, certainly deserves consideration; and there are probably other eighteenth century bridges in the county of a later date than 1714, with equal claims. Of these we have no concise list. With a view therefore to compiling a complete record of these later bridges, I should be grateful if members would send me photographs and particulars of any bridge in the county that they deem worthy of preservation. Practical statistics as to traffic, width of road between parapets, recent accidents, *etc.*, would also be of the utmost value. In addition, it would be helpful to know, when the traffic is heavy, whether it might not be possible to construct a new bridge at a short distance from the old structure, and retain the latter for foot passengers only.

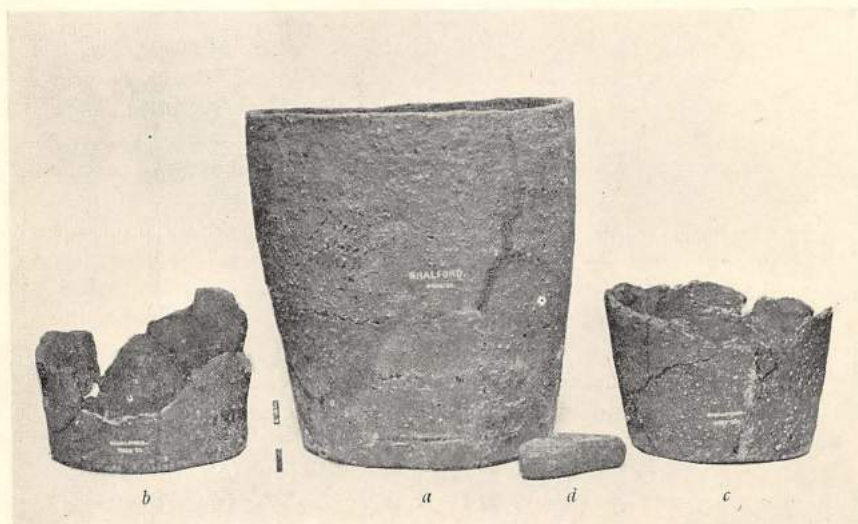
G. MONTAGU BENTON.

Late Bronze and Early Iron Age Pottery discovered at Shalford.

—In June, 1922, our member Mr. Sydney Hiscock, at that time the school-master of Shalford, near Braintree, discovered seven cinerary urns of the late Bronze Age in a gravel pit situated in the east corner of a field called Little Annis, in the parish of Shalford (O.S. 6-inch, Essex, xxiv., N.E.—second field west of 'F.P.' above Yorney wood). He was led to the discovery by noticing, in a section of the gravel, a depression of soil that showed slight but unmistakable traces of black earth; no barrow marked the spot, although there is a mound near-by, about 4 feet high, which has not yet been disturbed. The urns were arranged fairly close together, in two rows running east and west, about 4 feet below the surface, and were inverted over calcined human bones. Six of the vessels were badly broken on removal, but the largest one (fig. 1a) practically escaped the workman's pick, and has since been carefully restored by the experienced hands of Mr. A. G. Wright, and is now complete. Its dimensions are: height $15\frac{1}{4}$ inches, diameter at mouth $14\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and at base 11 inches. It is made

of a coarse gritty paste, baked to a pale red, with dark patches below rim, and is of 'bucket' shape. The ornamentation is slight and somewhat unusual, being confined to two or three small groups of finger-nail impressions.

It was also found possible to reconstruct the lower portion of two similar, but smaller urns (fig. 1—*b, c*); they are quite plain, and the diameters at base measure respectively $7\frac{3}{4}$ and $8\frac{1}{4}$ inches.



Photograph by Mr. A. G. Wright.

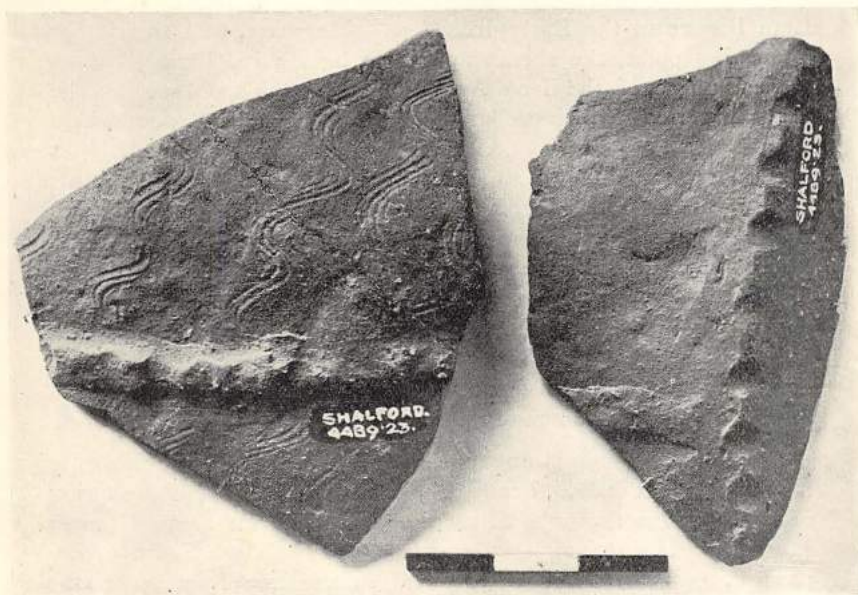
FIG. 1.—CINERARY URNS AND HAMMER (?) STONE FROM SHALFORD.

The remaining vessels unfortunately were broken beyond repair; the fragments show that one was decorated with finger-tip impressions on the flat rim, while another has a raised zone similarly ornamented.

Cremation was introduced early in the Bronze Age, but the dead were not regularly cremated in Britain until the latter part of that era; and it is to the end of this period that these urns are ascribed. According to Lord Abercromby's chronological table (*Bronze Age Pottery*, vol. ii., p. 107) they date from 650 B.C. to 400 B.C. and later, and belong to his type 4.

A piece of sandstone (fig. 1*d*) of roughly triangular shape, with smoothed and slightly polished surfaces, was also found, but apart from the urns, though in the same area. Its length is $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches, and thickness $1\frac{1}{8}$ inches. The apex is broken off, the two basal ends are considerably blunted, and the base is slightly concave. If not a hammer or rubber stone, its use is difficult to determine.

When the above pottery first came under my notice there were associated with it three sherds (fig. 2) which at once caught my attention, and on enquiry I learned that they had come from another site. They were found together, about 2 feet below the surface, in King's Croft gravel pit, near Jasper's green, situated half-a-mile, or less, east of the pit where the urns were discovered. Mr. Hiscock kept the spot under observation, but no other fragments came to light, nor were traces of dark soil noticed, and he therefore concluded that they had been thrown there in their present condition. The largest sherd only measures $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches by $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches, and though it



Photograph by T. C. Gall.

FIG. 2.—FRAGMENTS OF POTTERY FROM SHALFORD.

is evident that the vessel to which the three pieces belonged had a sub-carinated contour, it is not possible to reconstruct the entire profile. The ware, which is hand-made, is rather coarse and thin, and fairly well baked; it has a grey core, and its surface varies in colour from a dull brown to an almost brick red. The shoulder of the carinated fragment is emphasized by a row of finger-tip impressions, and a vertical strap on this and the largest fragment, which is decorated with wavy lines, has similar markings. Lord Abercromby in his *Bronze Age Pottery* (vol. ii., pls. lxxxvi.-lxxxviii.) figures various vessels with similar ornamentation, and these he

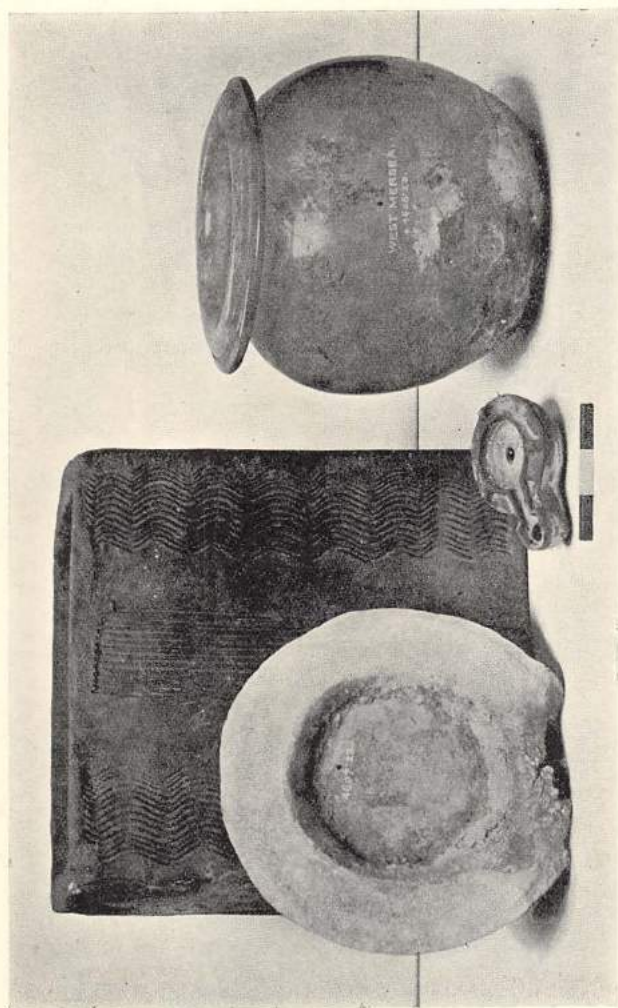
attributes to the end of the Bronze Age. The four centuries immediately preceding the Roman conquest, however, is still a perplexing period in British archæology; but recent discoveries have thrown a good deal of light on the problem, and it is quite possible that accumulative evidence will eventually prove that certain types of pottery hitherto regarded as belonging to the late Bronze Age really represent an age when iron was in use in this country. That these potsherds should have been found in the vicinity of the burial urns is not without significance, since the finger-tip ornament indicates that the two finds are not far removed from one another in date; both would seem to represent a period of transition from the Late Bronze to the Early Iron Age. Moreover, and this is the interesting point, the sherds appear to belong indubitably to the earliest phase of the Iron Age—known on the continent as the Hallstat period—which probably extended in Britain to somewhere about 400 B.C. At present All Cannings Cross farm, about six miles east of Devizes, is the most important Early Iron Age site in this country, and it affords decisive evidence that the Hallstat culture has a definite place in our archæology. Mrs. M. E. Cunnington recently published a noteworthy volume (*The Early Iron Age Inhabited Site at All Cannings Cross Farm, Wiltshire*. Devizes, 1923) on the excavations and objects found there, and the pottery finds, which are admirably illustrated, set a standard of comparison of the greatest value. The close resemblance between the sherd depicted on pl. 48a, fig. 2, and one of the Shalford fragments is remarkable.

A debt of gratitude is due to Mr. Hiscock. Having incidentally heard of the above find, I called on him at Shalford late in the spring of last year, in the hope of securing the spoil for the Colchester Museum. He not only generously and promptly acceded to my request, but also supplied detailed information relating to the discovery. The objects are now on permanent exhibition at the Museum. I am indebted to Mr. A. G. Wright, the Curator, for the excellent photographs here reproduced, and also for the loan of the blocks.

G. M. B.

Roman Burial Group discovered at West Mersea.—

During the summer of 1923, in the course of digging for the foundations of a house that is being built for our member, Mr. Norman H. Bacon, at West Mersea, a burial group of the Roman period, dating probably from the end of the first century A.D., was discovered. The tomb was about 57 feet west of the well-known foundations of the Roman circular building, which is situated in the garden surrounding Mr. Bacon's house, and about 18 inches below



ROMAN BURIAL GROUP FROM WEST MERSEA.

the surface. A globular bowl (height $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches; diameter of mouth $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches, of body $8\frac{3}{16}$ inches, of base $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches) of pale green glass, with a rather wide mouth, having a slightly curved flanged rim beaded at the edge, contained cremated remains, which, judging from the teeth, are those of an infant about a year old. The bowl had a circular cover (diameter $8\frac{1}{8}$ inches), roughly fashioned from a thin sheet of lead, with wide curved rim, and shallow depression in centre (diameter 5 inches); an impression of the linen in which the bowl was originally enveloped is clearly visible on the rim. The burial was placed in a large square box-tile (height $11\frac{1}{4}$ inches), ornamented on one face with three broad vertical combings, one of straight, and two of wavy lines; and on the opposite face with a roughly-executed lattice pattern. On a flat tile above was set a lamp protected by another tile. The lamp (length 4 inches) is of red pottery, and of the usual pear shape; it is plain save for three small protuberances on the rim—a motive derived from the chain loops of bronze hanging lamps; the name of the maker, in the genitive—IEGIDI—is stamped in relief on the bottom. This maker, apparently, is new to Britain, but a number of lamps by him have been found, mostly in Gaul and Italy—at Bordeaux, Augst, near Basel, Port-sur-Saône, Verona, Rome, *etc.*¹ The whole was enclosed in a square tile-tomb, surrounded by a circular mass of broken tile embedded in red mortar, about 3 feet in diameter. The tiles were flat, of coarse red pottery, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick, and when complete measured 16 inches by $11\frac{1}{4}$ inches; two fragments bore the impress of animals' feet, and these have been preserved with a few other tiles. Some difficulty has been experienced in obtaining exact information as to the construction of the tomb, and I have to thank the builder's foreman, Mr. Geeves, and Capt. H. E. Laver, for help in this connection. It was built up as follows: tiles placed on end were used for the walls of the grave; in the middle of the tiled floor stood the box-tile and its contents, and surrounding it were other tiles on end, forming as it were an inner grave; the cavities between the two walls were filled in with tile fragments. There was an empty space between the mouth of the box-tile, and the flat tile cover of the inner grave; this cover extended to the outer walls. The main tomb also had a flat cover; and it was in the compartment between these two covers that the lamp was found.

Since the above was written Miss M. V. Taylor, M.A., of Oxford, has kindly sent me a note on the lamp in which she suggests that

¹ *Corpus Inscr. Lat.*, xlii., 10001, 161; xv., 6488.

the burial probably dates from somewhere about the second quarter of the second century. Although this is of course possible, the evidence which she adduces can hardly be considered conclusive, especially when it is compared with evidence already given by Mr. Wright in the account of a similar burial group discovered under the Great Barrow at West Mersea in 1912 (*Trans. E.A.S.*, n.s., vol. xiii., p. 130).

Anxiety with regard to the preservation of these interesting relics led me to approach Mr. Bacon on the matter, and he has generously responded to the suggestion that the Colchester Museum would be a fitting home for them. They are now on permanent exhibition in the Roman gallery.

The illustration is from a photograph by Mr. A. G. Wright, to whom the Society is also indebted for the loan of the block.

G. M. B.

Roman Altar discovered at Colchester.—Various objects of the Roman period have recently been discovered on the site of the extension to the Essex County Hospital, Colchester, the most notable find being a small household altar of stone, about $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches in height. It is of square section, and has a circular focus bordered on two sides by a heavy torus; except for simple mouldings it is quite plain, with no trace of an inscription. This relic fills a gap in the collection of Roman antiquities at the Colchester Museum, to which it has been presented by the Hospital Committee. The illustration is from a photograph by Mr. A. G. Wright, and it is printed from a block kindly lent by the proprietors of *The Essex County Standard*.

G. M. B.

Essex Trade Tokens of the Seventeenth Century.—The following tokens are, I believe, unpublished, as I failed to find them in Mr. Gilbert's lists printed in the Society's *Transactions* (n.s.), vols. xiii. and xiv.

GREAT OAKLEY.

O.:—EDWARD . BRICE — A lion rampant.

R.:—OF . GREATE . OAKLEY — E. B., a rose between. Stops, lozenges; mint mark, a mullet. $\frac{1}{4}$

WITTHAM.

O.:—THOMAS . BARKER — T. M. B. Three large pellets in field.

R.:—IN . WITTHAM — T. B. A large pellet below. Stops, large pellets, four after Wittham; mint mark, an acorn; thick flan. $\frac{1}{4}$



ROMAN HOUSEHOLD ALTAR DISCOVERED
AT COLCHESTER.



PAYCOCKE'S, COGGESHALL.



PAYCOCKE'S: THE PANELLED ROOM.

An octagonal form of the halfpenny token of Gabriel Brewer in Westham is not recorded by Mr. Gilbert; one is in the Museum collection, on which West Ham is divided by a stop.

Mr. Gilbert records "an incomplete description given by Boyne to Golding" of a token of Richard Britten of Barking. The one in the Museum collection was given to the Essex Archæological Society by the late Mr. W. H. King. It is in a fine state and reads:—

O.:—RICHARD . BRITTEN OF — A man making candles.

R.:—BARKINGE . IN . ESSEX — A shield of arms: *barry wavy (?)*, on a bend a lion passant gardant. Stops, pellets. No stop between Britten and Of. Four pellets lozenge-wise after Essex; mint mark, a cinquefoil.

A. G. WRIGHT.

Paycocke's House, Coggeshall.—This beautiful house has been presented by the Right Hon. Noel Buxton, M.P., to the National Trust. It has often been described, and is probably well known to most members, who will appreciate such generous gifts as this and the next. The illustrations are from blocks kindly lent by Mr. Beaumont.

St. Giles' Hospital, Maldon.—The remains of the old hospital suffered severely in a fire a few years ago; but they have now been presented to the borough by Mr. R. E. Thomas, of Beeleigh Abbey, and it is hoped that it may be possible to secure them against further deterioration.

PUBLICATIONS.

Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England).

An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Essex.

Vol. iv. (South-East), xlviii. + 317 pp. (London: H.M. Stationery Office), £1 5s. net.

THIS final volume covers the hundred of Rochford, most of the hundreds of Dengey, Barstable and Chafford, part of the hundred of Chelmsford, and the parish of Hornchurch. 658 monuments in 104 parishes are described, giving an average of 6.3 per parish, which is considerably less than that for the other parts of the county; although this district contains such monuments of outstanding interest as the Roman fort and St. Peter's chapel at Bradwell-on-Sea and Hadleigh castle. The monuments scheduled for preservation also include Belhus, Rochford Hall, Little Warley Hall, Porters in Prittlewell, Flemings in Runwell, and 21 parish churches. Several churches have been destroyed or rebuilt, but those remaining, though mostly of small size, are not lacking in interest; the proportion of thirteenth century work being greater than in other parts of the county, and that of the fourteenth century meagre. They contain 35 pre-Reformation bells and eight fourteenth century brasses.

The volume maintains the high standard of excellence of the earlier three, and contains in addition some articles of general survey of the county. Dr. R. E. M. Wheeler writes on the Prehistoric and Roman periods, Mr. W. Page on the Anglo-Saxon and Danish, and Mr. A. W. Clapham on architecture. Mr. E. E. Dorling gives an armorial of more than two hundred coats-of-arms earlier than 1550, and Mr. J. W. Bloë sketches of masons' marks and mouldings. The general index refers to all the four volumes, and some addenda and corrigenda remind us that fresh discoveries may be made anywhere and at any time.

An Essex Dialect Dictionary.

By Rev. E. GEPP.

Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 198 pp. (London: Routledge), ros. 6d. net.

THE appearance, after three-and-a-half years, of this second edition and its growth to more than twice the size of the first form a high tribute to the energy of Mr. Gepp and the interest which he has aroused in his readers. He now gives 112 pages to the dictionary, 22 to grammar, 6 to phonology, and 13 to miscellaneous observations; quotes an appreciation by Professor Wilhelm Horn of Giessen; and adds six appendices, one of which deals with rustic humour, another with words from Suffolk, Norfolk and Cambridgeshire, and a third with Essex speech in the United States of America. He has collated the dictionary with the *New English Dictionary*, and for all words having literary record he now notes the century of the first recorded use.

Though valuable and interesting, the book is, of course, not the last word on the subject; which is one that any Essex reader may hope to help. There are probably several more words waiting to be noted, while date, place and shade of meaning may be added for others.

History of the Ancient Parish Church of St. Andrew, Hornchurch.

By C. T. PERFECT.

Sm. 8vo. viii. + 64 pp. (Colchester: Benham), 9d. net.

MR. PERFECT continues his series of Hornchurch monographs by issuing a full and detailed account of this interesting church in support of the restoration and repair fund. He has made use of Mr. F. Chancellor's architectural description in vol. v. of the *Essex Review* and of Canon Westlake's recent book on the Hornchurch priory documents; and has collected a considerable amount of other information, which should appeal to all parishioners and others who know the church. There are several illustrations and a map.

The Protection of our English Churches.

8vo. 69 pp. (Oxford University Press, 1923), 2s. net.

THIS is the first report of the Central Advisory Committee for the Protection of Churches, which was formed in 1921 by the Diocesan Committees: for the purposes of co-ordination of their work, help with technical advice if specialists were not otherwise available, and consultation and reference in difficult or doubtful cases. An account of the growth and origin of these is given, and it is interesting to know that out of 37 English dioceses 31, including Chelmsford, have now such committees, the value and help of which is generally recognised.

Other chapters deal with finance, some results of experience, and some examples of what has been accomplished; and instructive information is supplied on the care of bells, brasses, towers and plate. Extracts from the report of the Chelmsford Advisory Board for 1922 are quoted.

This little book should be in the hands of all incumbents, churchwardens, and others interested in our parish churches.

WINTER MEETING AT BRENTWOOD.

By kindness of the Headmaster, Mr. James F. Hough, M.A., an evening meeting was held in the Old Hall, Brentwood School, on Thursday, 31 January, 1924, the President, Rev. Canon Galpin, in the chair. There was a large attendance, including several pupils from the school.

A paper by Dr. J. H. Round, on "The Making of Brentwood" (see p. 69) was read by the Rev. Montagu Benton, Hon. Secretary; and afterwards a lecture on "The Early History of Essex" was given by Mr. Wykeham Chancellor, M.A., F.R.I.B.A. The lecturer described Julius Cæsar's two invasions of this country in 55 B.C. and 54 B.C., and gave a brief account of the period which elapsed between the latter and the third great invasion by Claudius in 43 A.D. This led up to a detailed description of the founding of the Roman colony at Colchester, and the great work involved in the establishment of Roman supremacy by successive proprætors, which culminated in a final, but futile, effort by the Britons to throw off the Roman yoke, under the leadership of Boadicea, queen of the Iceni.

The lecture was illustrated with a series of lantern slides, depicting many interesting relics of the Roman occupation now in the Colchester Museum.

At the close, hearty votes of thanks were accorded Dr. Round and the lecturer and all those who contributed to the success of the meeting. Nineteen new members were elected.

WINTER MEETING AT DOVERCOURT.

An evening meeting was held in the Church Hall, Dovercourt, on Tuesday, 11 March, 1924, when an interesting paper, illustrated by lantern slides, on "The Maritime History of Dovercourt and Harwich and their neighbourhood, with special reference to the sixteenth century," was read by our member, Dr. E. P. Dickin. The vicar of Dovercourt (the Rev. V. G. Ballance B.A.) presided,

and there was a large gathering. Dr. Dickin has kindly promised to re-write his paper in a condensed form, so as to embody the results of original research, and it will appear in an early part of the *Transactions*. The pictures shown on the screen included drawings of ships of Henry VIII.'s time, old engravings of Harwich, *etc.*, and a photograph of the king's yacht *Britannia* winning at a recent Harwich regatta.

At the conclusion, the Rev. Montagu Benton proposed a hearty vote of thanks to Dr. Dickin for his important contribution to Essex history; and to Mr. Ballance, not only for presiding, but also for the enthusiasm he had shown in promoting the success of the meeting. He then briefly spoke of the work of the Society. Subsequently eight new members were elected.

WINTER MEETING AT BRAINTREE.

An evening meeting was held at Braintree on Tuesday, 25 March, 1924, when Mr. Wykeham Chancellor gave a much appreciated lecture on "The Early History of our County," illustrated by lantern views. The President, in introducing the subject, alluded to the interesting position of Braintree on the Great Stane Street, along which Briton or Roman must frequently have passed between Colchester and St. Albans. A vote of thanks to the lecturer was proposed by Mr. F. S. Tabor and Mr. Weaver, and also to the Governors of the County High School for the use of their Hall.

The hon. local Secretary, Mr. H. J. Cunningham, kindly made the necessary arrangements.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE ESSEX ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY, AT THE TOWN HALL, COLCHESTER, ON THURSDAY, 3 APRIL, 1924.

The Rev. G. Montagu Benton proposed the re-election of the Rev. Canon F. W. Galpin as President. This was seconded by the Rev. T. H. Curling, and carried unanimously.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The Mayor of Colchester, Mrs. Catharine Alderton, J.P., welcomed the Society, saying that she believed that all the members of the Town Council greatly valued their historic treasures and antiquities, in the preservation of which they had the advantage of the help and knowledge of several members.

Alderman W. Gurney Benham, F.S.A., moved a vote of thanks to the President, Vice-Presidents and honorary officers, including the Honorary Secretaries, Treasurer and Vice-Treasurer, Editor and Auditor. The vote was acknowledged by the President.

The Annual Report was adopted. The President, commenting on it, said that the Rev. T. H. Curling had done wonderful service as Hon. Secretary since his election in 1902. The Society were fortunate in securing the Rev. G. Montagu Benton, F.S.A., as his successor.

Mrs. Dickin then announced that on behalf of many members of the Society she had to ask Mr. Curling's acceptance of a small token of appreciation of the work that he had done. She handed to him a case of Georgian silver, with inscription on a brass plate in the lid:—

IN USUM THOMAS HIGHAM CURLING, M.A.,
EX DONO SOC. ARCHÆOLOG. COM. ESSEX.
ANNO DNI MCMXXIV.

Mr. Curling responded briefly, saying that he had been taken entirely by surprise.

The statement of accounts were presented by Mr. Avery and adopted.

A letter from a member, in which the value of the *Fest of Fines* was questioned, was discussed. It aroused a good deal of strong

feeling, and a resolution that the publication should be continued with the least possible delay was put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

On the proposition of Mr. Councillor Jarmin, seconded by Mr. Philip Laver, F.S.A., the Vice-Presidents and Council were re-elected.

Mr. Philip Laver and Mr. Duncan Clark were re-elected as two of the three representatives of the Society on the Museum Committee of the Colchester Corporation; and the Hon. Secretary was elected as the third in place of Mr. Harrington Lazell, resigned.

Dr. Guy Warman, Bishop of Chelmsford, was elected a member of the Society and a Vice-President. The Mayor of Colchester and sixteen other new members were elected.

The President moved a vote of thanks for the use of the Grand Jury Room, and congratulated Colchester on the mayor it now had.

The President gave an address on 'The present state of Archaeology in Essex,' which will be found on p. 63. A vote of thanks to him, proposed by Mr. Avery and seconded by Mr. Beaumont, was carried unanimously.

Luncheon was served at the Red Lion Hotel, and afterwards Miss Nina F. Layard, F.S.A., gave a lecture on "Early Man and his Precursors" at the Holy Trinity Parish Hall, illustrated by lantern slides showing reconstructions after Mons. Rutot. She briefly touched upon the outstanding features of each period, as man advanced from a lowly type of being to a creature worthy to be known as the crown of creation. Weaving in an account of her recent visit to the rock-shelters of the Dordogne, the lecturer attempted to visualize the conditions under which men of the Reindeer Period existed. In summing up, attention was drawn to an invisible directive Force which was for ever urging man forward and upward. In tool-making, art, and culture, this gradual progress was recognised, and it was suggested that through a similar process he had acquired recognition of a Power beyond his own—the germ of his future religion. Canon Rendall thanked her for her paper, and the company then adjourned to the Museum, where Miss Layard exhibited flints from her collection at Kelvedon, including among them a formidable stone weapon of the pre-Chellean *Casse tête* type, picked up in Coggeshall gravels. A Chellean *Coup de poing* came from gravels in Dowches field, Kelvedon. From the rock-shelters, among other typical implements, was a *feuille de laurier* (à face plane), several *pointes à cran*, and a remarkable Solutrean point worked in crystal. Alderman Gurney Benham described Roman and later antiquities.

The following letter has since been received from Mr. Curling:—

Halstead Vicarage, Essex,

8 April, 1924.

To the members of the Essex Archæological Society.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I was so taken by surprise at the Annual Meeting, as to be unable to collect my thoughts adequately to express my gratitude to you for the beautiful gift, which was graciously presented to me in your names by Mrs. Dickin. I am pleased to know that such work as I have been able to accomplish on behalf of the Society has proved acceptable to you.

At the same time I should like to say how much I have been helped by the constant sympathy and keenness of your Council, and by such splendid officers as the Presidents under whom I have served—Dr. Henry Laver, Mr. F. Chancellor, The Bishop of Barking, Dr. J. H. Round, and Canon Galpin; as my predecessor, Mr. G. F. Beaumont, to whose wise organization the Society owes more than is generally recognized, for it was he who laid down the lines on which all honorary secretaries of the Society must proceed, if their work is going to be successfully done; as the Vice-Treasurers, Mr. W. C. Waller and Mr. H. W. Lewer, "arcades ambo," true lovers of their county, and men to whom the Society owes most of the success it has achieved; as the Editors of the *Transactions*, Mr. G. Rickword and Mr. R. C. Fowler, who have raised our publications to the high literary and archæological standard which they have attained in the estimation of those who are qualified to appreciate it.

The gift you have so generously presented to me will ever recall the great assistance those gentlemen have rendered me, and the kindness and courtesy which I have received at all times from you, the members of the Society, and which I bespeak for my successor, the Rev. G. M. Benton, in whose capable hands the affairs of the Society will be safe.

Ladies and gentlemen, again I thank you.

Yours ever faithfully,

T. H. CURLING.

REPORT FOR 1923.

The Council has pleasure in presenting its seventy-first Annual Report.

The total membership, which on 31 December, 1922, was 581, increased during 1923 to 614 members, including 67 life compositions and 3 honorary members.

The losses by death include the Right Reverend John Edwin Watts-Ditchfield, D.D., first Bishop of Chelmsford, a Vice-President.

The Council recommends the re-election of the Vice-Presidents, and of the Council. It regrets to announce that the Rev. T. H. Curling, M.A., after twenty years' devoted service as Hon. Secretary, has found it necessary to tender his resignation; but is glad to know that his unfailing courtesy and assistance will still be at the Society's disposal in his new capacity as Hon. Excursion Secretary. The Rev. G. Montagu Benton, M.A., F.S.A., has accepted the office of Hon. Secretary.

During the year Part IV. and Index of Vol. XVI., and Part I. of Vol. XVII. of the *Transactions*; Part III. of Vol. II. of the *Fleet of Fines*; *List of Members*; and, by special subscription, the *Catalogue* of the Society's Library, were published.

Excursions were held as follows:—

26 April: East and West Mersea.

23 May: New Hall, Margaretting.

Fremnals (Downham), Stock and Fryerning.

12 July: Berden, Clavering and Arkesden.

12 Sept.: St. Osyth and Brightlingsea.

The Annual Meeting was held at Colchester on 26th April.

An Evening Meeting was held:—

25 Jan.: Walthamstow.

It is recommended that Excursions be held in 1924 as follows:—

27 May : Canewdon and neighbourhood.

17 June : Combined excursion with the Suffolk Institute:
Helion and Steeple Bumpstead, Moyns Park,
Kedington, Stoke-by-Clare and Clare.

17 July : Stebbing and neighbourhood.

11 Sept. : South Weald and neighbourhood.

The Vice-Treasurer reports that :—

The subscriptions received from members amounted to £295 1s. 0d., being an increase of £22 2s. 0d. over the previous year. The outstanding arrears of members' subscriptions amount to £6 16s. 6d., being due from ten members. Three members have paid life composition subscriptions amounting to £15 15s. 0d., but five subscriptions have fallen in during the year, thus reducing the net liability outstanding at 31 December by £10 10s. 0d.

Income from Investments shows a slight decrease owing to the reduced rate of deposit interest.

The Receipts for the year, excluding life compositions, have amounted to £495 13s. 1d. This is considerably in excess of the previous year owing to the contributions received towards the cost of the Library Catalogue, £83 14s. 4d., and increase in the sale of publications of £15 1s. 10d.

The total Expenditure, including Excursion expenses, amounted to £524 8s. 11d., which is £13 os. 10d. over and above the receipts.

The cost of printing the *Transactions* distributed to members, including *Feet of Fines*, Index to Vol. XVI. and *List of Members*, amounted to £291 15s. 2d., being in excess of the total amount received for members' subscriptions.

The Library Catalogue cost £75 16s. 4d. being less than the amount of contributions received from members towards the cost. The surplus has been applied in binding manuscripts and providing files for library purposes.

There were 67 members at the close of the year who have paid life compositions, the total amount being £351 15s. 0d. As against this liability, the Society holds investments which cost £469 12s. 10d., the market value at 31 December, 1923, being £396 19s. 0d., an appreciated value of £4 3s. 7d. compared with last year. Subject to the realisation of the investments, there was a surplus in favour of the Society of £267 1s. 9d., as compared with £262 16s. 6d. previously reported.

ACCOUNT OF RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS

1922.			Dr.						
£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
255	9	0	To Balance from previous year				241	4	7
			„ Subscriptions—						
3	13	6	„ Arrears	8	8	0			
260	7	0	For the year 1923	280	7	0			
8	18	6	In advance	6	6	0			
26	5	0	„ Life Compositions				295	1	0
6	7	2	„ Sale of publications				15	15	0
			„ Dividends on Investments—				21	9	0
4	15	8	India 3 per cent. Stock, <i>less</i> Income Tax	5	0	8			
4	9	10	Metropolitan 3½ per cent. Stock	4	14	6			
5	7	2	War Stock	5	7	2			
4	6	4	Deposit Interest	1	10	5			
94	5	0	„ Excursion Tickets				16	12	9
			„ Contributions towards Library Catalogue				78	16	0
							83	14	4

674 4 2

£752 12 8

BALANCE SHEET,

1922.			Liabilities.			
£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
			To Life Compositions—			
362	5	0	67 Members at £5 5s. <i>od.</i>	351	15	0
8	18	6	„ Subscriptions paid in advance	6	6	0
			„ Accumulations Fund—			
262	16	6	Surplus of Assets in favour of the Society	267	1	9

634 0 0

£625 2 9

I have examined the above Balance Sheet and Receipts and Payments certify it to be correct in accordance therewith. The Investments have been deposited with the Society's Bankers.

CHRIS. W. PARKER, *Treasurer.*

FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31ST DECEMBER, 1923.

1922.			Cr.						
£	s.	d.				£	s.	d.	
			By Colchester Corporation—						
35	0	0	Curator's Salary				35	0	0
184	19	6	„ Printing <i>Transactions</i>			179	16	3	
15	5	0	„ Blocks and Illustrations			30	15	9	
10	17	6	„ Authors' Copies			8	1	6	
			„ Preparing Index, Vol. XVI.....			7	10	0	
20	0	0	„ <i>Feet of Fines</i>			42	18	8	
			„ <i>List of Members</i>			18	18	0	
5	7	3	„ Archæological and Earthworks Reports			3	15	0	
									291 15 2
			„ Postage of <i>Transactions</i> and Notices to						
40	12	2	Members				29	18	6
26	6	6	„ Stationery, Members' Circulars, <i>etc.</i>				18	1	3
10	10	11	„ Secretarial Postage and Expenses				4	15	3
			„ Subscription — Archæological Congress						
			(2 years)				2	0	0
1	0	0	„ Fire Insurance				12	0	
12	0		„ Bank Cheques.....				4	0	
9	0		„ Excursion Expenses (excluding Printing,						
			Postages, <i>etc.</i>)				49	10	8
76	12	3	„ Evening Meetings						
1	1	6	„ <i>Essex Review</i>				1	0	0
16	0		„ Binding Books, Files for Library, <i>etc.</i> ..				10	5	0
3	10	0	„ Library Catalogue				75	16	4
			„ Monumental Commission Reports.....				5	10	9
209	14	2	„ Balance—At Bank.....			196	6	6	
			In Vice-Treasurer's Hands....			1	11	6	
31	10	5	In Secretary's Hands			5	10	6	
			In Excursion Secretary's Hands			24	15	3	
									228 3 9
674	4	2							£752 12 8

31ST DECEMBER, 1923.

1922.			<i>Assets.</i>			<i>Market Value,</i>					
£	s.	d.				<i>Cost.</i>	<i>31st Dec., 1923.</i>				
			By Investments—			£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
			£219 15s. 3d. India 3 per cent.								
120	17	5	Stock			192	13	7	124	3	4
			£177 1s. 0d. Metropolitan 3½ per								
164	13	2	cent. Stock			176	17	6	165	10	10
			£107 4s. 10d. 5 per cent. War Stock								
107	4	10	1929/47			100	1	9	107	4	10
						<u>469 12 10</u>			<u>396 19 0</u>		
241	4	7	By Cash at Bank and in hand						228	3	9
			„ Library, Collection of Antiquities at Museum, Stock								
			of Publications (not valued).....								
<u>634 0 0</u>									<u>£625 2 0</u>		

NEW MEMBERS.

Elected at Brentwood on 31 January, 1924.

	ON THE NOMINATION OF—
BACON, NORMAN HENRY, West Mersea.	Hon. Secretary.
CHAMBERLAIN, Capt. JOHN ALFRED, B.Sc., F.R.E.S., 44 Barrington Road, S.W. 9.	Hon. Secretary.
CHURCH, LESLIE D. A., A.R.I.B.A., The Homestead, High Road, Epping.	Hon. Secretary.
CRAWSHAY, RAYMOND V. E. de BARRI, Rosefield, Sevenoaks, Kent.	Hon. Secretary.
CUBITT, Miss, Creek Cottage, West Mersea.	Mrs. Ruddock.
EMSON, CHARLES HERBERT, B.A., 26 Brunswick Square, W.C. 1.	Hon. Secretary.
FREEMAN, OSWALD, Wilton, Spring Grove, Loughton.	The Vice-Treasurer.
GOLD, JACK B., Abbot's Hall, Shalford, Braintree.	Miss Ruggles-Brise.
HAY, Mrs., Hill House, Finchingfield, Braintree.	Miss Ruggles-Brise.
HOUGH, JAMES F., M.A., The School House, Brent- wood.	Hon. Secretary.
INNES, GEORGE, Grove End, Grove Road, West Mersea.	Mrs. Ruddock.
KLEIN, WALTER GIBB, F.S.A., 7 Eldon Road, N.W. 3.	Hon. Secretary.
MESSENGER, HAROLD C., Tudor House, Newport, Essex	Mr. G. W. Temple.
MILLS, JOHN ELSON, The Pippins, Roydon, Ware, Herts.	Mr. H. A. Shaw.
MILLS, Mrs., The Pippins, Roydon, Ware, Herts.	Mr. H. A. Shaw.
PULLEY, Mrs. H. C., 35 Queen's Road, Brentwood.	Hon. Secretary.
RYDE, WILLIAM H., 41 Vernon Road, Leytonstone, E. 11.	The Vice-Treasurer.
SMITH, The Rev. STANLEY THOMAS, M.A., Lamarsh Rectory, Bures, Suffolk.	Hon. Excur. Secretary.
STORRS, Major REGINALD, R.A.M.C., Military Hospital, Colchester.	Hon. Secretary.

Elected at a Council Meeting on 26 February, 1924.

	ON THE NOMINATION OF—
BEAUMONT, GEOFFREY PHILLIPS, The Lawn, Cog- geshall.	Mr. G. F. Beaumont.
BURNS, Miss F. L., Roundwood, Hutton, Brent- wood.	The President.
DICKINSON, Mrs. H. B., Hill House, Pebmarsh, Bures, Suffolk.	Hon. Excur. Secretary.
HALL, The Rev. W. C., West Street, Coggeshall.	Mr. G. F. Beaumont.
HISCOCK, SYDNEY, Wood End, Hatfield Peverel, Witham.	Hon. Secretary.
NIVEN, JOHN, Holdenhurst, Hutton, Brentwood.	The President.
NIVEN, Mrs. JOHN, Holdenhurst, Hutton, Brentwood.	The President.
WILKS, Mrs. BERTHA, Westcott, Hutton, Brentwood.	The President.

Elected at Dovercourt on 11 March, 1924.

ON THE NOMINATION OF—	
ARKWRIGHT, JOSEPH A., M.D., Cottage Garth, Franks Road, Dovercourt.	Hon. Secretary.
BALLANCE, The Rev. VINER GEORGE, B.A., The Vicarage, Dovercourt.	Hon. Secretary.
CARLYON-HUGHES, BASIL, Mill House, Dovercourt.	Hon. Secretary.
DAVIDSON, Miss HELEN, Ingleside, Franks Road, Dovercourt.	Hon. Secretary.
FOWLER, JOHN, 4, Hurst Green, Brightlingsea.	Dr. E. P. Dickin.
HERITAGE, Miss DORIS, Marine Villa, Marine Parade, Dovercourt.	Hon. Secretary.
MATHEW, Mrs. F. S., Lee House, Dovercourt.	Hon. Secretary.
VALENTINE, Mrs. RAGNA, 12, Cliff Road, Dovercourt.	Hon. Secretary.

Elected at Braintree on 25 March, 1924.

ON THE NOMINATION OF—	
SCOTT, C. J. C., Hatfield Place, Hatfield Peverel, Witham.	The President.

Elected at the Annual Meeting on 3 April, 1924.

ON THE NOMINATION OF—	
ALDERTON, Mrs. C. B., J.P., 24 Cambridge Road, Colchester (Mayor of Colchester).	Hon. Secretary.
CHELMSFORD, The Right Rev. F. S. GUY WARMAN, D.D., Lord Bishop of, Bishop's Court, Chelmsford.	The President.
FAIRWEATHER, Mrs. HAROLD, Warrennes, Hockley.	The Vice Treasurer.
FIRTH, H. W., The Nothe, West Mersea.	Mrs. Blyth.
FIRTH, Mrs., The Nothe, West Mersea.	Mrs. Blyth.
GILLES, WILLIAM S., The Cottage, Church Lane, Bocking, Braintree.	The President.
GILLES, Mrs., The Cottage, Church Lane, Bocking, Braintree.	The President.
GOODWIN, FRED, 2, Spring Road, Brightlingsea.	Dr. E. P. Dickin.
HARRISON, W. E., Horley, London Road, Ipswich.	Mr. W. Adlington.
INGOLD, ERNEST, Hillside, Railway Street, Braintree.	The President.
OLLE, P. W., 26 Crouch Street, Colchester.	Rev. W. J. Pressey.
OUTRAM, Mrs. A., Great Braxted Rectory, Kelvedon.	Miss Outram.
POLLEY, Mrs. A., 13, Crouch Street, Colchester.	Mr. W. J. Sale.
ROPER, Mrs. R. A., High Street, Dunmow.	Mr. F. Robus.
TOOMBS, Capt. A. E., School House, West Mersea.	Mr. W. J. Sale.
WALTER, The Rev. FREDERICK W., The Manse, Kelvedon.	Mr. J. E. Sheldrake.
WILSON, F. H. O., Marshall's, London Road, Braintree.	Major S. B. Allen.
WOODLIFFE, Miss, 90, New London Road, Chelms- ford.	Rev. W. J. Pressey.

DONATIONS TO THE SOCIETY.

To 19 May, 1924.

The Cambridge University Press—

“The Cambridge Bulletin,” Nos. xlvi. and xlvii.

The Hon. Henry Hannen—

A MS. Survey of the Manor of Fingreth Hall, Essex, made by John Carew by order of Chas. Tyrell, esq., dated March, 1566.

Mr. F. C. Clayton—

Three Deeds relating to the Manor of Feering Bury, fifteenth to seventeenth century.

Mr. Stephen J. Barns—

Calendars of Deeds relating to Walthamstow, 1595-1890, by the donor.

Mr. John Wm. Burrows—

“The Essex Regiment, 1st Battalion (44th), 1741-1919,” by the donor.

Mr. John Avery—

Ten numbers of “The Essex Review.”

The Department of Mines, Geological Survey, Ottawa—

“Report, Canadian Arctic Expedition of 1913-18,” Parts B and C, 1923.

Mr. H. W. Lewer, F.S.A.—

Seventeen old deeds, leases, *etc.*, of Essex.

“The Romanization of Roman Britain,” by F. Haverfield, 4th edition.

“The Place-Names of Argyll,” by H. Cameron Gillies, M.D.

“The Place-Names of Lancashire,” by Henry Cecil Wyld and T. Oakes Hirst, M.A., Ph.D.

Mr. John C. E. Bridge—

“Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, Essex,” vol. iv.

The Rev. G. Montagu Benton, F.S.A.—

Two coloured Tracings and two Prints of Wall Paintings in Felsted and Great Chishall churches.

Miss Eliza Vaughan—

"The Wild Flowers of Selborne," by John Vaughan, M.A., Canon of Winchester.

Mr. Aubrey Goodes—

Letter of Mr. Weston S. Walford, Oct. 29, 1860, with an account of the Tomb of John, Earl of Oxford, and his Countess at Castle Hedingham.

Mr. Alfred J. Steele—

"History of the Priory and Parish Church of Saint Andrew, Hatfield Peverel, Essex," by the donor.

Mr. Percy Thompson, F.L.S.—

"Richard Warner, 1711-1775," by the late Professor Boulger, F.L.S., F.G.S. Reprint.

On a Third Annotated Copy of Richard Warner's "*Plantæ Woodfordiensis*," by Percy Thompson, F.L.S. Reprint.

Messrs. George Routledge & Sons, Ltd.—

"An Essex Dialect Dictionary," by Edward Gepp, M.A.

Messrs. Benham & Co., Ltd.—

"History of the Ancient Parish Church of St. Andrew, Hornchurch," by Charles Thomas Perfect.

Mrs. Dormer Pierce—

"The Essex Review," vol. ix., xiii.-xvi., xxv. and xxvi. Vol. xii., Nos. 45, 47 and 48.

National Library of Wales—

"*Bibliotheca Celtica*," 1914-1918.

Dr. Philip Laver, F.S.A.—

The First Book of the Registers of St. Peter, South Weald, 1539-1573. Edited by Robert Horenden, F.S.A., 1889. Privately printed.

Mrs. Edith E. Wilde—

Trade Token of John Godfrey in Ingerston (Ingatestone), 1668.

Rev. E. F. Hay—

Illustrated Guide to the Church Congress and Exhibition, Sheffield, 1922.

From Societies in union for exchange of Publications.

Society of Antiquaries of London—

The Antiquaries' Journal, vol. III., part 4; vol. iv., parts 1 and 2.

British Archæological Association—

Journal (N.S.), vol. XXVIII., part 2.

Society of Antiquaries of Scotland—

Proceedings, vol. LVII.

The Essex Field Club—

The Essex Naturalist, vol. XX., part V.

Birmingham Archæological Society—

Transactions, Excursions and Reports, 4to, 1878-79 to 1915.
33 parts.

Transactions and Proceedings, 8vo., vols. XLII. and XLIII.,
1916-1917; vol. XLVII., 1921.

Kent Archæological Society—

Archæologia Cantiana, vol. XXXVI.

Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle—

Proceedings, 4th series, vol. I., Nos. 10, 11, 12, 13.

Archæologia Æliana, 3rd series, vol. XX.

Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society—

Original Papers, vol. XXI., part 3.

Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society—

The Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Magazine,
Nos. 123 to 131 and 133 to 139 inclusive.

Chester and North Wales Archæological Society—

(Journal N.S.), vol. XXV.

Newcastle Society of Antiquaries—

Add. to Proceedings, 4th series, I., No. 14.

Carmarthenshire Antiquarian Society and Field Club—

Transactions, vol. XVII., part XLIII., and Annual Report.

Cambridge Antiquarian Society—

Proceedings, vol. XXV.



COLCHESTER.
COLCHESTER.

PLESHEY.

DUNMOW.
WALTHAM.

THE ESSEX AND SUFFOLK BORDER.

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

(Read at Moyns Park on 17 June, 1924).

THE dominant feature of to-day's excursion is that we visit places on the border of Essex and Suffolk, from Haverhill, adjoining Sturmer, where the Stour takes its rise, to Clare, which stands upon that river, the river which here forms the boundary between the two counties. But we have to remember that it forms the boundary, not merely between two counties, but (until recently) throughout our history, between two dioceses, those of Norwich and of London; between two peoples, the Angles and the Saxons; between what were formerly the kingdoms of East Anglia and of Essex. More than this, though little known, is the fact that this historic boundary divided two regions which had essentially different social and economic systems.

Essex was a land of lords and villeins; Suffolk, as part of East Anglia, was a land of sokemen, men of small independent holdings, largely of Scandinavian origin, and therefore of freer status. Lastly, in Essex the land was reckoned and assessed 'in hides'; in Suffolk, on the contrary, by a different system, that of "carucates" or ploughlands. Of all this, I need hardly say, you will find nothing in Morant's work, but it opens up a field of research—and of very important research—for the archæologists of Essex and Suffolk who possess the requisite local knowledge and who have some acquaintance with the fruits of modern research in topography and local history.

Let me turn to another aspect of the problems raised by the borders of Essex and Suffolk. Roughly speaking, the valley of the Stour and the valley of the Colne both meander to the sea in a south-easterly direction; but the river Colne is not a boundary; both its banks are in Essex throughout, and may be even in the same parish. As it is not a boundary, this is of no consequence. But when we find such a boundary as the Stour dividing a parish between Essex and Suffolk, how are we to account for it? Take the great manor of Nayland, a frequent source of confusion to writers, who, although the village is just in Suffolk, find the southern

portion of the manor represented by our Essex Horkesleys. Take "Ballingdon cum Brundon": the former is a hamlet of the Suffolk Sudbury, and ecclesiastically in the diocese of Ely, though on the Essex side of the Stour; the latter, with its long-ruined church, is in Essex.

KEDINGTON.

This parish—of which the name is, I believe, pronounced "Ketton," by the customary elision of the middle syllable in these parts—lies in the extreme south-west of Suffolk, adjoining Haverhill. But part of it is actually in Essex, as is part of Haverhill. This has led Morant, the historian of Essex, into a strange error. Writing of the manor of Hersham Hall, under the Essex parish of Sturmer (vol. ii., p. 347), he states that:

though Sturmere be now (1768) reckoned an obscure place, and small, with few inhabitants; yet it was formerly very considerable and of great extent, reaching into Suffolk and Cambridgeshire. *Haverhill* and *Kedington* were then hamlets to this parish; though both of them far exceed it now in the magnificence of their churches and number of [their] inhabitants. Even now Sturmere is rated and assessed to the land-tax by a warrant directed to two of the inhabitants of Sturmere, to assess Sturmere with its hamlets *Haverhill* and *Ketton* (*sic*).

It is obvious from the Ordnance map that the hamlets of Sturmer were *not* the Suffolk *parishes* of Haverhill and Kedington, but those portions of them which were within the county border of Essex. The area of these portions jointly is over 1,400 acres, while that of Sturmer singly is under 1,000. In the complicated case of Bures, lower down the Stour, part of the Suffolk parish of Bures St. Mary (otherwise Great Bures) lies on the Essex side of the river, and is known, I believe, as Bures Hamlet in the Essex Hundred of Hinckford. This 'hamlet' contains almost 1,600 acres, while the parish of Mount Bures (*alias* Little Bures), in Essex, which adjoins it, has only 1,424. Returning to the hamlets of Haverhill and "Ketton," we find that detached portions of Sturmer lie in "Ketton," while some three-and-a-half acres of the *Cambridgeshire* portion of Little Wrattling are found astray in the *Essex* portion of the *Suffolk* Haverhill!

The problem is to decide how this tangle arose, how it is that people who live in one county have their parish church in another. Nor is it only a matter of *parishes* lying in two or more counties: hamlets and even manors are found similarly divided, straggling over the border that divides Essex and Suffolk. Hersham and Olmsted, for instance, though now merely hamlets, have names suggestive of ancient settlements: Morant deals with them both under Helions Bumpstead, but admits that Olmsted was long "a hamlet by itself

and in Castle Camps" (Cambridgeshire), to which parish it was definitely transferred from Helions Bumpstead, "for civil purposes," by an official order, so lately as 1886. The halls of both these places are just within the Essex border; but the lands appurtenant to them were largely in Castle Camps. I am confident that if this border district could be systematically examined, we might obtain important accessions to our knowledge of a subject still obscure and vindicate the value of local research.

Turn for a moment from the far north to the southern boundary of our county. What are we to say of such a problem as the division of a parish by no less a river than the mighty Thames? Why is a strip of Essex on the northern bank of that river part of the *parish* of Woolwich in the *county* of Kent? It is a problem on which I hope to throw some light shortly.

THE BUMPSTEADS.

These two parishes, although immediately adjoining, are severed by the boundary of two Hundreds, those of Freshwell and Hinckford. Here again we have a phenomenon that invites careful enquiry, for it has a direct bearing on Professor Maitland's theory as to the parish and the Hundred, which was largely based on Essex evidence.¹ Had the two Bumpsteads not been thus divided they would have covered, jointly, more than 6,000 acres. I wrote a paper on "Helion of Helion's Bumpstead," which appeared in our Essex Society's *Transactions* for 1901,² where I showed that the Helion family was founded, at the Conquest, by Tihel the Breton, and obtained a small barony in this district which was reckoned at ten knight's fees. I succeeded in tracing their name to Helléan in the *canton* of Josselin near Ploermel (Morbihan). I will only add here that the name of *Steeple* Bumpstead is derived, in my opinion, not, as Morant imagined, from a tower by the wayside, but from the tower of the church itself, which has long been recognised to have a base of early date. Although the name "Steeple Bumpstead" is found at an early date, "Bumpstead at the towre" is found as well, and this was Latinised as Bumpstead *ad Turrim*.³ Morant, indeed, contradicts his own derivation; for, under South Ockendon, in the south of Essex, he tells us (vol. i., p. 99) that this parish was distinguished as "ad turrim" on account of "the church having a Tower-Steeple, as Little Easton and Bumsted were" (*sic*). The French equivalent of *ad turrim* was

¹ See *Archæol. Rev.* (1889), vol. iv., pp. 236-8.

² Vol. viii., pp. 187-191. I may here add that what was termed a 'brief' for rebuilding the church of Helion Bumpstead, so late as 1796, is in the British Museum.

³ *E.A.T.*, vol. vi., p. 145.

"al clocher" or "à la tour,"—both of which are found in Essex. Morant appears, under Bumpstead, to have failed to realise that the word "Steeple" might, at that time, mean a church tower. Even the massive Norman tower of Great Tey church must have given to the parish the strange name of "Theye à la Steple," which is found in an Essex fine of 1286.

One word more. Clare, where this excursion ends, was the chief seat of that mighty race, who made its name famous and whose castle mound still stands. But let us not forget that it was also the home, for part, at least, of his life, of one of the greatest of modern archæologists, Sir William St. John Hope, whose friendship was so highly valued by many, and whose loss we have cause to mourn.

¹ *Essex fines*, vol. ii., p. 55.

NOTES ON THE COAST, SHIPPING, AND SEA-BORNE TRADE OF ESSEX, FROM 1565 TO 1577.

BY E. P. DICKIN, M.D.

IN these notes an attempt is made to show the importance of the sea at that time as a means of transport and supply for a large part of Essex, the size (maritimately speaking) of the larger ports and the number of the smaller, the number of places which managed to get a water frontage,¹ and to throw some light on the trade and social life on its material side, by noting the things imported and exported to and from the county. It is in this sense that the words imported and exported are used in these notes.

The material is extracted from the report (1565) of a Special Commission relating to the Customs (Exch. K.R., Spec. Com. 2124), a report (1577) by the Commissioners for the suppression of piracy (S.P.D. Eliz. cxvij. 31), the Ports Books (1565-8) of the Customs officers (Exch. K.R. Ports Bks. dlxxxvij. 1-13), and Surveys of Shipping (S.P.D. Eliz. xxxix. 22, lxxi. 64 1, cxxxv., clvi. 45, cxcvij. 49).

The main objects of these MSS., with the exception of the Ports Books, are dealt with in the maritime section of the *Victoria History of Essex*, vol. 2.

A selection of the information is arranged under two headings, details of each place under its own name, arranged coast-wise, and the rest grouped under general headings.

The names of the deputies appointed at each place to assist the Piracy Commissioners are omitted, except in special cases.

The names of the ships are dealt with generally, and the number belonging to each place is given approximately, though on the small side.

The highest and lowest tonnage recorded is given.

There is less information about the places on or near the Thames, chiefly because the Special Commissioners' report, rubbed at this part, is illegible in many places.

The names of places are the modern when possible. Unusual forms are given in brackets.

¹ As an example, Great Bentley pushes a long narrow arm between St. Osyth and Thorington to reach the water's edge, three-and-a-half miles from the village.

MANNINGTREE AND MISTLEY (Manitre, Misseley).

Five deputies.
 One lading place, Manningtree quay.
 One lading place, the Thorne.¹
 Eleven ships, 40 to 4 tons.

BRADFIELD.

Two deputies.
 One lading place, Nether Hall (given in modern maps).
 One lading place, Jookes Ness.
 One ship, 40 tons.

WRABNESS.

Three deputies.
 One lading place, Old Hall (Haulle).
 One lading place, Wrabness Stone.²
 One ship, 30 tons.

RAMSEY.

Three deputies.
 One lading place, Bedon Ness.
 One lading place, Ramsey Fleet.
 One ship, 20 tons.

DOVERCOURT.

Deputies: John Bredg,³ John Jak at Cross.
 One lading place, Dovercourt Dock in Ramsey Fleet.

HARWICH.

Deputies: Edmund Seman, Christopher Chapman, Thomas Jack, Robert Seman, Thomas Grey, William Shryve, William Grene, Edmund Hudson.
 [Blot.]

"The Haven by the Mayne called Orwell."
 One lading place, the common quay.
 One lading place, Thomas Rychmonde's quay.
 One lading place, William Grene's quay.
 One lading place, Thomas Twede's quay.
 One lading place, Thomas Goodinge's quay.
 One lading place, Christopher Morgan's quay.
 One lading place, Thomas Sacke's quay.
 One lading place, Rychard Johnson's quay.
 One lading place, Roger Rayne's quay.
 Eight ships, 130 to 80 tons.

LITTLE OAKLEY.

Three deputies.
 One lading place, the Mill.
 One lading place, Gorewall.

¹ Mistley Thorn as a local name appears early in the nineteenth century.

² Stone is the local name for a landing place made by covering the foreshore mud with gravel.

³ This may be a member of the celebrated family of Bridge of Harwich.

GREAT OAKLEY.

Three deputies.

One lading place, Cranehill.¹

MOZE (on Hamford Water).

Two deputies.

One lading place, Arnolde's Wood.

BEAUMONT AND THORPE (LE SOKEN), (on Hamford Water).

Four deputies.

One lading place, Moze lading.

One lading place, Landermere lading, where "commonly small botes haue and do lade at all times."

One ship, 30 tons.

KIRBY (LE SOKEN), (on Hamford Water).

Three deputies.

One lading place, Birch Mill (Birch Hall is shown on modern maps).

One lading place, Tonnes.

One lading place, Millfield.

WALTON (ON NAZE), (on Hamford Water).

Two deputies.

One lading place, the Mill.

One lading place, Wrong Oke. [Apparently in or near Walton.]

FRINTON AND LITTLE HOLLAND.

Three deputies.

One lading place, the "Gonflete."²

One lading place in Little Holland Hall ground.

GREAT HOLLAND.

"also men may and do use to lade with shyppes and botes all the lengt of the coste of Hollande."

GREAT CLACTON.

Shares two deputies with Great Holland.

One lading place, Conyber.

One ship, 30 tons.

NEWHAUEN.

Ten miles by land from Harwich, and eight from Colchester.

[This lading place only appears once, and must be on the Clacton coast eastward.]

¹ Probably the hill got its name from a crane used for loading and unloading vessels. They appear to be sufficiently rare to be worthy of notice. See Leigh.

² Nowadays the name Gunfleet only applies to the sand bank parallel with the shore, but it is the channel between the shore and the sand bank, which used to be called the Gunfleet.

ST. OSYTH.

Five deputies.

One lading place, the common [quay]. [On the main coast.]

One lading place, Blackstone.¹ [On the main coast.]

One lading place, Borefleet lading. [In Borefleet, or Brightlingsea Creek, south bank.]

Ten ships, 35-6 tons. One master or owner, 24 mariners.

GREAT BENTLEY.

Three deputies.

One lading place, Borefleet Mill. [South bank of Brightlingsea Creek.]

Three ships, 35-15 tons. One master or owner, and 5 mariners.

BRIGHTLINGSEA.

"which is the Queen's Towne, parcell of the Cinque Portes, which at all tymes hath been a lading place as well to transport merchaundizes into the partes beyonde the Sea, or from porte to porte within the Realme, and so ys mete to be continued, and the same ys a place mete for the building of the Quene's Majestie's shippes."

Three deputies.

One lading place, the Bridge.²

One lading place, the common quay. [Probably the present Hard.]

Two lading places, two creeks "by the Haven of Colne Water."

One lading place, the Ford in Alresford Creek. [On the south bank.]

Seven ships, 50-30 tons.

ALRESFORD.

Three deputies.

One lading place, at the Ford. [On the north side of Alresford Creek.]

One lading place, the Mill. [In Thorington.]

WIVENHOE.

Three deputies.

One lading place "of the Erle of Oxford."

One lading place called Richard Cock's lading place.

One lading place called William Gyle's lading place.

One lading place called John Maior's lading place.

Eight ships, 18-7 tons

COLCHESTER.

Deputies: Richard Lambe, Edward Maynard, Robert Barrow, Rauf Symott, William Gill, Adam Reve, Thomas Hekford, Richard Gowge, Mathew Browne, John Byrd, William Mould, Henry Herring.

One lading place "at Grenested over agenste the newe hythe."

The old hythe in the parish of St. Giles, "an auncient lading place."

The new hythe, "with divers lading places" in the parish of St. Leonard's.

EAST DONILAND (EST DULLILAND).

Two deputies.

One lading place on the Colne.

One ship, 4 tons.

¹ The creek running up into the marshes past the second Martello Tower (the first is opposite Brightlingsea) is now called Blakeston's Hole.

² Probably a bridge over an arm of Borefleet and connecting Brightlingsea and Thorington.

ROWHEDGE (ROUGHEDGE).

One lading place on the Colne.

Two ships, 15-10 tons.

FINGRINGHOE.

Two deputies.

A lading place, Remyn Creek. [? Roman river.]

A landing place, Fingringhoe Mill.

LANGENHOE.

One deputy.

PELDON.

Two deputies.

A lading place, Thornfleet.

A lading place, Lokers.

Two ships, 6-5 tons.

STROWDE MILL.

A lading place there. [Near the east of Mersea Strood.] Six miles by land from Colchester. Within the liberties of Colchester.

EAST MERSEA.

Three deputies.

A lading place, "Breste flete"¹

A lading place, East Mersea Stone.

Three ships, 60-6 tons.

WEST MERSEA.

Three deputies.

A lading place, the Strood.

A lading place, the Stone.

Two ships, 36-6 tons.

GREAT AND LITTLE WIGBOROUGH.

Two deputies.

A lading place, at Abbas Hall. [? Abbot's Hall.]

A lading place, Cheshill.

LAYER BRETON AND VIRLEY.

Three deputies. [Apparently, blotted.]

SALCOTT (SALTCOTE, SAWCOTE).

Two deputies.

A lading place, Salcot Creek.

Five ships, 40-15 tons.

TOLLESBURY.

Three deputies.

A lading place at Old Hall. [Shown on modern maps.]

A lading place at Tollesbury Mill. [Probably near present Mill Point.]

A lading place called Wood Hoope.

¹ Brace Fleet extends from the west end of Pewit Island to the Colne. B.M. Add. MSS. 24100.

TOLLESHUNT D'ARCY.

Two deputies.

A lading place, Skinner's Wick Fleet. [On modern maps.]

GOLDHANGER.

A lading place in a creek there.

LITTLE TOTHAM.

Two deputies.

A lading place, the Borow Stone.

A lading place, Pollardes Wharf.

GREAT TOTHAM.

[Blank] deputies.

A lading place, Stanesgate.

HEYBRIDGE.

Two deputies.

A lading place leading up to Heybridge.

MALDON.

A common lading place.

Fifteen ships, 60-12 tons.

BRADWELL-ON-SEA.

A common lading place. [At Bradwell town.]

A common lading place, Stanegate. [Stangate Abbey on modern maps.]

Five ships, 9-3 tons.

BURNHAM

One common lading place.

Eleven ships, 40-8 tons.

CRICKSEA.

A common lading place at "Cryxhey ferry."

Four ships, 10 4 tons.

ALTHORNE.

A common lading place, Althorne Creek.

LATCHINGDON (LACHENDEN).

One ship, 6 tons.

FAMBRIDGE, NORTH.

A lading place at Fambridge ferry.

BAWDEWYNE.

A common lading place, six miles from Maldon by land and one from Fambridge.

CLEMENT'S GREEN.

A common lading place, one mile from Bawdewyne.

HULLBRIDGE.

A common lading place.

AYETHER. [? Rubbed.]

A common lading place.

BATTLESBRIDGE.

A common lading place.
Two ships, 20-12 tons.

FAMBRIDGE, SOUTH

A common lading place at the ferry.

CANEWDON.

A common lading place called Canewdon Creek, otherwise Thornepole.
Four ships, 10 4 tons.

WALLASEY (WALDERSAY).

One ship, 10 tons.

PAGLESHAM.

Three ships, 8 tons.

STAMBRIDGE (STANBRIDGE).

One ship, 5 tons.

ROCHFORD.

A lading place. [Rubbed.]

BARLING (BURLING).

Two ships, 8 tons.

GREAT WAKERING.

One ship, 7 tons.

SHOEBURY.

Four ships, 12-7 tons.

SOUTHEND.

A lading place called Southend.

MILTON (MILTONSHORE).

Seven ships, 80-5 tons.

PRITTLEWELL.

One ship, 14 tons.

LEIGH.

"A very proper towne, well furnished of [rubbed] mariners, where all ships do ride." "All maner cranes and other things."

A common and special lading place.

Fourteen ships, 60-24 tons. 80 mariners.

HADLEIGH.

A lading place called Hadleigh Mill.

One ship, 17 tons.

BENFLEET, SOUTH (BEMFLETE)

A lading place.

Two ships, 20 tons.

HOLEHAVEN.

One ship, 20 tons.

PITSEA.

A lading place on Pitsea Creek.

One ship, 8 tons.

BYGADES.

A lading place called Bygades Hythe. From Pitsea, one mile west.

VANGE.

A lading place, Vange Hythe on Vange Creek.

FOBBING.

A lading place.

STANFORD LE HOPE.

One ship, 10 tons.

MUCKING.

A lading place.

TILBURY, EAST.

One ship, 40 tons.

GRAYS.

Three ships, 30-16 tons.

DEPUTIES.

The number of the deputies are not the same for the various places. As the landsmen were aiders and abettors of the pirates, the number at a place is in like proportion to the iniquity of its inhabitants and to the physical facilities for piracy. The largest number was 12, at Colchester, and the least, one, at Langenhoe.

SHIPS' NAMES.

The pre-Reformation use of divine names for ships was by this time dying out, though a few ships named Christ, Jesus, Trinity, and Grace of God, still remained.

Men's names, such as John, George, William, Martin, Christopher and Edward were common. Peter, Bartholomew, Solomon, Julian, Valentine, Jonas, Timothy and Erasmus were occasionally found. A Harwich ship was called Rasimus, possibly a corruption of Erasmus.

Women's names were not so common. Mary was first favourite, followed by Margaret, Marian, Alice, Rosamund, Cecilie, Anne, Dorothy (spelled Dorotie) and Thomasine. Magdalen appeared three times as Mawdelin, or a similar form.

Mary was combined with other names: Mary Anne, Mary Thomas, Mary George, Mary James, Mary Grace and Mary Fortune. The last was the favourite; there was a ship of that name at Brightlingsea, Benfleet, Clacton, Colchester, Harwich, Maldon, Milton and Wrabness. As two christian names for one person had

not come in then, such forms as Mary Anne probably represented two sisters, and Mary George sister and brother.

Of birds, Pelican was most popular, followed by Starling, Swan, Swallow, Eagle and Dove.

Names of animals, real, heraldic, or mythical were used, such as Lion, Black Lion, Greyhound, Fox, Dragon, Phoenix, Hound and Hart. St. Osyth struck an unusual note in Little Coney and Unicorn.

Primrose, Marigold, Pansies and Rose were used, and St. Osyth again had a novelty in Green Lettuce (*Grene lettes*).

Bugle and Diamond were the unusual names of two Colchester ships. The only boastful or descriptive titles were Speedwell, Makespeed and Minikin (small, delicate, Halliwell).

CARGOES.

Twenty-four to fifty loads at a time of firewood (talwood and billets) were sent from Gt. Clacton, Borefleet Mill (in Gt. Bentley) and Brightlingsea to London.

Coal was naturally carried from Newcastle in quantity and measured by the chalder (36 bushels).

Food bulked largely. Some must have been imported from abroad and transhipped at London. Local produce was carried, largely to London.

The local gentry traded in local produce, or stocked their London homes from the country. "Edmund Pyrton of Little Bentley, gentleman," sent from Borefleet Mill (in Gt. Bentley) to London 8,000 logs (*cala*), one way¹ of cheese and one firkin of butter.

John Cotton, of St. Osyth, gentleman, sent to London 60 quarters of berecorn, 30 quarters of oats, 15 quarters of barley, 30 ways of cheese, 5 barrels of butter, 24 fitches of bacon, 18 loads of firewood, and 18 quarters of winter wheat (*siligo*).

Flour measured by the seam (8 bushels), wheat (*tritium*),² peas (peasen) and mustard by the quarter were sent to London.

Of imported goods, sugar appeared occasionally in chests (*cistis*), or as "shewger loves."

Dried fruits were fairly frequent: prunes in pipes, bags³ and hundredweights; figs in "pieces" and "topnets," raisins in "pieces," and one hundredweight of currants (currance). Verjuice (*vergus*) was sent from London.

¹ A way is stated to be 40-44 bushels, but a bushel is an awkward measure for cheese.

² The distinction made between *tritium* and *siligo* does not appear to be arbitrary, since there is an entry of "vigint' quarter' siliginis et tritici."

³ Bag—three to four hundred. Jacobs: *Law Dictionary*.

Grocery and daywares, nature not stated, arrived in bags, casks and frailes.¹

Vinegar and soap came from London, while Brightlingsea sent candles there.

One basket of oranges was sent from London to Colchester in 1568. This must be a fairly early date for the import of oranges into this country.

Salt fish was in demand. Although sprats were cured, I have not noticed an entry relating to them. Probably the local demand took the whole supply.

Cured herrings were sent in the form of cades (cade = 500) of red herrings (salted and smoked) and barrels of white herrings (salted only) to a fishmonger in London. One barrel of salmon came with a cargo of coal from Newcastle. One thousand haberdyne (cod cured at Aberdeen, or in that fashion), 100 cod and 200 ling were carried to Vange; and 200 coal fish (a variety of cod) and half-a-hundred of cod to Maidstone. Probably these were not cured in Essex. Thirty Newland (? Newfoundland) fish came to Colchester from London.

Salt was required in curing fish, and though made locally, large quantities were imported from abroad.

Much gross (unrefined) salt came from Baye to Colchester and Brightlingsea in loads of about 20 ways. Cargoes of 20 to 40 ways were sent to London, and 2 ways of white (refined) salt went to Vange. The imported gross salt was valued at one pound a way and paid import duty at one shilling a way. If, however, the vessel gave a passage for the Queen's mariners, a way was admitted free for each mariner carried.

Beer and hops were sent from Colchester to London, and malt went to Maidstone. Clapboards and clapholts, boards ready cut for making into casks, came from London.

Colchester brought home much wine, some described as wine without any further description, in tierces (56 gallons), hogsheads and rundletts (a small barrel of undefined size). Of the named wines, the townspeople had Sack, Malvoisie, Gascony and "Renish." Some of these were for Robert Burgess, of Colchester, inn-holder.

A load of boards went from St. Osyth to London. Thirty wain-scots, one copper and one bag of wire and nails came from London to Colchester. Colchester received from London a number of household utensils and implements. Glasses came in baskets and

¹ Frail—light basket, made from rushes or matting. Halliwell.

"dryfatts" (packing case or large basket—Halliwell), utensils unspecified in chests, and brass kettles (fifty in one consignment). Thomas Barlowe, of Colchester, grocer, received among other things in one cargo 8 barrels of ironmonger's ware, 2 maunds¹ of pots and 2 barrels of pewter.

Are the 7 pairs of "Sheremen sheres" in one cargo German shears or shearman's shears?

Twenty stone pots without covers came from Zeeland to Colchester, and 50 earthen pots without covers value ten shillings, among other things, for John Hewson, "Surgen alien," of Colchester. Also from Zeeland came 40 "fetherbedde torney teykes." This probably means feather bed ticks from Tournai, Belgium.

A crane rope, one hundred pounds of iron weights and a beam, no doubt a weighing beam, were brought from Ipswich for Robert Burgess, inn-holder, of Colchester.

Among the miscellaneous stores, 4 reams of white paper and 2 bundles of brown paper came from Zeeland to Colchester, and 30 bundles of grey paper from London.

The whale fishery supplied blubber and train oils. Five barrels of rape oil went to London and a quantity of other oil, kind not stated, left Colchester. Four bottles of oil of spike, an essential oil distilled from a foreign variety of lavender and used in painting, came from London. Zeeland sent aniseed, and London liquorice, to Colchester.

Two packs of hair and 3 stones of flocks were carried to London, and 3 barrels of pitch and tar, 3 hogsheads of rosin, and 2 hundred-weight of wax came from London to Colchester. Metal came in the form of a block of tin, 2 hogsheads and 2 barrels of worked tin and brass, 3 pieces of bell-metal, billets of iron, and, from Dordrecht, 2 tons of "Amys" (? Amay, Belgium) iron worth ten pounds.

Six packs of twine and 3 casks of lines came from Lynn. Colchester sent 6 dozen of bast ropes to London.

Colchester obtained from Dordrecht in one ship 22 millstones worth forty-four pounds, 19 "woolfestones" worth nineteen pounds. Two lasts of "dogestones" worth twelve pounds, 3 lasts of large quernstones worth seven pounds, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ lasts of small quernstones worth twenty shillings. The price of the woolfestones precludes their being used for paving a whoolf, an old local name for a channel. Possibly they and the dogstones were part of the mill.

Little clothing was carried. Three chests of raiment and a maund

¹ A maund of pots was 200. Five maunds of pots from Dordrecht to Colchester contained 1,000 pots and were worth five pounds.

of mercery appeared, but plenty of material : canvas, white leather, buckram, taffeta, frieze and cotton were imported, while trusses of coney skins, dickers (a dicker = 10) of tanned ox hides and calfskins were sent to London. Half-a-hundredweight of wrought flax arrived in a panchion (poncion) from Zeeland. Wool by the horse pack (240 pounds) and the sarplar (= 40 tods, one tod = 2 stones) were sent to London and Maidstone.

As might be expected, woollen cloth "of Essex" and "of Suffolk," and broadcloth "of Essex" were exported largely. The half-gross of mill pins worth twenty shillings and twelve dozen of mill pins from Zeeland must have been for the cloth making.

Materials for dyeing were in evidence. Madder from Antwerp, alum and brazil (a red dye) were imported; woad bulks most, and came from London in "ballets," some for John Henwick, merchant, and for John Wincole, both of Colchester. Green copperas was imported from Zeeland, so apparently the local manufacture had not then begun.

SOME ESSEX MONASTIC SEALS.

BY R. C. FOWLER.

THE legate Otto in his constitution of 1237 decreed that, because of the absence of notaries in England, every ecclesiastical official and every monastery should have an authentic seal properly engraved, of which great care should be taken. Probably most monasteries had already got seals, and there is no reason to doubt that the remainder had seals made, although in some cases no impressions have survived. Order for the proper custody of conventual seals was also made in the Statute of Carlisle in 1306. Some houses appear to have used the same seal through their whole existence, but probably more made changes, either from ideas of fashion or because of damage to the earlier matrix. Further, many had a special seal, called *ad causas*, for use in minor business, to dispense with the formalities of the chief seal; and most heads of houses had separate seals for their own use.

The accounts of the religious houses in the *Victoria County History of Essex*, vol. ii., are illustrated by several photographs of seals taken from originals or casts at the British Museum, described in the printed Catalogue of Seals. These comprise the splendid seal of Waltham Abbey (catalogue reference 4250), one of the finest ever made; a typical Cistercian seal of Tiltey Abbey (4192), from the original matrix preserved at St. John's College, Cambridge; the seal *ad causas* of St. Osyth's Abbey (2946), an uncommon type, from the matrix described in *Archæologia*, vol. xviii., p. 444; the fine seal of Colchester Abbey (2981); the later seal of Pleshey College (3845); and seals of Barking Abbey (2588); Berden Priory (2632); Coggeshall Abbey (2972); St. Botolph's Priory, Colchester (2985); Earl's Colne Priory (2988); Dunmow Priory (3080); Prittlewell Priory (3859); Stratford Abbey (4114); and Walden Abbey (4241). The seals of Beeleigh Abbey and Prittlewell Priory have been described and illustrated in the recent monographs on these houses.

Another matrix, that of Prittlewell Priory, is at present in the museum at Prittlewell. The matrix of a seal of Berden Priory, probably the first used there, was exhibited by Mr. G. E. Pritchett, F.S.A., in 1895, and described in *Transactions*, vol. v., p. 183. It is round, 1½ inches in diameter, engraved with the figure of an eagle

regardant with wings extended, standing on a scroll, and the legend *s COMMVN CANONICOR DE BEREDENE*. Matrices of seals of the priories of Hatfield Regis and Hatfield Peverel have been described and illustrated in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, ser. ii., vol. xv., p. 16, and vol. xxv., p. 78. The former, in the City of Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery, is a pointed oval, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, representing St. Mary seated, crowned, with the Child on her left knee, with the legend *s PRIORIS ET CONVENTVS DE HATFELD REG' AD CAVSAS*. The latter, belonging to the Royal Irish Academy, is a pointed oval, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, representing St. Mary seated, crowned, beneath a canopy, with the Child standing on her right knee; on either side is a shield of arms, dexter *three annulets*, sinister *a saltire* (St. Albans Abbey). The legend is *SIGILLV COE ECCLESIE BEATE MARIE DE HATFELD PEV'ELL*.

In our *Transactions*, vol. xiv., pp. 303-10, Sir W. H. St. John Hope has given a detailed and most interesting account of the evolution of the Waltham Abbey seal; and we also have illustrations of seals of the earlier Waltham College (vol. xvi., pp. 131-2), by Mr. C. H. Hunter Blair, F.S.A.; Walden Abbey (vol. xi., p. 271); and Thremhall Priory (vol. xvi., pp. 220-1). Besides those already mentioned, there are several others worthy of illustration or description; and the following accounts, from originals at the Public Record Office, will help to complete the survey.

BARKING.

Katharine Sutton, abbess of Barking, in 1369 had an interesting seal of which only a fragment now remains (Anc. Deed WS. 106). Within cusped panelling is a large shield of arms, *three chevrons* (Sutton), and above it a half-length figure of the abbess with pastoral staff and book (pl. iii.).

BLACKMORE.

The conventual seal in the time of prior William (c. 1240) is a pointed oval of white wax (Anc. D. LS. 65), about $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches long, with the legend *SIGILL GVENT ECCL KEMOR*. Under a trefoiled canopy upheld by side shafts with foliated capitals a deacon stands with book in right hand and palm-branch in left (pl. iii.).

The prior's counterseal is a pointed oval, 2 inches, with the legend *SIGILL' WILL DE BLAKAMORA*. Beneath a semicircular trefoiled arch the prior stands facing to the left and holding up his hands towards an angel in the clouds above with a crown between his hands, from which depends a long scroll.



COGGESHALL.

WIX.
DUNMOW.

WALDEN.

COGGESHALL.

A seal of mottled green wax (Anc. D. AS. 407), pointed oval, $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches, used by abbot Richard (c. 1236). Legend: SIGILL' ABBATIS DE COGGESHALL. The abbot stands on a corbel, vested for mass, with tunicle as well as chasuble over his albe, holding pastoral staff in right hand and book in left. This may be taken as a typical example of an abbot's seal of the period, and compared with those of later dates (pl. ii.).

COLCHESTER, ST. JOHN'S ABBEY.

The seal *ad causas* of the abbey (Anc. D. LS. 307) is a pointed oval, green, $2\frac{3}{8}$ inches, with a fine figure of St. John Baptist standing on a corbel with the Holy Lamb. Legend: s' ABB'IS ET CONVENT' SCI IOHIS COLECESTRIE AD C'SAS. The seal is probably early, though no early impressions of it are known (pl. i.).

A seal of abbot John de Wymondham, in 1328 (Anc. D. L. 192), is a pointed oval, brown, about 2 inches, with legend IOHANNIS D . AM ABBATIS COLCE The abbot is standing vested on a carved corbel in a columned niche, with staff in right hand and book in left; on dexter side the Lamb and Flag of St. John Baptist and on sinister side the eagle of St. John Evangelist (pl. i.).

Thomas, the last abbot, had a pointed oval seal, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, with the legend s' THOME ABBATIS SCI IOHIS COLCESTR'. (Loose seal O. 34, and fragment attached to Anc. D. BX. 626, dated 1537, both in red wax.) Beneath a double-panelled canopy are two standing figures, dexter St. John Baptist, sinister St. John Evangelist (?) with cup in left hand. In base, under a square-headed opening, is the abbot mitred with pastoral staff and hands folded in prayer, between two shields of arms, dexter *France modern and England quarterly*, sinister *a cross within a border, over all an escarbuncle of eight staves fleury* (the abbey).

DUNMOW.

A fine late twelfth century seal (Anc. D. DS. 97) used in the time of prior Thomas (c. 1230), is brown, pointed oval, about $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Legend: SIGILL ECCLESIE S UNMAWIA. St. Mary is seated crowned beneath a trefoiled canopy, holding with her left hand in her lap the Child, whose right hand is raised in blessing, and in her right hand a slender rod with a dove on the top (pl. ii.).

A later seal, attached to the Acknowledgment of Supremacy in 1534, is red, pointed oval, $2\frac{3}{8}$ inches, with legend SIGILLV COE ECCLIE SCE MARIE DE DUNMAWE. The subject is the Coronation of St. Mary, beneath a canopy. Below, under an arch, is the prior kneeling, and on each side of him a shield of arms, *a cross between four molets* (the priory), (pl. i.). This seal was probably made in the first part of the fifteenth century. That shown in *V.C.H. Essex* comes between these two, the illustration being taken from an impression of 1392 at the British Museum (Cott. ch. xxii. 9).

LEIGHS.

The seal attached to the Acknowledgment of Supremacy in 1534 is red, pointed oval, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches. In the upper part is the Last Supper, with St. John reclining on Our Lord's bosom. In the lower part St. John, with the word *IOHS* on either side of his head, stands on his eagle and holds in his hand two lettered scrolls, dexter [*IN*] *PNCIPIO VBV MASIT*, sinister ending in *DEV*. Behind him is a latticed ground and on either side three mitred heads. Another impression of this interesting seal is preserved, inferior and two years earlier (Anc. D. A.S. 485), but the legend and details are very difficult to make out. The design is late, perhaps sixteenth century (pl. iii.).

PLESHEY.

The magnificent first seal of the college, which must have been made at the time of the foundation in 1394, rivals even that of Waltham Abbey for interest, but unfortunately no perfect impression is known. The illustration is taken from one in red wax attached to a deed of 1410 (Anc. D. LS. 148); another, attached to a copy of the statutes in 1395 (D. of Lanc. Misc. 10/44), and a third, attached to a deed of 6 March, 1394 (Anc. D. L. 753), though inferior, add some details. The full legend runs: SIGILL[VM COMM] VNE COLLEGII [SA]NCTE TRINITATIS DE PLECY. In the centre, beneath a triple canopy, is Our Lord, seated and showing his wounds; above are five standing figures, St. Mary and the Child in the middle between an archbishop and a bishop; and below a group of nine kneeling clerks with gowns and hoods with tippets. At the sides are two-storied housings with emblems of the four Evangelists, dexter the eagle of St. John above the lion of St. Mark, sinister the angel of St. Matthew above the ox of St. Luke; and in niches below are kneeling figures of the founders, Thomas, duke of Gloucester, and his wife Eleanor de Bohun. On each side on a rock is a swan, the badge of Bohun, with a trefoil over its head; and above these



BARKING.
LEIGHS.

WALTHAM.

TIPTREE.
BLACKMORE.

are the shields of arms of the founders slung from bushes, dexter *Old France and England quarterly with a border*, sinister the same impaling *Bohun* (pl. i.).

ST. OSYTH'S.

The seal attached to the Acknowledgment of Supremacy in 1534 and the Surrender in 1539, is a pointed oval measuring about 3 inches, both impressions fragmentary in red wax. Beneath a triple canopy St. Osyth stands between St. Peter and St. Paul; and in base under an arch an angel holds a shield of arms, *three crowns* (the abbey). The legend appears to be [S COMMVN]E MON[ASTERII SANCTE] OSI[THE] DE CHICHE.

STRATFORD.

Seal of brown wax (Anc. D. AS. 470), pointed oval, 1½ inches, used by abbot B(enedict, 1199-1218). Legend: SIGILLVM ABBATIS DE STRATFOR. A sleeved arm holding a pastoral staff, with a shrub on dexter side.

THOBY.

Only a fragment of the seal of the priory is known, a pointed oval of about 1¾ inches, showing a standing figure, presumably of St. Leonard, the patron saint, and the end of the legend NARDI DE TOBI. The impression, in red wax (Anc. D. B. 9040) is dated 1317, but the seal appears to be older.

TILTEY.

Seal of green wax (Anc. D. A. 14346), pointed oval, 1¾ inches used by abbot Nicholas (c. 1272). Legend: SIGILLVM ABBATIS DE TILETEIA. The design is very similar to that of Coggeshall, except that the abbot has no tunicle.

TIPTREE.

The seal of the priory used in the thirteenth century was round and about 2 inches in diameter, representing St. Mary seated; but only a small fragment in green wax (Anc. D. A. 14525), with the legend MARIE DE is preserved.

The seal of prior Benedict in 1240 (Anc. D. AS. 384) is a pointed oval of green wax, 1½ inches, with legend s' BENEDICTI PRIORIS D' TIPPETRE. Above, under a canopy is a half-length figure of St. Mary with the Child, with three pellets on each side; and in base under an arch is the prior praying (pl. iii.). It has a small round counterseal, the Holy Lamb, with the legend ECCE AGNVS DEI.

WALDEN.

The seal *ad causas* used in 1393 (Anc. D. L. 251) is red, pointed oval, $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches, with legend . COVENTVS DE WALEDNA AD C . S. It appears to give a representation of the abbey church; over the roof on each side of the steeple is a star above an escallop, the badge of the patron St. James. The seal is considerably earlier than the date of the deed (pl. ii.).

WALTHAM.

An impression of the seal used by abbot Reginald in 1281 (Anc. D. L. 180), green, pointed oval, about $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches, is broken; but a contemporary description of it is preserved and has been printed in *Transactions*, vol. xiii., p. 247. The full legend is s' REGINALDI DEI GRA ABBIS ECCE SCE CRVCIS DE WALTHAM. The abbot stands on a corbel, wearing a chasuble and other sacred vestments, with mitre on his head, holding up his right hand, gloved, with a ring on the finger, to give benediction, and holding a pastoral staff in his left hand. On the dexter side are the letters RE above the letters GI, and on the sinister side the letters NA above the letters LD' (pl. i.).

Abbot John (? Shernbroke, 1507-14) had a pointed oval seal of red wax, $3\frac{1}{8}$ inches, with the legend S IOHANS S DEI GRA ABBATIS MON' SCE CRVCIS DE WALTHAM (Loose seal O. 35). Beneath a panelled canopy the abbot stands mitred and vested, with right hand raised in benediction and pastoral staff in left; on either side is a half-length angel in a penthouse; above is the Holy Cross of Waltham upheld by two half-length angels in penthouses on either side (pl. iii.).

WIX.

The conventual seal is a pointed oval, $2\frac{3}{8}$ inches long. St. Mary is seated crowned, with the Child sitting on her lap with right hand raised in blessing; in her right hand is a branch with a dove on it, and in her left a model of a church. Legend: SIGILLVM ECCLESIE SANCTE MARIE DE WICHES. This impression is of green wax (Anc. D. AS. 477). Others are also preserved, two of white being of the time of prioress Idonea de Ruly and therefore dating the seal back to the later part of the twelfth century (pl. ii.).

The same has a counterseal, also dating back to the time of Idonea, a pointed oval, $1\frac{3}{8}$ inches, showing the prioress in her habit standing on a corbel with her left hand outstretched and a book in her right. Legend: AVE MARIA GRACIA PLENA DOMINVS TECVM. This was also used by prioresses Christina and Constance.

Prioress Maud de Whelnetham in 1366 used another seal (Anc. D. A. 13921), an oval of brown wax, $\frac{1}{16}$ of an inch, with the legend SANCTE THOMA ORA PRO MATILDA. In the upper part is St. Thomas Becket, half-length, with right hand raised in benediction and cross in left; and in the lower, under an arch, the prioress praying.

No seals appear to be known for the priories of Bicknacre, Castle Hedingham, Horkesley, Latton and Stanesgate, or the friaries of Chelmsford and Colchester.

GERNON, GARLAND, AND GARNISH.

BY PERCY H. REANEY, M.A.

At first sight there would appear to be little connection between the above three words except a resemblance in the first three letters. I propose to show that in certain Essex place-names the first word is the origin of the other two.¹ We may quickly dispose of the change from *er* to *ar*, which is perfectly regular. *Star* was in Middle English *sterre*, whilst Middle English *derk*, *gerlond*, etc., become modern English *dark* and *garland*. Even where we have retained the Middle English spelling, the pronunciation has often developed normally, e.g. *clerk*, *Derby*, although such pronunciations as *sarvice*, *sarmon*, etc., are now dialectal.

Robert Gernon at the time of the Domesday survey had possessions in some forty-three Essex parishes. The family name survives in the parish name Theydon Garnon and—metamorphosed—in some nine farm names in various parts of the county. Of these, three definitely date from the survey—Garlands in Springfield and Garland's Farm in Great Maplestead and in Birch. The latter appears as *Garlands* on Chapman & André's map; the second as *Gallant's Farm* in the 1922 Spring Electoral Register. Clearer proof is provided by Garland's Farm in Steeple Bumpstead, which is mentioned as *Gernons maner'* in 1382 and 1414² and as *Garlands or Gernons* by Chapman & André. William de Mariny in 1261 held of Ralph Gernun 1 messuage, 1 carucate of land, and 38s. of rent with appurtenances in Stepelbumbstede.³ The same farm name in Pebmarsh is given by Chapman & André as *Garlands* and occurs as *Gernownes* in 1446.⁴ I have not been able to trace this name earlier than 1228, when William Gernun was a party to a fine relating to 50 acres of land with appurtenances in Alfameston and Pebbeners.⁵ Other members of the family mentioned in connection with this estate are Benedict Gernun (1258),⁶ his wife Joan,⁷ and their son Thomas.⁸

¹ In the instances cited only. Not in all cases.

² *Cal. Inq. p.m. (Rec. Comm.)*, vol. iii., p. 45b, and vol. iv., p. 9a.

³ *Essex Fines*, vol. i., p. 240.

⁴ *East Anglian N. & Q.*, vol. v. (N.S.), p. 232.

⁵ *Essex Fines*, vol. i., pp. 81, 82.

⁶ *ibid.*, vol. i., p. 228; *P.R.O. Anc. Deeds*, vol. i., A 525.

⁷ *ibid.*, A 524.

⁸ *ibid.*, and 1303 *Feudal Aids*, vol. ii., p. 142.

Among the estates of Robert Gernon was one in Tolleshunt D'Arcy.¹ In 1262 Ralph Gernun held twelve acres of land with appurtenances in Tolesunte Tregoz (*i.e.* D'Arcy),² whilst in 1303 John Gernon and others held two fees "in villis de Tolleshunt Tregoz et Blunteshal."³ There is a Garland's Farm in Tollesbury; the farm-house is less than a quarter-of-a-mile from the boundary of Tolleshunt D'Arcy, and the land attached to it, no doubt, stretches into the latter parish. There is some evidence, too, that the parish of Tollesbury was either carved out of Tolleshunt (? D'Arcy) or that the boundaries of the parishes have changed. Tolleshuntte Gynes (1272) is identified with Tollesbury,⁴ Tholishunte Gynes (1318) with "Guines Court in Tollesbury or perhaps Tollesbury itself,"⁵ and Tolleshunte with Tollesbury.⁶ Again, Bouchiers Hall, Tollesbury, occurs as Tholeshunte Guynes in 1384,⁷ whilst John de Bousser held Tol(l)eshunte Gynes in 1327-8.⁸ In view of these facts and the proved change of Gernons to Garlands, we may reasonably conclude that Garland's Farm in Tollesbury owes its name to Robert Gernon's estate in Tolleshunt D'Arcy.

Another Garland's Farm is to be found in Mundon. I have been unable to trace the Gernons actually in Mundon, but the family had extensive possessions in the district; in all the surrounding parishes in fact. Robert Gernon held land in Stow Maries and Purleigh at the time Domesday Book was compiled,⁹ William Gernun in Snoreham and Lachingdon in 1323,¹⁰ whilst in 1344 a toft, 18 acres of land in Mayland, and a marsh inundated daily by the sea were held of John Gernon by Thomas Baynard.¹¹ In 1231 Richard le Prestre quitclaimed to Ralph Gernun a fourth part of a knight's fee in Guypesho,¹² which I take to be Nipsells Rayments in Mayland, and in 1240 Roesia de Brokesheved held of Ralph Gernun 140 acres of land with appurtenances in la Stepel.¹³ Garland's Farm is three-quarters of a mile north of Mundon, only half-a-mile from the Purleigh border, and about three miles north-west of Nipsells.

¹ *V.C.H., Essex*, vol. i., p. 389.

² *Essex Fines*, vol. i., p. 245.

³ *Feudal Aids*, vol. ii., p. 131.

⁴ *Essex Fines*, vol. i., p. 352.

⁵ *Cal. Inq. p.m.*, vol. vi., p. 657.

⁶ *ibid.*, vol. ix., p. 639.

⁷ *Cal. Charter Rolls*, vol. v., p. 296.

⁸ *Placita de Banco*, p. 134.

⁹ *V.C.H., Essex*, vol. i., p. 515a.

¹⁰ *Cal. Inq. p.m.*, vol. vi., pp. 312, 332.

¹¹ *ibid.*, vol. viii., p. 366.

¹² *Essex Fines*, vol. i., p. 90.

¹³ *ibid.*, vol. i., p. 132.

In St. Lawrence, too, there still survives the name *Gallant's Cottages*, a further assimilation of Garlands, derived from William Gernoun, of whom, in 1294, Roger Baynard held 20 acres of arable.¹ Exactly the same change has occurred in the field-name *Gallant Acres* in Chigwell.² We should expect the Gernons to appear in Chigwell in view of their possessions in Theydon, Chingford, Leyton, and Loughton, and in 1336, at the proof of age of Edward de Wodeham, William de Stanford declared he was present at a concord made in Chigwell church between Sir Robert de Hageham and William Gernoun on 15 November, 1314.³

The development of this name is due to the Anglo-Norman interchange of *l* and *r*, so common in Essex, and already discussed on a previous occasion.⁴ Popular etymology has lent its aid in changing the unmeaning *Garlons* into the intelligible *Garlands*. The change also occurred in the family name, as distinct from its appearance as a place-name. In 1562 we read of 17 acres of land in Theydon Garnon, called Southfield and Lyttledone, which formerly belonged to Thomas Garlond and Lucie his wife.⁵ This is presumably the Thomas Gernon mentioned in a fine of 1345.⁶ The later spellings collected for Theydon Garnon also throw interesting light on the local pronunciation. In 1430 we find the first *n* has been de-nasalized, giving the picturesque version *Theydongarden*⁷; in 1474 we have the retention of both *n*'s with the insertion of an inorganic *d*—*Garnondestoun*,⁸ whilst in 1507 the second *n* is de-nasalized—*Theyden Garnad*.⁹ A not uncommon cockney pronunciation appears in 1502-3—*Fedon Gardon*,¹⁰ whilst about 1500 we find *Garnetts Town*,¹¹ a form we shall discuss later.

An illustration of the danger of generalizing on the derivation of place-names is provided by Great and Old Garlands in Stanford le Hope. Here again we are concerned with an owner, but not with a Gernon, for in 1248 John le Frank quitclaimed five acres of land in Stanford to Robert Gerlaunde,¹² whilst in 1267 Richard de Gerlaund and Alice his wife quitclaimed seven acres of land and one-and-a-half acres of meadow with appurtenances in Staunford to Ranulph de

¹ *Cal. Inq. p.m.*, vol. iii., p. 171.

² *E.A.T.*, vol. v. (n.s.), p. 159.

³ *Cal. Inq. p.m.*, vol. viii., p. 30.

⁴ *E.A.T.*, vol. xvi., pp. 253-4.

⁵ *ibid.*, vol. v. (n.s.), p. 8, n. 3.

⁶ *ibid.*, vol. v. (n.s.), pp. 16, 24.

⁷ *Early Chanc. Proc.*, vol. i., p. 97.

⁸ *E.A.T.*, vol. v. (n.s.), p. 204.

⁹ *ibid.*, vol. vi., p. 110.

¹⁰ *Early Chanc. Proc.*, vol. iv., p. 95.

¹¹ *E.A.T.*, vol. v. (n.s.), p. 216.

¹² *Essex Fines*, vol. i., p. 173.

Movyron.¹ Members, presumably, of the same family, are found earlier in the same district; William, uncle of Geoffrey de Garland, John de Garland, and William de Garlande, at West Tilbury in 1201-2,² and John and Godwin de Garland at East Tilbury in 1201.³

The same name also occurs much later, and in all probability we have the same family holding these estates for over 300 years. Robert Gerlaund witnessed a grant dated at Corringham in 1344.⁴ Agneys, late wife of Richard Garlond, was a party to a suit relating to tenements in Stanford in the Hope some time during the fourteenth or fifteenth century,⁵ whilst between 1486 and 1515 William Garland, of Stanford le Hope, yeoman, son and heir of William Garlond, was concerned in suits regarding land in East Tilbury and the detention of deeds relating to tenements in Stanford, Corringham, Fobbing, Vange, South Benfleet, and West Tilbury.⁶ Hence Little Garlonds in Corringham also owes its name to this family.

There was apparently a family dispute as to the disposal of part, at least, of the estate, for between 1504 and 1515 there were further proceedings about the detention of deeds relating to land called *Old Garland's lands* in Stanford le Hope. The parties concerned were William, son and heir of John Slixton and of Eleanor his wife, daughter of John, son and heir of Robert Garlond, on the one side, and on the other, William, grandson of the said Robert, and Margery his mother.⁷ This William was concerned in two other suits between 1515 and 1529, in one of which he was accused of obtaining the title-deeds to a messuage in East and West Tilbury by personating the complainant, John Blyott of Southchurch.⁸

Garnons in Wormingford is a difficult name. An alternative name was Gerners, which Morant declared was a corruption of Gernons, ancient owners.⁹ This is possible and is supported by the earliest form noted, *Gernunera*,¹⁰ which was then in the possession of Ralph Gernun. The meaning, then, is "the home or manor of the Gernons" and is parallel with *Le Musardere*, now Miserden, Gloucestershire. On the death of Ralph Gernun the estate is mentioned as *La Gerunere*,¹¹ a form that can be quite well derived

¹ *ibid.*, vol. i., p. 264.

² *Abbrev. Plac.*, p. 33a; *Essex Fines*, vol. i., p. 28.

³ *ibid.*, vol. i., p. 21.

⁴ 1344 *Close Rolls*, pp. 472-3.

⁵ *Early Chanc. Proc.*, vol. ii., p. 483.

⁶ *ibid.*, vol. iii., pp. 163, 195.

⁷ *ibid.*, vol. iv., p. 399.

⁸ *ibid.*, vol. v., pp. 81, 261.

⁹ *History of Essex*, vol. ii., p. 232b.

¹⁰ 1231 *Close Rolls*, p. 513.

¹¹ 1248 *Cal. Inq. p.m.*, vol. i., p. 292.

from the first by dissimilatory loss of *n*.¹ Dr. Round, however, doubts this derivation and suggests the name may owe its origin to Gerun, whose son William held a knight's fee of William de Montfichet (overlord of Wormingford) in 1166.² This, too, is possible, and would normally become Gerners: the modern form would then be due to the similarity between the original name and that of the Gernons, who held the estate for at least seventy years. But a further difficulty is raised by an alternative form *La Gerunere* alias *La Corunere*.³ Later forms are: *Garrener*,⁴ *Garnon* (Norden), and *Gerners* (Chapman & André). A definite etymology cannot be given at present. The discovery of the name of the estate before it came into the hands of the Gernons, would, perhaps, solve the problem.

The parish of Theydon Garnon owes its surname to the Gernon family. Their manor-house would naturally be referred to as *Gernon's Hall*, and so it was originally, but on the modern map it appears as *Garnish Hall*. The earliest references I have found to the Hall are: 1474 *Garnonshall*, 1497 *Garnounes Halle*, 1499 *Gernowns Hall*.⁵ The key to the transition to the modern form is again the change or interchange of liquids so frequent in Essex place-names. But there is a slight difference. We saw above that this dissimilation resulted in a change from *Garnons* to *Garlons* (and later to *Garlands*). Here, instead of *n—n* becoming *l—n*, the second *n* disappears,⁶ giving *Garnis*.⁷ Exactly the same change occurred in the name of the Gernons' mill in the same parish: *a ferme callyd Garnouns myll, new byldyd*⁸; *Garnesmill* (a messuage).⁹ Chapman & André retain the original form *Gernonmill Farm*, as also does the 1805 edition of the Ordnance map: *Gernon Mill*. The mill seems to have been on or near the site of the modern Jackson's Farm.

The modern pronunciation dates from at least about 1507, when we find the Hall referred to as *garnysh*.¹⁰ This change of final *s* or *ts* to *sh* is common in dialect in various parts of the country.

¹ cf. p. 174.

² *E.A.T.*, vol. xii., p. 93.

1273 *Cal. Inq. p. m.*, vol. ii., p. 44.

⁴ 1497 *Cal. Inq. p. m.* (Henry VII.), vol. ii., pp. 28, 29.

⁵ *E.A.T.*, vol. v. (N.S.), pp. 203, 213, 223. There is also an undated *Gernoun Hall*, *ibid.*, p. 23.

⁶ For examples of a similar dissimilatory loss of *r*, see Zachrisson, *Anglo-Norman Influence on English Place-names*, p. 136, and for *l*, cf. the following spellings of *Prittlewell*: *Prittlewell*, 1229 *Essex Fines*, vol. i., p. 86; *Pritenewell*, 1254 *Patent Rolls*, p. 366; *Priterwell*, 1240 *Close Rolls*, p. 207; and 1086 *Pritte wella*, D.B., *V.C.H.*, Essex, vol. i., p. 485a. This *l* is still missing in the local pronunciation *Prittiwell*.

⁷ c. 1507 *E.A.T.*, vol. vi., p. 112.

⁸ *ibid.*, vol. v. (N.S.), p. 28.

⁹ 1500 *ibid.*, vol. vi., p. 120.

¹⁰ *ibid.*, vol. vi., p. 113.

Shakespeare's *parlous* is frequently on the lips of Cumbrian farm-labourers in the form *parlish*. In some parts of the same county we may still hear such pronunciations as *farmesh*, *slippesh*, etc., for *farmers* and *slippers*. It appears medially in Essex in the local pronunciation *Chenshford*, and finally, with dissimilatory loss of *r*, in *Barnish* for Roding Berners.¹ It is found, too, in the development of Cornish Hall in Finchingsfield, which was the Hall of the family of Cornerth or Cornerd (named presumably from the Suffolk parish of Cornard): *Cornerthys*,² *Norton Hall* alias *North Hall* alias *Corners Hall*,³ *Cornerdes*,⁴ *Cornerde* alias *Cornerdeshall*.⁵

A similar example, which has not survived, is Paris Hall in North Weald, which owes its name to Roger de Paris, who was granted a tenement here in 1280 by Humphrey de Hastings.⁶ The place is mentioned as the manor of *Paris* in 1500 and 1533,⁷ and as *Parrishe* in 1593.⁸ Conclusive proof that our explanation of Garnish Hall is correct is provided by the following spellings for the parish name: 1604 *Thaydon* alias *Thayden* *Garnyshe* alias *Thaydon* *Garnons*⁹; 1642 *Thwaiden* *Garnich*¹⁰; 1647-8 *Thoydon* *Garnish*, towne of *Thaydon* *Garnish*, parish church of *Thaydon* *Garnish*, parson or minister of, sexton of *Thoydon* *Garnish*.¹¹

This change of *s* to *sh* was not limited to place-names. The surname *Haslam* appears as *Hashlam* in 1634 and 1637¹²; in the will of John Smyth of Blackmore (1543) *nursery* is written *nourshery*,¹³ whilst the Celys, who lived at Aveley at the end of the fifteenth century, write *askewyshyd* excused, *desshessyd* diseased, *scheche* such, and *preschesyon* procession.¹⁴ Two examples have been noted at Colchester: *harneyshed* harnessed (1507), and *offiche* office (1493).¹⁵ As often

¹ The three stages are shown by the spellings: *Rothynglernes*, 1397 *Patent Rolls*, p. 250; *Rothyng Bernes*, 1493-1500 *Early Chanc. Proc.*, vol. iii., p. 427; *Rodinge Barnishe*, 1577 *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Tenth Report, appendix 4, p. 499; *Barners Rothing* alias *Barnish Roothinge*, 1593 *Index to Ch. and R. in Brit. Mus.*, vol. i., p. 624.

² 1381 *Cal. Inq. p.m. (Rec. Comm.)*, vol. iii., p. 38a.

³ 1394-5 *Index to Rolls and Charters in British Museum*, vol. i., p. 281.

⁴ 1428 *Fewlul Aids*, vol. ii., p. 229.

⁵ 1488-90 *Court Rolls (P.R.O.)*, vol. i., p. 348.

⁶ *Winstone, Epping and Ongar Highway Trust*, p. 271. See also *Essex Fines*, vol. ii., pp. 88, 93.

⁷ *Early Chanc. Proc.*, vol. iv., p. 32.

⁸ *E.A.T.*, vol. xi., p. 340.

⁹ *East Anglian N. & Q.*, vol. vii., p. 299.

¹⁰ *Essex Parish Registers*, vol. iv., p. 84.

¹¹ *Winstone, Epping Chapel*, pp. 10, 11, 12.

¹² *Lambourne Parish Registers*, pp. 12, 13.

¹³ *E.A.T.*, vol. iii. (o.s.), p. 60.

¹⁴ *Cely Papers*, pp. 14, 40, 70, 106.

¹⁵ *Red Paper Book*, pp. 93a, 112a.

happens, the reverse change is also found: *seppe* ship (*Cely Papers*, p. 21), *ravissours* ravishers (1450 *Colch. Oath Bk.*, p. 3a), *parys* parish (1493 *Colch. Red Paper Bk.*, pp. 111a, 111b), *pariss* of Colne (1513 *East Anglian*, vol. iii. (n.s.), p. 20), *garmissed* garnished (will of Anne Pointz of North Ockendon, 1554 *E.A.T.*, vol. iii. (o.s.), p. 187), *blussing* blushing (Gabriel Harvey's *Letter Bk.* (1573-80), p. 172).

Garnish Hall in Margaret Roding owes its name to the Garnet family,¹ as does Great Garnetts in High Easter.² The development has been perfectly regular in Garnett's Farm in Great Waltham. Hasculf Gernet held land in Little Waltham as early as 1197.³ On the other hand, the field-name Garnet's Pasture in Terling was most probably *Gernon's Pasture* originally, for William Gernon had possessions there in 1239.⁴

¹ Morant, vol. ii., p. 473a.

² *ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 456b.

³ *Essex Fines*, vol. i., pp. 12, 39, 49, 74.

⁴ *ibid.*, vol. i., p. 122.

ON ROMAN ROADS IN ESSEX.

BY MILLER CHRISTY, F.L.S.

Second Supplement.

(Continued from p. 100).

NEXT, I desire to add additional information as to five of the Routes traced in my original article—namely Route 5 (Dunmow to Little Waltham; Route 6 (Little Waltham to Gosfield); Route 11 (Bartlow(?) to Dunmow); Route 12 (Dunmow, *via* Aythorpe Roothing, to Stratford, for London); and Route 18 (Godmanchester, *via* Cambridge, to Ridgwell, for Colchester).

Each of these five roads, after running quite straight throughout its entire course, obviously making for a certain destination, stops suddenly, without any apparent reason, when still many miles short of that destination. In the case of each, further investigation renders it quite clear that, whatever the cause, *the road was never continued beyond the point at which it ceases*. Had any one of these roads ever been constructed beyond that point, we should, by searching forward on its line, have certainly come upon some traces of its former existence, such as those which so often enable us to bridge gaps in other Roman roads that were certainly constructed, but are in part now lost—namely, short disconnected lengths of road, roadside interments, field foot-paths, straight stretches of hedge-and-ditch, lengths of parish boundaries, and the like, all coinciding more or less exactly with its line.¹ But, in the case of the missing portions of all these five roads, such scraps of evidence are so completely lacking that one is driven inevitably to the conclusion that this is, and can only be, because these roads were never constructed beyond

¹ It might be added that, when certain portions of a road, apparently of Roman origin, bear the name "So-and-so Street" (as is frequently the case in Essex), this fact is usually (though by no means always) good evidence that the road in question is really Roman. The name has come down to us, not from the Latin (or we should have had it in some such form as "*strata*," from L. *strata*, a paved road or way), but from Saxon times (O.E. *stræt*, a road or way). One can well understand that, the Saxons, who were an agricultural and not a road-making or engineering people, regarded the splendid roads of Roman origin which they found in existence in Britain as a remarkable feature. Hence the name "Street" appears in many forms (Strethall, Streetly, Hetton-le-Street, etc.) in their place-nomenclature. A (Roman) "Street" was very frequently adopted by them as a convenient boundary for their manors. Hence, we have, in Essex, innumerable cases in which parish boundaries (parishes having been formed of so many manors) coincide with Roman roads or indicate the lines which such roads, now lost, formerly followed.

the points at which they cease to-day. It is quite inconceivable that, if they had ever been carried further, all traces of their continuations would have vanished; when, up to the point of sudden disappearance, each is not only in use as a road to-day, but is obviously a road of Roman origin. Nor are there any sudden changes in the nature of the soil which might explain why each of these roads should remain perfectly obvious up to a certain point and should suddenly disappear from that point onwards.

In my former paper, I traced the lines of each of these five roads up to the point at which it ceases suddenly; but, when so doing, it did not occur to me to look ahead, along the line, in order to see if it were possible to trace exactly the *intended course* of each and to perceive *why* it had been intended to follow that particular course. I have, however, now done this carefully, with results which are, I think, of much interest. They indicate, with considerable exactitude, the route each was intended to follow and show clearly that that route had been chosen by the Roman *agrimensores*, or land-surveyors, with all the exceptional skill and ability they are well known to have possessed. It will be found, for instance, that earthen mounds they obviously used as sighting-points when laying out the road still exist and that each road was so laid out that it should cross the few rivers it met with in its course at their easiest fording-places—places many of which have been utilized in later times for the crossing of Mediæval roads and in modern times for the crossing of railways.

Route 5: Dunmow to Little Waltham, 7½ miles.

This road is, as stated already,¹ perfectly easy to follow from Dunmow, an important Roman centre,² south-westwards through the parishes of Great Dunmow, Barnston, and Great Waltham to Blunt's Wall farm (3½ miles) in the last-named parish. Thus far, there can be no doubt as to its being of Roman origin; for, though no parish boundaries coincide with it, it is quite straight (with the exception of a waver where it crosses a brook south of Barnston church and Hall) and it points directly towards the junction of

¹ See *ante*, vol. xv., p. 208.

² Not only is Dunmow a crossing-place of important Roman roads, but many Roman remains have been found in and around it (see, e.g., *Trans. Essex Archaeol. Soc.*, vol. iv. (1869), pp. 184-185; also vol. v. (1873), pp. 217-218; *Archæologia*, vol. v. (1779), p. 139; *etc.*). The late Prof. Haverfield, whose wide knowledge of Roman matters generally none will dispute, had no local (Essex) knowledge: otherwise, he would never have written of this road and the next (see *Rep. Roy. Hist. Monum. Comm.*, vol. i., p. xxv.) that "They do not begin or end at places connected (so far as is known) with Roman inhabited sites or with other Roman roads. They do not pass through any important Roman sites."

Roman roads at Little Waltham, four miles further on, which is a known Roman site.¹ At Blunt's Wall, however, the road ceases abruptly; and, looking ahead, one finds no evidence whatever that it was ever continued to Little Waltham. I am able to assert this with confidence, having long been familiar with almost every field on the line.

When the road ceases at Blunt's Wall, it has reached the top (about 225 feet) of the northern slope of the narrow steep-sided valley of a small tributary of the Chelmer. There are no signs whatever that the road ever crossed this valley. The modern road, making a sharp turn at Blunt's Wall, runs on, crossing the valley at an easier crossing-place at Ford End, nearly half-a-mile lower down. Proceeding, however, straight on, up the opposite slope, one reaches, in three-quarters of a mile, a short length of road which continues exactly on the line for about 300 yards and is known as Ringtail Green ($4\frac{1}{2}$ miles). This occupies one of the most elevated points (about 235 feet) on the route, and is easily visible from both ends of it. In view of this and of the fact that it is exactly on the line of the road, it seems clear that this very short length of road was constructed in advance of the rest of the road and used by the surveyors as a sighting-line. At all events, there appears to be no other conceivable explanation of its existence.

Continuing on the line (now descending steadily into the valley of the Chelmer), one passes close to Great Waltham church ($6\frac{1}{2}$ miles) and ultimately reaches the junction of roads at Little Waltham ($7\frac{1}{2}$ miles); but one finds on the way thither no trace whatever of the road having ever been actually constructed. That the Romans had intended to continue the road further than Blunt's Wall and that they had actually surveyed the route for it seems certain, in view of the short length of road at Ringtail Green; but, in view of the total absence of all other traces of the road, it seems equally certain that it was, in fact, never constructed.

Route 6: Little Waltham to Gosfield, $11\frac{1}{2}$ miles, for Long Melford.

This (the straightest and most-obviously-Roman road in Essex), after running north-east by north through mid-Essex for nearly twelve miles, at a considerable elevation, ceases suddenly after crossing the Bourne brook and reaching the edge of Gosfield park.²

¹ It is not only a branching-place of Roman roads, but considerable Roman remains have been found there—burial urns in the grounds of Little Waltham Lodge in 1864 (see note on 6-inch Ordnance Map), and a small hoard of coins in 1902 (see *Trans. Essex Archaeol. Soc.*, n.s., vol. viii., p. 229).

² See *ante*, vol. xv. (1920), pp. 209-210.

At this point (and, indeed, throughout its entire course), it is heading straight for Long Melford, in Suffolk, 11 miles further on. Yet, looking forward along that line, one fails to find any sign whatever that the road was ever constructed beyond Gosfield—not a hundred yards of existing road, a foot-path, a hedge-and-ditch, or a stretch of parish boundary. Clearly, then, the road was never continued beyond Gosfield. Nevertheless, it is not difficult to perceive that its continuance had been intended and to trace the course which had been surveyed for it to follow.¹

Leaving Gosfield and proceeding forward for two miles, the line crosses the Colne ($13\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Little Waltham) close to Brook Street farm, and within about one hundred yards of the spot (in Halstead parish) at which a post-Roman road and the Colne Valley Railway now cross it. Continuing for two miles through the park of Dynes Hall and passing Lucking street ($15\frac{1}{4}$ miles), in Great Maplestead, the line reaches an elevated spot in the parish of Wickham St. Paul ($17\frac{1}{4}$ miles) which affords a very-extensive view all round, the ground falling in every direction. The village green here has an elevation of about 276 feet and there is, just south of it, a spot which attains 284 feet, but the exact spot towards which the line of the intended road seems to have been directed lies just north of the church and Hall, and has an elevation of 241·5 feet only. On it stood, until recently, a windmill, which commanded a particularly fine prospect.² There can be no reasonable doubt that this elevated spot was used by the Roman surveyors as a sighting-point when surveying the route, not only for this intended road, but also that for another intended road which here crosses it at right-angles.³

Continuing on the line, one descends gradually on to lower ground in the valley of the Stour, reaching the river itself ($21\frac{1}{2}$ miles) at an ancient ford, now spanned by a bridge, bearing the suggestive name of Rodbridge and joining the Essex parish of Borley with the Suffolk parish of Melford. Crossing, one reaches, in less than a mile, the town of Long Melford; whence a road, which has the appearance

¹ The late Rev. H. L. Elliot, of Gosfield, who had given much thought to the problems presented by this road, wrote me his views thereon in March 1919. It was, he considered, "quite a late Roman work, and the idea was never fully carried out." The intention had been, he thought, to continue the road to Long Melford, but this was never done, "owing [he surmised] to some interruption stopping the work." He thought that the road, after passing Gosfield, had "cut into an earlier system of centuriation . . . of the land along the Colne valley"—this latter a view I am unable to endorse. He had perceived that the line of the road crosses the high point in Wickham St. Paul mentioned hereafter.

² For local information, I am indebted to the kindness of the rector, the Rev. H. M. Shuttleworth.

³ See *post*, p. 191.

of being Roman, runs on further north, in the same general direction, through Suffolk, where we need not follow it.

Route 11: Bartlow (near), via Thaxted, to Great Easton, 14½ miles (for Dunmow).

That this road is certainly Roman, at least from Radwinter to Blamster's Hall, has been shown already.¹ It has been shown also that, just as the road from Dunmow ceases suddenly at Blunt's Wall, on the edge of a small steep-sided valley, so also this road ceases similarly at Blamster's Hall, just on the edge of the very-similar valley of the Tilty brook, and, further, that, though obviously making for Dunmow, three miles and a half further on, no trace of it is to be found on the route thither.

Inasmuch as the road, if continued from Blamster's Hall to Dunmow, would have passed over an elevated district (averaging over 300 feet) of chalky boulder clay (a soil which retains clear traces of the passage of a road across it), and as no traces of any road exist, the only possible conclusion is that, though it had been intended originally to continue the road to Dunmow, this was, in fact, never done.

Route 12: Dunmow to Stratford (for London), 28½ miles (18½ miles only completed, in two portions, one at each end).

This road, after running (as I have already shown²) for five miles almost absolutely straight and at a considerable elevation (averaging about 260 feet) from the centre of the Roman settlement which is now the town of Dunmow,³ suddenly loses all its Roman character near Gunner's farm (257 feet) in Aythorpe Roothing, where it reaches (5 miles) the edge of the valley of the river Roding. At the point of its disappearance, it was running (as it had done throughout its entire course) south-west by west, and heading straight for London, 23½ miles further on.

Looking forward along the line this road had obviously been intended to follow, one notes—for a considerable distance, at any rate—an entire absence of all the evidences already mentioned as marking the routes of lost Roman roads, from which one may conclude confidently that no road ever followed the line in question. Nevertheless, one does meet with evidence that a road had been

¹ See *ante*, vol. xv., pp. 213-215.

² See *ante*, vol. xv., pp. 215-217.

³ See *ante*, p. 180.

intended to follow that line; that its route had been surveyed; and that, further on, a portion of the road had been *actually constructed*.¹

There are, in fact, two slightly-divergent lines, either of which may have been the route intended. One of these, if contemplated originally, was apparently discarded later; but both lines may be here traced.

Following, first, the easternmost route, one begins at once to descend from Aythorpe Roothing into the shallow valley of the river Roding and soon reaches ($6\frac{1}{4}$ miles from Dunmow) the river itself, just at a point where it makes a double curve, shaped like the letter S, the middle portion of the curve lying east and west (∞). At the middle of this, close to the point where the 200 feet contour-lines on each side of the valley unite (the valley thus becoming shallower), there is an easy fording-place. No actual ford now exists there, but that one existed formerly is shown by the fact that, about 300 yards before reaching the river-bank, one enters a narrow strip of meadow-land, with a perceptibly-raised track-way running down it, making directly for, and having evidently formed the approach to, a ford. Moreover, having crossed the river, one finds a stretch of hedge-and-ditch running on for about 100 yards, almost exactly on the line and coinciding with the boundary between the parishes of Leaden Roothing and Margaret Roothing. Apparently, therefore, a fordway had been prepared here in advance of the construction of an intended road.²

Continuing on the same line, one soon reaches Leaden Roothing rectory and, a mile further, passes some four hundred yards to the east of a fair-sized tumulus ($7\frac{3}{4}$ miles), marked on the Ordnance maps as the "Green Hill," standing at a junction of roads in Abbess Roding parish and occupying an elevated position (263 feet) with falling ground all round it.³ Probably this is a *botontinus*, or Roman land-

¹ There is a great temptation to look also for a corresponding extension of this road to the north-east of Dunmow, where many old maps show a fairly-straight road, inscribed "Suffolk Way," leading from Dunmow, through Great Bardfield, Finchingfield, and Ridgwell, towards Clare and Bury St. Edmunds. Many have regarded this as Roman (see e.g., *Archæologia*, vol. lxxviii. (1917), p. 259); but parish boundaries nowhere coincide with it and the greater accuracy of modern surveying, as seen on the Ordnance Survey maps, has deprived it of every Roman attribute and left it as a crooked, though fairly direct, road—probably a mediæval monastic road leading to the priory at Clare and the abbey at Bury St. Edmunds.

² Possibly this ford was not used after Roman times; for it seems clear that, throughout Mediæval times, the crossing of the Roding was at the spot, close adjacent, known as Leaden Wash, where one of the most important roads through mid-Essex (that from Chelmsford, through the Roothings and over Hatfield Heath, to Sawbridgeworth) crossed by a "wash-way," running actually in the bed of the river for several hundred yards (see *Essex Review*, vol. xxiii., pp. 31-32). Leaden Wash, being liable to heavy flooding in winter, has been largely disused for a couple of centuries. Before 1777, a "Turn-table" (shown on Chapman & André's map) was constructed at the adjacent spot where the modern bridge now is.

³ It is, perhaps, 25 feet through and 12 feet high. A walnut-tree grows upon it. There are signs that at some time, an attempt has been made to open it.

surveyors's boundary-mark, and was used (perhaps specially thrown up) by them as a sighting-mound to assist in surveying the route for an intended road. Undoubtedly it is visible, in favourable atmospheric conditions, from Aythorpe Roothing, where that portion of the road actually constructed ends: perhaps even from Dunmow, whence the road starts.

Almost immediately after passing this mound, the line of the road coincides with a short stretch of perfectly-straight existing road, rather less than half-a-mile long, which descends into the little village of Abbess Roothing, forms the village street (if one may so call it), passes the parish church, fords the tiny streamlet at the bottom, and ends almost at once, though a wavy road continues to the westward. Here again, therefore, a fordway appears to have been prepared, exactly on the line, in advance of the construction of an intended road.

Continuing on the line, which here crosses level and fairly-elevated country (260-275 feet), for about four miles, one reaches the small Cripsey brook ($11\frac{3}{4}$ miles), passes through the park of Blake Hall, and, about six miles further still, reaches ($17\frac{1}{2}$ miles) Passingford bridge, at an ancient and important fordway through the Roding, and still a much-used crossing-place, being, of course, now bridged.¹

Thus, in proceeding nearly thirteen miles perfectly straight across country, exactly on the line of this road, we have encountered a sighting-mound and three good fords—two of them still in use, though now, of course, bridged. Moreover, looking forward along the line, one sees that, when it ended at Passingford bridge, it was pointing straight (as, indeed, it had done from the start) towards the high ground of Cabin hill (300 feet), in the northern extremity of what is now Hainault forest, in the parish of Lambourne, and about two miles ahead. All this can hardly be accidental. It suggests inevitably that an extension of the road from Aythorpe Roding towards London had been contemplated; that its route had been surveyed; and that the surveyors, when surveying that route, had worked towards some mark set up or a smoke made on Cabin hill.

However this may be, after crossing the Roding at Passingford bridge, the direct line forward traverses, for much of the rest of the way to London, a piece of country through which it is not easy to

¹ The antiquity of Passingford (formerly Pissingford) is shown by the fact that, in Saxon times, the ford gave name to the Parishes of Stapleford Tawney and Stapleford Abbots (O.E. *stapla*, a post or mark, set up to indicate the exact position of the ford, and *ford*, a ford), which the river here separates.

conceive the Romans having ever even contemplated the construction of a road; for such a road would pass through the middle of what was until recently the dense forest of Hainault, which, in Roman times, must have been still more dense and impenetrable than in our own. As a fact, there is no sign that any Roman road ever passed through it.

The facts of the case seem, then, to warrant the assumption that the Romans had originally contemplated carrying the road through to London by this route and had prepared the necessary fording-places, but that, later, they abandoned their intention, probably because they found that an alternative and better route existed, slightly further west. Such a change of route is not unknown to-day in the construction of a new line of railroad—sometimes even after construction has actually begun. One may point to several instances of this in our own county. Nevertheless, there is some reason to believe (as will be shown hereafter) that, later, the Romans did, in a way, continue it, though not in the direction contemplated originally.

Reverting to the alternative (rather more westerly) route mentioned—the one the Romans ultimately decided to follow and actually in part constructed—one finds that, starting afresh from the ancient fording-place through the river Roding, in Leaden Roothing ($6\frac{1}{4}$ miles from Dunmow),¹ and following a line inclining about 5° more westerly than that followed above, one actually strikes the "Green Hill" already mentioned as probably a Roman sighting-mound or *betontinus*. Continuing on the same line, after four miles, one crosses the Cripsey brook ($11\frac{1}{2}$ miles) at the excellent and still-much-used ford (now, of course, bridged) in the village of Moreton. Continuing again, on the same line and traversing fairly high ground (about 270 feet) for a further two miles and a quarter (having, thus far, seen no trace of a Roman road), one encounters, at a spot slightly west of Ongar park Hall, where the line being followed crosses both the 300 feet contour-line and the railway line (14 miles), a short length (about 250 yards) of hedge and ditch which coincides exactly with (and, doubtless, indicates) the line of the Roman road. Continuing on this line, after a gap of about 250 yards, one encounters a short stretch (about 300 yards) of the north-western boundary of Ongar park wood; which stretch also coincides exactly with (and, doubtless, also indicates) the line of the Roman road.² If there are traces of the passage of the road

¹ See *ante*, p. 184.

² Cold Hall is close adjoining.

through the wood itself, they must be sought during the winter or when the wood is cut down; for I have sought in vain for such during the summer. Yet that the Roman road did actually pass straight through the wood is certain; for, continuing on the line, through the wood, for about a mile, one encounters, on its southern edge, close to Colliers' Hatch (322 feet¹), the beginning of a stretch of existing road coinciding exactly with the line one has been following and easily traceable forward, in spite of some gaps, for nine miles and a half in a perfectly-straight line. There can be no doubt whatever that one is now on the line of a Roman road which was *not merely planned, but was actually constructed and was used, as most of it is still*. It deserves, therefore, special notice.

From the point indicated on the southern edge of Ongar park wood, the road runs perfectly straight for nearly a mile (a parish boundary following it for most of that distance), until it reaches an elevated spot (342 feet) between Gravel-pit wood and Beachet wood (16 miles). From this high point, there is such an extensive view southward, extending nearly ten miles down the valley of the Roding, that one cannot doubt that it was used as a sighting-point by the Romans when they laid out their road.

After passing this elevated point, the road disappears for about a quarter-of-a-mile, the modern road here making a sharp *détour* to the east to avoid passing over the shoulder of a fairly-steep hill, over which the Roman road obviously ran, though the signs of this now to be seen on the surface of the ground are slight. After this short *détour*, the Roman road re-commences, exactly on the old line, near Mount End, at the northern extremity of Hill Hall park, and runs on very straight, past Barber's wood, being here quite distinctly banked (the boundary between Epping and Theydon Mount closely accompanying it), to a four-want-way known as Hobb's Cross (17½ miles), in Theydon Gernon parish.²

After passing Hobb's Cross, the Roman road disappears for about two miles-and-a-half, though this long gap is largely bridged by half-a-mile of foot-path near Hyde's farm, by about as great a length of hedge-and-ditch, and by about one hundred yards of existing road below Theydon Hall—all these being exactly on and certainly indicating) the line of the Roman road. This long gap is due mainly to the road becoming lost in crossing the valley of the river Roding,

¹ There is an even higher point (358 feet) about 300 yards further east.

² In 1863, Sir William Bower-Smyth, of Hill Hall, exhibited before the Society of Antiquaries a bronze vase, a leaden cist, and other Roman objects, found near this spot, on low ground beside the river Roding (see *Proc.*, vol. ii. (1864), p. 184). In 1870, Miss Whiteman exhibited before the same society fragments of Roman pottery found six feet down in a field between the churches of Theydon Mount and Stapleford Tawney (*op. cit.*, 2nd ser., vol. iv., p. 446).

the actual crossing-point having been, apparently, in Theydon Mead, about half-a-mile west of Abridge, at a spot where there is now no sign of a ford-way.

From this point, for the remainder of the distance to London, one passes through a district in which very numerous Roman remains have been found, many of them close to the line of the road.

Continuing exactly on the original line, one soon reaches higher ground (about 90 feet) on the south side of the Roding valley, and re-encounters the road near Woolston Hall, in Chigwell parish. Here the road actually crosses the site of an Anglo-Roman Settlement explored and described by the late Mr. Chalkley Gould, F.S.A.¹ Mr. Frank Lambert, F.S.A., who has made a careful critical study of the coins and pottery found in it, asserts² that, so far as the evidence from them goes, the Settlement was occupied from some time in the second century to, at least, the end of the third century.

Having left the site of this settlement and run about a mile on its old line, the road disappears again near the northern edge of Roll's park, though a modern road continues to the west, skirting the park. This diversion causes a gap of nearly a mile in the Roman road, which clearly ran originally straight through the park. I have examined the surface of the ground in search of traces of its passage there, but have been unable to find any. Its line appears, however, to be indicated by a few ancient pollarded oaks (probably 700 or 800 years old), which stand exactly on its line and appear once to have grown on each side of it.

From the southern edge of Roll's park, the road must have run straight on (though there are here no traces of it) for about half-a-mile, to an elevated point (209 feet) just north of Chigwell church (21½ miles), where one re-encounters it, and the diverted modern road rejoins it. It then continues straight for slightly over a mile till it reaches Sweeps hill (22½ miles), on the northern extremity of the small remnant of forest which includes the Manor house, where it disappears completely for half-a-mile, the modern road making a curve to the west towards Woodford bridge. Continuing on the line for about half-a-mile, one passes through this small remnant of forest (in which all traces of the actual roadway have been destroyed by gravel-digging) and reaches the northern edge of the park surrounding Claybury Hall.³ Here the modern road leaves the old

¹ *Notes on a Romano-British Settlement at Chigwell* (Essex Field Club, 1903). A few hundred yards east of the road, near Turner's farm, a tessellated pavement was found about 1765, as well as a bronze figure, much pottery, and two wells (see *Rep. Roy. Hist. Monum. Comm.*, vol. ii., p. 47, and note on 6-inch Ordnance map).

² In a paper read before the Essex Field Club on 23 February 1924, but not yet published.

³ Now the Middlesex Mental Hospital.

line, and runs round the western edge of the park, which it skirts closely. Claybury park is not readily accessible, and I have not personally followed the line of the Roman road across it; but, from the large-scale Ordnance maps, it is easy to see that the road ran originally straight across it, coinciding nearly all the way with the boundary between the parishes of Woodford and Ilford. Its line is further marked by hedges and ditches, forming the boundaries of plantations, and by old trees standing along it.¹

The Roman road emerges from Claybury park near its southwestern extremity (where the modern road rejoins it), and runs on quite straight, with the exception of one slight waver, for rather over a mile (a parish boundary accompanying it most of the way), to the bank of the Roding ($24\frac{1}{2}$ miles), which it now crosses for a second time, just to the west of Carswell, in Ilford, where considerable Roman remains have been found.²

The line of the road, after crossing the Roding, runs on through the parishes of Wanstead and West Ham; but, these being now suburban and completely built over, one can find on the ground no traces of the actual road itself. Nevertheless, its line is indicated clearly by the discovery of many Roman remains along it. Thus, soon after entering the parish of Wanstead, it crosses the present Wanstead park, within the bounds of which innumerable Roman remains have been found.³ In Leyton, too, many Roman remains have been found at points lying within about a mile to the west of the road. Thus, in 1718, the foundations of Roman buildings were discovered close to the church, and at Ruckholt's, a little further south, a Roman cemetery has been brought to light.⁴ Moreover, at Valentines, in Ilford, a mile-and-a-half east of the road, Roman interments were found in 1724 and 1746.⁵ Many other records of the kind relating to this district might be cited.⁶

¹ There is some reason to believe (see *post*) that it was crossed in the park by another Roman road, now also lost.

² These consist of much pottery, turned up at various times, and pieces of the clay walling of wattle-and-daub huts (see *Rep. Roy. Hist. Monum. Comm.*, vol. ii., p. 97).

³ These consist of a fine tessellated pavement, found as long ago as 1715, much pottery, and other remains of many kinds discovered since then (see *Rep. Roy. Hist. Monum. Comm., Essex*, vol. ii., p. 248; also *Morant*, vol. i., p. 28).

⁴ See *Rep. Roy. Hist. Monum. Comm.*, vol. ii., p. 166.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 97.

⁶ It was the foregoing and other similar discoveries on or near the line of this Dunmow-London road, all considerably to the north of the "Great" (London-Mark's Tey) Road, which led the investigators of the Royal Historical Monuments Commission, who knew nothing of the existence of the first-named road, to surmise (*Report*, vol. ii., p. xxix.) that the southern portion of the course of the Great Road was ill-defined and possibly may have lain "well to the north" of its known course—a surmise which is entirely erroneous.

When the road itself disappeared after crossing the Roding, it was heading direct for Stratford¹; and there can be no doubt that the junction of the roads at the modern (St. John's) church there (28½ miles) marks its junction with the "Great Road" (Route 1), the two continuing thence as one to London.

I have no hesitation whatever in pronouncing the last thirteen miles-and-a-half of the line thus indicated to be the line of a Roman road which was *not merely planned, but was actually constructed*. Not only is this road perfectly straight, with parish boundaries accompanying it for considerable distances, but it is still in use in the form of roads and foot-paths almost throughout, and it is in close alignment with the road from Dunmow to Aythorpe Roothing, of which it was quite clearly intended to form a continuation.

In short, it seems perfectly clear that the southern portion (13½ miles long) of this road was constructed from its southern end (at Stratford) northward; that the northern portion (5 miles long) was constructed from its northern end (at Dunmow) southward; that the two ends were intended to meet and form one continuous road; but that the intervening portion (10 miles long), though surveyed, was never constructed.²

Route 18: Godmanchester (Hunts.), through Cambridge and Haverhill (Suffolk), towards Colchester, 55 miles (22 miles in Essex: 4 only of these actually constructed).

I showed formerly³ that this road (the so-called "Via Devana") is traceable, except for a few unimportant breaks, in a south-easterly direction, through Cambridge and Haverhill, to a point in the Essex parish of Ridgwell,⁴ where it disappears completely. At the point of its disappearance, it was heading (as it had done throughout its

¹ Roman pottery has been found. I am informed, near the parish church.

² It is a little difficult to reconcile these facts with Mr. Lambert's conclusion (see *ante*, p. 188) that the Chigwell Settlement was occupied from the second century until late in the third century; for this Settlement, being *actually on* the road, can hardly be of earlier date than the road. It follows, therefore, that the road must have been planned and that portion of it which crosses the Settlement must have been actually constructed by the date indicated. In that case, it is surprising (assuming Mr. Lambert's conclusion to be correct) that the road should have still remained uncompleted at the time of the withdrawal of the Romans from Britain, which did not take place until about a century-and-a-half later. Possibly the Settlement ceased, for some reason, to be occupied after the end of the third century, which would account for the absence of coins and pottery of later date.

³ See *ante*, N.S., vol. xv. (1920), pp. 223-224.

⁴ Not Alphamstone, as I stated in error. The foundations of a good Roman house, discovered in 1794 just south of the village and close to the supposed line of the road, was excavated and described soon after by Thomas Walford (see *Archæologia*, vol. xiv. (1803), pp. 62-68). It covered an area of about 120 by 200 feet.

entire course of 37 miles) straight for Colchester, eighteen miles further on.¹

Looking forward along the line the road had obviously been intended to follow from Ridgwell on its way to Colchester, one notes an entire absence along it of those indications already mentioned as marking the routes of lost Roman roads. Therefore, in this case also, one is driven to the conclusion that no road ever followed the line in question. Yet, once more, one finds evidence which seems to show that, though no road was ever actually constructed, the route for one had been surveyed and decided upon.

Following the line of the road onward from Ridgwell (37 miles from Godmanchester), one meets with a Causeway farm (indicating, doubtless, the line of the road), and, some five miles further (during which the line runs everywhere at an elevation of over 200 feet, following the ridge of high ground between the valleys of the Colne and the Stour), one reaches (42 miles), the specially-elevated point (241.5 feet) just north of the Hall and church of Wickham St. Paul's, which has been mentioned already² as being on the line of another intended (but never completed) Roman road (that from Gosfield northwards). This elevated spot forms exactly the kind of natural landmark which the Roman *agrimensores*, or land-surveyors, were accustomed to make use of in laying out the lines of their roads; and it can hardly be an accident that the lines of two such roads should meet and cross at right-angles exactly at it.

Continuing in the same general direction, but a couple of degrees or so more southerly, and still on high ground, one passes through Alphamstone and, after descending somewhat into the valleys of the Cambridge brook, a tributary of the Stour, and of the Stour itself, one encounters (47½ miles) the well-known moated mount from which the parish of Mount Bures takes its name. This mound which is almost certainly Roman,³ stands comparatively low (162.5 feet), being to some extent in the valley of the Stour; but it is

¹ Most previous writers have described this road the other way about—from Colchester to Godmanchester; but the facts stated herein suffice to show that it must have been constructed from Godmanchester towards Colchester, which it never reached.

² See *ante*, p. 182.

³ It has been described in error several times as a defensive "mount and court" of the Norman type, like those at Pleshey and Canfield; but it is a *mount only*, without a court, though it has a deep encircling moat, out which it was obviously thrown up. It resembles closely the similar courtless mounts at Bartlow, Mersea, and Lexden, all of which have been proved to be Roman (see *Archæologia*, vols. xxv., xxvi. and xxviii.; *Trans. Essex Archæol. Soc.*, n.s., vol. xii. (1912), pp. 186-192; and *op. cit.*, vol. xiii. (1913), pp. 116-139). There can hardly be a doubt, therefore, that it is, like them, an Anglo-Roman burial mound. Moreover, in 1849, there was discovered, about a quarter-of-a-mile south-east from it (close beside the present railway) a very interesting Roman grave, containing large andirons, a tripod, large earthen and glass vessels, and other domestic articles, all now in the museum at Colchester (see C. Roach Smith, *Collect. Antiq.*, vol. ii., pp. 25-36: 1852).

large (35 feet high and about 200 feet diameter at base¹) and prominent from the north-west, across the valley of the Cambridge brook. It is almost certainly visible, in good atmospheric conditions, from the high ground at Wickham St. Paul; and there seems little doubt that it existed and was used as a sighting-point by the surveyors when surveying the route for this road.

Proceeding, again, one finds that, from Mount Bures, the direct line for the North Gate of Colchester runs a few degrees more southerly than hitherto, passing to the south of Wormingford and the Horkesleys (all the time descending gradually into the valley of the Colne), till it reaches the junction of roads (52 miles) in West Bergholt parish, whence a wavy modern road (but probably on the general line of a Roman road) runs on to the North Gate (55 miles).

The route intended to be followed by this road is less clearly marked than those of the two foregoing, and there are no indications that any portion of it was ever prepared in advance; but its intended route seems made clear by the intersection of roads at a natural sighting-point in Wickham St. Paul and by the occurrence on it of Bures Mount.

In view of the facts disclosed above in regard to these five roads, one is bound to ask: How are they to be explained? Why were four of these roads constructed up to a certain point only, but never carried further, and the fifth constructed from both ends, but left unfinished in the middle, the ends of all five being thus left (so to speak) "in the air"?

To me, it seems, as hinted already, that there is a simple reply to this question, and one only: These roads were planned and commenced in the later days of the Roman occupation of Britain, and had not been completed when the Roman legions were recalled to Rome early in the fifth century A.D. As a result, these roads have remained unfinished to this day; for road-making in the grand manner of the Romans was not practised again in these islands, after their departure, for nearly fifteen hundred years—not, in fact, until our own days.

Acceptance of these contentions (which seem to me irrefutable) involves recognition of the fact that, taking all the Roman roads which ever actually existed in Essex, extremely little of their courses has been really lost.² There are gaps in all of them—as

¹ See *Rep. Roy. Comm. Hist. Monuments, Essex*, vol. iii. (1922), p. 185.

² The only exceptions I admit to this statement are that the course of the road from Dunmow northwards, through Thaxted, is indefinite, to the north of Radwinter (see *ante*, vol. xv., p. 213), and that parts of the road from Colchester to Hamford Water (see *ante*, vol. xv., p. 203) are also somewhat indefinite.

much as two miles wide in some cases; but in no case is there serious doubt as to the original course of the road across these gaps; for, in most cases, its line across them is indicated quite clearly by stretches of existing foot-paths, hedges-and-ditches, or parish boundaries—often by two or more of these features in combination. As to the five Essex roads which end (so to speak) “in the air”: I have demonstrated (as I consider) that these were *never constructed* beyond the points at which they disappear. Consequently, the idea, advanced by previous writers, that traces of them probably exist and should be sought for along the routes they were supposed to have followed, is quite untenable. In the case of these five roads, we are not dealing with roads which once existed and have been lost, but with roads which, though certainly planned and begun, were never completed. It is, therefore, futile to seek for traces of them where none have ever existed.

(To be continued.)

NAVESTOCK.

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

FOR the members of our Society Navestock has a special interest, as having been the Essex living (1850-1866) of one who has become the recognised historian of the English constitution. He was also librarian at Lambeth 1862-8, and had become Regius Professor at Oxford in 1866. Of his wisdom, of his patience, of his untiring industry, it is not for me to speak, but I shall always be proud of having had him, when at Oxford (1876-8), as my master, and in later years as a friend. He was one of those who helped to found our own Society, and, when he became a bishop—of Chester, and then of Oxford—he was one of our Honorary members.

Turning now to Navestock itself, it was one of those Essex manors which belonged, from early days, to the Dean and Canons of St. Paul's. To this we owe the full and very valuable account of it compiled in 1222, and issued by the Camden Society in 1858. Archdeacon Hale was the editor of *The Domesday of St. Paul's*, as this volume is styled, and, in addition to the ten pages occupied by this Survey in the text, he contributed several valuable notes. The same volume contains a survey of earlier date, namely 1181, in which is given a brief account of the manor at the time, and a fuller one of the living, which must have been a good one, though charged with several payments. When Stubbs was living at the vicarage, he edited for The Master of the Rolls' series "The historical works of Ralf de Diceto," Dean of St. Paul's at the close of the twelfth century, of whom he held a high opinion. It was, he reminds us, the first act of this industrious dean to put in hand the above survey of 1181, comparable even with the Domesday survey of nearly a century before. Stubbs explained in his preface to this work (1876) the curious system then in force, by which the capitular manors were leased out to "canons of the cathedral or high dignitaries elsewhere," such as archdeacons, prebendaries, and two future bishops. He selected, as an example¹ of this singular system, Navestock, his own old living,² which shows, he observes, "the wisdom of the dean's suggestion that the rectory and the farm of the manor should not be in the same hands." St. Paul's, he wrote, "held the two together until the Reformation, when the two were finally divided; but long

¹ *Historical introductions to the Rolls Series* (1902), pp. 68-72.

² *Ibid.*, p. 71.

before that, probably, the eighty acres of glebe, and wood which belonged to the church had been lost among the lands of the manor; the vicar," he plaintively added, "holds now about twenty acres, and the rectors," that is to say the Dean and Chapter, "possess no land in the parish." As for the vicarage, it stands by what was Navestock Heath (or Common). This great parish has been much affected by the making, and then, in later days, the abandonment of the large park of the Waldegraves. It was, I may add, on 'Navestock Common' that Stukeley found his 'Alate temple of the Druids,' on which see the late Mr. Chalkley Gould's notes read at Navestock to our Society on October, 1901 (*E.A.T.*, vol. viii., pp. 327-8).

The valuable survey of Navestock in 1222, of which I have spoken above contains at least one entry of quite general interest. It reminds us of the famous lines that are ascribed to an Essex priest, John Ball, at the time of the great rising of the commons under Richard the Second:

When Adam delved and Ev-e span,
Who was then the gentleman?

For we twice read in this Survey of an Adam who is himself described as "gentilman." When my friend Sir George Sitwell was writing a paper on the origin and early meaning of the word, he told me that this was an earlier instance of its occurrence than he had been able to find. I fear, however, that in this case the name given to Adam—who seems to have been a humble peasant—may have been due only to a primitive rustic wit.

The words found in these early surveys take us back strangely far. In that of 1181 the mention of "warpeni" at Navestock relates to the famous "Wardstaff of Ongar,"¹ an ancient and strange mummary, of which Archdeacon Hale wrote that "as a Hocktide ceremony, it was, if superstitious, the remnant of a superstition as ancient as Hockday itself." This survival is immediately followed by the archaic payment of a halfpenny from every "husband" (*husebonde*) for view of frank pledge (*de franco plegio*), of which the learned Archdeacon wrote that "in the laws of Canute the husband is denominated simply the 'bonde,' a word which, as meaning 'one bound,' is a remarkable evidence of the ancient feeling and opinion as to the reality of the ties of marriage." As one who is not so bound, I venture to suggest from an impartial standpoint that this is hazardous etymology. Ralf "le Bonde" (or "Bunde"), who occurs as a Navestock man in 1222, was undoubtedly in bondage, not to the ties of marriage, but to those of servile labour. He and Adam

¹ See also *E.A.T.*, vol. viii., p. 229.

Bunde, his fellow, were among those neifs (*nativi a principio*) of the unfree class, who held their land by the performance of certain servile tasks.¹ When I tell you that "Jordan le Vikere," who is mentioned several times in the Navestock survey, was a member of the same class, I think you will agree with me that like our friend 'Adam gentilman,' he must have been the bearer of a nickname, and was not "vicar" of the parish.²

Before I pass away from these interesting names I cannot refrain from mentioning what I think was the favourite jest of my old and honoured master, the greatest of Navestock's vicars. In his introduction to the works of Ralf de Diceto, from which I have quoted above, he tells us that master Ralf, who was Archdeacon of Middlesex before he was Dean of St. Paul's, held also two livings, of which that of Finchingfield was in Essex. From it he drew a pension, as it was technically termed, "and served the church by a vicar." This appears to have been unknown to Newcourt, and, therefore, to Morant. Hubert Walter, however, when Archbishop of Canterbury, speaks of Ralf as then incumbent. It was not till after his death that (in 1225) this church was appropriated to the priory of Thetford, and a perpetual vicarage endowed. Stubbs, also, had to mention that his author became an archdeacon (from 1152), for he did not love archdeacons; those, at least, of early days. Walkelin, for instance, Archdeacon of Suffolk, was the nephew of his bishop, "gave great trouble to Archbishop Theobald, and defied the Pope." He was, Stubbs was careful to add, "one of those Archdeacons whose lives led to the conclusion that no Archdeacon could be saved." This was Stubbs' favourite jest. A few pages further on he returns to the attack and observes that it was the "constant entanglement in temporal business which made the Archdeacon, of all clerical officers, the most unpopular with the laity, and which, among the more religious of the clergy, suggested an important doubt, which John of Salisbury amusingly states in a letter to a newly made Archdeacon. . . . A Canon of St. Paul's had been promoted, and had perhaps been disappointed at not being made Archdeacon earlier. He had denied that it was possible for an Archdeacon to be saved; yet in 1155, when an Archdeaconry was offered him, he accepted it." John of Salisbury congratulated him in a bantering letter, expressing pleasure that his bishop had convinced him that, for him, at least, salvation was possible.³

¹ "Isti tenent terras nativas operarias" (p. 80).

² The name is given as "vicere," or "fikere," for "v" and "f" were interchangeable.

³ *Historical Introductions to the Rolls Series*, pp. 47, 53.

I must, however, hasten to what is, for ourselves, by far the most important feature about this parish, namely, the very valuable light that is thrown by its manorial descents on those of other Essex parishes, especially that of Faulkbourne. It is positively startling that Morant could tell us nothing of what he termed the subordinate manors till the time of the Tudors, although I can trace one of them back to the Norman Conquest. He had before him Newcourt's work, of which he has made the fullest use, and yet, here at Navestock, he has not even mentioned the foundation deed of the chapel, which Newcourt duly printed. I have been able to show that the early lords of Faulkbourne, whose very surname has remained unknown, had a seat at Navestock also, and founded this chapel for their use when they were staying there. I hope to complete shortly my paper on "The early Lords of Faulkbourne," when I shall show how, here at Navestock, we find the clue to their history and their name, as well as the descent of another manor for which we turn to Morant in vain.

THE ROMAN FORT IN THE PARISH OF BRADWELL-JUXTA-MARE.

BY MISS M. V. TAYLOR.

CAMDEN first drew attention to the little chapel of S. Peter's-on-the-Wall which stands on the edge of the salting at the eastern extremity of the parish of Bradwell-juxta-Mare. In his first edition of the *Britannia* (1586, p. 245, f.) he suggests that it is possibly the site of that Ythancæstir on the river Pent in Essex, mentioned by Bede as the place where Cedd built a church and ordained priests and deacons c. 653, during his missionary campaign in East Anglia, undertaken at the request of Sigebert, king of Essex.¹ He showed that the river Pent or Pant was the same as the river Froshwell, now called Blackwater,² and suggests that the town Ythancæstir had disappeared in an irruption of the sea, many, he said, placing it at S. Peter-upon-the-Wall. Possibly he is here citing William Lambard, whose *Dictionary* was written c. 1577, though not published till 150 years later (1730, p. 158), but Camden adds that "the wall" was the sea-wall maintained by farmers to stop further erosion and does not suggest that it was Roman. He also tries to derive "Ythan" from "Ad Ansa," a place mentioned in the Antonine Itinerary as six miles from Colchester, but in his last edition of the *Britannia* (1607), p. 320, abandons this far-fetched suggestion for the more probable *Othona*, having in the meanwhile seen the *Notitia Dignitatum*, which was first published at Basel in 1552.³ This document mentions *Othona* as a port on the Saxon shore, that is, the shore of south-east Britain defended against invaders. It was next to Gariannonum, known to be Burgh castle, near Yarmouth.⁴ Philemon Holland, the first translator of the *Britannia* (1610), p. 443, adds that there "yet heare remaineth a huge ruin of a thicke wall whereby many Roman coins have beene found," thus for the first time recognising actual remains of the Roman structure and thus producing archæological

¹ Bede, *Hist. Eccles.* bk. iii., ch. xxii.; Plummer, in his edition (1896, vol. ii., p. 173), accepts the identification. Camden quotes Bede from Ralph Niger, but I can find no mention of the fact in Ralph Niger's *Chronicle* or in the *Chronicle of Ralph of Coggeshale*, with whom he might have been confused. Matthew Paris (Rolls series i., 284) quotes Bede, hence *Flores Hist.* and others.

² For Pant and Blackwater see p. 44 of this volume.

³ Adding "ab Othona enim ad Ithana deflexio non est duriuscula."

⁴ F. Haverfield in *Vict. Co. Hist. Norfolk*, vol. i., p. 305, and Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Encyc.*, s.v. 'Saxonium litus.'

evidence for the existence of a fort. Henceforward the site of the fort "Othona" was regarded as no longer doubtful for, apart from the "huge ruin," the identification of the place with Bede's "Ithancæstir" seemed supported by the existence of S. Peter's, the little chapel of Saxon date, built in the jaws of the western gateway of the Roman fort, which chapel Sir William St. John Hope and others have had no hesitation in accepting as contemporaneous with Cedd.¹ Lastly, the Roman fort was further proved by the discovery of the actual structure during excavations undertaken in 1864, and the more critical antiquaries, such as Roach Smith, were now convinced that the enclosure surrounding S. Peter's was the site of the fort "Othona."²

But, while Roman fort and Saxon church have been established beyond doubt, philologists find the derivation of *Ythan*³ from *Othona* impossible and still further condemn any connection between *Ythan* and *Effecestre*, the name of a manor in Bradwell parish mentioned in Domesday Book and proved to adjoin the fort, and therefore accepted by many as a link in the chain of identification.⁴

Thus, according to the late Mr. W. H. Stevenson and other philologists, the sites both of Cedd's church at Ithanceastir on the river Pente, and of the Roman fort of Othona, have still to be found. The latter may be at Walton castle, near Felixstowe,⁵ where a Roman fort has been swallowed up by the sea, but it is well to remember that philologists deny that *Spinae* has anything to do with Speen, though a Roman site⁶; Othona may some day prove to be the Bradwell site, though it has nothing to do with Ithanceastir.

The fort held an important position guarding the entrance to the group of estuaries which here debouch into the sea and by which the invader from the sea could penetrate far inland. The Roman town of *Camulodunum* Colchester lay only eight miles up the river Colne and many houses had been built on the creeks and near the coast at a period when the danger of pirates and raiders did not exist. The site of the fort was well chosen, close to the side of the Blackwater, but on the sea; it commands a wide view of all the coast to the south and south-east of Colchester as far as the point where it

¹ *Arch. Journ.*, vol. lxiv., p. 202; *Hist. Mon. Com. Rep.*, vol. iii.

² *Antiquities of Richborough Reculver and Lynne* (1851), p. 23; *Gent.'s Mag.*, 1685 (ii.), pp. 403-8.

³ The name *Ythan* occurs in Scotland and Wales.

⁴ e.g. by Mr. Horace Round in *Vict. Co. Hist. Essex*, vol. i., p. 392, who identified it with the manors of East Hall and Battails; the former stands a mile south-west of the fort; in a fine of 1270 some of its land is described as lying in "la waule."

⁵ *Vict. Co. Hist. Suffolk*, vol. i., p. 287, ff. Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyc.*, s.v. 'Litus Saxonicum.'

⁶ Skeat, *Place Names of Berks* (1911), p. 112; and *Eng. Hist. Rev.* (1911), p. 637.

bends north. In Roman days no doubt, a creek or inlet provided anchorage for ships of the fleet with which these sites were connected, at any rate in the earlier part of their existence. Even now small yachts can approach quite close at high tide.

Like Walton, the greater part of the fort at S. Peter's has disappeared, most of it by the hand of nature, but some by the hand of man. Philemon Holland's mention of the great wall, but not an enclosure, suggests that the sea had done its work before the end of the sixteenth century, when a sea wall already existed.¹ The destruction was completed, no doubt, by human agency, otherwise we should have expected local historians, such as Morant, to pay more attention to it. All that is known of it is due to discoveries made in drainage works in connection with the enclosure of the marsh in 1864. The removal of the soil for this purpose from the field enclosing S. Peter's chapel revealed the walls of the fort. This was followed up by excavations undertaken by Mr. J. Oxley Parker, who also had trenches cut across the interior of the site and the result was published in *Archæologia*,² the report being written by the engineer, Mr. Lewin, and the plan drawn by Mr. F. Chancellor.

If the original fort was square, rather less than half of it now remains, the only entire piece of faced walling still standing being a fragment of the southern side. This measures, roughly, 13 feet long and 3 or 4 feet high, but the accumulation of earth and undergrowth have covered up the lower courses and footing. The visible portion consists of a three-course layer of tiles, measuring 10-10 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches long by 1-1 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches thick; four courses of septaria, measuring 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ -6 inches by 3-3 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches; a thick layer of mortar or cement and another three-coursed layer of tiles. Apparently, when found, each of the three lowest course of tiles projected slightly outwards one below the other, forming an off-set which rested on a course of septaria and that on the boulder foundation.³

The interior of the fort is now filled up level with the top of this fragment of wall, the interior face of which is thus not visible; when excavated the wall was said to be 12-14 feet thick with a core of grouted rubble, but the inner face is not mentioned, nor is anything

¹ The wall mentioned in the fine of 1207 is considered by Mr. Round to be the wall of the fort and not a sea wall. Norden (*Speculi Britannia pars: Essex*, 1594, ed. Camden Soc., 1840, p. 23) says that "buyldings yet appeare in the sea," but his account seems to be taken from Camden.

² *Arch.*, vol. xli., p. 440. See also *Arch. Journ.*, vol. xxii., p. 64; vol. xxiii., p. 60. C. R. Smith in *Gent.'s Mag.* (1865), vol. ii., pp. 403-8, and *Coll. Antiq.*, vol. vii., pp. 155-6. Laver, *Essex Arch. Soc.*, vol. xi., p. 85; Raven, *ibid.*, vol. vi., pp. 291, 352. Further note by Chancellor in *Arch. Journ.*, vol. xxiv., pp. 212-3.

³ C. R. Smith, *Coll. Ant.*, vol. vii., p. 156, and *Gent.'s Mag.* (1865), vol. ii., p. 403 ff. *Hist. Mon. Commission (England) Inventory: Essex*, vol. iii., p. 13, f.

said of an earth backing, and the probability is that it did not exist. The plan of the fort made in 1864 shows part of a rough rectangle with rounded corners, the eastern, and parts of the northern and southern, sides of which had disappeared. The west wall measured 522 feet long and the remainder of the north and south walls 290 and 150 feet respectively. The north wall was not quite parallel with the south, the north-west angle being slightly obtuse. From this (north-west) corner and from the west wall, about 115 feet south of the corner, projected two bastions, one semi-circular in shape, the other horse-shoe, and both 16 feet in diameter; another was thought to exist at the south-west corner. There is no description of any gate, though one is said to have existed in the west wall, where the chapel now stands, this being not quite in the centre (50 feet nearer to the south than the north side); "two outlets or gates of smaller dimensions on the north side" are also mentioned. Traces of a ditch were observed on the south, west and north sides. The line of the north ditch is marked by a modern field ditch and a pond occupies the north-west corner.

Traces of sea-weed 5 feet above the present high-water mark, apparently on the south side, suggested to the excavators a Roman wharf, but it may equally well represent inroads of the sea at a later date. The only structure noted within the fort was a short fragment of "old rubble work about four feet high" near the south wall, at a different orientation from the fort walls. The chapel, though built of Roman materials, is, as we have said, of later date. Outside the fort nothing has been found, not even the cemetery.¹

The excavators held that the tradition of a town of Ithancæstir (whatever that may mean) on land east of the fort, now covered by high water, was based on no "respectable evidence" and highly improbable. Roach Smith thought that the path and "wide raised road," which still leads from the chapel and apparently from the west gate of the fort towards the modern village of Bradwell, bore "unquestionable characteristics of Roman origin." Though these are no longer visible, path and road run very straight for two miles, except for a kink near Bradwell, at which point a ditch lies on each side of it as if it had been a causeway, but west or south of Bradwell no clear trace of it is to be found. A road linking the fort with the main London and Colchester road must have existed.

Many small objects were turned up during the excavations and are now preserved by Mr. Christopher Parker, at Faulkbourne Hall,

¹ The skeletons found within the site are said to be post-Roman. Perhaps they belong to a cemetery surrounding the chapel.

Witham. Potsherds, coins, and other small objects, can be picked up on the surface, and have found their way into the hands of local and other collectors. The coins date from Gallienus to Arcadius but are commonest for the Constantine period, as on so many Romano-British sites. The pottery is mostly of the same date, though a little appears to be of the second century, to which period belonged also one brooch.

This fort resembles others of the Saxon Shore in size, in the character of its walls and in plan. As is well-known, they were built in the late fourth century to protect this coast, provided with no natural defences, against Saxon pirates, and they are to be connected with the re-organisation of the army undertaken by Diocletian and Constantine to meet changed conditions and increasingly dangerous barbarian attacks on the Empire's frontiers on all sides.¹ If our fort were square it was most like the Brancaster (Norfolk) fort, though slightly smaller, containing a little more than six acres. The site was occupied from the third and possibly the second century to the end of the first decade of the fifth, but probably was not a fort until much before the fourth century. If it could be proved to be Othona we should know that it was garrisoned by irregular troops called 'Fortenses.'² Troops of this name, both cavalry and foot, were stationed in Spain, Tripoli (Leptis) and the Danubian lands (Dacia Ripensis and Cirpi, and Altinum in Pannonia),³ but do not seem to occur elsewhere in Britain.

¹ For a recent article on the re-organisation of the army see *Journal of Roman Studies*, vol. xliii., p. 1, ff.

² *Notitia Dignitatum* Oc., xxviii., 13.

³ *Ibid.*, Or. v., 45; vii., 15, 51; xlii., 13, M. Oc. v., 106, 225, 255; vii., 130, 152; xxxi., 29; xxxiii., 49. *Corpus Inscr. Lat.*, v., 5823; *Eph. Ep.*, iv., 943. *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1887, p. 339. Ruggiero, *Diz. Epigr.*, II., 1461, 'Cuneus equitum Dalmatarum Fortensium.'



(a)



(b)



(c)



(d)

From photo, by J. W. Burrows.

PAGLESHAM CHURCH: SOUTH-WEST WINDOW OF NAVE

ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES.

The Pamphilons.—I am indebted to Mr. Philip Laver, F.S.A., for an earlier instance of the name than any noted in my paper (vol. xvii., p. 75). In the Colchester Court Rolls (R. xxx. 25 v.) he finds a William Pamphilon, of Thaxstede, who complains against John Smyth, of the same place, of a debt in 22 Richard II. (1398-9). Thaxted is, of course, not far distant from the various villages in which the family was found at a much later date. W. MINET.

A Wanstead Inventory.—In the newly-issued *Archæologia*, vol. lxxiii., pp. 46-47, there is a brief summary of an inventory taken on 8 November, 1588, of the goods at Wanstead of Robert Dudley, late earl of Leicester, who died on 4 September; from B.M. Harley Roll D. 35, ff. 24-36. The goods, which included 'a billiarde table with the tooles apperteyninge,' were valued at 1,119*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.* There was a chapel in the house.

A Hospital at Chaureth.—In 1254 there was a hue in the town of Chaur' between men of the hospital of Chaur' and men of the abbot of Tiltey about corn carried off by the latter, so that many of them were wounded, and the men of the abbot followed the hue to the gate of the hospital.¹

Nothing more appears to be known of this hospital.

R. C. FOWLER.

Window in Paglesham Church.—When describing Paglesham church during the recent visit of the Society, I drew attention to the south-west window of the nave, which shows unusual enrichment, the rectangular hood-mould being studded with square flowers, while the jambs are carved at intervals with various devices. It is obvious that the window was re-built when the church was drastically restored about forty years ago, and the hood-mould, tracery, *etc.*, are modern, or practically so; but there is no doubt that the ornaments on the jambs, if not entirely old, are derived from the original fifteenth century window, and that they are set in a position similar to that which they formerly occupied. The *Historical Monuments Inventory* (vol. iv.) merely states that the modern windows in the south wall of nave incorporate some re-used

¹ Assize Roll 233, m. 46d; 235, m. 8d.

stones in the splays and "in one of the rear-arches, head-stops and parts of a moulded label with carved flowers."

Fortunately we have two detailed descriptions of the window before its restoration. The late Mr. H. W. King, the learned hon. sec. of this Society thirty years since, records, in his *MS. Ecclesiæ Essexienses* (vol. i., pp. 623-4), now in our library, that :

In the south wall [of nave] are three "perpendicular" windows The third, west of the doorway, is square-headed, and of two lights, from which, as in those before mentioned, all the cusplings have been barbarously cut out. Externally the mouldings of this window were highly enriched: the hollow of what remains of the dripstone contains two square-leaved flowers, and the corbel heads exist. In the moulding upon the left side of the jamb, is a sprig resembling a coral branch between two roses or other flowers, a Tudor flower, and a true lover's knot; and upon the right side, an ornament resembling a rose upon a leathern bottle, and a coral sprig between two roses as before; these ornaments were doubtless repeated in the hollow moulding, but have been shamefully broken out.

The late Mr. Philip Benton, in his *History of Rochford Hundred* (vol. ii., p. 422), also alludes to the window. He says :

The third [window], west of the doorway, from which, as in the others, the cusps have been shamefully cut out, has highly enriched mouldings externally. The hollow moulding of what remains of the dripstone was enriched with four-leaved flowers, of which two remain. In the moulding upon the left side of the jamb are roses, a Tudor flower, sprigs, and true lover's knot; and a small stock or billet to which a rose is attached.

It will be noticed that although discrepancies occur in these two accounts, they agree in essential details; and a glance at the accompanying illustration will show that all the jamb ornaments (a, b, c, d) mentioned by the writers were carefully preserved when the window was re-built. These devices are not without interest, and it has seemed worth while to attempt an accurate description of them.

- (a) This is merely a quite charmingly designed architectural ornament, consisting of a five-petalled rose with a cross in the centre, resting on an elaborately carved quatrefoil. The fifteenth century builder delighted in scattering square pateras of this nature in the hollows of cornices, arches, *etc.*
- (b) This device occurs twice, and in each case the object above the rose is very indistinct. The Rev. E. E. Dorling, F.S.A., to whom I am indebted for kindly assistance, tells me he has no doubt that this is a crowned Tudor rose, the crown being weathered and worn till in process of time it has lost its crosses and fleurs-de-lis and assumed the present puzzling shape. This dates the window as work of Henry VII.'s time—Tudor, anyhow.

- (c) Undoubtedly a Bouchier knot. Although the Bouchiers do not seem to have had any direct connection with Paglesham, their badge here was quite appropriate, since they held the earldom of Essex, and vast estates in the county.
- (d) This ornament occurs twice. It might be thought to have some heraldic significance, but Mr. Dorling is of opinion that it is merely decorative—just a rudely carved spray of roses.

The Society is greatly indebted to our member, Mr. J. W. Burrows, of Southend, for the trouble he has taken in procuring the excellent photographs reproduced; they necessitated two special visits to the church.

G. MONTAGU BENTON.

Ancient British Coin found at Clacton.—An ancient British gold quarter stater, uninscribed, was found by Mr. W. S. Watling, on the beach at Clacton a few weeks ago, and has been acquired by the Colchester Corporation Museum.

A. G. WRIGHT.

PUBLICATIONS.

Introduction to the Survey of English Place-names.

Edited by A. MAWER and F. M. STENTON.

Part I., pp. xii. + 189; Part II., pp. x. + 67. (Cambridge University Press), 21s. net.

It is impossible in a brief notice to deal adequately with the varied material in these volumes. Part I. consists of a series of essays in which neither the linguistic nor the historical side of the subject is neglected. One or two are more technical than the others, but most provide interesting reading based on an independent examination of the sources. Professor Sedgfield writes on the methods of Place-name Study, Professor Wyld on Place-names and English Linguistic Studies, and Professor Zachrisson on the French Element. Of particular interest to archæologists will be the contributions of Professor Stenton on the English Element and Personal Names in Place-names, of Professor Ekwall on the Celtic and the Scandinavian Elements, of Professor Tait on the Feudal Element, and of Mr. O. G. S. Crawford on Place-names and Archæology.

The study of place-names is already throwing light on various historical problems. Ekwall is of opinion that the British population was not exterminated even in the districts first occupied by the Anglo-Saxons. In some parts a British element must have survived for a considerable time, and the Britons seem to some extent to have lived in villages of their own. He also distinguishes between Danish and Norwegian settlements and shows that many of the Scandinavian names in the north of England are due to Celticised Norwegians who reached this country by way of Ireland. He also argues that Scandinavian was spoken in some parts of the north as late as the beginning of the twelfth century.

It is noteworthy that of the twenty references to Essex noted, eighteen occur in the papers on the French and Feudal elements. Professor Tait's essay should be supplemented, for Essex, by reference to Dr. Round's paper in the *Victoria County History*.

In Part II., Professor Mawer provides a useful dictionary of the chief elements found in English place-names. It will be found

exceedingly useful for reference, but must be used with caution. It consists of the *original* words, and before referring to it the early forms of the place-name must be known. Langham, for instance, was originally *Lavingaham* and has no connection with *lang*; Old Heath will be found under *hyth* and not under *haeth*, etc. The etymology given for Broxted is doubtful. Ringmer (p. 39) is not in Essex. Maplestead should appear under *mapuldor* and not under *mapel*.

The English Place-name Society has every reason to be proud of its first volume. A high standard of scholarly accuracy has been set, and the books, as books, are a pleasure to handle. P. H. R.

County Borough of Southend-on-Sea.

*Eighteenth Annual Report of the Public Library and Museum Committee,
1923 - 24.*

Svo. 24 pp.

A large number of people visited the Museum during the year, and several interesting additions have been made, perhaps the most important being from a pre-historic burial at Thorpe Hall Brickfield, and a Roman and Saxon burying ground at Prittlewell. A voluntary Exhibits Purchase Fund has been established and found useful.

QUARTERLY MEETING & EXCURSION, TUESDAY, 27 MAY, 1924.

ROCHFORD, GREAT STAMBRIDGE, PAGLESHAM, CANEWDON
AND ASHINGDON.

The Society was fortunate in having glorious weather for this excursion. Members assembled at Rochford Hall at 10.15 a.m., when this wreck of what was formerly one of the largest mansions in the county, built *c.* 1540-50, was described by Mr. Wykeham Chancellor, F.R.I.B.A., who also described the first two churches on the programme. After an inspection of the house, by kind permission of the authorities of the Golf Club, the adjacent church of St. Andrew was visited, the noble brick tower of which, built *c.* 1500, can be seen to advantage in its delightful rural setting. Great Stambridge church next claimed attention; it is of interest chiefly on account of its pre-Conquest origin, parts of the nave and chancel being of this period.

Luncheon was then partaken of in the field attached to the Village Hall, by kind permission of the Rev. F. R. Burnside. At a short meeting held afterwards, seven new members were elected.

Departing at 2 p.m., the party proceeded to Paglesham church, which had not previously been visited by the Society. It contains some twelfth century work, but was largely rebuilt in the fifteenth century, and has been drastically restored. The Hon. Secretary, the Rev. G. Montagu Benton, described this, and the remaining churches, special attention being drawn to a window in the nave with unusual enrichment (see p. 203).

Canewdon and Ashingdon churches were subsequently visited in turn. Canewdon church is a fine building, dating from the fourteenth century, and the massive tower, added early in the following century, is a good example of its period. Like other towers in the district, it is of Kentish rag-stone—the frequent use of this building material in south-east Essex being due to the fact that it was easily obtainable by water-carriage from Kent. Among the fittings is an

ancient altar-slab, which, according to the venerable clerk, Mr. W. Higby, was removed from the floor of the vicarage pig-sty to the church about eighteen years ago! The parish registers contain a memorandum, dated 1711, recording the discovery of a wall-painting of St. Christopher over the south door, but no trace of this is now visible. Several of the party ascended the tower to enjoy the fine view.

Ashingdon church is of the fourteenth century, and shows no signs of earlier work, although there have been archæologists in the past who averred that the tower was of the time of Canute! With no sort of architectural pretention, this little sanctuary possesses, by reason of its very simplicity, a great charm—one feels that it is perfectly adapted to the requirements of village worship.

Owing to the lamented death of his wife, Mr. James Tabor was unable to entertain the Society as originally arranged, and tea was therefore provided at the Rochford Golf Club, at an hour which gave members ample leisure before leaving for home by the 6.57 p.m. train.

COMBINED EXCURSION WITH THE SUFFOLK INSTITUTE of ARCHÆOLOGY, ON TUESDAY, 17 JUNE, 1924.

HELIONS BUMPSTEAD, STEEPLE BUMPSTEAD, MOYNS PARK,
KEDINGTON AND CLARE.

Perfect summer weather assured the success of this well-attended excursion. Leaving Haverhill station at 10.30 a.m., the party proceeded by motor char-a-banc to Helions Bumpstead church, which had not previously been visited by our Society. The building, dating mainly from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, retains its old high pews; extensive remains of late fifteenth century screen-work, painted a drab colour, and now incorporated in the west gallery and pulpit, and an incised consecration cross on the north-east buttress of the nave, are among its more interesting features. The church plate, which was kindly exhibited by the vicar, the Rev. M. S. W. Bishop, includes a restored Elizabethan cup, and a flagon of 1732, by a Dublin maker.

Steeple Bumpstead church was next visited. The two lower stages of the tower are of c. 1080, but the building dates chiefly from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The numerous graffiti, or scratched inscriptions, on the walls are especially noteworthy, and attracted some attention.

Up to about nine years ago, a bronze-gilt boss of unique interest remained roughly fixed to the inside of the south chancel door. This boss is mentioned in Wright's *History of Essex* (vol. i., p. 635), published in 1836, as being attached to the chancel door; it was in this position when our Society visited the church in 1878 (*Trans. E.A.S., n.s., vol. ii., p. 105*), and it was still there when last seen by the Hon. Secretary shortly before its removal. It is a remarkable example of ancient Irish art, c. 740-50, elaborately decorated with grotesque interlacing animals, whorls, and four quadrupeds in high relief; and there are numerous sockets originally set with amber or glass. Mr. Reginald Smith, F.S.A. (see *Proc. Soc. of Ant.*, 2nd series, vol. xxviii., pp. 87 ff.), considers it "extremely probable that the boss is one of five from an equal-armed cross on a gabled

shrine or reliquary." "It cannot originally have belonged to the church," but must have come from one of the Irish monasteries which were pillaged by the Vikings, "and its presence is best explained by the Viking raids of the ninth century, and the inclusion of the district in the Dane-law at the Peace of Wedmore in 878." It is most regrettable that the Vicar and parochial authorities, although no faculty had been procured for the purpose, allowed this valuable piece of church property to be alienated. It was purchased and presented to the British Museum by Mr. Maurice Rosenheim, F.S.A., in 1916.

Leaving the church at 12.30 p.m., luncheon was partaken of in the grounds of Moyns Park; a short meeting was afterwards held, when the President welcomed the members of the sister Society to Essex. Mr. Claude Morley, Hon. Excursions' Secretary of the Suffolk Institute, suitably responded. Subsequently twelve new members were elected, and a paper by Dr. Round, on 'The Essex and Suffolk Border' (see p. 149), was read.

Mr. Wykeham Chancellor, F.R.I.B.A., who also described the two churches previously visited, then gave a short account of the house, which is of brick, and was built by Thomas Gent, *c.* 1580; but the picturesque south-west wing is probably more than half-a-century earlier, and is of plastered timber-framing. Before departing, the interior was inspected by kind permission of Lt.-Col. and Mrs. Symonds.

The rest of the day was devoted to Suffolk. Kedington church, which was described by Mr. C. F. D. Sperling, is famous for its seventeenth century furniture and fittings, and its monuments of the Barnardiston family. The Hon. Secretary drew attention to a fragment of Roman pavement built into the south exterior wall of the nave, with the tesserae still adhering to the mortar; he could not remember having seen a similar instance in Essex, although Roman tiles occur in the walls of so many of our churches.

Clare Priory, founded for the order known later as Austin friars in 1248, was reached by 3.45 p.m. This building is of considerable interest and charm, and the descriptive paper read by our new member, Col. R. C. Bond, D.S.O., was eagerly listened to. After the house had been viewed, the party divided, half being entertained to tea at the Priory by the kindness of Lady May, and half at Nethergate House by Col. and Mrs. Bond. Hearty votes of thanks having been duly proposed, many before starting homewards, made their way to the church, where they were met by the vicar, Canon J. R. M. Vatcher, who kindly pointed out the features of interest in this fine building.

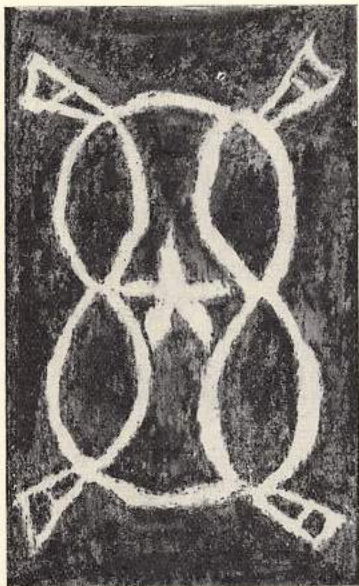
QUARTERLY MEETING & EXCURSION, THURSDAY, 17 JULY, 1924.

LINSELL, STEBBING, LITTLE DUNMOW AND BARNSTON.

This was an interesting and well-attended excursion, and the weather, although dull, fortunately remained fine until the return journey, when heavy rain fell. Motor char-a-bancs awaited the arrival of the 10.5 a.m. train at Dunmow station, and the first place visited was Linsell church, which was described by Mr. W. Duncan Clark, A.R.I.B.A., who also described the other buildings inspected. The architecture of this little church, the nave of which is of peculiar proportions, being nearly square, is somewhat complicated, and an analysis of it requires a certain amount of speculation. The twelfth century chancel arch is the earliest visible work; and the fragmentary thirteenth century, and later, glass in the east window deserves attention.

The party then proceeded to Stebbing church, a fine and complete example of fourteenth century work, c. 1360. This building, by reason of the craftsmanship and variety of design displayed in the window tracery, bears witness to the dexterity and exuberance of the last phase of English romantic art. A particularly noteworthy feature is the stone chancel-screen, similar to that at Great Bardfield. The late Mr. Francis Bond, in his *Screens and Galleries*, remarked on the close resemblance of the Stebbing screen to that in Trondhjem Cathedral, Norway, and was convinced that the Trondhjem design is of English genesis. The question has recently been re-opened by Mr. F. M. Simpson, who has examined and measured the Norway screen with great care, with the result that he is left in no doubt as to their relationship. His conclusions will be found embodied in an illustrated article which he contributed last year to *The Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*. On the north wall of chancel is a projecting wood block, slotted for the pulley of the veil, which in pre-Reformation days hung from wall to wall of the sanctuary during the season of Lent, and completely concealed the High Altar. The font is attributed to the fifteenth century in the Inventory of the *Hist. Monum. Comm.*, but Mr. Clark points out that although

the bowl belongs to this period, the base, which is of a different stone, is apparently earlier. At the west end of the north aisle is an oak coffin-shaped slab, 5 feet 5 inches in length, and 14 inches tapering to 13 inches in width, discovered early this year in the floor of a hen-house adjoining the churchyard. It has a hollow groove around the edge and is carved with this inscription: "Here lyeth the Body of Thomas Androws, who departed this life the 11th day of iuly 1683, Aged 43 yeires."



BOUCHIER-VERE BADGE.
Graffiti in Stebbing Church.

The Hon. Secretary drew attention to the graffiti cut on the piers of the south arcade: they include a helmet with a wing for its crest, the Bouchier knot, two large Vere molets, and the Bouchier knot with the Vere molet in centre (as illustrated). Sir John Bouchier bequeathed books, *etc.*, to Stebbing church in 1495. A close parallel to the last device—the knot uniting two molets—occurs on a tile in Great Bentley church. This arrangement, the late Rev. H. L. Elliot considered, commemorated the marriage of William Bouchier, son and heir of Henry, Earl of Essex, with Elizabeth, one of the daughters of John de Vere, twelfth Earl of Oxford.

On leaving the church, a short drive brought the members to Lashley Hall, a timber-framed and plastered house, built *c.* 1540, which was inspected by the kindness of Mr. and Mrs. Ashley Young. Returning to Stebbing a brief visit was paid to Parsonage farm, another timber-framed building of late sixteenth century date. Luncheon was then partaken of in the Vicarage garden by kind permission of the Rev. C. E. Livesey, and a short meeting was afterwards held when fourteen new members were elected. A move was then made to the old Friends' Meeting House adjoining, over the door of which is a panel, with the date of its erection, 1674.

Little Dunmow church was reached at 3 p.m., and here the Rev. T. H. Curling read a paper written by the vicar, the Rev. E. I. Robson. This structure, one of the most important monastic

buildings in the county, was probably the Lady Chapel of the Augustinian Priory of St. Mary the Virgin, founded in 1106 by Geoffrey Baynard, and is all that is left of the Priory.

A circuitous route, by Gt. Dunmow, brought the party to Barnston Hall, the residence of Mr. and Mrs. H. B. Turner, who kindly provided tea in their garden. The Hall was built late in the sixteenth century, but it may incorporate portions of a fifteenth century house. Roman remains have been found in the grounds, including a bronze bangle now worn by Mrs. Turner. The Hon. Excursions Secretary, in the regrettable absence of the President, having thanked Mr. and Mrs. Turner for their hospitality, the members, before leaving for the homeward journey, inspected Barnston church near by, which had not previously been visited by the Society. This building dates back to the twelfth century, and its chief object of interest is the elaborate double piscina, with interlacing, semi-circular arches, *c.* 1200, in the chancel; possibly it was brought from elsewhere. It is one of the few churches that still possesses a barrel-organ, situated in the west gallery, and two or three tunes were played on it for the benefit of those present.

QUARTERLY MEETING & EXCURSION, THURSDAY, 11 SEPTEMBER, 1924.

SOUTH WEALD, NAVESTOCK, STONDON MASSEY AND BRENTWOOD.

This excursion through the Weald of Essex proved most enjoyable, and was attended by considerably over a hundred members and friends. A gloomy morning of an exceptionally unsettled summer was not a promising beginning, but as the day advanced the dulness gave place to bright sunshine.

Starting from Brentwood station, South Weald was reached soon after 10 a.m. The church, described by Mr. Wykeham Chancellor, F.R.I.B.A., was practically rebuilt in the nineteenth century; but the former nave, now the south aisle, dating from about 1150, retains its original south doorway; and the reconstructed south arcade, *c.* 1300, has unusual capitals.

The Hon. Secretary recalled that a former parishioner of his, the late Mr. J. W. Burningham, of Saffron Walden, told him that his father watched the grave of his grandfather in South Weald churchyard for three nights to prevent body-snatchers from exhuming the

corpse. Reference to the *Essex Chronicle* shows that "resurrectionists" were busy in the neighbourhood in 1824; they managed to disinter a body at Shelley, but were disturbed when opening a grave in Greensted churchyard.

The party then proceeded to Weald Hall, and, on arrival, assembled in the great hall, where the Hon. Secretary gave a brief account of the building, which was afterwards inspected by kind permission of the Trustees. It was the home of Sir Anthony Browne (*ob.* 1567), Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and founder of Brentwood Grammar School; tradition also asserts that Princess Mary, daughter of Henry VIII. resided here for a short while; for the last 150 years or so it has been in the possession of the Tower family. The house, consisting of two main blocks set at right angles to each other, was built about 1540-70, and is an interesting example of Tudor brickwork, though it suffered a great deal of alteration in the eighteenth century. The picturesque brick lodge, known as Princess Mary's chapel, is also of Tudor date.

Navestock church was next visited, and here Mr. W. Chancellor again acted as guide. Although the fabric is in rather a poor condition, this church retains what so many have lost—the spell of the past—since it has fortunately escaped the hands of the 'restorer.' The north wall of nave is of the eleventh century, but the building dates mainly from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; its most noteworthy feature, however, is the fifteenth century timber bell-tower, which is of unusual plan. The vicar (Rev. E. J. Janson-Smith) had kindly placed on view the communion plate, consisting of a cup and cover (1625) and two flagons (1626 and 1630). A description of the church by the late Mr. F. Chancellor appeared in the *Essex Review* (vol. iv., p. 215).

On leaving, members made their way to the site of old Navestock Hall, where luncheon was partaken of, by kind permission of Mr. W. P. Tyser. Afterwards, a short meeting was held, when fifteen new members were elected.

Departing about 2 p.m., a halt was made at Newhouse farm, High Ongar, which was viewed by kind permission of the owner, Mr. H. Padfield. This timber-framed and plastered house was built about 1600, and retains some of its original panelling and a carved overmantel.

From thence the party journeyed to Stondon Massey church, which was described by the rector, the Rev. Canon E. H. L. Reeve, R.D., whose book on the parish contains an admirable description of this early twelfth century building. Special interest was shown in the mural tablet, designed by Mr. G. H. Kitchen, of

Winchester, and recently erected to the memory of William Byrd, the Elizabethan composer, who lived at Stondon place from 1595 until his death in 1623. Canon Reeve contributed an interesting paper on Byrd to the *Essex Review*, October, 1923.

Afterwards, the Society was entertained to tea by Canon and the Misses Reeve, in the beautiful Rectory garden, and a hearty vote of thanks was accorded them for their kind hospitality on the motion of the President. Before departing, the Hon. Excursions' Secretary read extracts from a paper on "Navestock," by Dr. J. H. Round (see p. 194).

On arriving at Brentwood for the return journey, the White Hart Inn, in High Street, was inspected, by kind permission of the proprietor. It is of fifteenth century date, and the north-west wing with its long range of original windows is remarkable.

NEW MEMBERS.

Elected at Great Stambridge on 27 May, 1924.

AUSTON, EDWARD, Pondfields, Harwich Road, Colchester.
 COLLINS, HAROLD, A.M.I.C.E., 1, Irvine Road, Colchester.
 COURTAULD, Miss K. M., Knights, Colne Engaine.
 HOLME, C. G., Old Bridge House, Kelvedon.
 LARPENT, GERRARD DE HOICHEPIED, Red House, Kelvedon.
 ROSEDALE, The Rev. HONYEL GOUGH, D.D., F.S.A., The Rectory, Copford, Colchester.
 TURNER, ASHTON, The Post Office, West Mersea.

ON THE NOMINATION OF—

Hon. Secretary.
 Mr. Harrington Lazell.
 Hon. Excurs. Secretary.
 Miss Layard.
 Mr. G. F. Beaumont.
 Mr. W. Gurney Benham.
 Hon. Secretary.

Elected at Steeple Bumpstead on 17 June, 1924.

ALLARS, E. G., Glastonbury, Algiers Road, Loughton.
 BARTHOPE, Major A. SHAFTO, Newport House, Newport, Essex.
 BECKWITH, ERNEST W., East Street, Coggeshall.
 BOND, Lt.-Col., R.C., D.S.O., Nethergate House, Clare, Suffolk.
 BRUNWIN, Mrs. ANN, Haverings, Rayne, Braintree.
 HALL, Mrs. B., The Lawn, West Mersea.
 LARPENT, Mrs. PENROSE DE HOICHEPIED, The Red House, Kelvedon.
 MARSHALL, VERNON E., 8 Trinity Street, Colchester.
 PARSONS, Miss CATHERINE E., Horseheath, Cambs.
 RUDDUCK, J. B., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., The Gables, West Mersea.
 SLATOR, Mrs., White House, Stock, Ingatestone.
 YORKE, Mrs., Gate House, Ingatestone.

ON THE NOMINATION OF—

Mr. F. J. Brand.
 Hon. Secretary.
 Hon. Secretary.
 Hon. Secretary.
 Mr. G. E. Brunwin.
 Hon. Secretary.
 Mr. G. de H. Larpent.
 Hon. Secretary.
 Hon. Secretary.
 Hon. Secretary.
 Rev. W. J. Pressey.
 Rev. W. J. Pressey.

Elected at Stebbing on 17 July, 1924.

BOND, EDGAR T., M.I.P.E., Mon Abri, Courtauld Road, Braintree.
 BUTTAR, Dr. CHARLES, North End, Felsted.
 CROFT, The Rev. ROBERT WILLIAM, M.A., The Vicarage, Kelvedon.

ON THE NOMINATION OF—

Hon. Secretary.
 Miss C. Fell Smith.
 Miss N. F. Layard.

DIXON, Miss H. M., The Chase, Wickham Bishops,
Witham.
EDEN, F. C., F.S.A., 6 Gray's Inn Square, W.C.1.
GOSNELL, H., Writtle Wick, Chelmsford.
GOSNELL, Mrs. H., Writtle Wick, Chelmsford.
HALL, Dr. STANLEY A., Dunmow.
MAJENDIE Mrs., The Castle, Castle Hedingham.
ONslow, RICHARD WILLIAM ALAN, Earl of, O.B.E.,
107, St. George's Square, S.W.1.
ORLEBAR, The Rev. EDWARD YARDE, M.A., Bovin-
ger Rectory, Ongar.
PARKER, Miss MARIA LOUISA OXLEY, Woodham
Mortimer Place, Maldon.
SCOTT, Mrs. REID, White Notley Hall, Witham.
SPARROW, Miss F., Rookwoods, Sible Hedingham.

ON THE NOMINATION OF—

Vice-Treasurer.
Hon. Secretary.
Mrs. Pawle.
Mrs. Pawle.
Hon. Secretary.
Mrs. Dawson.

Hon. Secretary.

Canon E. H. L. Reeve.

Mr. G. W. Parker.
Hon. Secretary.
Mrs. Dawson.

Elected at a Council Meeting on 28 July, 1924.

FIRBANK, Mrs. STANLEY, Little Orchard, West
Mersea.

ON THE NOMINATION OF—

Mrs. Rudduck.

Elected at Navestock on 11 September, 1924.

ALLEN, F. J., Oak Hall, Marden Ash, High Ongar.
BIRD, HUGO R., Hutton Mount, Brentwood.
BLAND, C. R., Debden Manor, Saffron Walden.
CHUBB, JOHN B., F.R.I.B.A., Paycockes, Coggeshall.
COOPER, Miss MARY BEATRICE, Longcroft, Loughton.
HYETT, EDWIN ALBERT, 88 Warren Road, Leyton,
E.10.
LONDON, HARCOURT P., The Lodge, Shenfield,
Brentwood.
PEDLER, HUBERT, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., Broom
Cottage, Gosfield, Halstead.
PEMBER, Mrs., Docklands, Ingatestone.
SUTTON, The Rev. Canon ARTHUR FREDERICK,
F.S.A., The Vicarage, Earls Colne.
VENNER, The Rev. EDWARD KINGSFORD, Greenstead
Hall, Halstead.
VENNER, Mrs., Greenstead Hall, Halstead.
WALEY, HERBERT D., Porter's Hall, Stebbing,
Chelmsford.
WALEY, Mrs., Porter's Hall, Stebbing, Chelmsford
WOODD, The Rev. CHARLES HAMPDEN BASIL, M.A.,
The Vicarage, Pleshey, Chelmsford.

ON THE NOMINATION OF—

Maj. A. W. Barrett.
Col. F. Landon.
Hon. Secretary.
Mr. G. F. Beaumont.
Vice-Treasurer.

Hon. Secretary

Col. F. Landon.

Rev. A. E. Howe.
Rev. R. Pemberton.

Hon. Excurs. Secretary

Hon. Excurs. Secretary.
Hon. Excurs. Secretary.

Mrs. Percy Reid.
Mrs. Percy Reid.

Vice-Treasurer.

DONATIONS TO THE SOCIETY.

To 10 November, 1924.

- Mr. G. W. Temple—
Transcript of Deeds in Newport church relating to Gace's Charity.
- Mr. Robert Steele—
A Deed relating to Roxwell, co. Essex, dated 9 September, 1613.
- Rev. G. Montagu Benton, F.S.A.—
"Icklingham Papers," by Henry Prigg.
The Liverpool Cathedral Official Handbook.
"Life and Letters of John Winthrop, Governor of the Massachusetts-Bay Company" (contains references to Edwardstone and Groton), 2 vols. Boston, 1869.
- Mr. E. B. Royden—
"Three Roydon Families."
- Rev. A. Girdlestone Fryer—
"Rayleigh in Past Days," by the donor.
- Mr. Alfred Ludgater—
"Mistress of Broad Marsh," by the donor.
- Rev. W. F. D. de Langdale—
"The History of Steeple Bumpstead," by the donor.
- Mr. Wykeham Chancellor—
"The Essex Review," vols. 1 to 8 inclusive, bound.
- Mr. A. H. Blundell—
Deeds, mostly 17th and 18th centuries, relating to Spains Hall in Willingale Spain, and Bishops in Berners Roding.
- Rev. R. D. Swallow—
"Chigwell Register together with a Historical Account of the School," by the Rev. Canon Swallow.
- Rev. C. E. Livesey—
"Church of St. Mary the Virgin, Stebbing," by the donor.
- The Cambridge University Press—
"The Cambridge Bulletin," No. xlviii.
- Mrs. Frend—
Leaden Cloth Mark with Royal Arms of Tudor Period, found at Saffron Walden.
- Rev. C. H. Evelyn-White, F.S.A.—
"Domesday Book, the Cambridgeshire portion of the Great Survey of England," edited by the donor and H. G. Evelyn-White, B.A.
- Mr. H. W. Lewer, F.S.A.—
"The Journal of Roman Studies, vol. xii.

Miss G. Bartlett—

A collection of Addresses and Squibs, Essex Election, August, 1830.

Eastern Counties Railway Act, 4 July, 1836.

Chronological Memoranda relative to Tythe payments within parish of Southminster.

"Broadside: Execution of Charles Finch for Murder at Rivenhall."

Rev. E. F. Hay—

Illustrated Guide to the Church Congress and Exhibition, Oxford, 1924.

From Societies in union for exchange of Publications.

Society of Antiquaries of London—

The Antiquaries' Journal, vol. IV., No. 4.

British Archæological Association—

Journal (N.S.), vol. XXIX., part 1.

Royal Archæological Institute—

Archæological Journal, vol. LXXVII.

The Essex Field Club—

The Essex Naturalist, vol. XXI., part I.

Southend-on-Sea Antiquarian and Historical Society—

Transactions, vol. I., part 2.

Bristol and Gloucester Archæological Society—

Transactions, vol. xlv.

Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-on-Tyne—

Proceedings, 4th series, vol. I., Nos. 15 to 21.

Archæologia Æliana, 3rd series, vol. XXI.

Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society—

Proceedings, vol. LXIX.

Suffolk Institute of Archæology and Natural History—

Proceedings, vol. XVIII., part 2.

Suffolk Churchyard Inscriptions, part III.

Sussex Archæological Society—

Collections, vol. LXV.

Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society—

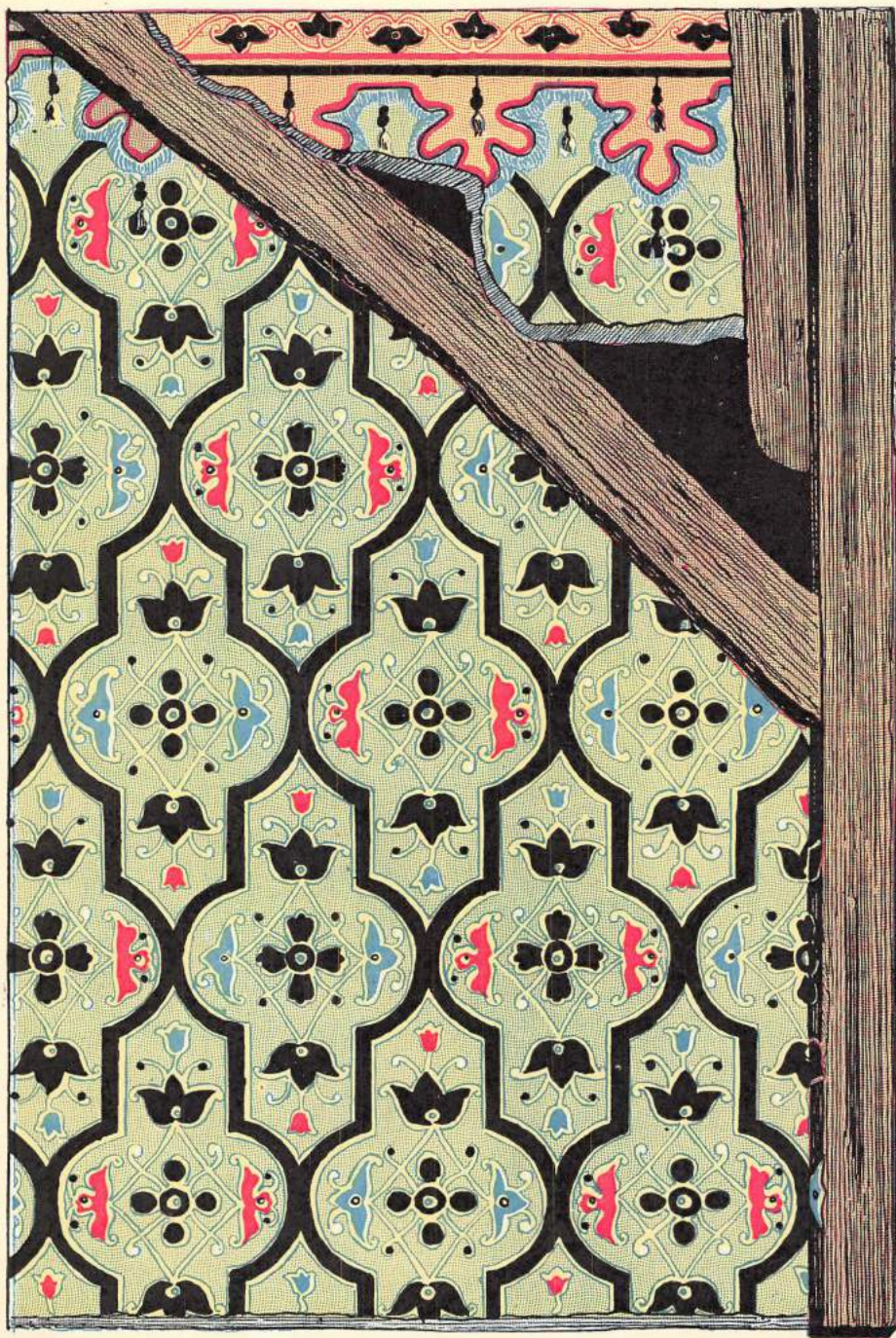
The Wiltshire Magazine, No. CXL.

Carmarthenshire Antiquarian Society and Field Club—

Transactions, part XLIV.

Purchased.

The Essex Review, quarterly, 1924.



Edgar T. Bond, del.

WALL-PAINTING AT BOCKING.

DOMESTIC WALL-PAINTINGS AT BOCKING.

BY E. T. BOND.

THE important paper on "Domestic Decorative Wall-Paintings," which Messrs. Miller Christy and Guy Maynard contributed to the *Transactions* in 1911 (vol. xii., N.S., p. 23), was the first attempt to deal with the subject so far as Essex is concerned, and it has been the means of arousing some interest in these decorative designs. During the last decade a number of additional examples have come to light, many of which are noted in the *Inventory of the Hist. Monts. Commission*. Owing to their fragility, however, together with a lack of due appreciation, these paintings are frequently destroyed soon after discovery; in any case their perishable nature makes it desirable that careful copies should be obtained with as little delay as possible, and that full particulars of them should be recorded in these pages. I am convinced from my own experience that there must be members who could assist in this task of preservation. About a year ago the Rev. Montagu Benton called my attention to some domestic wall-paintings at Bocking, and invited me to make drawings of them for the Society's library. Although the subject was then new to me, I consented, after some hesitation, to undertake the work under his direction, and now venture to submit the result of my labours.

Several years ago—in 1905—when the late sixteenth century house in Bradford street, Bocking (No. 34, in *Inventory of Hist. Monts. Com.*), then belonging to Mr. E. Blomfield, was undergoing alterations, some oak panelling in an upper room was temporarily removed, exposing, on the right side of the fireplace, an oak wall-post roughly trimmed and covered with a painted design in an excellent state of preservation. This post is described and illustrated in *Braintree and Bocking*, by May Cunnington and Stephen A. Warner (London, 1906). The piece of panelling was afterwards replaced, but a few years later, when it was all taken down and sold, the original walls of the room were revealed and it was then seen that the painted design on the post was part of a uniform design extending over the remainder of the south-east wall and completely covering the north-east wall of the room.

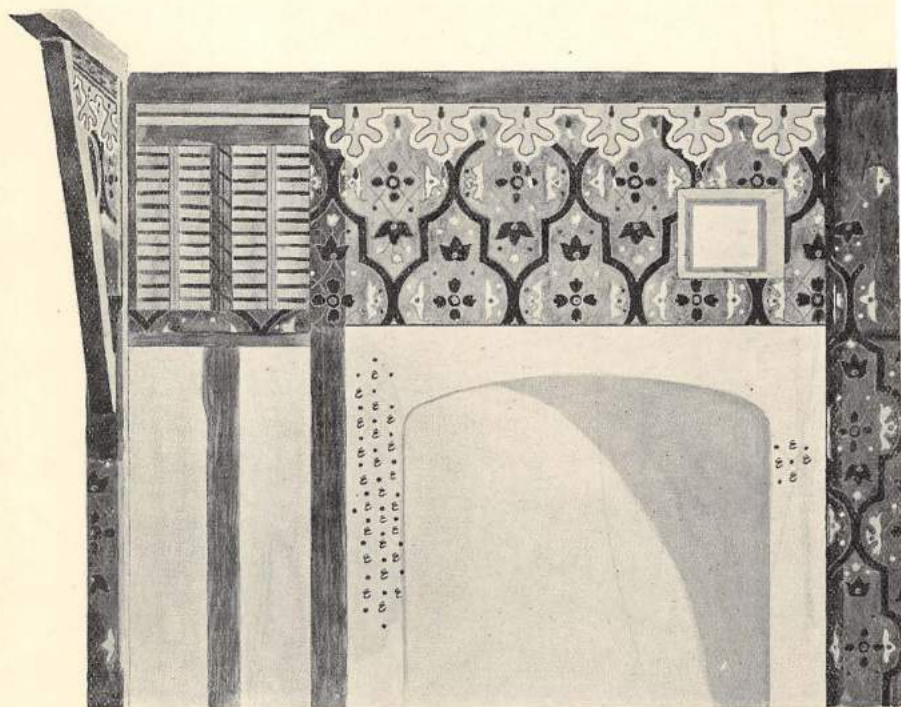
The house, which is now divided into four separate tenements, was, in all probability, originally one building, although not all built at the same time—of which more later, and the paintings are in the upper room of that part now used as a Meeting House. The scheme is evidently meant to represent tapestry and is carried out in eight colours, *viz.* black, white, yellow, pink, blue, green, light and dark brick-red. The medium used seems to have been a water-colour—a light wash or distemper of some description. Considerable care has been taken to ascertain this in view of the fact that the painting, although for the most part executed on a fine hair plaster, is also, in one or two cases, carried right across the exposed oaken studs as well as the wall-posts of the room. The preservation of the colours on the big wall-post referred to is remarkable. It is just possible that it was treated in some way before the painting was done, but there is no evidence of this.

Pl. I illustrates the right-hand side of the north-east wall. This wall appears to be constructed of the usual daub, faced, as stated, with a layer of hair plaster. If there are any oak studs behind, this plaster covers them, but such support as can be seen consists of oak lathing. It will be noticed that the design, as a whole, is made up of a repetition of four different panels, there being two centre designs to go with two sets of lateral designs. The two lower rows differ slightly from the remainder in that the diameter of the curved portion is considerably less, whereas the overall length of the panel is, approximately, the same in all cases. A frieze, with tassels, runs along the top. On the right-hand side of the wall, and about four inches in front of it, a bracket-beam springs from a corner-post of the room, and both this and its spandrel are plastered and painted with the same design. This beam is evidently contemporary with the painting as the boundary line of the latter follows the slope. The difference in the frieze, also, is worth noting. That on the wall has no decoration above the black line. It finishes with a second red line which is just above the level of the transverse beam across the room.¹ Anything above this would obviously be superfluous, whereas that on the spandrel, being open to the room, has the floral decoration shown.

Although the painting on this wall affords ample evidence of freehand work, it must have been set out with considerable care. In two cases only are the vertical centre-lines through the panels really out of plumb, and these to no great extent. The painter's

¹ This cannot be seen in the illustration. It begins just above the level of the bracket beam in the top right-hand corner.

PLATE II.



WALL PAINTING AT BOCKING.

method of procedure appears to have been: (1) to set out his vertical and horizontal centre-lines and the horizontal lines limiting the diameter of the curved portions of the panels; (2) wash over the whole with green, the base colour; (3) fill in the black ornament and boundary lines; (4) paint in the coloured parts of the design and, finally, (5) line in the whole with yellow. His intersections are sometimes 'out,' sides are splayed, and so on, but, generally speaking, the irregularities are not violent and cease to attract the eye when reproduced on the small scale of the illustration. It will be seen that in the second row down and the third panel from the right, he has made a slip: he has placed a pink design in the position of a blue and compromised by colouring it blue.

On the south-east wall, however (illus. pl. 2), over the fireplace, the panels are much more irregular, culminating in the wall-post first discovered where the eccentricities are particularly marked. In the left-hand corner there is an original two-light window, now closed. It has a moulded mullion, painted green with dark green or black transverse bands. The lights are bisected by diamond-section glazing bars, coloured brick-red, and there is a narrow opening above the transom. The remains of painting on the left-hand corner-post and on the sill of this window run on from the north-east wall and, in all probability, continued across the plaster—renewed—and studs below on the left of the fireplace. There is, however, no indication of this remaining. The pattern starts afresh above the fireplace on the vertical stud to the right of this window, and is continuous to the right-hand side of the wall-post, where all trace of it ends; but there are signs of red colouring beneath the modern green wash on the beam above, and it seems likely that the floral part of the frieze was painted on this beam and that the design originally continued over the remainder of the wall.

The pattern round the fireplace, both in form and colour, is given with great reserve. There is very little indeed remaining and it is almost impossible to judge what the original colours might have been. On the upper part, at least, the pattern appears to have been painted over and a coat of plaster put over that, for careful manipulation with a penknife revealed, under the plaster, first a coat of blue, or blue-green, and beneath that the typical red of the frieze. Low down on the left-hand side is a curve similar to a panel boundary line; it is simply a curve of paint left on the bare plaster. Right across the whole pattern are splashes of green—obviously accidental—and from this it might be argued that the lattice design is the older of the two; that it was covered up while the green background beside it and above the fireplace was being

painted in and that these splashes occurred at that time. As they were not removed, one would suspect the covering to have been a permanent panel—one was obviously fixed here—but the data is too meagre to make any definite statement.

On the other hand, the north-east wall runs at least 4 inches clear behind the bracket-beam carrying the floor above; it continues up into the attic and fills in the gable end of the next cottage, forming, in fact, the dividing wall between the two houses, this gable being considerably lower than that of the Meeting House. Beginning just above the painting and continuing up into the attic, the rough plaster of this wall is decorated by a curious semi-circular impressed pattern consisting of a triple row of long and short indentations, at a mean radius of about 2 feet, in the form of a stilted arch, flanked, on either side, by a similar pattern. The effect is, roughly, trefoil. This has been obliterated in parts by repairs and, although it is not possible to show it in the illustration, there are bulges in the wall below which were certainly there when it was painted, and also differences in the quality of the plaster, indicated unmistakably by the brush marks.

I conclude, therefore, that this wall was once the outside wall of the next house and that the Meeting House was built on to it; also, that being now an inside wall, it was patched up and faced, perhaps only in places, with a much finer plaster, and painted, and that upstairs, where it did not matter, the original outside decoration was left. That the painting is coeval with the extension of the house is, of course, an assumption; but it seems quite probable. If this *is* the case, it follows that, whatever the date of the lattice design around the fireplace, it cannot be earlier than the panel design on the walls, although it may be contemporary with it; but the evidence of the superposition of the colours mentioned appears to indicate that the upper part of the fireplace, at any rate, was originally included in the general scheme.

On the studs, trusses and purlins in the attic are numerous daubs of black, red and green, where a painter has tried his colours. They are seemingly of the same shade and material as those employed in the decoration of the room below, and one is tempted to think that they are of the same date and that the painter used the attic as his workshop.

The authors of the paper referred to briefly discuss the development of domestic wall-paintings, and come to the conclusion that they became general in the sixteenth century and continued in vogue until the early part of the eighteenth century. But it seems probable that it was quite late in the sixteenth century before the

practice of painting designs on the plastered walls of houses in this country became at all common, otherwise one imagines William Harrison would have alluded to it in his *Elizabethan England* (1577). He tells us: "The walls of our houses on the inner sides . . . be either hanged with tapestry, arras work, or painted cloths, wherein either divers histories, or herbs, beasts, knots, and such like are stained, or else they are ceiled with oak"¹

The Bocking design, with its strapwork, so characteristic of Elizabethan and Jacobean ornament, is a good example of the Renaissance style, and may be compared with a similar design at Saffron Walden (*Transactions*, vol. xii.). It was probably executed during the last quarter of the sixteenth century.

In preparing the illustrations of these paintings I am much indebted to Mr. W. F. Pilcher, the present owner of the property, for his permission to copy the same, and also to Mr. F. J. Weaver for his kind assistance in the loan of his notes and tracings.

¹ Book 2, chap. 10, "Of the manner of building and furniture of our houses."

ON ROMAN ROADS IN ESSEX.

BY MILLER CHRISTY, F.L.S.

Second Supplement.

(Continued from p. 193 and concluded).

NEXT, I desire to call attention to two roads through South Essex which I overlooked when writing my original article. These belong to a remarkably-regular system of *three* roads, all practically parallel with one another, all running southward, all starting from the south side of the "Great Road" (Route 8), all crossing the road from London to Othona,¹ and all ending on the bank of the Thames. All three exhibit one feature which is unusual in Roman roads—that, after leaving the Great Road, *each curves to the south-east* for about the first third of its course, though the remaining two-thirds (chiefly that portion of each which lies south of the Othona Road) is as straight as any other of our Roman roads.

These three roads form a system so arranged as to cover effectually the whole of South Essex. That they are of Roman origin seems beyond question. All branch from one of our most-obviously Roman roads; all start from notable points on that road; all show (apart from the first few miles of each) the usual Roman character of directness over considerable distances; all run practically parallel with one another from end to end; parish boundaries coincide with all for considerable distances; and all end on the bank of the Thames. Such a regular system cannot be regarded as accidental, and none but Roman engineers can have planned it.

The centremost of these three roads—that from Chelmsford to the Thames at Canvey Island—has been traced already,² though unfortunately in the wrong direction (that is, from south to north). The two outermost are now dealt with.

Route 9: Brentwood to the Thames at Tilbury, 14 miles.

This road (the first and westernmost of the three) branches at a right-angle from the Great Road at a point eighteen miles from London, in what is now the northern end of the High Street of

¹ See *ante*, pp. 83-91.

² See *ante*, vol. xv., pp. 219-221.

Brentwood, just where the parish boundary between South Weald and Shenfield crosses it and where it attains the greatest elevation (356 feet) it reaches in the whole of its course of forty-five miles from London to Mark's Tey.

From this point, the road in question runs first along the north-east side of Shenfield Common (a parish boundary following it part of the way) to Ingrave Green ($1\frac{1}{2}$ miles). Thence, it continues (at an average elevation of about 275 feet, though descending) along or near the north-east boundary of Thorndon park to Herongate ($2\frac{3}{4}$ miles). Apparently, its route lay within the boundary of the park and never followed the existing road, which skirts the park and passes Ingrave church. If so, it passed very near one of the two large tumuli which stand close to Thorndon Hall¹ and a parish boundary follows it part of the way.

From Herongate, the Roman road clearly ran on, on the line of the existing road, past Cockriden, for about a mile, now trending rather more southerly than before. Then, just before reaching East Horndon church, it disappears; but a modern road runs on fairly straight and parallel with the line, though a few hundred yards further west, for two miles-and-a-quarter. Continuing, however, on the old line, past the Church and Hall (near each of which short lengths of the Roman road remain and, with existing footpaths, mark its former course), one reaches Garlesters ($5\frac{3}{4}$ miles), in Bulphan.² Here, at a sharp angle, the modern road returns to the line, which has now descended to low ground (little over 30 feet).

From Garlesters, the road runs on, quite straight and on the old line, for two miles-and-a-half, through Bulvan and Orsett, over Sticking hill (56 feet), along the boundary between Orsett and Horndon-on-the-Hill, and past the eastern side of the park of Orsett Hall ($8\frac{1}{2}$ miles). After passing Orsett Hall, the road, hitherto very straight, becomes irregular; but continuing, it passes through a small projecting portion of Orsett; then straightening, it follows the boundary between Orsett and Mucking for about a mile till, just south of Seaborough Hall (10 miles), it ceases suddenly. Continuing, however, on the same line for half-a-mile, one encounters it again at an angle of the boundary between Chadwell and West Tilbury. From here, the boundary continues quite straight and

¹ These tumuli are large and have every appearance of being ancient. If so, they are probably Roman. On the other hand, they may be no more than "pieces of landscape gardening," thrown up when the mansion was built (see *Rep. Roy. Hist. Monum. Comm.*, vol. iv., p. 167, 1923).

² There are several roads which run parallel with this one for several miles at this part of its course but none of these can be traced clearly, as can this one, right through from the Great Road to the Thames.

exactly on the line for a mile-and-a-quarter (a footpath marking the line for half-a-mile), passing along the western side of Shrove Hill wood, and ultimately reaching Broom hill ($11\frac{1}{2}$ miles) on the edge of the high ground overlooking the broad river-side expanse of the Chadwell and West Tilbury marshes. Descending the steep slope and continuing on the line across the marshes (where there is now no sign of the road and the parish boundary seems to have been diverted a few hundred yards to the west), one finally reaches the bank of the Thames (14 miles) at a spot where there was in Roman times an important landing-place of some kind, almost exactly opposite the present town of Gravesend.¹

Route 11: Rivenhall, via Maldon, to the Thames at Prittlewell, 20 miles.

This is the third and easternmost of the three parallel roads which quite clearly were laid out in Roman times to serve the whole of South Essex.²

The exact point at which this road branched off from the Great Road, though somewhat indefinite, was, apparently, at a spot nearly thirty-nine miles from London, in the parish of Rivenhall. It seems, indeed, that this road, unlike the other two, may have originated slightly to the west of (and, consequently, have *crossed*) the Great Road; for, a little over a mile to the north-west of the assumed crossing-place, in a field on the northern side of Rivenhall church, there has been a large and important Roman house³; and a road runs from this Roman site towards the Great Road exactly at the assumed crossing-place, though it becomes irregular just before reaching it.

Starting from the assumed crossing-point of the Great Road and proceeding south-east, one finds at first no trace of the road now to be followed; for one descends at once into the valley of the Blackwater; and, as stated already, few but our larger Roman roads are preserved at the points where they cross river-valleys. Proceeding,

¹ The site is now covered at high tide. The Morant Club had it under investigation for ten years or more, but never reported on it, owing to the failure of the experts concerned to send in their promised reports on the large quantity of Roman pottery dug up. Views and particulars of the site are given in the *Rep. Roy. Hist. Monum. Comm.*, vol. iv., pp. xxxvi. and 38-39 (1923).

² Here I desire to cancel altogether one of the Routes (Route 14) I suggested, with some doubt, in my original article (see *ante*, vol. xv., pp. 218-219), the evidence for which seems, on further consideration, to be inadequate. For that discarded Route, I desire now to substitute this new Route 11, which runs more or less through the same part of Essex.

³ The existence of the foundations of this house has been known many years. As long ago as 1846, land-drainage operations proved that they were of considerable extent (see *Journ. Brit. Archaeol. Assoc.*, vol. ii., pp. 281 and 339; *Gentl. Mag.*, 1847, vol. i., p. 185; and *Rep. Roy. Comm. on Hist. Monum.*, vol. iii., pp. xxvii. and 193; 1922). The careful excavation of this important Roman site should be undertaken.

however, for one mile and having reached higher ground (about 100 feet), one encounters a parish boundary (that between Little and Great Braxted) which runs on, fairly straight and clearly on the line of the Roman road, for nearly a mile, being accompanied by a road for the last quarter of a mile. After this, at a point ($1\frac{1}{2}$ miles) a little south of Broomfield's farm, the parish boundary leaves the road, which turns sharply southward. From here onwards, the line of the Roman road becomes clear.

From the sharp turn just mentioned, the road continues south for one mile with an easterly inclination of about 10° , running fairly straight through both the Braxted parishes, past Threadgold's farm, and rising to about 225 feet. Further on, it reaches a still higher point (260 feet), at a remarkable meeting-place of roads and parish boundaries (those of Wickham Bishops, Great and Little Braxted, and Great Totham). At this point, the road makes another slight turn, running thereafter due south and very straight, parish boundaries (chiefly that between Langford and Heybridge) coinciding with it, following the eastern boundary of Langford park, and sinking all the way, for two-miles-and-a-half, when it encounters at a right-angle the road from Heybridge to Hatfield Peverel, itself possibly of Roman origin.¹ Here, at Langford Cross (5 miles), the road ceases and the parish boundary is diverted. We are now on very low ground (5-15 feet), close beside the River Blackwater, where traces of any Roman road would be lost almost inevitably. Continuing on the line, through Heybridge parish (in which numerous Roman remains have been found²), it is clear that the road must have crossed the river about one hundred yards above the present Fullbridge. On reaching the southern bank, one immediately encounters very steeply-rising ground; and, ascending this, one reaches (6 miles) in a few hundred yards the high ground (115 feet) on which the older part of the town of Maldon stands. There can be no doubt whatever that the very straight road from the elevated spot mentioned above was laid out towards this high ground in Maldon; for the two points are no more than three-miles-and-a-half apart and are easily visible from one another.

That there was an important Roman settlement at Maldon is certain. The quantity of Roman bricks in the walls of St. Giles' Hospital (which probably stands on the site of some large Roman house) is extraordinary, and there are similar bricks in the walls of

¹ See *ante*, vol. xv., p. 224.

² Including a number of Roman stone coffins found when building "The Towers" (see *Chelmsford Chronicle*, 12 June 1874; also Fitch, *Maldon and River Blackwater*, p. 5.)

St. Mary's church. Quantities of Roman pottery, many coins, and other objects have frequently been turned up. Further, a very large amount of broken Roman pottery was found when building the rail-road to Southend in 1887.¹

Leaving Maldon at the cross-roads known as "The Wantz" in the upper part of the town and continuing almost exactly straight on, the road ran almost due south to Silly House (7 miles), after which it is lost for one mile, though a road (apparently modern) runs parallel a quarter-mile further west, the two combining again where they encounter (8 miles) the boundary between Hazeleigh and Purleigh, which coincides for about 200 yards. Shortly before combining, the roads pass near Jenkin's farm, where, on 2 April 1838, labourers land-ditching in a field found, four feet below the surface, a large Roman sarcophagus of stone containing a female skeleton.²

From the junction, a road continues straight on through Purleigh, traversing low ground (averaging about 50 feet), for nearly two miles. Then it becomes diverted slightly to the west, running southward, down Kit's hill and past North Fambridge church and Hall to the present ferry over the River Crouch, but no continuation on the south side of the river is traceable. Obviously, indeed, this is not the line of the Roman road, which clearly ran straight on from the point of convergence mentioned above, for about a mile, when it crossed the London-Othona road (10½ miles) exactly at the north-east corner of the parish of Cold Norton, a few hundred yards west of Dyegood's farm.³ From here, it continues due south, following the eastern boundary of the parishes of Cold Norton and North Fambridge,⁴ running quite straight (except at one point, where it is slightly diverted to follow the course of a streamlet) for just over two miles, when it reaches the north bank of the Crouch (12½ miles). Here must have been the original bridge⁵ or ferry,

¹ See E. A. Fitch, *Maldon and the River Blackwater*, pp. 4-5.

² See J. Adey Repton, in *Gentl. Mag.*, vol. x. (1838), p. 433.

³ This road has run, for the last four-miles-and-a-half, almost parallel with, and less than a mile west of, another road (that from Maldon, through Mundon, to Latchingdon) which, though straight and looking like a Roman road, nowhere coincides with parish boundaries. This road, which forms part of a Route I have discarded (see *ante*, p. 228), is probably not Roman.

⁴ Horsley places the Canonium of the Antonine Itineraries at North Fambridge (see his *Brit. Romana*, p. 447: 1732), assuming the former existence of a Roman settlement there.

⁵ Judging from the name, there must have been a bridge over the Crouch here at least as early as Saxon times; for, in Domesday Book, the place appears as Fanbridge and as Phenbridge (O.E., *fen*, a fen or marsh, and *brycg* or *brygge*, a bridge). This suggests that the Crouch was bridged by the Romans when they constructed the road in question. If so, the river must surely have been narrower then than now (about 430 yards). The bridge (built in the fifteenth century: see Benton, *Hist. Roch. Hundr.*, p. 285), disappeared, I believe, some centuries ago—probably when the river was bridged (? in the seventeenth century) nearly three-miles-and-a-half higher, at Hull-bridge, where it is very much narrower.

about half-a-mile east of the existing ferry; for, exactly opposite, on the south bank, the road recommences, running straight on through South Fambridge, past both Hall and church, and crossing a narrow projecting arm of Ashingdon parish (in which it shows a slight curve), to the north-east corner of Hawkwell (14 miles). From here, it continues in the same direction and very straight for nearly two miles, now again following a parish boundary (that dividing Hawkwell from Ashingdon and Rochford). Then, crossing a narrow arm of Rochford parish, passing close to both church and Hall (which lie outside of and to the west of the town), and fording the Roach river (here a mere brook), it enters the parish of Eastwood (16 miles), through which it may be traced for a few hundred yards, in the form of a field lane. After this, it disappears for the next mile, where it passes through Eastwood; but, on reaching the northern boundary of Prittlewell, it reappears on the former line, running on past Earl's Hall and Milton Hall to the bank of the Thames (20 miles), which it reaches one mile east of the Crow Stone.

It is of interest to note that this road from Rivenhall to the Thames had, on its eastern side, like the London-Othona road already traced,¹ certain branches giving access to the open wheatlands lying to the east of it. These branches (which run through the eastern half of Rochford Hundred) are fewer than those of the Othona road (which run through the eastern half of Dengey Hundred), being two only, instead of six. The fact that both these branches run very straight and coincide with parish boundaries almost throughout their entire courses proves beyond any reasonable doubt that they are of Roman origin. It may be noted, too, that they neither lead to nor cross any marshes; for there are none on their courses. Both end, in fact, on navigable water—in the estuaries of the Roach and the Thames, respectively. They may be defined as follows:—

Route 12: Hawkwell to the Roach River, 5¼ miles..

Leaving the Rivenhall-Prittlewell road at the point, near Golden Cross, where the boundary-line between Rochford and Ashingdon branches off at a right-angle from that between those parishes and Hawkwell, this branch runs eastward and fairly-straight, past Great Brays, for two miles-and-a-half, following a continuous line of parish boundaries all the way. Next comes a quarter-mile, south of Ballard's Gore, where, though the road continues, the parish boundary (that between Great Stambridge and Paglesham) ceases,

¹ See *ante*, pp. 91-97.

having evidently been diverted to the northward round Ballard's Gore.¹ Then the two come together again and run on together for about half-a-mile, to near Beggins farm. Here *both* undergo a slight jog northwards; but, after running about half-a-mile, both return to the original line just at the point where they cross the head of the creek which forms the boundary between Great Stambridge and Paglesham.² Thence, the road runs on, rather less straight than before, right across Paglesham, passing East Hall, to the bank of the navigable Roach river ($5\frac{1}{4}$ miles), where it necessarily ends. It runs throughout at a low elevation, averaging probably less than twenty-five feet.

Route 13: Prittlewell to the Thames at Wakering, 6 miles.

This branch apparently left the Rivenhall-Prittlewell road near Earl's Hall, and ran eastward, passing just north of Prittlewell Priory; but, for the first half-mile, there is now no trace of it. Proceeding on the line, one encounters a stretch of it, which runs for a little more than half-a-mile. Then ensues a jog to the south, causing a gap of a quarter-of-a-mile; but, following on the line, one encounters, at the south-west corner of Shopland parish, a stretch of the southern boundary of that parish, which clearly indicates the former line of the Roman road. This continues for three-quarters-of-a-mile, after which one encounters a stretch of about a mile of existing road, during the first half of which the boundary (now that between Great Wakering and Southchurch) is diverted a couple of hundred yards to the south, and during the second half about as much to the north, the median line of the two diversions marking, without doubt, the line of the Roman road which has now disappeared.³ This stretch ends at the north-east corner of North Shoebury parish (3 miles). From this point, continuing eastward, one follows the northern boundary of North Shoebury, which runs on fairly straight, slight traces of the old road being encountered here and there, for two miles-and-a-half, when, within a few hundred yards of the coast, the boundary turns sharply southward and ends on the coast. Continuing, however, on the old line, for about half-a-mile (there being here no sign of the road), one reaches the coast at

¹ A "gore" is a narrow triangular slip of land on the edge of a field or enclosure. What the history of this particular gore may be, I know not, but clearly it has been, at some time, taken from Paglesham and added to Great Stambridge, the boundary of that parish having been diverted to include it.

² Another case, apparently, of the diversion of a parish boundary which once accompanied a Roman road now lost at this point.

³ Here, apparently, we have yet another instance of a parish boundary which once coincided with a Roman road, but has been altered since the road became lost.

Wakering Stairs (6 miles)—without doubt its original destination.¹ Here, however, the road can hardly be said to end; for Wakering Stairs form the starting-point of the "Broomway," running absolutely straight for ten miles along the Maplin Sands to Foulness Island; which curious road is probably of Roman construction.²

This branch road is unusual in that its route is indicated to-day chiefly by straight stretches of parish boundaries, which still remain (with slight recent alteration), though most of the road they accompanied formerly is now lost. The line followed by these stretches of parish boundary is, however, such as to leave no doubt that they actually do mark the line of a Roman road now largely lost.

Next, it is necessary to revert to the road, already noticed,³ which appears to have formed a later extension of the intended (but discarded) Roman road from Dunmow towards London.

*Route 21: Lambourne (Cabin Hill) to Walthamstow (and onwards)
? 15 miles (10 miles only in Essex).*

This road is largely a mystery. It follows a line along which, it seems, the Romans can have had no special need of a road. Yet there are scraps of evidence which suggest strongly that a Roman road, now almost wholly lost, really did follow the line in question. At all events, it seems difficult to explain the facts on any other supposition. For this reason, I treat it, though tentatively, as a "Route."

The road appears to have originated (or, perhaps, to have terminated) at its northern end at the elevated spot (about 300 feet) known as Cabin hill,⁴ at the northern extremity of the present Hainault Forest and in the parish of Lambourne, whence it ran quite straight almost due south-west.

For the first half mile, its line is indicated by a path through the Forest. Then that ceases; but, proceeding on the same line for another half-mile, one emerges from the forest near Sheepcote's farm, at a spot (256 feet) exactly on the boundary between Lambourne and Chigwell. Thence the road continues for about one mile, on the same line, through the perfectly-straight street of Chigwell Row

¹ Roman tiles have been dug up near the Stairs (see *Rep. Roy. Comm. on Hist. Monum.*, vol. iv., p. 59: 1923).

² In 1847, in a tumulus (probably a red-hill) on Little Shelford farm, was found a large urn which contained calcined bones and was surrounded by seven or eight other vessels, two of which were "Samian" (see *Journ. Brit. Archaeol. Assoc.*, vol. iv., p. 74, 1849; also *Essex Naturalist*, vol. xv., p. 106, 1910). For a full illustrated account of the Broomway, see *Windsor Mag.*, Oct. 1922, pp. 553-559.

³ See *ante*, p. 186.

⁴ See *ante*, p. 155.

(about 270 feet), following the ridge of high ground here present. Having reached the residence known as the Woodlands ($2\frac{1}{4}$ miles), it becomes lost, and no clear traces of it can be detected for the next four-miles-and-a-half; but a road (clearly *post*-Roman) runs on, largely parallel with its line and not more than a few hundred yards further north, by way of Grange hill and Woodford bridge.

Continuing, however, on the line of the supposed Roman road, one passes first through a small remnant of Forest and then through Claybury park (near the south-west corner of which the line of the road in question crosses the line of another Roman road, already noticed.¹ A mile further, the line crosses the River Roding ($5\frac{1}{2}$ miles) near the Hill farm, in Ilford, scarcely half-a-mile north of the point at which the other Roman road just mentioned crossed it, and enters Woodford. Half-a-mile further, the line enters and crosses the northern extremity of Wanstead parish. Leaving this parish ($6\frac{3}{4}$ miles) near Wanstead Hall, one finds further evidence of the former existence of this supposed Roman road in the boundary-line between Walthamstow and Leyton, which, for three miles exactly, is not only perfectly straight, but is also in perfect alignment with the line hitherto followed from Cabin hill. That it marks the course of a former Roman road seems at least probable. At all events, there exists nowhere else in Essex (except in the district just south of Brentwood, which is exceptional²) a parish boundary of equal length and straightness which does not coincide with the line of a Roman road. Moreover, along this boundary, are portions of existing road, totalling about a mile-and-a-half, which suggest the former existence of a continuous road. For the first quarter-mile, there are no traces; then ensues about a mile of straight existing road, passing just north of Knott's Green; then, after a gap, the line continues along Boundary road (all this stretch being a few hundred yards north of the modern Lea Bridge road). On the low ground close to the Lea, the road disappears, but the line of it follows a hedge and ditch till it reaches the river's bank close to Mount Wharf ($9\frac{3}{4}$ miles).³

¹ See *ante*, p. 189.

² See *ante*, p. 86.

³ Mount Wharf clearly takes its name from a mount of considerable size, but apparently reduced, standing on the Middlesex side of the Lea, about 300 yards further south and immediately north of Lea bridge. This mount may be quite modern—was, perhaps, thrown up when the river was made navigable; but it may have been thrown up by the Romans to guard the crossing. It is worth while to bear in mind that another mount, definitely supposed to be Roman, stands only twenty miles further up the river, at Harlow, close adjacent to the spot at which a supposed Roman road crosses the Stort (see *post*, p. 236); also that, at Bishops Stortford, six miles still further up the same "Navigation," a large mound stands actually in the valley of the Stort, close adjacent to the point at which Stane street crosses it.

Crossing the Lea into Middlesex, the line runs through Upper Clapton, Stoke Newington (in which it crosses the Roman road to Braughing and the North), Hornsey, Barnsbury, and Camden Town; but, all these being densely built-over, no traces of the road itself now remain on the ground. The line passes through Regent's park, half-a-mile south of Primrose hill (218 feet), towards which, otherwise, one might have surmised it to have been making; for a smoke-signal on either Cabin hill or Primrose hill (which are about $14\frac{1}{2}$ miles apart) would certainly have been visible from the other. Nor does the road appear to have been directed towards the important junction of Roman roads at Tyburn; for its line, if prolonged, strikes the Edgware road a mile north of Tyburn.

Further, there is reason to believe that yet another Roman road originated at Cabin hill, as was first pointed out to me by Mr. Francis Dent. The road in question, though far from straight, is fairly direct, running for a dozen miles northwards with a slight inclination to the west.

Route 22: Lambourne (Cabin Hill) to Harlow, 12 miles (and ? onwards).

From Cabin hill, a road which wavers but is mainly on the line indicated, runs northward to near Lambourne rectory, where it is lost for half-a-mile in the valley of the Roding. It recommences, however, on the northern side of the valley, near Brook house ($2\frac{1}{2}$ miles), running on thence through Theydon Gernon to Hobb's Cross (3 miles), where it crosses the Roman road from Dunmow to London.¹ Continuing on the same general line, but not straight, one passes through Coopersale village and reaches Coopersale street ($4\frac{1}{2}$ miles). From here, for the next mile, the road is wavy, though a parish boundary (that between Epping and Theydon Gernon) follows it for over a mile. Passing under the railway at an elevated point (340 feet: the highest on the old Great Eastern system), the road crosses Coopersale common and passes through Epping North Forest (Wintry Wood) by the perfectly-straight pathway known as the "Stump Road,"² emerging at the Blacksmith's Arms Inn (6 miles), in North Weald. The road then crosses Thornwood common, and curves to the west, apparently making for Latton Priory; but, before reaching the priory, it curves back again. If, instead of following these curves, one keeps straight on across open country where there is now no sign of a road, one recovers the road

¹ See *ante*, pp. 183-190.

² Rood Street lies half-a-mile to the east.

near Rundell's (8 miles), in Latton parish.¹ From here, it continues straight for nearly a mile-and-a-half (the boundary between Harlow and Latton coinciding with it most of the way), till, having threaded Potter street,² it again becomes diverted to the west towards Latton village. For this diversion there is no obvious reason. If, instead of following it, one again keeps straight on, one again recovers the road near the Maypole Inn (10 miles), in Harlow parish. From here, it runs on quite straight for another two miles, passing through Harlow town (about 210 feet) and crossing the Stort (12 miles) at Harlow mill, close to a riverside mound believed to be Roman.³ Almost immediately, it curves easterly and runs on, skirting the boundary of Pishiobury park and becoming an ordinary wavering valley road, making apparently for the great Camp of Wallbury, three miles further on. Of its continuance in the old line and of its Roman character, however, there is no trace whatever.

That this road is of Roman origin cannot be asserted with confidence, but it probably is so. It is to be noted that it runs almost throughout over high ground, and that the name "Street" occurs very frequently along it. Its wavering course suggests that it may have been originally a British road, perhaps leading to Walbury, and that it was, for the distance indicated above, improved and straightened by the Romans.⁴ Yet, even with the two marked diversions noted, no part of it lies more than half-a-mile out of the

¹ Here, half-a-mile west of the road and near Latton Priory, there is a prominent tumulus, standing on high ground (351 feet) which falls away from it on all sides. It is of fair size (perhaps 18 feet high and 80 feet in diameter), with a flat top and steeply-sloping sides, and is surrounded by a moat which is still water-filled, except on the north side, where it has been filled-in. The position of the mound suggests that it was originally a Roman *botontinus*. Its flat top suggests, however, that, as at Lexden, it may have been altered to make it serve either as a Moot-hill (that of the Half-Hundred of Harlow) or as the base for a windmill (doubtless one belonging to the Priory). If the latter, it has been long disused; for oaks from two to three centuries old now grow upon it. This tumulus is not noticed in the *Reports of the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments*, but an illustration of it is given by Mr. Benjamin Winstone (*Epping and Ongar Highway Trust*, facing p. 13; 1891).

² Latton Street here runs parallel quite close.

³ This mound is that already alluded to (see *ante*, p. 234) as having been intended probably to guard the crossing of the river, close to which it stands. It is a very large round isolated mound, with an evenly-rounded outline. Clearly it is in the main natural, but considerably altered artificially, its sides having been steepened. Its height has been given as 23 feet, but this must refer to the upper artificially-steepened portion only; for the whole is much higher. The mound is within a couple of hundred yards of Harlow railway-station and gas-works, and is obviously the *low* from which Harlow derives its name. Yet it is actually in the adjoining parish of Latton, the boundary of which has been quite clearly diverted and extended at this point so as to include it. The mound stands immediately beside the line of the railway, on its north-western side. A considerable number of Roman tiles, etc., have been found in and close adjacent to it (see J. Barnard, in *Archæologia*, vol. xix., pp. 409-411, 1821; I. Chalkley Gould, in *V.C.H., Essex*, vol. i., p. 295, 1903; and *Rep. Roy. Comm. Hist. Monum.*, vol. ii., p. 145, 1921).

⁴ That it might be such was first suggested to me by Mr. Dent; and, having just been over its course afresh (though I knew it well many years ago), I am inclined to agree with him.

straight line between its extreme points and, without these diversions, it is even straighter.

In concluding, I desire to notice one or two general points.

First, I venture to express my belief that there now remain in Essex no important roads of Roman origin which have not been detected as such: in other words, there are in Essex no other roads which exhibit the invariable characteristics of Roman roads—namely, straightness for long distances, marked coincidence with parish boundaries, and direction to or from sites known to be Roman—characteristics which all the roads described above exhibit unmistakeably.¹ If this is the case, I have succeeded (as I believe I have) in recovering, beyond reasonable doubt, *the entire Roman Main-Road System of Essex*.

Nevertheless, it is certain that, in addition to the main roads noticed above, there were, in Roman days, as already pointed out,² numerous short secondary roads, or vicinal ways (*chemini minores*), leading from the larger main roads to important houses, farms, and the like.³ There were also many short cross-roads connecting main roads where several of these ran near one another as they approached such Roman centres as Colchester, Chesterford, or London. Unfortunately, however, it is generally very difficult to distinguish

¹ There is one road which has been regarded persistently as Roman—namely, that from Leyton, through Epping, Harlow, Bishop's Stortford, Newport, and Chesterford, to Cambridge, and beyond (see *e.g.*, Mr Guy Maynard, in *Memorials of Old Essex*, p. 41). This is a good and important road, and is continuous for sixty or seventy miles; but, otherwise, it presents no Roman characteristics. It is nowhere straight for any considerable distance; parish boundaries coincide with it for very short distances only; and, unlike most Roman roads, it runs largely in the valleys of rivers (those of the Stort and the Cam). I cannot, therefore, regard it as of Roman origin. Mr. Cyril Fox is probably quite right in regarding it (see *Archæol. of Cambr. Distr.*, pp. 152-153; 1923) as a pre-Roman trackway. In the parish of Hempsted, too, there is a curious arrangement of two slightly-curved parallel roads (the southernmost known as High Street), each about three miles long and the two only about six hundred yards apart. These roads have been regarded as Roman (see *op. et loc. cit.*); but, whatever may be the explanation of their parallelism (and none is obvious), I cannot regard either as Roman, though a parish boundary coincides with the northernmost of the two for more than half its length and the county boundary has also a very-puzzling relation to it. Salmon mentions (*Roman Stations*, p. 27: 1726) a Roman road from Ashdon to the Rising hill at Littlebury. and Morant (*Hist.*, vol. i., p. 449) another at Dovercourt, but I have not been able to detect traces of either.

² See *ante*, vol. xv., p. 224.

³ There must, for instance, have been such a road to the Roman settlement (apparently an important farm, with two cemeteries) at Fitzjohn's, in Great Canfield, described by Mrs. Maryon Wilson (*Trans. Essex Archæol. Soc.*, vol. iv., pp. 144-146: 1869), but traces of it are not obvious to-day. Then, too, there is known to have been a considerable Roman settlement of some kind at Billericay (see *Gentl. Mag.*, vol. xxviii., p. 411, 1847; vol. xxxviii., p. 295, 1852); but, again, the road which gave access to it is not now obvious. Further, such a local road may exist in the straight road (a little over 2 miles long) which runs north-north-west from the Great Road near Hare Hall, in Romford, to the site of the old royal Palace of Pyrgo, in Havering, close to which I have seen Roman bricks turned up.

these short roads from modern roads; for, in their case, the special features which distinguish roads of Roman origin, as indicated above, are usually largely or wholly lacking.¹

Mr. A. G. Wright has long been collecting records of the discovery of Roman remains (houses, burials, pottery, and the like) in Essex: and he has been good enough to plot the sites of them on a map for me. Both he and I have been surprised to find how little relation these sites have to the Roman roads traced herein, except where the road happens to pass actually by or through a Roman cemetery, as at Lexden, East Ham, and Chigwell. Of the more scattered Roman sites he notes, there are as many quite away from the Roman roads as there are close beside them. It is certain, however, that the sites hitherto noted form a very small proportion only of those which once existed, and that they afford, in consequence, no clear indication of the distribution of Roman settlements throughout the county.² It seems clear, moreover, as stated above, that the roads described herein were, for the most part, only the great Public Highways, constructed primarily for military purposes and without regard to the needs of the cultivators of the soil, whose houses were reached, doubtless, by the secondary roads, or vicinal ways, here noticed. It is observable that, throughout Essex, very

¹ One such cross-road is that ($\frac{1}{4}$ miles in length) which runs remarkably straight, with only one gap of about a quarter-of-a-mile, from the Great Road, near Castle Rising farm, in Ilford, due northward through Ley Street, Barkingside, and Fullwell Hatch, crossing Route 21 near Grange hill (277 feet), to the Dunmow-London road (Route 12) just south of Chigwell. Though it bears slightly to the west in the last mile or so of its course, it points throughout the rest of that course directly at the high point (209 feet) already mentioned (see p. 188) just north of Chigwell church. As it runs through the middle of two parishes (Ilford and Chigwell), parish boundaries nowhere coincide with it. In regard to the numerous Roman roads in and around Chesterford, see Benjamin Forster's letter of 1765 (*ante*, vol. xv., p. 196), G. F. Beaumont "On the Ninth Inter of Antoninus" (*ante*, vol. xv., p. 197), and Guy Maynard (*Memorials of Old Essex*, p. 43). The latter notices a cross-road (not now obvious, I believe) from Chesterford to Bartlow, which Lord Braybrooke regarded as very obviously Roman.

² In proof of this, it is only necessary to bear in mind the very large number of our Norman churches (probably as much as eighty per cent.) which are built more or less (some of them very largely) of Roman bricks. Each one of these churches may be regarded as proving that there had been, in its immediate vicinity, a Roman building of some kind. It must be remembered that the Normans—a race of great builders—came from a country abundantly supplied with excellent building-stone and were accustomed, naturally, to build with stone; also that, coming to Essex, in which there is practically no building-stone, they must have found themselves in great straits for building-material. In this dilemma, they naturally made use of the best substitute they were able to obtain—namely, the excellent bricks which existed in the foundations of the many Roman houses they found all over the county, though the superstructures of most of them (probably of timber and plaster) had, no doubt, been burned in Saxon times. How extensively the Normans "quarried" these foundations is proved by the scarcity of remains of Roman houses in Essex to-day; and how extensively they made use of the bricks they thus obtained is proved by the large number of their churches, scattered all over the county, in which the quoins, windows, and doors are turned in Roman brick (as mentioned above). This is the more remarkable in that the Normans at home had neither made nor built with bricks, as the absence of brickwork from Normandy to-day shows amply.

few of our really-ancient parish churches stand actually *beside* Roman roads, though many stand from half-a-mile to a mile back from them.¹

The road-system of Essex in the time of the Romans may be compared not unfairly with the railway-system of the county as it exists to-day; and the result of any such comparison is certainly not in favour of to-day. It is true that lines of rail-road coincide fairly closely with all three of our most important Roman roads (the Othona Road, the Great Road, and Stane Street); but, taking the county as a whole, it is obvious that the railway-system of to-day covers the county less completely, and affords less convenient access to all parts of it, than did the road-system of the Romans fifteen hundred years ago. It will be found that the Roman main-road system traced above (including portions of several roads which were obviously planned, but never completed) extends to about 423 miles altogether; while the present-day rail-road system (including all small lines and one begun but never completed)² extends approximately to about 375 miles only.³ Such facts bear eloquent testimony to the enterprise, energy, surveying skill, engineering ability, and general civilizing influence of the Romans.

As before, I have made no attempt to identify the places in Essex named in the Antonine Itineraries, believing any such attempt to be futile with our present knowledge.⁴ Either the distances given therein are erroneous or the Itineraries are not ordinary "round-trips" as has been generally assumed. It is to be noted that, almost exactly two centuries ago, Salmon wrote of Essex⁵:—"Of all the counties of England, I don't know one in which our antiquaries have taken more pains to trace the Roman ways [in connection with the Antonine Itineraries] than in this; and nowhere more unsuccessfully."

Finally, I have been asked many times whether I have ever seen traces of the actual Roman road-bed when any of our Essex roads

¹ Much the same is the case with the great *Routes Nationales* constructed by Napoleon throughout northern France. These roads (with which I am very familiar in Normandy) bear an extraordinarily-close resemblance to Roman roads. They run almost absolutely straight from some important point (Paris in the first instance) to some other important point (usually a military or naval station on the coast). As one advances, one sees the road straight ahead, bounding over hill-top beyond hill-top, exactly as in the case of one of our own Roman roads. Like these latter, too, they have been clearly constructed without reference to the many villages one sees more or less close at hand on either side; for, to reach these, one has to take small branching side- (or *vicinal*) roads.

² See *ante*, vol. xv., p. 223, n.s.

³ For this figure, I am indebted to the courtesy of Mr. W. R. Jenkinson and Mr. A. E. Lawler, of the office of the General Manager of the L. and N.E. Railway.

⁴ See *ante*, vol. xv., p. 194.

⁵ *New Survey of England*, vol. i., p. 121, 1728.

known to be of Roman origin have been cut across or opened; and, when I have replied that I have not, I have been asked further how I explain that fact?

To this, I have always replied that I do not see how, in Essex (except in the small chalk-area round Chesterford in the extreme north-west), a Roman road-surface could be distinguished from a comparatively-modern road-surface; for both alike could only be made of one and the same material—the local gravels—so would present no points of difference. This is not the case, in or near a chalk district, where the Romans constructed their road-beds of rammed chalk and large flints, in a special way which can always be recognized.

Inasmuch as my reply, to the foregoing effect, has frequently been regarded as unconvincing, I sought the views on the point of Mr. Percy J. Sheldon, M.Inst.C.E., whose knowledge of our Essex roads is absolutely unique, in that, until a few months ago, he had had supreme control of them for thirty-two years. "I have, on many occasions [he has been good enough to write me], when excavations have been in progress on Stane Street and other reputed Roman roads, specially asked to be informed if anything in the nature of an old road-formation had been found, but never with any success; so that . . . I have not been fortunate enough to find any signs of actual Roman road-surfaces." This I regard as conclusive proof that, in Essex, at any rate, absence of all traces of actual Roman road-construction is not necessarily evidence that a road is not of Roman origin.

My observations, now concluded, on the Roman Roads of Essex have appeared in five instalments, published in these pages at intervals during the past five years. In consequence of this protracted method of publication, the numbers assigned at the outset to certain of the "Routes" traced have become inappropriate, owing to the subsequent addition of Routes detected as time went on. The system of numbering has, therefore, become confused and very difficult to follow. To rectify this, as far as possible, a revised version of the map published at the outset is appended to this final instalment, together with a Tabular Statement giving a systematic list of all the Routes traced and showing both the old and the new numbers assigned to the Routes.



ROMAN ROADS IN ESSEX (SYSTEMATIC ARRANGEMENT)

(including several stretches planned and begun but never completed).

I.—*Othona Road and Branches* (83 miles). MILES

Route 1 (13)	... London to Othona	... 49 $\frac{1}{2}$
Route 2 (13a)	... Woodham Ferrers to Althorne	... 7
Route 3 (13b)	... Purleigh to Southminster	... 6
Route 4 (13c)	... Latchingdon to Asheldham and Dengy	... 8 $\frac{1}{4}$
Route 5 (13d)	... Mayland to Tillingham	... 6 $\frac{1}{2}$
Route 6 (13e)	... Steeple to Tillingham village	... 3
Route 7 (13f)	... St. Lawrence through Tillingham parish	... 2 $\frac{3}{4}$

II.—*The "Great" Road and Branches* (142 $\frac{1}{2}$ miles).

Route 8 (1)	... London to Mark's Tey	... 45
Route 9 —	... Brentwood to the Thames at Tilbury	... 14
Route 10 (15)	... Chelmsford to the Thames at Canvey Island	... 14
Route 11 —	... Rivenhall (<i>via</i> Maldon) to the Thames at Prittlewell	20
Route 12 —	... Hawkwell to Paglesham	... 5
Route 13 —	... Prittlewell to the Thames at Wakering Stairs	... 6
Route 14 (1a)	... Feering to Colchester	... 7 $\frac{1}{4}$
Route 15 (2)	... Margaretting to Chelmsford (<i>via</i> Writtle)	... 5 $\frac{1}{2}$
Route 16 (4)	... Chelmsford to Little Waltham	... 3 $\frac{3}{4}$
Route 17 (6)	... Little Waltham to Gosfield (and onwards)	... 22

III.—*Stane Street and Branches* (164 miles).

Route 18 (3)	... Hamford Water to Braughing	... (in Essex) 49 $\frac{1}{2}$
Route 19 (12)	... Dunmow to Stratford (for London)	... 28 $\frac{1}{2}$
Route 20 (12)	... Ditto (by another route, never finished)	... 18
Route 21 —	... Lambourne to Walthamstow (and on)	... (in Essex) 10
Route 22 —	... Lambourne to Harlow	... 11 $\frac{1}{2}$
Route 23 (5)	... Dunmow to Little Waltham	... 8
Route 24 (9)	... Colchester to Nayland (and onwards)	... (in Essex) 6
Route 25 (10)	... Colchester to Stratford St. Mary (and on)	... (in Essex) 6
Route 26 (7)	... Colchester to Mersea Island	... 9
Route 27 (8)	... Elmstead to Alresford	... 2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Route 28 (11)	... Bartlow (<i>via</i> Radwinter) to Dunmow	... 15

IV.—*Roads lying largely outside Essex* (33 $\frac{1}{2}$ miles in Essex).

Route 29 (16)	... Braughing to Chesterford	... (in Essex) 7 $\frac{1}{2}$
Route 30 (17)	... Chesterford to Worsted Lodge	... (in Essex) 2
Route 31 (18)	... Godmanchester to Colchester (<i>Via Devana</i>)	... (in Essex) 24
		423

THE TOKEN COINAGE OF ESSEX IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

BY WILLIAM GILBERT, F.R.N.S.

IN 1914 I had the pleasure of placing before my fellow members of this Society, through the medium of our *Transactions* (vol. xiii., pts. iii. and iv.; vol. xiv., pts. i. and iii.), a series of articles dealing with the above subject; and I then described every token known to me at that time, whether in my own collection, in the cabinets of fellow collectors, in public collections or described in various books, magazines and catalogues. The result was the list was as exhaustive as it could be; in fact an appreciative correspondent wrote that he thought it would be the "last word" on the subject. However there is no branch of numismatics on which the last word has been, or ever will be, written; in the domain of tokens, no less than in every other department of antiquarian research, a large amount of work has yet to be accomplished. In the ten years which have elapsed since my articles were published a number of fresh tokens have come to light, many of which I have acquired for my own cabinet, and by comparing some hundreds of specimens I have been enabled to discover fresh die varieties. These will all appear in their proper places in the ensuing pages, so that the present article, in conjunction with my previous ones, will bring the subject up to date.

The origin of, and necessity for, these curious little coins, were discussed in my previous articles and so need not be referred to here. I would, however, like to say a few words on the previous literature of the tokens of this county. The first organized treatment of the seventeenth century tokens of the whole of the British Isles was contained in a work entitled "Tokens of the Seventeenth Century," compiled by William Boyne, F.S.A., and published in 1858. This, the pioneer work, is the basis of every work on the subject that has been written since; and the author may justly be considered the father of this branch of numismatic literature. If any of us, who have followed in his footsteps, merit praise, it is very small in comparison with that merited by him; the work must have been stupendous. Of our own county he enumerates 229 tokens from 63 places.

In 1867 Charles Golding published "An account of the Tradesmen's Tokens of Essex" in the *East Anglian*. This was reprinted, with an addenda, in 1868 by Samuel Timms of Lowestoft. I have a copy on large paper. It enumerates 294 tokens from 74 places; the eleven places additional to Boyne being Finchingfield, Good Easter, Henham, Leigh, Pebmarsh, Pentlow, Quendon, Stratford, Terling, Woodham Mortimer, and Writtle.

The next work on the subject was *The Seventeenth Century Tokens in the British Museum not described in Boyne*, by C. F. Keary and W. Wroth, published in 1885. This describes seven tokens unknown to Boyne, of which four were unknown to Golding, but no fresh places.

Next we have the monumental work in two thick volumes, commenced in 1883 and completed in 1890, having George C. Williamson as general editor, and a special editor for each county. The work was limited to 250 copies on small paper and 50 on large; it is getting scarcer each year, a good copy now fetching about £5. The large paper copies are cumbersome but the extra margins are very useful for notes. The sub-editor for the Essex portion was C. W. Stainsfield of Tottenham. He enumerates 356 tokens from 85 places, the eleven additional to Golding's list being Blackmore, Brook Street, Bumpstead, Clavering, Foxearth, Rayleigh, Ridgwell, Stansted Mountfitchet, Toppesfield, Waltham and West Ham.

Then comes the little work, undated, entitled *Essex Coinage*, compiled by Dr. L. A. Lawrence. It deals chiefly with the early silver regal pennies from the Essex mints, but mentions the tokens with some interesting notes; no fresh pieces are, however, described. A nicely executed frontispiece shows seven of the Essex tokens.

In 1902 E. N. Mason compiled a little work entitled *Ancient Tokens of Colchester*, but adds no tokens to those hitherto known. Of the seventy-five tokens of Colchester then known he illustrates sixty, and says "There are still some fifteen known tokens that I have been unable to find." Of these fifteen I have thirteen in my cabinet and know the whereabouts of specimens of each of the other two.

All the above mentioned books are in my collection of numismatic works.

The next work was my own, published in our *Transactions* in 1914. This described 412 tokens from 93 places, the additional eight places being Burnham, Danbury, Fobbing, High Easter, Littleton, Prittlewell, Tillingham and Walthamstow. In the ensuing paper the number of tokens will be increased by thirty-three fresh ones, and thirty-five additional die varieties; the following places will be

added—Boreham, Great Oakley, Leigh Beck, Little Coggeshall and Orsett. This will bring the total to date of 480 different tokens from 98 places. There must, however, be deducted five tokens which, though hitherto placed to our county, do not belong to it (see my notes later under Stansted Mountfitchet, Stratford and Waltham), leaving the net total of Essex seventeenth century tokens known to date at 475.

A word as to the comparative rarity of the tokens may be of interest. I have carefully collated the specimens in seven large collections (each having over 175 tokens in it) with the 356 tokens mentioned in Williamson's work and the result is as follows: sixty-three of the tokens described in Williamson are found in each of the seven collections, forty-five are in each of six of them, forty-seven in five, fifty in four, thirty-five in three, forty-four in two, fifty-six are only found in one, and the remaining sixteen tokens are not found in any of the collections. I am doubtful of the existence of several of these sixteen tokens. If we divide the above figures into four instead of eight groups, we can, with reason I think, infer that 108 of the Essex tokens described by Williamson are common, ninety-seven are scarce, seventy-nine are rare and seventy-two are very rare. My experience, and study of the subject, confirms this view. My own collection went along swiftly until 150 were in it, then a little slower to 200, since when it has gradually become slower and slower till now if I add six specimens a year I consider I am fortunate. Of the tokens mentioned by Williamson I have all that appear in more than two of the above seven collections, with the exception of four specimens, and my collection (which I believe to be the largest extant for our county) now embraces 350 different specimens, nearly all in fine condition. My duplicate collection (to shew the reverses) comprises about 200 specimens. The condition of the tokens is at a high level because I purchase collections irrespective of whether I already have the tokens in them or not, and then carefully compare each piece with my former ones and exchange them where an improvement results. This is by far the best way of collecting from a student's point of view (it is practically the only way in which die varieties can be found), the only drawback being the accumulation of duplicates, but these can be exchanged or sold. At the moment of writing I have about 200 duplicates in hand for exchange purposes.

In 1914 the Hodgkin collection, comprising 232 specimens, was sold by auction, None of these tokens came into my possession, but practically every lot since then has been carefully examined by me and nearly all purchased by, or for, me. The largest collection

was that of the late F. A. Crisp, sold in 1923, which comprised 249 Essex tokens and eighty-six duplicates. Apart from the Colchester pieces (which, although many were in nice condition, were all common) the whole of the collection, except about a dozen tokens, came into my possession. I purchased privately (in 1920) the collection formerly belonging to the Royal United Services Institution, a collection all in fine state and containing several unpublished and many rare pieces. Many, however, of the scarce tokens in my cabinet have been picked up singly at odd times and in out-of-the-way places. It must not be presumed that money combined with patience is all that is necessary to form a large collection, it certainly requires these two factors, but also requires two additional ones—energy and experience; they have to be diligently sought for. As will be seen from the statistics I have given above, a very considerable number are practically unobtainable from dealers, or other usual sources, still I think my fellow collectors will agree that it is a peculiarly fascinating hobby and well repays the trouble by the pleasure it affords.

As regards the value of tokens no definite rule can be established; the comparative rarity is, of course, the dominant factor, but questions of condition, of unusual shape, of any special interest, *etc.*, come into prominence. As a general rule I should say the commoner tokens of this county have doubled in value in the past twenty years, these being now worth (in fine condition) from three to five shillings each (except a few very common ones). The scarcer ones have more than doubled in value. As regards the really rare tokens no rule of price can apply, it obviously depends on what competition there is for them among wealthy collectors. The identical token will fetch widely divergent prices at different times, which precludes any standard price being put to it. A case came to my notice in the past year when a token (not an Essex one) was purchased for eighteen pence and resold within a month for ten guineas. Apart, however, from such a purely fictitious value, and omitting a few very special pieces, I consider a reasonable limit for seventeenth century tokens in fine condition is from three shillings to one pound each, according to their rarity.

Of shapes other than circular, Essex can so far boast of nine tokens: one square (Romford), three heart-shaped (Chelmsford, Epping and Waltham Abbey), and five octagonal (Leytonstone, Romford, and three of West Ham).

We find the arms of various of the trade-guilds, or companies, on the Essex tokens, *viz.*: apothecaries (2), bakers (8), barber surgeons (2), blacksmiths (2), butchers (1), clothworkers (8), cordwainers (1),

cutlers (1), distillers (1), drapers (10), dyers (1), fishmongers (1), fruiterers (1), grocers (30), ironmongers (1), mercers (6), merchant taylor (1), saddlers (1), skinner (1), tallow chandler (3), weavers (1), and woolpackers (8).

NOTE.—The numbers given in the following list refer to those in my list published in 1914, previously referred to.

BARDFIELD.

2. Robert Bowyer. I have two die varieties of this token.
 1. O.:—The chevron board has sixteen squares.
R.:—Initials in centre high up in circle.
 2. O.:—The chequer board has twenty squares.
R.:—Initials in centre nearly fill circle.
3. Francis May. Correction. Name is BARDFEILD not BARDFIELD.
When writing it I had not seen a specimen, so followed Williamson. Mr. H. Chapman of the Fitzwilliam museum, kindly drew my attention to the error and I have since acquired a specimen.

BARKING.

6. Richard Britten. This token reads :

O.:—RICHARD . BRITTEN . OF — A man making candles.
R.:—BARKINGE . IN . ESSEX — Arms (barry wavy ? on a bend a lion passant guardant).

The description I previously gave was copied from Golding and was inaccurate and incomplete. The late Mr. W. H. King gave a specimen in fine state to our Society (it is now in the Colchester museum) and a description of it was published by Mr. A. G. Wright, the Curator, in our *Transactions* (vol. xvii., n.s., pt. 2, p. 131).
12. Thomas More. I have two reverse die varieties of this token.
 1. Mintmark, star and the foot of A in centre is level with bottom of N. in BARKIN.
 2. Mintmark, cinquefoil and the foot of A is level with the I in BARKIN.
13. William Reeca. I have two reverse die varieties of this token.
 1. One flower against the mintmark.
 2. Two flowers against the mintmark.
15. Thomas West. Correction. There is no G at end of the place-name on the reverse.

BOREHAM.

O.:—IOHN . COOPER — The Weavers' Arms.

R.:—IN . BORHAM . 1668 — HIS HALF PENY.

This token, hitherto unpublished, is in my own collection. It is the first token known for this place and is also the only Essex token so far known bearing the weavers' arms (on a chevron between three leopards heads, each holding a shuttle as many roses seeded and barbed), although many tokens issued by weavers have the shuttle alone.

BRAINTREE.

O.:—TVRNE . A . PENNY — A soldier.

R.:—IN . BRAINTRY . 1656 — I. G. A.

This hitherto unpublished farthing is in Mr. Stephen J. Barns's collection. The obverse is similar to my No. 34 of which I have a specimen, but the reverse is different. It was issued by John Allen.

41. Peeter Pearcce. I have two varieties of this token.

1. The dog is sitting.

2. The dog is standing on his hind legs.

BRENTWOOD.

46. Francis Aleyn. Correction. ANGEL not ANGELL on reverse.
I have since acquired a specimen.

47. John Betes. Correction. BORNTTE not BRONTE on reverse.
I have since acquired a specimen.

O.:—ABELL . LIFORD . AT . YE — A crown.

R.:—IN . BVRNTWOOD . 1666 — A. M. L.

This token has hitherto been placed to Burntwood in Staffordshire, but I think it more likely to be of Brentwood, and this opinion is shared by the collectors of Staffordshire tokens.

O.:—IONATHAN . POPE . IN . 1669 — St. George and the Dragon.

R.:—BORNTTE . WOOD . IN . ESSEX — HIS HALF PENY. I. E. P.

This hitherto unpublished token was formally in the possession of Messrs. Spink & Son, who kindly supplied me with the description.

O.:—EDWARD . SHELTON . IN — A scallop shell.

R.:—BRENTWOOD . IN . ESSEX — E. E. S.

A farthing in my own collection.

BUMPSTEAD.

51.—Martin Dike. I do not think this token reading BVMESTED exists, but that it should read BVMPSTED (as my 52). My own specimens, and the few others I have seen, all read the latter. It was probably a misprint in Williamson.

BURNHAM.

O.:—ROBERT . BENNET . 1669 — R. D. B.

R.:—OF . BVRNEHAM . IN . ESSEX — HIS HALF PENY.

In the collection of the late Mr. F. A. Crisp.

O.:—THOMAS . WILLIS . OF — The Mercers' Arms.

R.:—BVRNHAM . 1659 — T. W.

This farthing has hitherto been placed to Burnham Market, Norfolk. I think it is probably an Essex piece, as the name is found in many parts of our county, and a token was issued by Will. Willis at Romford.

CHELMSFORD.

53. Francis Arwaker. I have two obverse die varieties of this token.

1. The point of shield is against A.

2. The point of shield is against R.

O.:—FRANCIS . ARWAKER — Arms, a chevron between three cotton hanks

R.:—OF . CHELMSFORD — F. A.

This farthing with the place-name spelled as at the present day is hitherto unpublished. It is in my own collection.

O.:—IOHN . BLOMEFEILD — The Grocers' Arms.

R.:—OF . CHELMSFORD . GROCR — IN . ESSEX.

In the collection of the late Mr. F. A. Crisp and hitherto unpublished.

55. Francis Arwaker. Correction. The place-name on this token reads CHEHNESFORD not CHERNESFORD.
57. Nathniall Bownd. Correction. The first name should read NATHNIALL not NATHANIAL. I have since acquired a specimen.
60. Mary Curtis. A variety of this token is dated 1668 instead of 1667. Note by the late Mr. W. H. Taylor in his copy of Boyne.

CHIPPING ONGAR.

77. Jacob Archer. I have two obverse die varieties of this token.
1. The inner circle is of dots. The end of chevron is against the E.
2. The inner circle is a line. The end of the chevron is against the R. This token has larger letters, the teale is better, and is altogether a much superior piece.

COGGESHALL (LITTLE).

O. :—IOHN . HARVEY . IN — Arms.

R. :—LITTLE . COXALL . PARVA — I. A. H.

This farthing has hitherto been placed to Coxwell in Berkshire, but it is an Essex piece. He was ordered to scour his ditch in 1693, and others of the name resided there. This is the first token known for this place.

COGGESHALL.

81. Henry Benyan. Correction. The griffin holds a flag, not a key, on the obverse. On the reverse ESEX not ESSEX.
I have since acquired a specimen.
82. Samuel Cox. I have two reverse die varieties of this token.
1. Bottom of s in centre below first E of ESSEX.
 2. Bottom of s in centre above first E in ESSEX.

COLCHESTER.

103. Thomas Burges. I have two reverse die varieties of this token.
1. Top of T in centre is against s in COLCHESTER.
 2. It is against the last E in COLCHESTER.
119. William Ferris. I have a die variety of the reverse shewing a dot between the mintmark and the R of COLCHESTER, and the top of w in centre is in line with last E in COLCHESTER. In 119 it lines with T, in 120 between s and T, and in 121 between T and E.
121. William Ferris. Note: the mintmark is a star, not a rose.
134. John Lambe. I have two die varieties of this token.
1. *O.* :—Point of star touches the 5.
R. :—Top of L in centre is below R.
 2. *O.* :—Point of star is between 5 and 6.
R. :—Top of L in centre is above R.
136. Thomas Lambe. I have a variety of this token shewing a foot to the I making it appear BVTTLS instead of BVTTIS.
140. Nathaniel Lawrence. I have three die varieties of this token.
1. *O.* :—L in centre points to top of A.
R. :—N.L. in centre nearly touch the inner circle and are surrounded by lozenges.
 2. *O.* :—As No. 1.
R. :—Lettering is smaller and initials in centre are surrounded by pellets.
 3. *O.* :—L in centre points to centre of A.
R. :—As No. 2.

143. John Milbanck. A variety of this token reads NILBANCK.
145. William Moore. I have four die varieties of this token.
1. Mintmark a rose. Reads MOORF.
 2. Two long strokes through the I in centre instead of short ones.
 3. H E of Colchester is joined together.
 4. Mintmark a star. Reads MOORE.
158. Thomas Reynolds. Correction. This variety has a rose, not a star, between the initials.
163. Jacob Ringer. Correction. COVLCHES~~T~~ER not COLCHES~~T~~ER on the reverse. A slip of the pen in my previous work. Mr. Stephen Barns kindly drew my attention to it.
167. John Sewell. I have three die varieties of this token.
1. O. :—Shield points to second E of SEWELL.
R. :—Top of I in centre is between the 6 and 5, in date.
 2. O. :—Shield points to the first L in SEWELL.
R. :—As No. 1.
 3. O. :—As No. 1.
R. :—Top of I in centre is between 1 and 6 in date.
169. Nathaniel Strickson. Correction. COLCH~~S~~TER not COLCHES~~T~~ER.
I have a die variety of the token having the s in centre below the N of STRICKSON, whereas in the other it is below the mintmark.
180. Jacob Vol. I have three die varieties of this token.
1. O. :—Merchants mark is against the A in IACOB.
R. :—Bottom of I in centre is level with T in COLCHES~~T~~ER.
 2. O. :—Merchants mark is against C in IACOB.
R. :—Bottom of I in centre is level with S in COLCHES~~T~~ER.
 3. O. :—As No. 2.
R. :—v joined to top of R and there is a flaw through the O of COLCHES~~T~~ER.

EPPING.

193. Richard Graygoose. A variety of this token has the place-name spelled EPPINGE instead of EPPING.
- O. :—THOMAS . GROVES — The Merchant Taylors' Arms.
- R. :—IN . EPPINGE . 1669 — HIS HALF PENY T. M G.

This hitherto unpublished token is in my own collection. It is of interest to note that this is the first Essex token known to bear the arms of the Merchant Taylors (a royal tent between two parliament robes, the tent garnished with tentstaff and pennon ; on a chief a lion passant guardant).

O.:—RICHARD . KINTON . AT . YE — A crown. R. E. K.

R.:—IN . EPPIN . IN . HOVLDER — HIS HALF PENY.

In my own collection.

O.:—RICHARD . KINTON . AT . WHIT — A lion. R. E. K.

R.:—IN . EPPIN . IN . HOVLDER — HIS HALF PENY.

Kindly communicated by Mr. A. H. Baldwin.

FINCHINGFIELD.

O.:—WILL . GREENE . HIS . HALF . PENNY (in four lines).

R.:—IN . FINCHFEILD . 1667 — W. I. G.

The obverse is as my 204, but the reverse is different and is hitherto unpublished.

GREAT CHESTERFORD.

209. John Howsden. I have two die varieties of this token.

1. Mintmark a star.

2. Mintmark a rose and the design is smaller.

210. Benjamin Orwell. I have a variety reading GREATE as well as one reading GREAT.

GREAT OAKLEY.

O.:—EDWARD . BRICE — A lion rampant.

R.:—OF . GREATE . OAKLEY — E. B.

This token, the first recorded for this place, is in the Colchester museum, and a description of it was published by Mr. A. G. Wright, the Curator, in our *Transactions* vol. xvii., n s., pt. ii., p. 130).

HALSTEAD.

218. Rowland Sath. I have two reverse die varieties of this token.

1. Top of K in centre is level with top of first s in ESSEX.

2. It is level with the bottom of the same s.

HARWICH.

227. John Vandewall. I have two obverse die varieties of this token.

1. The scales touch the D in surname.

2. The scales are smaller and do not touch the D.

HEDINGHAM CASTLE.

238. John Unwin. I have two varieties of this token.

1. The mintmark is a star. Corner of woolpack is above F of OF.

2. Mintmark is a rose. Corner of woolpack is below F of OF.

HENHAM.

243. Robert Halls. This man also issued a halfpenny token at Linton in Cambridgeshire, using the identical obverse die but a fresh reverse die.

I have a specimen in my collection of Cambridgeshire tokens. From the fact that the Linton token is much commoner than the Henham one, I infer his principal place of business was in Cambridgeshire.

LEIGH.

258. Correction. Should read ANCKER not ANCHOR.

I have since acquired a specimen.

259. Thomas Wall. Correction. The initials in centre of reverse are T. E. W. not T. A. W.

LEIGH BECK.

O. :—IOHN . LAMBE . OF . LEEBECKE — A pascal lamb.

R. :—HIS . HALFE . PENNY . 1668 — The Grocers' Arms.

This token, hitherto unpublished, is the first one known for this place. A place of this name appears on the present map of Canvey Island at the end nearest Leigh-on-Sea. A Joseph Lamb issued a token at Leigh in 1664. See No. 257 in my previous list.

LEYTON.

The token of Benedict Coles of Layton, which has always been placed to Leighton Buzzard, in Bedfordshire, has been thought by some Essex Collectors (myself included) to belong possibly to our Leyton. To settle this I have had the Hearth Tax Rolls searched, with the result I find he appears in the list for the 18th Charles II., under Lughton, Beds., and pays 3s. 3d. A Mary Coales, widow there pays 6s. 6d. So we cannot claim this token.

MALDON.

263. John Harrison. I have two reverse die varieties of this token.
1. The I. H. in centre is between two stars and five dots.
 2. It is between six stars and one dot.

MOULSHAM.

274. William Sweeting. I have two obverse die varieties of this token.
1. Right handle of wheelbarrow is between the two LL's of WILL.
 2. It is against the second L.

MUCH CLAFTON.

276. Will. Anger. I have two obverse die varieties of this token.
1. The mintmark is clear of the H and W.
 2. It is joined to them.

NOTE. Williamson says this town is undoubtedly Great Clacton, and he is correct; I have seen it so spelled in the earlier wills.

NEWPORT POND.

282. Henry Woodley. This man also struck a token from the same obverse die, but the reverse reads NEARE . FLEETE . BRIDGE — H. W.

I have a specimen of it in my collection of London tokens.

ORSETT.

O.:—WILL . CLARKE —The Grocers' Arms.

R.:—IN . ORSETT . 1659 — W. P. C.

This hitherto unpublished token is in my own collection and is the first token recognized for this place. It is of exceptional interest as it proves the token reading WILLIAM . CLARKE . IN OZED . 1659 (my No. 326) is of Orsett and not of St. Osyth, the place to which it has always been assigned. I exhibited my specimen before the Royal Numismatic Society on 17 May, 1923.

PLAISTOW.

285. John Corie. Correction. Should read PLASTOW not PLAISTOW. I have since acquired a specimen of this rare token.

O.:—JOHN . PHILLIPS . AT . THE — A dog eating from a pot.

R.:—IN . PLAISTOW . 1670 — I. M. P.

A farthing in my own collection, similar to the halfpenny token issued by him (No. 287), which I also have.

288. Correction. This token reads PLASTOE not PLASTOW.

I have since acquired a specimen.

ROCHFORD.

O.:—EDWARD . BAYES . OF — An estoile.

R.:—ROCHFORD . 1657 — E. A. B.

A farthing in my own collection.

ROMFORD.

308. George Silk. Correction. The obverse should read GEORG . SILKE . AT . THE

I have since acquired a specimen.

There is also a similar token to the last but with smaller lettering and from a better die and with G s. instead of G. E. S. in the centre of the reverse.

309. Thomas Steevens. I have five die varieties of this token.
1. *O.*:—Right hand corner of sugar loaf is against the T in STEEVENS.
R.:—Right hand top of H is against 5 in date.
 2. *O.*:—Right hand corner of loaf against first E in STEEVENS and mintmark close to THOMAS.
R.:—Same die as No. 1.
 3. *O.*:—Right hand corner of loaf also against first E, but the mintmark is central between names.
R.:—Right hand top of H is against 6 in date and the dot at side of H is above the R.
 4. *O.*:—Same die as No. 3.
R.:—Similar to No. 3 but the dot is central with the R.
 5. *O.*:—Right hand corner of loaf is against the second E in STEEVENS.
R.:—Same die as No. 3.

SAFFRON WALDEN.

318. Thomas Mehew. I have a variety of this token, hitherto unpublished, reading WALDON instead of WALLDIN.

ST. OSYTH.

326. William Clarke. This token belongs to Orsett (see my note under that place).

SOUTHMINSTER.

O.:—IOHN . COOPER . 1664 — The King's head crowned.

R.:—IN . SOVTH . MINSTER — I. A. C.

A farthing in my own collection.

O.:—IOHN . IEFFERY . 1670 — Arms.

R.:—IN . SOUTHMINSTER — I. I.

Kindly communicated by Mr. George Day.

STANSTED MOUNTFITCHET.

335. Robert Bradley, of ye Lion in Stansted. This is a Hertfordshire token. I am indebted to Mr. W. Longman for the information that the issuer paid tax on seven hearths in 1663 at Stansted Abbots, and that his burial is recorded in the register there in 1684, his wife Rachel being buried there in 1680, and in 1688 the register records the burial of Robert Bradley of Hoddesdon, son of Robert Bradley of ye Lyon att Stanstead. The Red Lion inn is still there.

STOCK.

O. :—GEORGE . WEILE — A cock.

R. :—AT . THE . COCK . IN . STOCK — G. A. W.

A hitherto unpublished farthing in the collection of the late Mr. F. A. Crisp.

STRATFORD.

353. John Eson. This token (the name is ESON not EASON) is a Warwickshire piece as a specimen was found, together with several other Stratford-on-Avon tokens, at Evesham.

It is also probable that Nos. 354 and 357 are Stratford-on-Avon tokens, the names of Hunt and Phillips being found on other tokens there.

THORPE.

371. George Nicholson. I have two reverse die varieties of this token.

1. Pellets between the words.
2. Lozenges between the words.

WALTHAM.

380. Robert Noble. This is a Leicestershire token. Mr. W. Longman spent considerable time trying to decide whether it was an Essex or a Hertfordshire piece, and he eventually found it belonged to Waltham-on-the-Wolds in Leicestershire, where the issuer was mentioned in the Hearth Tax returns of 1664.

WALTHAM ABBEY.

383. John Hodges. I have three reverse die varieties of this token.
1. The shield points to H.
 2. It points between the H and the dot.
 3. It points to the dot.

WEST HAM.

393. Gabriel Brewer. This token should have been described as an octagonal shaped piece. I have since acquired a specimen.

O. :—MARGRET . GRAUES . IN . WESTHAM (in three lines).

R. :—HER . HALFE . PENY — below the inscription are two men saluting.

This hitherto unpublished token was in the collection of the late Mr. W. Talbot Ready. It is an octagonal shaped token, struck in brass and all the letters are script.

WIVENHOE.

399. John Parker. I have three die varieties of this token.

1. O.:—Birds head is under the E of THE.

R.:—Bottom of i in centre is level with first E in WEVENHOE.

2. O.:—As No. 1.

R.:—Bottom of i in centre level with v in WEVENHOE.

3. O.:—Bird's head is under the mintmark.

R.:—As No. 1.

WITHAM.

O.:—THOMAS . BARKER — T. M. B.

R.:—IN . WITTHAM — T. B.

This farthing, which is on a thick flan, and has an acorn for a mintmark, is in the Colchester museum; and the description of it was first published by Mr. A. G. Wright, the Curator, in our *Transactions* (vol. xvii., n.s., pt. ii., p. 130).

O.:—ROBERT . CLARKE — Three swans.

R.:—IN . WITHAM . 1667 — R. C.

This hitherto unpublished farthing was in the collection of the late Mr. F. A. Crisp.

409. Samuel Wall. Correction. The letters in centre of the reverse are S. E. W. not S. F. W. On poor specimens the E being weakly struck appears like an F and a dot.

The two following unpublished Essex tokens cannot be located to any particular place at present:—

O.:—THOMAS H SON — centre detrited.

R.:—IN . ESSEX . 1664 — T. M. H.

It is of farthing size with the name of the place very possibly in the centre of the obverse. It is in my own collection, and after several minute examinations I think the name was HARISON.

O.:—R crowned and ESEXE.

R.:—Blank.

This token, struck in lead, was in the Macfadyen Collection which was dispersed in Sotheby's sale room in 1907. I have not seen it, therefore do not know its size, or what the character of the letters are. Some of these lead pieces were very early, and I think the large R too important for the initial of the issuer, especially as it has a crown above, and suggest it stood for Richard III.

In conclusion I may say I have a small lead piece in my collection which was found at Leigh-on-Sea a little while ago (O.:—s. c.; R.:—1662), but I am unable to say if it was issued and circulated there, or if it came there by chance.

MEDIÆVAL GRAFFITI IN STEEPLE BUMPSTEAD AND OTHER ESSEX CHURCHES.

BY THE REV. G. MONTAGU BENTON, M.A., F.S.A.

WHEN the Society visited Steeple Bumpstead church last year, the numerous graffiti, or scratched inscriptions and drawings, on the pillars of the nave arcade attracted attention, and as two or three of them are exceptionally interesting, it seems desirable to place on record certain notes on mediæval church graffiti in Essex, dealing more especially with those at Bumpstead. Hitherto, I have refrained from publishing these notes, accumulated for the most part some years ago, owing to the difficulties that beset the subject; but in spite of imperfections, they may stimulate interest in a fascinating bypath of archæological research, and serve as material for further study.

A reference to the combined index to the Essex volumes of the *Hist. Mon. Com.*, under the heading "graffiti," will show that these inscriptions, *etc.*, are to be met with in several of our Essex churches, and the list there given is by no means exhaustive. Nor is it surprising that many instances have escaped the vigilant eyes of the Commissioners' investigators, for graffiti are sometimes to be found in rather unexpected places, *e.g.* on the external archway of the north door of Barnston church there is a drawing of a man's head wearing a hood; and inscriptions occur on a canopy-shaft of the Bouchier monument in Halstead church. In fact, when a soft stone such as clunch formed part of the fabric of a church and was within easy reach, its smooth and inviting surface frequently proved an irresistible temptation to the mediæval scribbler. Unfortunately, much of his work has been obliterated or defaced by the ruthless scraper of the "restorer"; but a great deal still survives, the most likely positions for finding it being the nave pillars, the jambs of doorways, and the splays of windows. These informal scratchings, cut on the impulse of the moment, possess a human interest which, at times, bestirs emotion; for often they are more than mere idle scribbles, and reflect the personal loves, and hatreds, and aspirations of men, as well as furnish glimpses of the social and religious

life of the later Middle Ages. The Essex examples that follow will give some idea of the wide range of interest covered. In most cases their dates fall between the years, say, 1375 and 1575; but on the north side of the chancel arch of Berden church is an incised inscription—perhaps hardly a true graffito—of late thirteenth century date. It is deeply cut, in Lombardic capitals, and records the name of the mason: "GEFRAI : LI : MATHUN."

At Rickling, around the south doorway of the chancel, is an unusually elaborate inscription, which has been reproduced in our *Trans.* (vol. ix., n.s., p. 422). It is evidently the love token of Colin and Isabel Walden, and Dr. G. G. Coulton, to whose notice I brought this graffito some years ago, has drawn attention to the numbers, ix., 45, 2435 (not shown in the illustration referred to), above the names, which had, he considers, a mystical significance to Colin and Isabel; three flowers springing from a heart, and the motto *tout dys*, old French for *toujours*, also form part of the design.

At Chrishall, may be traced the words: *Dominus Henricus sepelivit*, i.e. "The priest Henry buried [or made an end of it]"; *Quadragenta*—a mason's note of quantity: building memoranda frequently occur, and sometimes are of great value; and *Mentes Moreton*—*mentes* perhaps signifies "tokens of remembrance," and Mr. Reginald L. Hine, to whom I am indebted for this note, suggests that *Moreton* may refer to the great Bishop of Ely (1479-1486), who figures in Shakespeare's *King Richard III.* Mr. Hine has also found this name at Harlton, Cambs.

Personal names, of course, are met with everywhere: *Wyllya* and *Haule* at Alphamstone; *Thomas langley* at Rickling; *Page* at Sible Hedingham; *Grene* at Toppesfield (external arch of north door); and *lloyd Rychard* at Great Yeldham are cases in point.

The graffiti at Halstead, to which allusion has already been made, record the names of important persons connected with the parish in the past. They include *Colet*, and, immediately below it, *Warner*: the former may refer to the saintly John Colet, for since the greater tithes belonged to the dean and chapter of St. Paul's he probably visited the church; the Warners held the manor of Dynes, *alias* Boises, from the reign of Henry VI. to that of Mary. Another graffito close by reads: *John Worth let be yowr nyce legs*; it is clearly written, though the last two letters are open to question. The Worthies held the manor of Blamsters, and John Worthie, esquire, was steward of the household of Lord Bouchier at Stansted Hall in the reign of Henry VI.

On the south wall of the chancel at Alphamstone is this inscription: *This chancell was ap'raled [apparelled] with newe tymber worke By*

Nicholas le Gryce p'son A° 157 [-]. Gryce was rector of Alphamstone from 1567 to 1593.

"WILLIAM BURNEL 1581 CURATE OF STANFORD" is scratched in capital letters on one of the nave piers at Stanford-le-Hope.

At the west end of Hatfield Peverel church is cut in bold lettering *E.A.* [Edmund Alleyne] *Patronus istius eccle'ie*, with the date 1597, 22° May.

Business accounts are frequent: on the tower arch at Great Dunmow are notes of money and one legible item *oyll*; and on a pillar at Thaxted is *P. King iijs*.

At Great Bardfield is a very imperfect inscription in English, which Dr. Coulton has transcribed as follows:

Be noght to bold

Be to bussi[ness]

Bost noght to mych

Moral saws and adages abound. On the east jamb of the south doorway of Hatfield Broad Oak church, originally part of a monastic building, there are to be found, so our President recently informed me, these lines:

fit animae jus

cum vita finit.

(Justice is done to the soul when life ends).

Marye

O helpe us.

Possibly they were cut by some disconsolate soul at the dissolution of the priory.¹ The invocation, *lady help*, also occurs at Finchingfield. At Little Dunmow is this motto: *Dum sumus in mundo, vivamus corde jocundo*, or in other words "A short life and a merry one"—strange sentiments to find on the walls of a monastic church! There are also to be seen here a well-executed drawing of a monk's head, and a Latin inscription to John de Monte-Caniso (the latter is figured in *Trans.*, *E.A.S.*, vol. xiii., n.s., p. 292).

A mutilated inscription of the fourteenth century, incised in Lombardic capitals under a label-stop, representing a bull (?), on the south side of the chancel of Finchingfield church, remains an unsolved puzzle; though one word, "SOLE," may be read without much difficulty. On the north respond of archway to south chapel in the same church are several graffiti, including *año, MCCCXL, Swynbo[r]ne; We stop on the; God mercy.*

Heraldic devices are very general: a Bouchier-Vere badge at Stebbing was illustrated in the last part of these *Trans.* (p. 213):

¹ *Trans.* *E.A.S.*, vol. vi., (n.s.), p. 337.

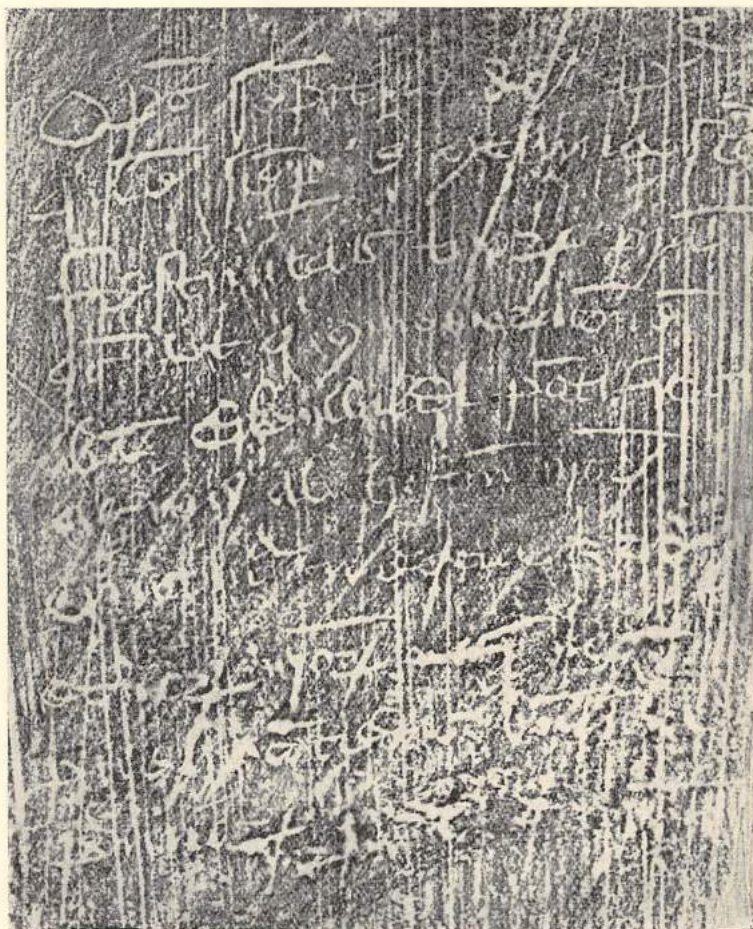
the Bourchier knot also occurs on one of the piers of the north arcade at Sible Hedingham, and beside it is scratched in black-letter the name *Bowerchier*. Coats of arms are to be found at Terling; at Rickling—a *fesse between three crescents*; and at Finchingfield—*barry of six pieces and a baston*. The last coat is also cut on one of the nave piers at Toppesfield; and on the adjoining pier is a quartered shield: i. and iv. *a fesse*; ii. and iii. *a chevron*. On one of the jambs of the south doorway of Fordham church a large and well-cut merchant's mark between the initials W.S. is conspicuous.

The sacred monogram and other religious emblems are also numerous. At Copford is the symbol of the Trinity, now very faint; but the words "est," at the top of the shield, and "de[us]," in the centre of the Y, are still legible.

Drawings are an extremely interesting class of graffiti, and the following are among the more noteworthy: a large ship on the wall of the rood-loft staircase at Rainham; a hawk, copied from the Hawkwood monument opposite, at Sible Hedingham; and the figure of an archbishop on the west jamb of the sedilia at Willingale Spain.

This survey, brief as it is, sufficiently indicates the value of these ancient records. Merely scratched, in many cases, with a knife, chisel, or other sharp-pointed instrument, they are often extremely difficult to read, owing to the minute writing or imperfect lettering, and appear illegible to all but the student; even the experienced palæographer is frequently baffled in his attempt to decipher them to his satisfaction. But this is not always so, and the mere tyro who is gifted with a little patience is encouraged from time to time by coming across an inscription which he can more or less understand; and then there are drawings which do not demand a specialist's knowledge to unravel their meaning. At any rate members of the Society who are sufficiently interested in the subject may do good work by finding and obtaining rubbings of unrecorded examples and forwarding them to the Hon. Secretary, who, while readily admitting that his own equipment for the task of decipherment is meagre, can fall back on the expert knowledge of friends. Rubbings, of course, must be carefully made on a thin, tough paper, and a hard indelible pencil, sharpened at both ends for greater convenience, will be found to give the best results. There are two well-illustrated papers which form useful introductions to the study: *Church Graffiti*,¹ by Mr. Reginald L. Hine, without whose encouragement and generous assistance this article would not have been written; and

¹ *Trans. St. Paul's Ecclesiological Soc.*, vol. viii., pt. v. (1921), p. 207.



From a rubbing by G. Montagu Benton, 1919.

COLLECT FOR ST. ERKENWALD:
GRAFFITO IN STEEPLE BUMPSTEAD CHURCH.

Mediæval Graffiti, especially in the Eastern Counties,¹ by Dr. G. G. Coulton. My indebtedness to the latter paper, in which half-a-dozen Essex examples are figured, will be obvious.

We may now turn our attention to the Steeple Bumpstead graffiti.

The most interesting graffiti in the church is the collect for St. Erkenwald (pl. i.) scratched on the east face of the south respond of the chancel arch. It appears that it was first identified some years ago by the late Mr. A. R. Malden, F.S.A., of Salisbury, but so far as I am aware (except in Mr. Hine's paper above cited) it has not been previously illustrated or described. Although written in a late fourteenth, or early fifteenth, century hand, in much abbreviated Latin, it is still in a great measure decipherable, and when extended seems identical with the original version given below.

In 1386 Robert Braybrooke, Bishop of London (Essex was in the diocese of London until 1845) decreed that the festivals of the deposition and translation of St. Erkenwald, who was the fourth bishop of London, brother of St. Ethelburga, and founder of Barking abbey, should be kept as first-class feasts. The following is an extract from this ordinance, which is printed by Wilkins,² under the heading :

"Monitio Roberti episcopi London pro festis beatorum Pauli apostoli, et Erkenwaldi confessoris, una cum indulgentia 40 dierum. Ex. reg. Braybrook, London, fol. 331."

... Quocirca vobis in virtute obedientiae committimus et mandamus, firmiter injungentes, quatenus omnibus et singulis ecclesiarum paroch. rectoribus, et vicariis, ac curatis per vestrum archidiaconatum constitutis, auctoritate nostra injungatis, quibus nos etiam tenore praesentium injungimus et mandamus, quatenus ipsi festa conversionis et commemorationis sancti Pauli praedicti, cum servitio divino in eorum libris pro ipsis festis antiquitus ordinato; necnon etiam diem depositionis sancti Erkenwaldi supradicti, videlicet die ultimo mensis Aprilis jam instantis, ac diem translationis ejusdem, videlicet 18 cal. Decemb. cum servitio de communi unius confessoris et pontificis tam ad matutinas, quam ad missas cum orationibus in ipsis missis dicendis, quae serius subscribuntur, videlicet orat :

"Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, apud
quem semper est continua sanctorum
festivitas tuorum et praesentia,
quaesumus, ut qui solennitatem
beati Erkenwaldi pontificis
agimus, ab hostium nostrorum
eruemur nequitia, et ad
aeternorum nos
provehí concedas beneficia
praemiorum per Dominum," etc.

¹ *Proc. Cambridge Antiquarian Soc.*, vol. xix. (1915), p. 53.

² *Concilia*, vol. iii., p. 196.

We may suppose that soon after the above collect was first ordered to be used, a priest at Steeple Bumpstead—possibly Thomas Stormworth, vicar from 1382 to 1396—scratched it on the wall, near his stall, for the sake of expediency, so that when the days for its recital came round he had merely to turn to the right and read it off.

On the same respond, near the base, is a well-executed drawing of a fish (pl. ii., fig. 1).

This church contains the most extensive series of graffiti to be found in any church in the county, the columns of the south arcade being literally covered with scratched inscriptions and drawings, many of them palimpsest. As the majority are practically illegible, anything like a complete list is out of the question; but the more noteworthy examples are recorded below, and inaccuracies, which certainly occur in the suggested readings, can be corrected, if that is possible, by reference to the accompanying illustrations.

ON EAST RESPOND OF SOUTH ARCADE:—

Two lightly scratched coats of arms: (1) *on a fesse lozengy between six crosses pommée, a crescent*; (2) the same as (1), except that the fesse is not charged with a crescent.

ON FIRST PIER (FROM EAST) OF SOUTH ARCADE—

(a) Inscription (pl. iii., fig. 5):

*Ad misam Johīs tr. s. Ric fflefrodī
ad*

After *fflefrod*, Mr. Hine reads *ex a.*, and translates the sentence “For a mass for John three shillings, Richard Flefrod out of thanksgiving.”

(b) Inscription (pl. iii., fig. 6):

*Orate p^o aīa Johīs E[m]ey
at ad diabolū.*

It has been suggested that *at* should perhaps read *orate*. “Pray for the soul of John E[m]ey, pray to the devil.” A witticism rather than an expression of hatred we dare hope, if this be the correct meaning.

(c) Drawing of a duck.

(d) The sacred monogram (pl. ii., fig. 2).

ON SECOND PIER OF SOUTH ARCADE—

(a) Fragment of musical notation (pl. iii., fig. 7).



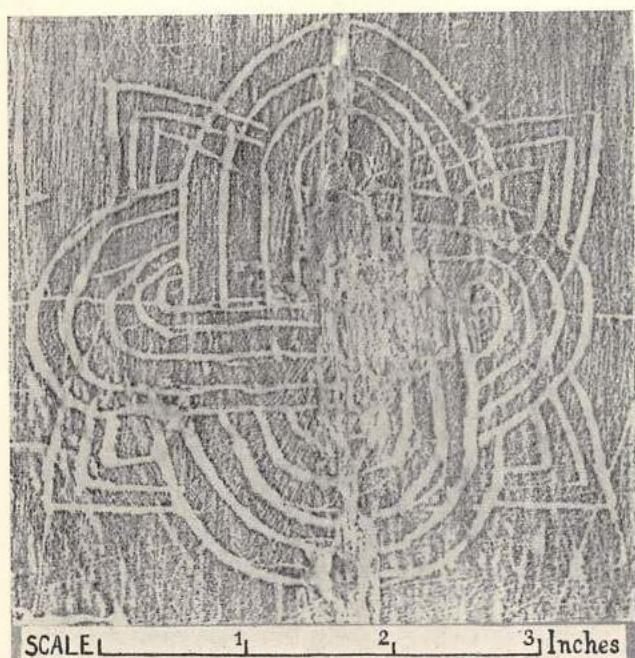
FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.



FIG. 3.



From rubbings by G. Montagu Benton, 1925.

FIG. 4.

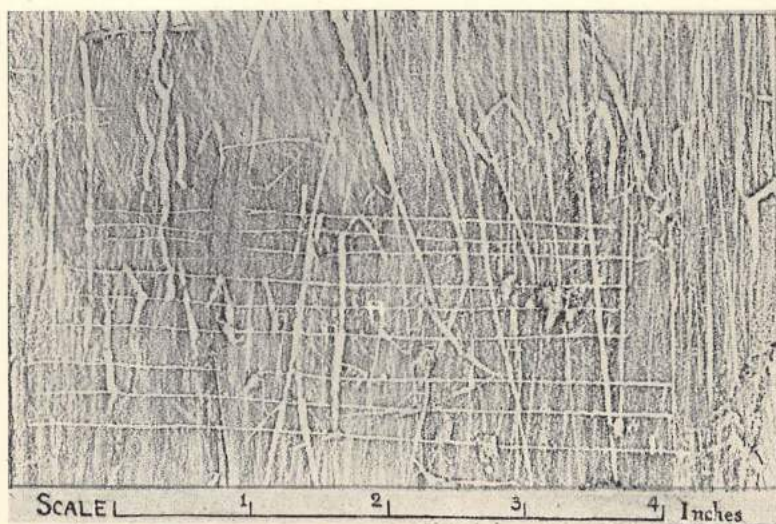
GRAFFITI IN STEEPLE BUMPSTEAD CHURCH.



FIG. 5.



FIG. 6.



From rubbings by G. Montagu Benton, 1925.

FIG. 7.

GRAFFITI IN STEEPLE BUMPSTEAD CHURCH.

I am indebted to our President, Canon Galpin, for the following interesting note.

"The early specimen of church music in graffito is the opening phrase of a two part hymn or carol. It was evidently taken from a service book which the delineator had either seen or used, as a nine-line stave is quite unnecessary for the few notes represented, but the additional lines in the upper portion would be required for the entry of the other voice.

"The general style is that of the fourteenth century though, of course, it may have been inscribed on the pillar at a later date. The use of the nine-line stave is well seen in an early fourteenth century *Sequentiale* (Cotton MSS. Fragments xxix.) formerly connected with the church of Addle, Yorkshire, in which the popular "Angelus ad Virginem" is set for two voices; other examples, also settings for two voices and of the same century, are reproduced in facsimile in *Early English Harmony* (Plainsong and Medieval Music Society). The phrase consists of six notes, probably each a "longa" though the second and third notes may have been intended for "breves": if, as it seems to me, there are traces of the C clef in the fourth line from the bottom, the notes are D C E A C B in the ordinary tenor register.

"The vertical lines widely drawn across the stave are particularly interesting. Some of them are doubtless the work of a destroyer, but the larger lines correspond to lines found in certain English musical MSS. of the early thirteenth century, where a later hand has inserted them not as bars—for bars in the modern sense were the product of the sixteenth century—but as guides for two or more singers in grouping the notes to the words. The fragmentary words, scratched above and on the lines, do not seem to bear any immediate relation to the notation; they may, however, be the title or opening words of the hymn."

(b) Unfinished drawing of two dogs running, one collared, with tongue protruding (pl. ii., fig. 3).

ON THIRD PIER OF SOUTH ARCADE—

(a) *God help me.*

This occurs twice. Similar appeals are frequently met with, and it has been suggested that they may refer to an outbreak of the plague.

(b) Rough coat of arms—*two chevrons*, differenced, perhaps, with a label.

(c) Imperfect inscription :

Anno dñi M^c CCC^o L^o viij^o filia Joh . . .

This looks like a first and inaccurate draft of the inscription immediately below. The date '1358' is quite clear.

(d) Inscription (pl. iv., fig. 8):

*Anno dñi M° CCC° L° viij°
nupta fuit Joh[a]ña filia [Ro]bti . . .
in festo s̄ci Georgii m̄ris.*

The date is rather indistinct, but probably 1358 is correct, though the arcade does not appear to have been built until about 1400. At any rate this informal marriage entry was made a century or so prior to Cromwell's Registration order of 1538. It was recorded thirty years ago by Mr. C. F. D. Sperling (*Trans. E.A.S.*, vol. v., N.S., p. 53).

(e) Interlaced design (pl. ii., fig. 4). Opposite south door. This emblem or symbol sometimes has the swastika in the centre. "These traceries," according to Mr. Harold Bayley,¹ who illustrates examples (figs. 209, 210), "known in Italy as 'Solomon's Knots,' occur in more or less complicated forms, and are frequently to be seen on Celtic crosses. Without beginning and without end, they were regarded as emblems of the Divine Inscrutability, and it was not unusual to twist them into specific forms so that they constituted supplementary symbols within symbols." Two "Solomon's Knots" are also to be found incised on the first pier (from east) of the north arcade of Sible Hedingham church. One is quite diminutive, measuring only 1¼ inches in height.

(f) Four lines of English verse (pl. iv., fig. 9):

This poem is extremely difficult to read, and although the writer has enlisted a good deal of help in the matter, certain words must still be left largely to conjecture. The following reading, which does not seem to make much sense, is therefore given with reserve:

*Long elid [?] ailed] 'dys [this] hert escales [?] easeless]
Oure (?) Godys he teles
Strenthe[n]de thro hys grace
Machyn (?) pryncys peniles.*

(g) Rough unfinished drawing of a dog (?), looking backwards.

¹ *The Lost Language of Symbolism* (1912), vol. i., p. 82

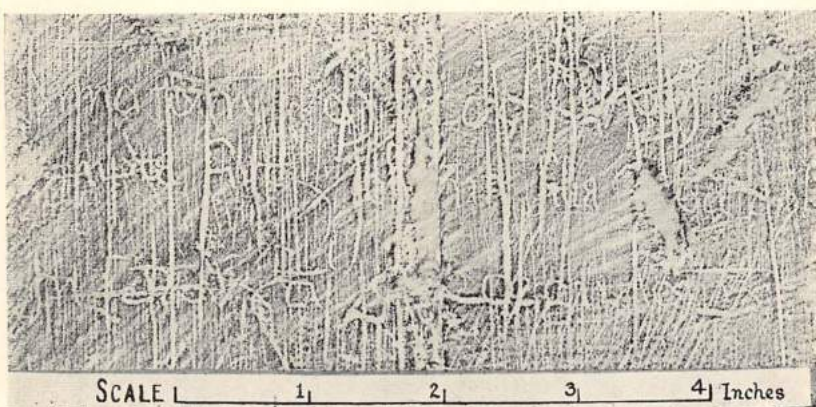
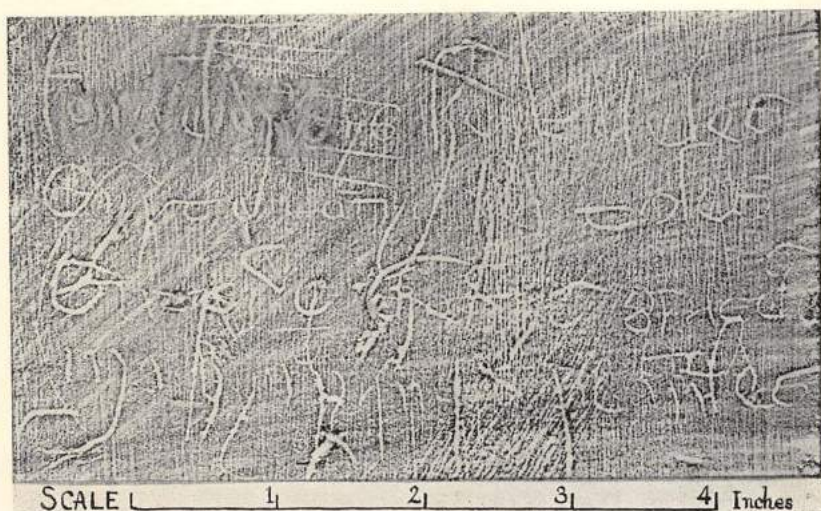


FIG. 8.



From rubbings by G. Montagu Benton, 1925.

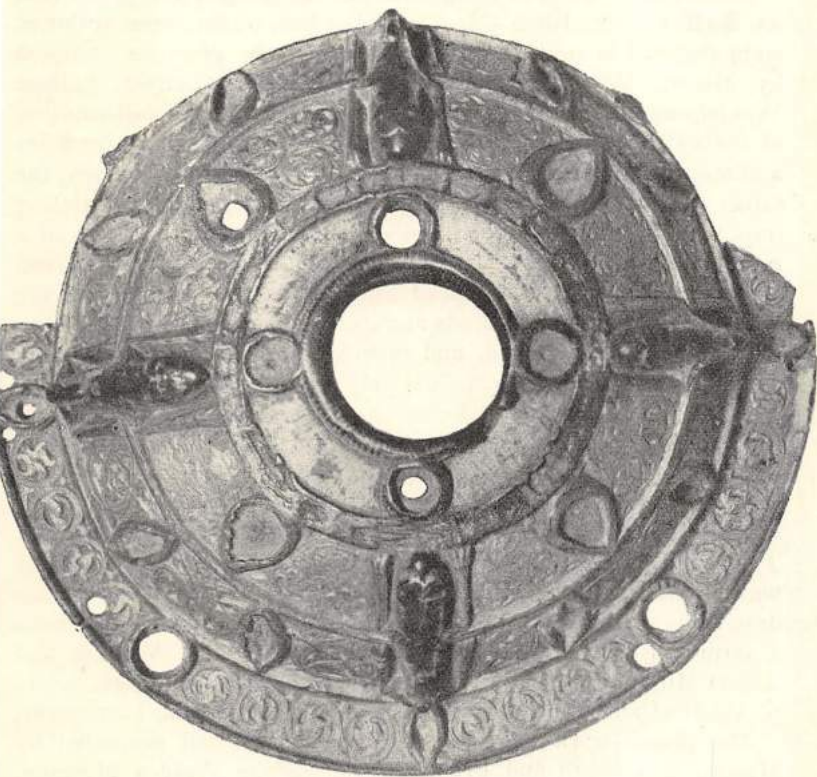
FIG. 9.

GRAFFITI IN STEEPLE BUMPSTEAD CHURCH.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES.

Bronze-gilt Boss from Steeple Bumpstead church.—

The accompanying illustration of this boss, mentioned on p. 210, is taken from a block kindly lent by the Society of Antiquaries.



BOSS FROM STEEPLE BUMPSTEAD CHURCH.

The Site of the Battle of Maldon.—In the *English Historical Review* for April, 1925, pp. 161-173, Mr. E. D. Laborde discusses the site of the battle, arguing that it was not at Heybridge but at Southey Creek between Northey Island and the mainland near South House.

The Seal of Hatfield Peverel Priory.—The matrix of this seal, described on p. 166, is now in the British Museum and at present on exhibition in the King Edward VII. Gallery.

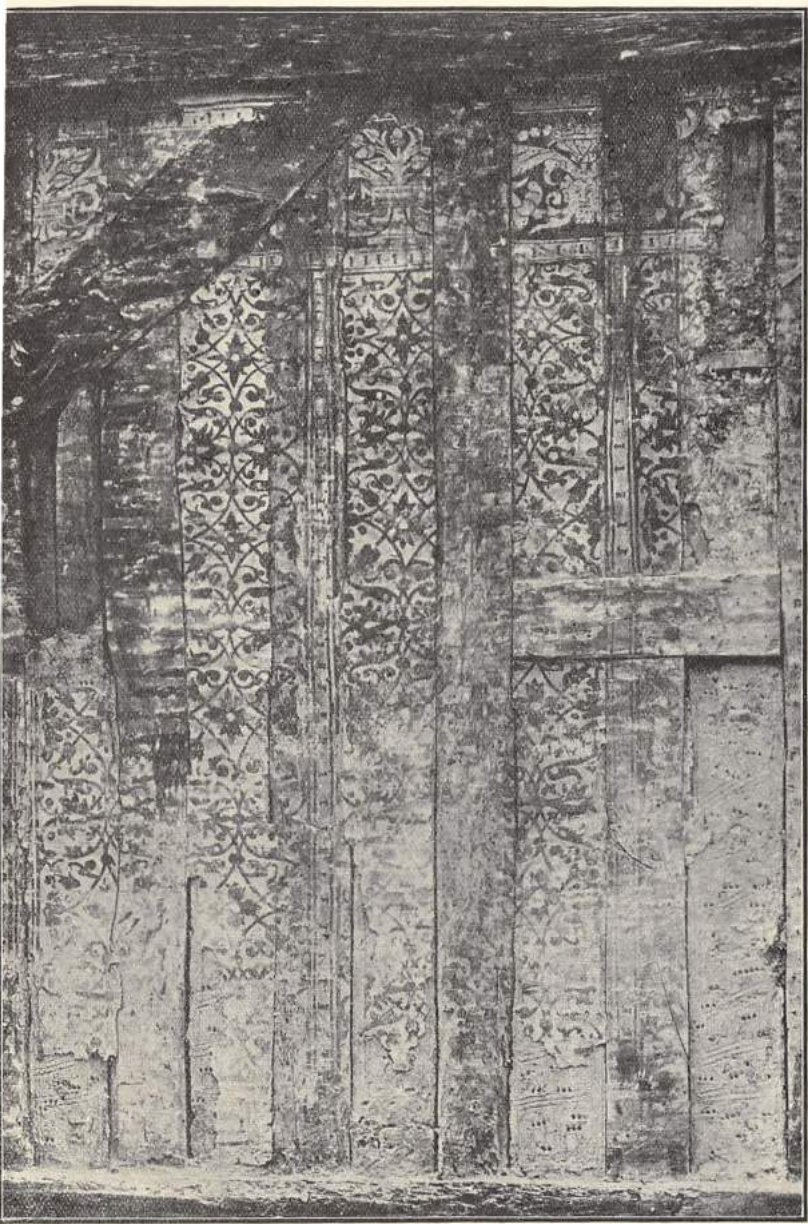
A Hospital at Chaureth (see p. 203).—Mr. G. Biddell suggests, and is probably correct, that this was not an independent hospital but the property which the Knights of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem are known to have owned at Chaureth.

Sixteenth century Domestic Wall-painting found at Saffron Walden.—In December last, whilst some workmen were engaged in repairing the gable end of the premises occupied by Messrs. Woodward and Priday, in Market street, Saffron Walden, an interesting and well-preserved domestic wall-painting of the sixteenth century was uncovered. Adjoining these premises and abutting thereon formerly stood the house of John Harvey, the father of Gabriel Harvey of Elizabethan fame; and the painting now brought to light undoubtedly adorned one of the walls of a room in this building. The wall, about eight feet square, whereon the painting existed, was built of oaken studs with daub filling, the decoration covering both studs and daub. The design is painted in black on a white ground, and includes a frieze which, with its conventional oak-trees, classical foliage and masks, is distinctly Renaissance in character. Below the frieze is a repeated pattern of interlaced arabesques, each two repeats being divided into single vertical panels by a narrow filleted band set at regular intervals with an ornament resembling an I arranged horizontally. Similar bands, in which the I's are vertical, border the top and bottom of the frieze. The Rev. Montagu Benton tells me that the motive of these bands was derived from the framework of wooden panelling, and he has drawn my attention to some early sixteenth century panelling from a farm-house at Kingstone, Somerset, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum (*Catalogue of English Furniture and Woodwork*, vol. i., pl. 35), the frame-work of which is carved with a similar I ornament.

The plaster-work was carefully taken down and presented by Messrs. Woodward and Priday to the Saffron Walden Museum, where it has been found possible to preserve three of the panels in addition to a portion of the woodwork. This accession was particularly welcome since the same museum already possessed two finely-carved stone chimney-pieces from Harvey's house.

The illustration is from a photograph by Mr. G. E. Harris, of Saffron Walden.

HUBERT COLLAR.



From a photograph by Mr. G. E. Harris.

SIXTEENTH CENTURY WALL-PAINTING FOUND AT SAFFRON WALDEN.

Omissions in Newcourt's Repertorium. — Newcourt

omits a group of clergy appointed to Essex benefices in 1636. Their names are also omitted from the Bishop's Certificate for that year, which gives only seven appointments in the whole diocese, three of which are to prebends. But they are all down in the Visitation Book in 1637, and their dates of institution can be gathered approximately from those of compounding for Firstfruits.

Beaumont.	Philip Vesey.*	25 July, 12 Charles I.	
Benfleet, South.	John Grant.	31 January,	ditto
Canfield Parva.	Samuel Noel.*	5 August,	ditto
Fobbing.	Sampson Johnson.	4 August,	ditto
Warley Magna.	Edward Ford.*	8 August,	ditto
Wethersfield.	Charles Eden.	4 June,	ditto

To these may be added :

Tillingham.	Thomas Nicholson.*	13 October, 15 Charles I.	
(Nicholson was still there in 1646, but dead by May, 1647).			
Barling.	William Williams.*	28 April, 18 Charles I.	

A few earlier names, omitted by Newcourt, may be approximately dated by their Composition. Probably some of these can be more precisely dated by the Bishops' Certificates.

Borley.	Robert Warryn	29 October, 37 Elizabeth (1595).	
Feering.	Robert Seamore.	3 September, 4 Charles I. (1628).	
	(elsewhere Semor).		
Heydon.	Edward Young.*	13 February, 1 Charles I (1626).	
Horndon-on-the-Hill.	John Hurt.	18 July, 17 James I. (1619).	
Markshall.	John Greene (2).*	20 June, 9 James I. (1611).	
Stanford Rivers.	Richard Mulcaster.	15 June, 38 Elizabeth (1596).	
Stondon Massey.	John Nobbs.	13 November, 37 Elizabeth (1595).	
Tolleshunt Knights.	Matthew Gill.*	24 July, 19 James I. (1621).	

Of the above, those marked * are not found in Newcourt at all; the others are given by him, but undated.

As a rule, an incumbent compounded for Firstfruits very soon after his institution. It was otherwise under the Commonwealth, when the money went not to the Crown but for the augmentation of poor livings. Sometimes during this period a year or even more passed before such composition.

Newcourt has certainly a duplicate under Wenden Lofts. Bartholomew Mountford was instituted in January, 1641/2 (Subscription Book, and Visitation, 1664). Hence 'John Mountford' seems a mere duplicate.

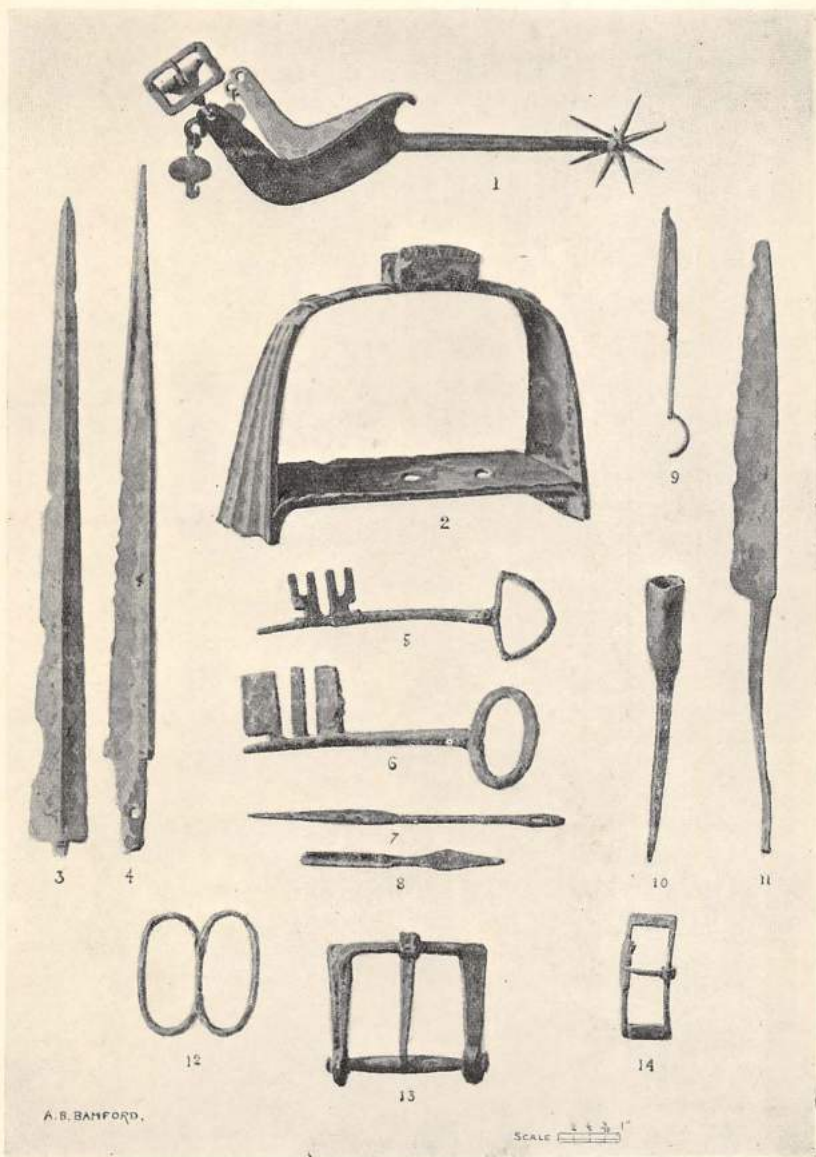
The same is probably the case at Elmdon, where there seems no room for Henry Gardner. Thomas Gardner was there at the Visitation of 1628 and 1637, and a petition against him to the Long Parliament is preserved among the Barrington papers (MS. Egerton 2651, f. 150).

HAROLD SMITH.

Some interesting finds at Chelmsford.—During excavations for a new drain in the Springfield road, near the site of the Old Black Boy Inn, some good examples of mediæval iron work were discovered, including spurs, daggers, keys, horse-shoes buckles, nails (one with solid pyramidal head 3 by $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches and 5 inches long), and other miscellaneous objects. These were all found about six feet below the present surface of the street, and at what was probably the bed of the stream which formerly ran down the centre of High street and Springfield road to the river Chelmer, or a wash-way may have come up as high as this part of the road.

The collection was fortunately secured by the Borough Surveyor and sent to Mr. Massey, the Librarian and Curator of the Chelmsford Public Library and Museum, who kindly gave me, as local Secretary of the Essex Archæological Society, every opportunity for making the drawings and picking out the most interesting specimens.

- No. 1. A long-necked spur, star rowel of eight points, double perforation, rectangular buckle and two strap plates attached. $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, fifteenth century (Henry VI.).
- N. 2. Stirrup, broad form, curved fluted sides, projecting below foot rests, wide foot plate having three small holes, $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches, sixteenth century (Henry VIII.).
- No. 3. Dagger blade, double edged and tapering, two notches below guard, 10 inches, fifteenth-sixteenth century.
- No. 4. Dagger blade, sharp on one edge two-thirds of the way down, thick rounded back, point square in section, 11 inches, fourteenth-fifteenth century.
- No. 5. Iron key, solid stem, buckle or stirrup-shaped bow, 5 inches, sixteenth century.
- No. 6. Iron key, solid stem, flat sided oval bow, large webb, deeply toothed, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches, fifteenth century.
- No. 7. Needle, iron, oval eye, square point, 5 inches, sixteenth century.
- No. 8. Gouge, flat broad lozenge-shaped tang, $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches, sixteenth century.
- No. 9. Shears (half of pair), iron, blade bevelled, notched at back near point, and concave at top, slight spur on stem, oval (?) bow, 4 inches, sixteenth century.
- No. 10. Candle or rush-light holder, with socket, and tang below for insertion in wooden stand, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches, sixteenth-seventeenth century.

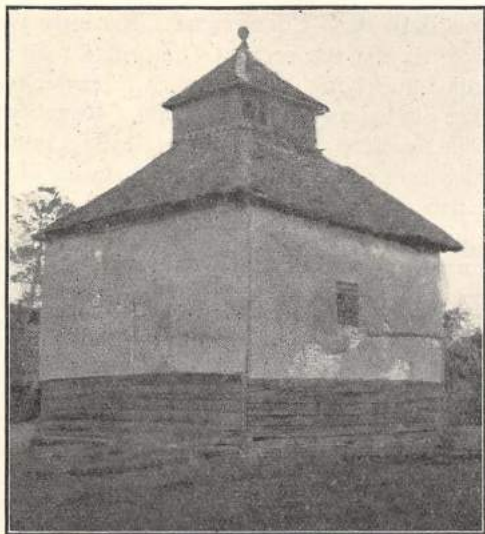


EXAMPLES OF MEDIEVAL IRON-WORK FOUND AT CHELMSFORD.

- No. 11. Knife, long blade, long flat tang, $9\frac{3}{4}$ inches, sixteenth century.
- No. 12. Double buckle, slight shoulders on cross-bar to retain acus or pin in place, sixteenth century.
- No. 13. Iron buckle, square, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches, seventeenth century.
- No. 14. Small rectangular buckle, slightly curved, and possibly shoe buckle, 2 by $\frac{3}{4}$ inches, seventeenth century (?).

A. BENNETT BAMFORD.

The Dovehouse at Great Bardfield.—This interesting old building stands in a field south-west of the Hall. It is constructed with a plinth of red brickwork, 2 feet high, upon which rests timber framing, the lower four feet of the framing being covered with weather boarding, while the whole of the upper part is lathed and plastered. The roof, which is tiled and hipped, is surmounted with a lantern, fitted with alighting boards and louvred loops for the ingress and egress of the birds: the roof of this loop is also tiled and hipped, the apex being terminated with a large wooden ball;



DOVEHOUSE AT GREAT BARDFIELD.

formerly, there appears to have been a weather-vane. The interior is fitted up with no less than 770 nesting-holes, arranged round the four sides. But the chief interest lies in the fact that the whole of

the nesting-holes are constructed of what is known as 'pug,' *i.e.* a mixture of puddled clay and chopped straw, a material much in vogue in former times.

There are quite a considerable number of old dove-houses in this county, a few being recorded in the *Essex Review*, *e.g.* at Gestingthorpe Hall, Dynes Hall (near Halstead), Farnham Rectory and Bocking, but I do not know of another example where the nesting-holes are constructed in a similar manner to this at Bardfield.

Access is obtained to the nests by means of a revolving ladder of simple construction, the ladder being fixed with two long arms to a centre post, the latter being pivoted to the floor and an overhead beam. The exterior dimensions of the building are 20 feet by 20 feet, and the interior 16 feet by 16 feet.

I regret to record that the whole of this picturesque old building, which I date about the third quarter of the seventeenth century, is in the last stage of dilapidation, and it can only be a question of a very short period of time before it collapses, and another relic of the old days will be lost to us.

WYKEHAM CHANCELLOR.

Some recent finds.—COLCHESTER: Recently, when extending in a southerly direction the present Cambridge road over a portion of ground called the King's Piece in St. Mary-at-the-Walls tithe map, a number of shallow pits were found. Roughly a yard across and eighteen inches deep, they showed well in section in the gravel, which here is within eight inches of the surface. They were filled with black earth and contained in every case fragments of pottery generally of a hard greyish ware; from one, however, the whole upper portion of an iron age bowl was secured and is now in the Colchester museum. This is formed of a rough friable dark paste smoothed on the exterior, slightly everted lip, but without ornamentation.

FINGRINGHOE: On the Blackheath estate, just without the boundary of the borough of Colchester, and at the extreme northern end of the parish of Fingringhoe, a bronze age urn, unfortunately broken, has been unearthed. The field in which the find was made rises sharply from Bare's (or Battell's) brook, which here forms the borough boundary, and which separates it from Middlewick (the Government rifle range) on the north-east. It is a new site for these urns, and somewhat unusual in this neighbourhood, being fully exposed to the north and east.

The urn, formed of a brown paste with a large admixture of small stones, is apparently of bucket shape, straight sided, of undetermined

height, the base eight inches across, and the free edge of the lip is ornamented with finger impressions.

WEST MERSEA: Recently the south aisle of West Mersea church has been undergoing some repairs, with the result that the flat plaster ceiling has been removed, the pitch of the roof raised, and the decayed lead replaced with tiles. Internal plaster work has been removed where detached from the wall surface, exposing to the west of the south door a stone rear arch of late fifteenth century work, and to the east of the same door and in line with the east end of the nave, a piscina of same date—unfortunately the bowl in both broken and defaced. East of this piscina, the rear arch of the easternmost window in the south wall is discovered to be formed of fifteenth century brickwork.

PHILIP LAVER.

Crest of William Palmer on a Paten at Grays.—

For some time I have been engaged in a research into the personality of the founder of Palmer's Endowed School, at Grays, and into the early history of the charity. My interest lies in the fact that for some years past I have been a Governor of the school, and have within the last few years become Chairman of its Board.

The schools were founded by one William Palmer in the year 1706, but beyond what Morant says about him and his school (all of which has been repeated by later historians with almost monotonous exactitude) virtually nothing has been known or recorded, so it has not been an easy task. I have, however, discovered a good deal and, *inter alia*, that Morant is inaccurate as well as others.

In an article on "Some Lost Church Plate," which appeared in our *Transactions* (vol. xv., n.s., p. 19), mention is made of a silver paten at Grays parish church, 'the donor of which was unknown,' but which bore a crest, "a lion rampant or, holding a palmer's staff erect sable, head end and rest or," which crest was supposed to be that of the Rev. Robert Palmer, vicar of Grays, 1683-1692.

I have now discovered that this supposition is wrong and that it must have been given by William Palmer, the founder of our school. I have definitely ascertained William Palmer's family and arms, and the College of Arms confirms it. The crest on the paten is his crest. I have seen the paten and verified this. There is also an inscription as follows:

The parish of Graia Thorocke in Essex, 1685.

William Palmer was lord of the manor of Grays at the time, and

resident in the vicinity, though I have failed to identify exactly where. So far as I have yet traced the facts, he was no relation of the then vicar, though the surnames were the same. No mention of the vicar is found in the Visitations of the Heralds and although, if there was some relationship, he may have borne the same arms, it is hardly likely. William Palmer was Sheriff of Essex 1678-9.

HERBERT E. BROOKS.

PUBLICATIONS.

Victoria and Albert Museum. Department of Woodwork. The Panelled Rooms: VI.—The Waltham Abbey Room.

1s. 6d. net.

THE carved panels here described, with several illustrations, by Mr. H. Clifford Smith, F.S.A., came to the museum in 1899 from a house in the Green Yard at Waltham near the abbey church, to which they had been brought earlier from a house which stood in the abbey garden and had been built out of the ruins of the abbey.

Among the details is a shield of arms, *quarterly, 1 and 4 a chevron between three pierced molets, 2 and 3 a lion with a bend over all, both to the sinister*, which has excited some discussion but has not yet been satisfactorily identified. Possibly it belonged to the Denny family, though not to the Dennys of Waltham.

Notes on the Dunmow Parish Registers.

(Dunmow Notes, No. 6), 20 pp. Robus Bros. Price 2d.

THIS useful account of the Dunmow Parish Registers, which date from 1558 (Baptisms, 1538), includes some interesting extracts. We notice that Mr. Robus seems puzzled by finding interments in Dissenting burial grounds occasionally recorded, and he asks whether the Nonconformists in question kept a burial register. Such entries, however, were sometimes made in parish registers even though they had been recorded elsewhere. For instance, entries of three burials (1705-1721) in the Quaker's yard, which appear in the Saffron Walden Parish Registers, also occur in the Register of the Society of Friends.

G. M. B.

Some Walthamstow Houses and their Interesting Associations.

By GEORGE F. BOSWORTH.

43 pp. (Walthamstow Antiquarian Society Official Publication No. 12).

THIS illustrated monograph by Mr. G. F. Bosworth, who is responsible for no fewer than ten out of the twelve publications that have been issued by the Walthamstow Antiquarian Society, recalls the days when the district was delightfully rural and a congenial retreat for wealthy city men. Their residences are now in possession of various institutions, or, owing to the tide of building, have been swept away and the sites covered with shops and houses. Mr. Bosworth gives us a picture of Walthamstow before the locality had changed its character, and the information he has garnered about the principal houses and their former owners makes a valuable contribution to the personal and social history of Essex, which will increase in interest with the lapse of time. The brochure is already out of print.

G. M. B.

WINTER MEETINGS AT HALSTEAD, BISHOP'S STORTFORD, & COLCHESTER.

An evening meeting was held in St. Andrew's Hall, Halstead, on Wednesday, 21 January, 1925, when our member, Mr. A. W. Frost, of Colchester, gave a lecture, illustrated by beautiful lantern slides, on "The Sculptures of Chartres Cathedral." The Hon. Local Secretary, Lieut.-Col. C. W. Ravenshaw, presided. At the close, the Hon. Secretary, Rev. Montagu Benton, who spoke of the impression that the wonderful carvings made upon him when he first visited Chartres, proposed a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Frost for his delightful discourse; the vote was seconded by the Rev. T. H. Curling, R.D. Eight new members were afterwards elected.

An evening meeting was held in St. Michael's Parish Room, Bishop's Stortford, on Wednesday, 18 February, 1925, when the Rev. E. Iliff Robson, B.D., of Felsted, gave an admirable lantern lecture on "Roman Gaul." The Rev. J. E. I. Procter, M.A., rector of Thorley, presided, and in introducing the subject referred to the far-reaching consequences that the Roman occupation of Gaul had had in the history of our own island. The lecturer dealt especially with the district of Arles and Nîmes, and pointed out that it was not at Rome, but in those parts of the world that had been in Roman occupation that the best idea could be obtained of what the Romans were, what they had left behind them, and the life they had lived.

On the proposition of the Hon. Secretary, seconded by Dr. P. G. Laver, F.S.A., a unanimous vote of thanks was accorded to the lecturer, the Chairman, Mr. J. L. Glasscock, who kindly helped in making the necessary arrangements, and Mr. S. A. Milbank for operating the lantern.

Although the Society departed from its usual rule by going outside the county, this meeting was a distinct success. Eleven new members were elected.

An afternoon meeting was held at the Town Hall, Colchester, on Tuesday, 24 March, 1925, when Alderman W. Gurney Benham, F.S.A., gave a most interesting lecture, lightened by touches of humour, on "The History of Playing Cards." Over fifty beautiful coloured diagrams, the work of the lecturer, were shown in illustration. The President presided, and there was a good attendance.

On the motion of the Hon. Secretary, seconded by Mr. R. E. Thomas, a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Alderman Benham; and also to the Mayor, for the use of the Grand Jury Room. Eight new members were elected.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE
ESSEX ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY,
AT THE TOWN HALL, COLCHESTER,
ON WEDNESDAY, 29 APRIL, 1925.

On the motion of the Hon. Secretary, seconded by Mr. G. F. Beaumont, F.S.A., the Rev. Canon F. W. Galpin, M.A., R.D., was unanimously elected as President for the ensuing year. Canon Galpin, in returning thanks for being elected to the Presidency for the fifth successive year, said that by the rules of the Society he was entering upon his last year of office as President. He then took the chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The Mayor of Colchester, Dame Catherine R. Hunt, D.B.E., J.P., welcomed the Society, saying that they were always pleased to show their treasures in Colchester. There were six or seven Colchesters overseas, and the Publicity Committee of the Colchester Town Council were doing useful work in bringing the attractions of the town before the public.

The President thanked the Mayor for her remarks and welcome, and for the use of the Grand Jury Room.

The Rev. Canon G. H. Rendall, Litt.D., moved a vote of thanks to the President, Vice-Presidents and honorary officers, including the Hon. Secretaries, Treasurers, Editor and Auditor. The vote was acknowledged by the President.

On the motion of Alderman W. Gurney Benham, F.S.A., seconded by Mr. J. Avery, the Annual Report was taken as read, and adopted.

The Annual Statement of Accounts was presented by Mr. J. Avery, and on his motion, seconded by Mr. H. W. Burnett, was passed; the meeting confirming the grant of £25 made by the Council towards the cost of publishing *The Church Plate of Essex*.

On the proposition of the Rev. Jesse Berridge, seconded by Mr. George Rickword, the Vice-Presidents and Council were re-elected, with the addition of the Rev. T. H. Curling, M.A., R.D., to the Council.

Mr. Philip Laver, F.S.A., Mr. W. Duncan Clark and the Hon. Secretary were re-elected as the Society's representatives on the

Museum and Muniment Committee of the Colchester Town Council, on the proposition of Mr. Gurney Benham, seconded by Dr. E. P. Dickin.

Mr. Philip Laver introduced the subject of the Society's library, and said that, having gone carefully through it during the illness of the Curator, he had prepared a list of the additions, numbering 122 books and pamphlets, that had been made since the library catalogue was published. Both the Hon. Secretary and himself were anxious to bring the library of the Society into an efficient and workable condition, and to that end gifts of books and pamphlets of general archæological interest, as well as those dealing more especially with Essex, would be welcomed from members. He much hoped that the Society would print the list he had handed in, as an appendix to the catalogue. After some discussion the matter was referred to the Council.

Mr. G. F. Beaumont introduced the question of the care of Manorial Records in view of the new Act, remarking that some scheme for the safe-keeping of these valuable documents was urgently called for. He produced and handed round for inspection a roll dated 1327, and said that besides these rolls there were often valuable maps, one of which, a manorial map of 1600 relating to the manor of Great Henny, near Sudbury, he also passed round. As illustrating their value, the speaker read some interesting extracts from the early court rolls of Great Tey and Crepping. It was agreed that the Society and certain public libraries in the county should be prepared to accept any manorial records offered to them; and after some discussion the matter was referred to the Council to deal with.

Mr. Duncan Clark next spoke of the publication of monographs of archæological value to the county, and suggested that with a view to the proposal being a financial success, members should be invited to increase their subscriptions, and the increase be definitely allocated to this purpose. It was agreed that the proposition be referred to the Council for consideration.

Subsequently luncheon was served at Red Lion Hotel, the President presiding, supported on his right by the Mayor of Colchester.

EXCURSION TO LAWFORD.

In the afternoon about 80 members and friends proceeded by motor-car and char-a-banc to Lawford, where the church, which possessed a fourteenth century chancel of unusual richness, was

described lucidly and concisely by Mr. W. Duncan Clark, A.R.I.B.A. An account will also be found in these *Transactions*, vol. viii. (N.S.), pp. 286-291. The Rev. Montagu Benton then spoke about the names—*Jemimah Waldegrave*, *Mary Clopton*, *Alice Clopton*—scratched in early seventeenth century script below the figures of the Waldegrave monument, to which Mr. Clark had previously called attention. He said that when these signatures were brought to his notice a few days previously, he suggested that possibly they were the outcome of a romance of long ago; he had since found that Jemima Waldegrave experienced an *affaire de cœur*, which certainly gave colour to this rather wild surmise. Having briefly recounted the story, the speaker referred his hearers to an article founded on the diary of the thwarted lover, Sir Simonds D'Ewes, and entitled *Courtship in the time of James I.* (*Blackwood's Magazine*, vol. 68, p. 141), the scene of which is at Lawford. Canop Rendall afterwards contributed the following remarks:

“Few more vivacious presentments of Stuart modes and manners have survived than the wooing of ‘Jemima,’ portrayed in the *Journal Intime* of Simonds D'Ewes, the famous diarist. In 1622, aged 20, he had completed his Cambridge course, and as a budding student at the Middle Temple was on the look-out for a suitable partner of his fortunes. The attractions of the younger daughter of Edward Waldegrave, the second, of Lawford Hall, were commended to his favour, and after preliminaries approved by the fathers on either side, Simonds set forth from London in his father's coach, under the escort of Mr. Boldero, as bridegroom's friend. His adventures by the way, his stay at Newhall, where Mr. Boldero unfortunately developed small-pox, his entertainment at the Blue Boar, Maldon, the King's Head at Colchester, and with his Langham host, the style and cost of his costumes, the propitiatory gifts—a full-length in oils and a miniature—and the actual passages of courtship in the garden walks, in her sister's chamber, and after dinner, are related with Homeric detail and engaging self-complacency; and after supper he retired to bed ‘almost a Paradise.’ Mr. Edward Waldegrave, a benignant country squire, of Puritan leanings, was kindness itself; but plainly Dame Sarah's ambitions already took a higher flight, and on a second visit he received his congé, and Mistress Jemima was, as Dame Sarah's ledger stone records, ‘married to John, Lord Crewe, Baron of Steane.’ Through this match, the Puritan name ‘Jemima,’ daughter of Job, established its place in the highest circles of the English aristocracy.”

The President subsequently gave an interesting description of the musical instruments that a series of draped human figures in the spandrels of the fourteenth-century sedilia are represented as playing. He said that the figure in the easternmost spandrel is performing on the little *portative organ*; the next on the trapeze-shaped *psaltery*, its wire strings plucked by the fingers; the third on the *gittern*, a mediæval guitar played with a plectrum; the fourth is defaced; the fifth appears to hold the *organistrum*, a stringed instrument sounded by the friction of a wheel and now called the hurdy-gurdy; the sixth and seventh are defaced; the eighth has a small *harp*. Over the priest's door one of the figures in the westernmost spandrel seems to have had the *pipe and the taber*, the latter a small drum poised on the left shoulder.

Canon Galpin also threw light on the series of quaint human figures, dancing and posturing, in the rear arch of the easternmost window on the north side of the chancel (figured in the *Inventory of the Hist. Mouns. in Essex*, vol. iii., p. 152). He suggested that they probably represent the May games; and remarked that on the left hand of the arch a figure is playing the *rebec*, a pear-shaped fiddle very popular on the village green; below are mountebanks and tumblers (*joculatores*). The personage in the flat cap and tunic immediately below the fiddler may be "Robin Hood," the lord of the May; while opposite to him, on the other side of the arch, is his lady, "Maid Marian." Here a piper, playing on a *recorder* or whistle, is setting the dance for the accompanying figures—the lowest, in gown and girdle, possibly "Friar Tuck." They do not appear to wear the familiar "Morris" bells.

On leaving the church the party, after admiring the fine view of the Stour from the churchyard, proceeded to the adjoining Hall, which was inspected by kind permission of Mr. J. B. B. Nichols, F.S.A. Mr. W. B. Nichols, of Bradfield, received the visitors on behalf of his brother, who was in Italy, and in his name he extended to them a hearty welcome. The Hon. Secretary then gave a brief description of the house, compiled for the most part from the *Hall of Lawford Hall* (1891), by the late Mr. F. M. Nichols, F.S.A., of which only a small number of copies were printed.

An older Hall, possibly built by Sir Benet of Cockfield in the fourteenth century, was demolished about 1580 by Mr. Edward Waldegrave, who had purchased the manor from the Crown, and a timber-framed house was built on an H-shaped plan, with the cross-wings at the east and west ends. It bore the date 1583. Mr. Waldegrave died in the following year, and was succeeded by his son of the same name, who resided here for 37 years. The house,

with the manor, was sold about 1699, by Nathaniel, Lord Crewe, Bishop of Durham, the great-grandson of its builder, to Dr. Thomas Dent, Prebendary of Westminster. About 1756, the grand-daughter of the latter and her husband, Mr. Edward Green, considerably altered the Elizabethan house, without pulling any part of it down. After coming into the possession of Mr. F. M. Nichols in 1865, it underwent further alterations, but its exterior remains for the most part as it was left in the reign of George II. The south front was entirely refaced at this time, but the eighteenth century windows have been replaced by modern sashes, though it is the intention of the owner to reinstate copies of the earlier windows. A good deal of late sixteenth century work is still in evidence, and in the north



From a photograph by Mr. H. Lazell.

WINDOW AT LAWFORD HALL.

part of both wings are some original windows with moulded oak mullions. A window at the end of the west wing, of five transomed lights, has re-used as a sill a moulded bressumer, carved with griffons and two shields with the initials A. and C.B., said to have been brought from elsewhere. A wrought-iron gateway of the eighteenth century on the east side of the house also deserves attention. Inside the building is some original Elizabethan panelling, painted white; it occurs in the entrance hall, though the general decoration of this apartment is of the period of George II. There

are also beautiful eighteenth century mantelpieces in various rooms. The staircase window is reset with stained glass of the sixteenth century, surrounded by ancient quarries of plain glass turned out during repairs from Stoke-by-Nayland church! Two of the quarries, below the royal arms, bear in modern painting upon ancient glass the cipher E.R. The shields of arms of the families of Bowyer and Bulstrode, and their allies, in the five lower lights were formerly in a public-house in Norton Folgate, London, which had been a mansion of the Bowyer family. Another window on the ground floor is also filled with stained glass, and includes a good example of Swiss heraldic glass-painting of the sixteenth century, purchased by Mr. F. M. Nichols at Fribourg in 1858.

Before the members viewed the house, hearty votes of thanks were accorded to Mr. Nichols and his brother. The Hon. Secretary then announced that at the suggestion, and with the kindly help, of the housekeeper, he had been able to provide tea almost at the last moment. This, the final item of the programme, was much appreciated, and thanks are due to the servants at the Hall for the admirable way in which it was served.

REPORT FOR 1924.

The Council has pleasure in presenting its seventy-second Annual Report.

During the year the Society has lost 34 members by death and resignation ; 112 new members have been added to its roll.

The losses by death include the Right Hon. the Lord Claud Hamilton, P.C., a Vice-President.

The total membership, which on 31 December, 1923, was 614 ; on 31 December, 1924, stood as follows :—

Annual members	-	-	-	618
Life members	-	-	-	71
Honorary members	-	-	-	3
				<hr/>
				692
				<hr/>

The Council recommends the re-election of the Vice-Presidents, and of the Council, with the addition of the Rev. T. H. Curling, M.A., R.D. It regrets that Mr. Curling, owing to his new duties as Rural Dean, has felt compelled to resign the office of Hon. Excursion Secretary, and takes this opportunity of placing on record its sincere appreciation of his long services.

During the year Parts II. and III. of Vol. XVII. of the *Transactions* ; and Part IV. of Vol. II. of the *Feet of Fines* were published.

Excursions were held as follows :—

- 27 May : Rochford, Great Stambridge, Paglesham, Canewdon and Ashingdon.
- 17 June : Combined excursion with the Suffolk Institute : Helions Bumpstead, Steeple Bumpstead, Moyns Park, Kedington and Clare.
- 17 July : Lindsell, Stebbing, Little Dunmow and Barnston.
- 11 Sept. : South Weald, Navestock, Stondon Massey and Brentwood.

The Annual Meeting was held at Colchester on 3 April.

Evening Meetings were held :—

31 Jan. : Brentwood.

11 Mar. : Dovercourt.

25 Mar. : Braintree.

It is recommended that Excursions be held in 1925 as follows :—

27 May : Langdon Hills and neighbourhood.

8 July : Feering and neighbourhood.

— Sept. : The Eastons and neighbourhood.

The Vice-Treasurer reports that :—

The total amount received in Subscriptions amounted to £321 16s. 6d., including arrears £5 5s. 0d. and in advance £6 16s. 6d., compared with a total in the previous year of £295 1s. 0d.

Six members compounded their subscriptions compared with three.

The Sale of Publications produced £15 10s. 0d., being £5 19s. 0d. less than in 1923.

The dividends from investments were £18 5s. 2d., compared with £16 12s. 9d.

The total expenditure upon printing the *Transactions*, including a further instalment of the *Feet of Fines*, amounted to £246 18s. 10d., compared with £291 15s. 2d.

The contribution towards the cost of the Curator's salary was the same as in previous years. The Council made a grant of £25 towards the cost of publishing a Monograph upon the Essex Church Plate, and of £1 1s. 0d. towards the Pleshy "Ricardus" Stone Fund. Details of other items of expenditure are set out in the Accounts.

The total receipts for the year including £31 10s. 0d. received for Life Compositions exceeded the expenditure by £23 14s. 8d.

The Financial position of the Society has been well maintained. After providing for 71 Members' Life Compositions and for subscriptions paid in advance, and taking the investments at the market price as at 31 December, 1924, there is an accumulated surplus in favour of the Society of £272 15s. 5d.

ACCOUNT OF RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS

1923.			Dr.						
£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
241	4	7	To Balance from previous year				228	3	9
			„ Subscriptions—						
8	8	0	Arrears	5	5	0			
280	7	0	For the year 1924	309	15	0			
6	6	0	In advance	6	16	6			
							321	16	6
15	15	0	„ Life Compositions				31	10	0
21	9	0	„ Sale of publications				15	10	0
			„ Dividends on Investments—						
5	0	8	India 3 per cent. Stock, <i>less</i> Income Tax	5	2	4			
4	14	6	Metropolitan 3½ per cent. Stock	4	16	0			
5	7	2	War Stock	5	7	2			
1	10	5	Deposit Interest	2	19	8			
							18	5	2
78	16	0	„ Excursion Tickets				55	10	0
83	14	4	„ Contributions towards Library Catalogue						

752 12 8

£670 15 5

BALANCE SHEET,

1923.			Liabilities.			
£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
			To Life Compositions—			
351	15	0	71 Members at £5 5s. <i>od.</i>	372	15	0
6	6	0	„ Subscriptions paid in advance	6	16	6
			„ Accumulations Fund—			
267	1	9	Surplus of Assets in favour of the Society	272	15	5

625 2 9

£652 6 11

I have examined the above Balance Sheet and Receipts and Payments certify it to be correct in accordance therewith. The Investments have been deposited with the Society's Bankers.

CHRIS. W. PARKER, *Treasurer.*

FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31ST DECEMBER, 1924.

1923.

Cr.

£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
			By Colchester Corporation—						
35	0	0	Curator's Salary				35	0	0
179	16	3	„ Printing <i>Transactions</i>	150	3	10			
30	15	9	„ Blocks and Illustrations	22	8	0			
8	1	6	„ Authors' Copies	12	5	0			
7	10	0	„ Preparing Index	13	10	0			
42	18	8	„ <i>Feet of Fines</i>	36	12	0			
18	18	0	„ <i>List of Members</i>						
			„ Museum Reports	6	15	0			
3	15	0	„ Archæological and Earthworks Reports	5	5	0			
							246	18	10
			„ Postage of <i>Transactions</i> and Notices to Members				31	13	9
29	18	6	„ Printing, Stationery, Members' Circulars, etc.				23	16	0
18	1	3	„ Secretarial Postage and Expenses				6	14	9
4	15	3	„ Subscription — Archæological Congress				1	0	0
2	0	0	„ Fire Insurance				12	0	0
12	0	0	„ Bank Cheques				5	0	0
4	0	0	„ Excursion Expenses (excluding Printing, Postages, etc.)				42	15	11
49	10	8	„ Evening Meetings				2	4	0
			„ <i>Essex Review</i>				1	0	0
1	0	0	„ Binding Books, Files for Library, etc. ..						
10	5	0	„ Advertising				2	6	
75	16	4	„ Library Catalogue						
			„ Essex Church Plate — Contribution towards Cost				25	0	0
5	10	9	„ Monumental Commission Reports				1	1	0
			„ Pleshy Fund				13	3	
			„ Map and Minute Book						
196	6	6	„ Balance—At Bank	220	8	7			
1	11	6	„ In Vice-Treasurer's Hands	10	6				
5	10	6	„ In Secretary's Hands						
24	15	3	„ In Excursion Secretary's Hands	15	9	4			
			„ Outstanding Account for Sales	15	10	0			
							251	18	5
752	12	8					£670	15	5

31ST DECEMBER, 1924.

1923.			Assets.			Market Value,		
£	s.	d.				Cost	31st Dec., 1924.	
						£	s.	d.
						£	s.	d.
			By Investments—					
			£219 15s. 3d. India 3 per cent.					
124	3	4	Stock			192	13	7
			£177 1s. 0d. Metropolitan 3½ per					
165	10	10	cent. Stock			176	17	6
			£107 4s. 10d. 5 per cent. War Stock					
107	4	10	1929/47			100	1	9
						<u>469 12 10</u>		
						400 8 6		
228	3	9	By Cash at Bank and in hand			251 18 5		
			„ Library, Collection of Antiquities at Museum, Stock					
			of Publications (not valued).....					
<u>625 2 9</u>						<u>£652 6 11</u>		

Account with the Treasurer's Books, Bankers' Pass Book and Vouchers, and verified by reference to the Bank of England. The War Stock Certificate is

52, Coleman St., London, E.C. 2.
14 March, 1925.

JOHN AVERY, F.C.A., *Honorary Auditor.*
(MIALI, WILKINS, AVERY & Co., Chartered Accountants.)

NEW MEMBERS.

Elected at a Council Meeting on 1 December, 1924.

BARLOW, Miss PHYLLIS, Little Orchard, West Mersea.	ON THE NOMINATION OF— Mrs. Rudduck.
CHOWN, C. H., 60 Wanstead Park Avenue, Alderbrook, N.E.	Hon. Secretary.
COLLAR, HUBERT, The Museum, Saffron Walden.	Hon. Secretary.
CRAMPHORN, FRED. T., Morningside, Headlêy Chase, Brentwood.	Miss J. C. Cramphorn.
REYNOLDS, Lt.-Col. T. G. C., Colne House, Earls Colne.	Mr. C. F. D. Sperling.
WADE, Mrs. PAGET, Elmsley, Yoxford, Suffolk.	Miss Willmott.
WALES, Mrs., Chase Corner, Brentwood.	Vice-Treasurer.
WATSON, H. G. W., Orchard House, Coggeshall.	Mr. G. F. Beaumont.
WILSON, Miss M., Lyncroft, The Avenue, Braintree.	Major S. B. Allen.

Elected at Halstead on 21 January, 1925.

BARNES, ARTHUR HARRY, The Old Cottage, High Street, Wanstead.	ON THE NOMINATION OF— Hon. Secretary.
BOVILL, EDWARD WILLIAM, Wilderness House, Ongar.	Hon. Secretary.
DEAKIN, The Rev ARNOLD WALFORD, M.A., All Saints' Rectory, Colchester.	Hon. Secretary.
DOUBLEDAY, EDWARD, 1 Head Street, Halstead.	Hon. Secretary.
OATES, Miss VIOLET E., Gestingthorpe Hall, Castle Hedingham.	Hon. Secretary.
PRICKETT, FRANCIS FENTON, Junior Athenæum Club, 116 Piccadily, W.I.	Hon. Secretary.
TURNER, Mrs. EVELINE, Karori Cottage, Great Bentley, Colchester.	Dr. E. P. Dickin.
WHITE, ARCHIBALD ARTHUR, Fern Villa, Lexden Heath, Colchester.	Hon. Secretary.

Elected at Bishop's Stortford on 18 February, 1925.

ON THE NOMINATION OF—	
ARDAGH, Major ROBERT W., M.C., River House, Earls Colne.	Lt-Col. C. W. Ravenshaw.
BARRETT, Mrs. A. S., Chantry Villa, Bishop's Stortford.	Hon. Secretary.
BLVTH, Miss, Thorley Bourne, Bishop's Stortford.	Hon. Secretary.
ERITH, GEORGE, Littleworth, Stansted, Essex.	Hon. Secretary.
ERITH, Mrs., Littleworth, Stansted, Essex.	Hon. Secretary.
HAYWARD, F. E., Dormers, Hockley.	Dr. H. Fairweather.
HAYWARD, Mrs., Dormers, Hockley.	Dr. H. Fairweather.
PROCTOR The Rev. J. E. I., M.A., Thorley Rectory, Bishop's Stortford.	Hon. Secretary.
PYE, Mrs. ALICE, Langham House, Bishop's Stort- ford.	Hon. Secretary.
PYE, Miss URSULA M., Langham House, Bishop's Stortford.	Hon. Secretary.
ROBINSON, The Rev. STANFORD F. H., M.A., F.R.S.A.I., Hockerill Vicarage, Bishop's Stortford.	Hon. Secretary.

Elected at Colchester on 24 March, 1925.

ON THE NOMINATION OF—	
ANDERSON, JOHN H., 8 Botany Cottages, Purfleet.	Mr. Aubrey Goodes.
BARKING, The Right Rev. The Lord Bishop of, D.D., The Walnuts, Walthamstow, E.17.	Rev. R. C. Earle.
FOSTER-MELLIAR, J. K., Lordlands, Little Baddow, Chelmsford.	Rev. Jesse Berridge.
GOWEN, EDWARD, Hainault, The Avenue, Wanstead.	Mr. F. C. Hill.
MACDONALD The Rev. Canon FREDERICK CHARLES, M.A., Purleigh Rectory, Maldon.	Rev. F. L. H. Millard.
MANTHORP, The Rev. MAURICE WATSON, M.A., 16 Northumberland Avenue, South Wanstead, E 12.	Vice-Treasurer.
MAYHEW, HARRY, 33 Mark Lane, E.C.3.	Mr. Aubrey Goodes.
SPROXTON, Mrs. FOSTER, The Gables, Manningtree.	Mrs. Sands.

Elected at a Council Meeting on 30 March, 1925.

ON THE NOMINATION OF—	
HANFORD, EDWIN, School House, Aveley Purfleet.	Mr. Aubrey Goodes.
SHAW, SPENCER WILLIAM, Sandy Hook, Church Road, Brightlingsea.	Dr. E. P. Dickin.

Elected at the Annual Meeting on 29 April, 1925.

ON THE NOMINATION OF—	
HUNT, Dame CATHERINE R., D.B.E., J.P., Crouched Friars, Colchester.	Hon. Secretary.
KING, Mrs. F. E., The Wayside, Shenfield Common, Brentwood.	Hon. Secretary.
ROBINS, The Rev. HENRY CHARLES, M.A., The Vicarage, Romford.	Mr. Aubrey Goodes

Elected at Stanford-le-Hope on 27 May, 1925.

BULL, JOHN MAJOR, B.A., F.R.G.S., F.Z.S., 21 Lambolle Road, Hampstead, N.W.3.	ON THE NOMINATION OF—
CASTLEDEN, Mrs., Norsey Manor, Billericay	Miss Hicks.
CASTLEDEN, Miss JANE, c/o Miss Archer, Little Burstead, Billericay.	Mrs. T. A. Pole.
DUFFIELD, Mrs A. S., Hampton, Chelmsford.	Mrs. T. A. Pole.
EISDELL, Mrs. J. W., Orsett Rectory, Grays.	Mr. W. Chancellor.
NEALE, JOHN W., Priory Lodge, Brentwood.	Rev. J. W. Eisdell.
SHUTER, Mrs. MARGARET A., The Hoppit, Little Baddow.	Mr. F. E. King.
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