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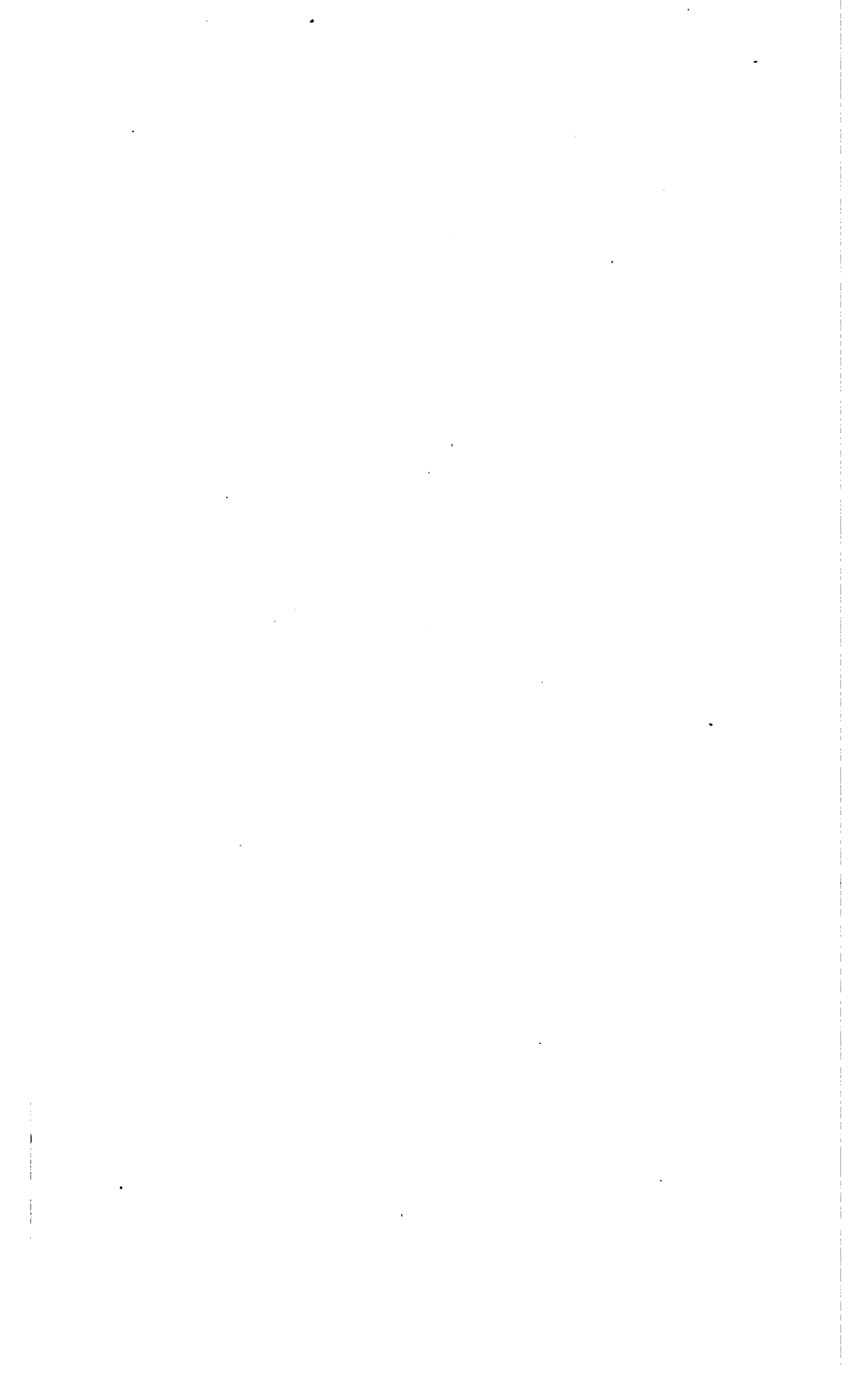
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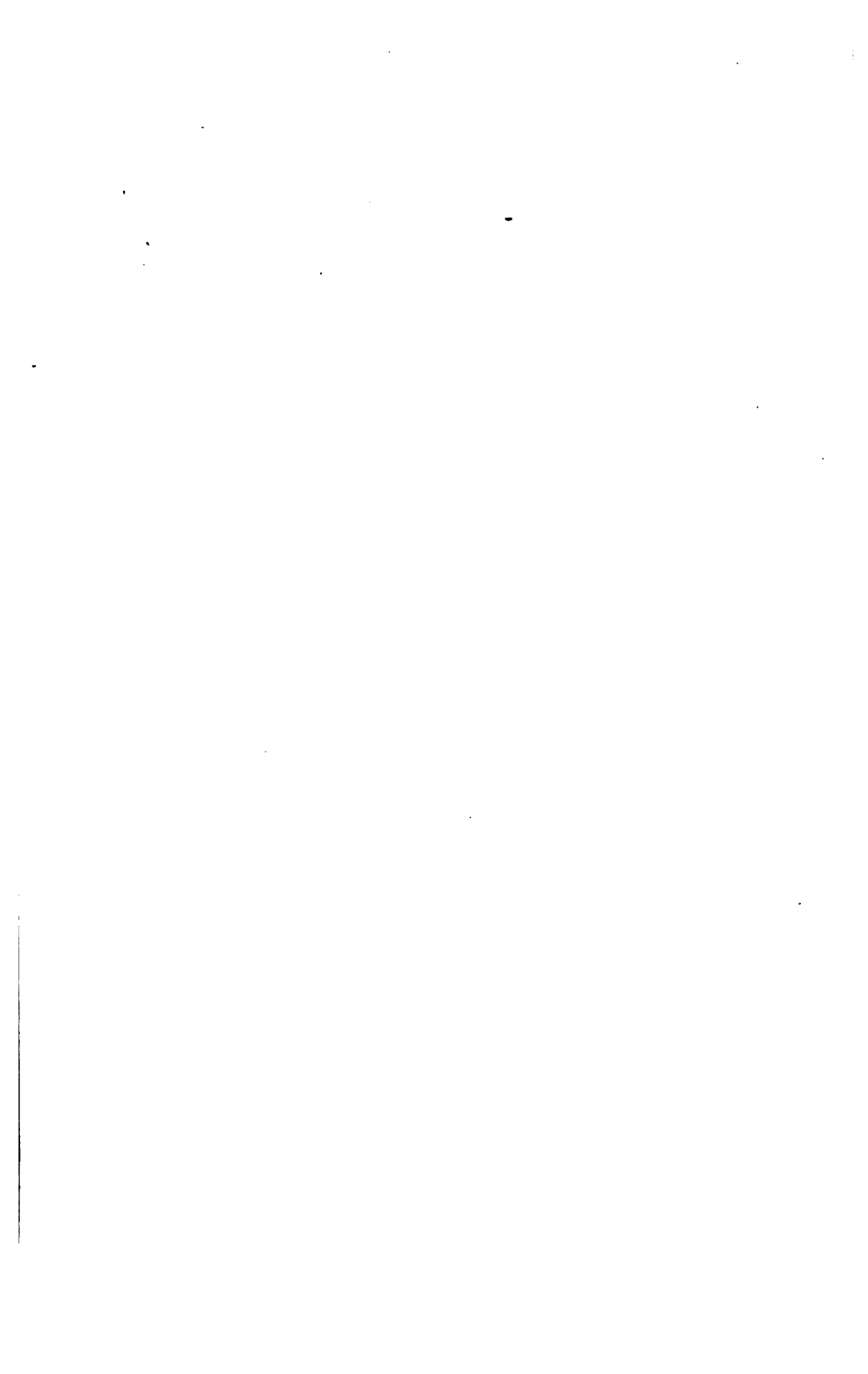
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THE JOURNAL
OF THE
British
Archaeological Association,

ESTABLISHED 1843,

FOR THE

ENCOURAGEMENT AND PROSECUTION OF RESEARCHES
INTO THE ARTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE
EARLY AND MIDDLE AGES.

NEW SERIES, VOL. VI.—1900.

London :
PRINTED FOR THE ASSOCIATION.

MCM.

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ASTOR, LENOX AND
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LONDON :
BEDFORD PRESS, 20 AND 21, BEDFORDBURY, W.C.

NOV 1903



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P R E F A C E.

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THE SIXTH VOLUME OF THE NEW SERIES OF THE JOURNAL OF THE BRITISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION for the year 1900 contains most of the Papers which were laid before the Congress at Buxton, and a considerable number of those read during the recent sessions (1899-1900) in London, and the Proceedings of the Congress and the Evening Meetings, together with some notes upon the recent Congress at Leicester. Descriptions of some of the discoveries of the year, and criticism of recent books of archæological interest, will be found in the department allotted to Antiquarian Intelligence. The volume is again enriched with numerous plates and drawings, for many of which we are indebted to the liberality of the Authors of the Papers; by this means the Association is still enabled to render the book more attractive than it would otherwise be.

Some interesting discoveries have been made during the past year, among which may be mentioned those which are due to the excavations now going on in London; the finding of a remarkable Neolithic burial-ground in Cornwall; the discovery of further Neolithic remains in Norfolk, and that of a burial-place of the Bronze Age at Bleasdale in Lancashire; besides which excavations have been going steadily on at Caerwent and Silchester, and have yielded some interesting results.

But the most memorable "finds" of the year have not been on British soil. They are those in the Forum at Rome, in the island of Crete, and in Egypt. Of the two former some account will be found in these pages, while

of the latter—the discovery of an embalmed burial of the Neolithic Age—we hope to give an account in our next volume.

The year has been saddened by the decease of several old friends of the Association, whose loss we deplore: a loss which will be widely felt in the archæological world—among whom we may mention Lieut. Gen. Pitt-Rivers, D.C.L.; Rev. Sir T. H. B. Baker; Mr. G. N. R. Wright, F.S.A., for many years the genial Congress Secretary of the Association; and Mr. J. T. Irvine, who, beneath a most modest exterior concealed a wealth of knowledge in his own particular department, and a fund of information vouchsafed to few.

These and many more are gone, but the Association survives; and strengthened with the conviction that the knowledge of the past is fraught with untold benefits and precious lessons for the present and the future, it advances with confidence into the New Century, fully persuaded that amid all the wonders of these modern days, the human race has still much to learn from, and may still profitably ponder and seek to revive, the wonders of the past.

H. J. DUKINFIELD ASTLEY.

31 December, 1900.

British Archaeological Association.

THE BRITISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION was founded in 1843, to investigate, preserve, and illustrate all ancient monuments of the history, manners, customs, and arts of our forefathers, in furtherance of the principles on which the Society of Antiquaries of London was established; and to aid the objects of that Institution by rendering available resources which had not been drawn upon, and which, indeed, did not come within the scope of any antiquarian or literary society.

The means by which the Association proposed to effect this object are:

1. By holding communication with Correspondents throughout the kingdom, and with provincial Antiquarian Societies, as well as by intercourse with similar Associations in foreign countries.

2. By holding frequent and regular Meetings for the consideration and discussion of communications made by the Associates, or received from Correspondents.

3. By promoting careful observation and preservation of antiquities discovered in the progress of public works, such as railways, sewers, foundations of buildings, etc.

4. By encouraging individuals or associations in making researches and excavations, and affording them suggestions and co-operation.

5. By opposing and preventing, as far as may be practicable, all injuries with which Ancient National Monuments of every description may from time to time be threatened.

6. By using every endeavour to spread abroad a correct taste for Archæology, and a just appreciation of Monuments of Ancient Art, so as ultimately to secure a general interest in their preservation.

7. By collecting accurate drawings, plans, and descriptions of Ancient National Monuments, and, by means of Correspondents, preserving authentic memorials of all antiquities not later than 1750, which may from time to time be brought to light.

8. By establishing a *Journal* devoted exclusively to the objects of the Association, as a means of spreading antiquarian information and maintaining a constant communication with all persons interested in such pursuits.

9. By holding Annual Congresses in different parts of the country, to examine into their special antiquities, to promote an interest in them, and thereby conduce to their preservation.

Thirteen public Meetings are held from November to June, on the Wednesdays given on the next page, during the session, at eight o'clock in the evening, for the reading and discussion of papers, and for the inspection of all objects of antiquity forwarded to the Council. To these Meetings Associates have the privilege of introducing friends.

Persons desirous of becoming Associates, or of promoting in any way the objects of the Association, are requested to apply either personally or by letter to the Secretaries; or to the Sub-Treasurer, Samuel Rayson, Esq., 32 Sackville Street, W., to whom subscriptions, by Post Office Order or otherwise, crossed "Bank of England, W. Branch", should be transmitted.

The payment of ONE GUINEA annually is required of the Associates, or FIFTEEN GUINEAS as a Life Subscription, by which the Subscribers are entitled to a copy of the quarterly *Journal* as published, and permitted to acquire the publications of the Association at a reduced price.

Associates are required to pay an entrance fee of ONE GUINEA, except when the intending Associate is already a member of the Society of Antiquaries, of the Royal Archæological Institute, or of the Society of Biblical Archæology, in which case the entrance-fee is remitted. The annual payments are due in advance.

Papers read before the Association should be transmitted to the *Editor* of the Association, 32, Sackville Street; if they are accepted by the Council they will be printed in the volumes of the *Journal*, and they will be considered to be the property of the Association. Every author is responsible for the statements contained in his paper. The published *Journals* may be had of the Treasurer and other officers of the Association at the following prices:—Vol. I, out of print. The other volumes, £1 : 1 each to Associates; £1 : 11 : 6 to the public, with the exception of certain volumes in excess of stock, which may be had by members at a reduced price on application to the Honorary Secretaries. The special volumes of TRANSACTIONS of the CONGRESSES held at WINCHESTER and at GLOUCESTER are charged to the public, £1 : 11 : 6; to the Associates, 5s.

By a Resolution of the Council, passed on January 18th, 1899, Associates may now procure the Volumes of the First Series (I-L), so far as still in print, at 5s. each, or the single parts at 1s. 3d. each.

In addition to the *Journal*, published every quarter, it has been found necessary to publish occasionally another work entitled *Collectanea Archæologica*. It embraces papers whose length is too great for a periodical journal, and such as require more extensive illustration than can be given in an octavo form. It is, therefore, put forth in quarto, uniform with the *Archæologia* of the Society of Antiquaries, and sold to the public at 7s. 6d. each Part, but may be had by the Associates at 5s. (*See coloured wrapper of the quarterly Parts.*)

An Index for the first thirty volumes of the *Journal* has been prepared by Walter de Gray Birch, Esq., F.S.A. Present price to Associates, 5s.; to the public, 7s. 6d. Another Index, to volumes xxxi-xlii, the *Collectanea Archæologica*, and the two extra vols. for the Winchester and Gloucester Congresses, also now ready (uniform). Price to Associates, 10s. 6d.; to the public, 15s.

Public Meetings held on Wednesday evenings, at No. 32, Sackville Street, Piccadilly, at 8 o'clock precisely.

The Meetings for Session 1899-1900 are as follows:—1899, Nov. 1, 15; Dec. 6. 1900, Jan. 17, 31; Feb. 7, 21; March 7, 21; April 4; May 2 (Annual General Meeting 4.30 p.m.), 16; June 6.

Visitors will be admitted by order from Associates; or by writing their names, and those of the members by whom they are introduced. The Council Meetings are held at Sackville Street on the same day as the Public Meetings, at half-past 4 o'clock precisely.

RULES OF THE ASSOCIATION.

THE BRITISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION shall consist of Patrons, Associates, Local Members of Council, Honorary Correspondents, and Honorary Foreign Members.

1. The Patrons,—a class confined to members of the royal family or other illustrious persons.
2. The Associates shall consist of ladies or gentlemen elected by the Council, and who, upon the payment of one guinea entrance fee (except when the intending Associate is already a Member of the Society of Antiquaries of London, of the Royal Archæological Institute, or of the Society of Biblical Archæology), and a sum of not less than one guinea annually, or fifteen guineas as a life-subscription, shall become entitled to receive a copy of the quarterly *Journal* published by the Association, to attend all meetings, vote in the election of Officers and Council, and admit one visitor to each of the ordinary meetings of the Association.
3. The Local Members of Council shall consist of such of the Associates elected from time to time by the Council, on the nomination of two of its members, who shall promote the views and objects of the Association in their various localities, and report the discovery of antiquarian objects to the Council. There shall be no limit to their number, but in their election the Council shall have regard to the extent and importance of the various localities which they will represent. The Local Members shall be entitled to attend the meetings of the Council, to advise them, and report on matters of archæological interest which have come to their notice; but they shall not take part in the general business of the Council, or be entitled to vote on any subject.
4. The Honorary Correspondents,—a class embracing all interested in the investigation and preservation of antiquities; to be qualified for election on the recommendation of the President or Patron, or of two Members of the Council, or of four Associates.
5. The Honorary Foreign Members shall be confined to illustrious or learned foreigners who may have distinguished themselves in antiquarian pursuits.

ADMINISTRATION.

To conduct the affairs of the Association there shall be annually elected a President, fifteen Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, Sub-Treasurer, two Honorary Secretaries, and eighteen other Associates, all of whom shall constitute the Council, and two Auditors without seats in the Council.

The past Presidents shall be *ex officio* Vice-Presidents for life, with the same *status* and privileges as the elected Vice-Presidents, and take precedence in the order of service.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS AND COUNCIL.

1. The President, Vice-Presidents, members of Council, and Officers, shall be elected at the Annual General Meeting, to be held on the first Wednesday in May in each year. Such election shall be conducted by ballot, which shall continue open during at least one hour. A majority of votes shall determine the election. Every Associate balloting shall deliver his name to the Chairman, and afterwards put his list, filled up, into the balloting box. The presiding officer shall nominate two Scrutators, who, with one or more of the Secretaries, shall examine the lists and report thereon to the General Meeting.

2. If any member of the Council, elected at the Annual General Meeting, shall not have attended three meetings of the Council, at least, during the current session, the Council shall, at their meeting held next before the Annual Meeting, by a majority of votes of the members present, recommend whether it is desirable that such member shall be eligible for re-election or not, and such recommendation shall be submitted to the Annual Meeting on the ballot papers.

CHAIRMAN OF MEETINGS.

1. The President, when present, shall take the chair at all meetings of the Association. He shall regulate the discussions and enforce the laws of the Association.

2. In the absence of the President, the chair shall be taken by the Treasurer, or by the senior or only Vice-President present, and willing to preside; or in default, by the senior elected Member of Council or some officer present.

3. The Chairman shall, in addition to his own vote, have a casting vote when the suffrages are equal.

THE TREASURER.

The Treasurer shall hold the finances of the Association, discharge all debts previously presented to and approved of by the Council, and shall make up his accounts to the 31st of December

in each year, and having had his accounts audited he shall lay them before the Annual Meeting. Two-thirds of the life-subscriptions received by him shall be invested in such security as the Council may approve.

THE SECRETARIES.

The Secretaries shall attend all meetings of the Association, transmit notices to the Members, and read the letters and papers communicated to the Association. The notices of meetings of the Council shall state the business to be transacted, including the names of any candidates for the office of Vice-President or Members of Council, but not the names of proposed Associates or Honorary Correspondents.

THE COUNCIL.

1. The Council shall superintend and regulate the proceedings of the Association, and elect the Associates; whose names, when elected, are to be read over at the ordinary meetings.

2. The Council shall meet on the days on which the ordinary meetings of the Association are held, or as often as the business of the Association shall require, and five members shall be a quorum.

3. An extraordinary meeting of the Council may be held at any time by order of the President, or by a requisition signed by five of its members, stating the purpose thereof, addressed to the Secretaries, who shall issue notices of such meeting to every member.

4. The Council shall fill up any vacancy that may occur in any of the offices or among its own members, notice of proposed election being given at the immediately preceding Council meeting.

5. The Council shall submit a report of its proceedings to the Annual Meeting.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

1. The ordinary meetings of the Association shall be held on the first and third Wednesdays in November, the first Wednesday in December, the third Wednesday in January, the first and third Wednesdays in the months from February to April inclusive, the third Wednesday in May, and the first Wednesday in June, at 8 o'clock in the evening precisely, for the purpose of inspecting and conversing upon the various objects of antiquity transmitted to the Association, and such other business as the Council may appoint.

The Annual General Meeting of the Association shall be held on the first Wednesday in May in each year, at 4.30 P.M. precisely, at which the President, Vice-Presidents, and officers of the Association shall be elected, and such other business shall be conducted

as may be deemed advisable for the well-being of the Association; but none of the rules of the Association shall be repealed or altered unless twenty-eight days' notice of intention to propose such repeal or alteration shall have been given to the Secretaries, and they shall have notified the same to the Members of the Council at their meeting held next after receipt of the notice.

2. An extraordinary general meeting of the Association may at any time be convened by order of the President, or by a requisition signed by twenty Associates, stating the object of the proposed meeting, addressed to the Secretaries, who shall issue notices accordingly, stating therein the object for which the meeting is called.

3. A General Public Meeting or Congress shall be held annually in such town or place in the United Kingdom, at such time and for such period as shall be considered most advisable by the Council, to which Associates, Correspondents, and others, shall be admitted by ticket, upon the payment of one guinea, which shall entitle the bearer, and also a lady, to be present at all meetings either for the reading of papers, the exhibition of antiquities, the holding of *conversazioni*, or the making of excursions to examine any objects of antiquarian interest.

4. The Officers having the management of the Congress shall submit their accounts to the Council at their next meeting after the Congress shall have been held, and a detailed account of their personal expenses, accompanied by as many vouchers as they can produce.

ANNULMENT OF MEMBERSHIP.

If there shall be any ground alleged, other than the non-payment of subscriptions, for the removal of any Associate, such ground shall be submitted to the Council at a Special Meeting to be summoned for that purpose, of which notice shall be given to the Associate complained of, and in default of his attending such meeting of Council, or giving a satisfactory explanation to the Council, he shall, if a resolution be passed at such meeting, or any adjournment thereof, by two-thirds at least of the members then present for such removal, thereupon cease to be a member of the Association. Provided that no such resolution shall be valid unless nine members of the Council at least (including the Chairman) shall be present when the resolution shall be submitted to the meeting.

LIST OF CONGRESSES.

Congresses have been already held at	Under the Presidency of
1844 CANTERBURY	THE LORD A. D. CONYNGHAM, K.C.H., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1845 WINCHESTER	
1846 GLOUCESTER	
1847 WARWICK	
1848 WORCESTER	
1849 CHESTER	J. HEYWOOD, Esq., M.P., F.R.S., F.S.A. SIR OSWALD MOSLEY, BT., D.C.L. THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE RALPH BERNAL, Esq., M.A.
1850 MANCHESTER & LANCASTER	
1851 DERBY	
1852 NEWARK	
1853 ROCHESTER	
1854 CHEPSTOW	THE EARL OF PERTH AND MELFORT
1855 ISLE OF WIGHT	
1856 BRIDGWATER AND BATH }	THE EARL OF ALBEMARLE, F.S.A. THE MARQUESS OF AILESBURY THE EARL OF CARNARVON, F.S.A. BERIAH BOTFIELD, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A. SIR STAFFORD H. NORTHCOTE, BT. JOHN LEE, Esq., LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A. LORD HOUGHTON, M.A., D.C.L., F.S.A. GEORGE TOMLINE, Esq., M.P., F.S.A. THE DUKE OF CLEVELAND THE EARL OF CHICHESTER SIR C. H. ROUSE BOUGHTON, BT. THE EARL BATHURST THE LORD LYTTON CHANDOS WREN HOSKYNs, Esq., M.P. SIR W. COLES MEDLICOTT, BT., D.C.L. THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, E.M. KIRKMAN D. HODGSON, Esq., M.P. THE MARQUESS OF HERTFORD THE EARL OF MOUNT-EDGECUMBE
1857 NORWICH	
1858 SALISBURY	
1859 NEWBURY	
1860 SHREWSBURY	
1861 EXETER	
1862 LEICESTER	
1863 LEEDS	
1864 IPSWICH	
1865 DURHAM	
1866 HASTINGS	
1867 LUDLOW	
1868 GIRENCESTER	
1869 ST. ALBAN'S	
1870 HEREFORD	
1871 WEYMOUTH	
1872 WOLVERHAMPTON	
1873 SHEFFIELD	
1874 BRISTOL	
1875 EVESHAM	
1876 BODMIN AND PENZANCE	

Congresses have been already held at	Under the Presidency of
1877 LLANGOLLEN . . .	SIR WATKIN W. WYNN, BART., M.P.
1878 WISBECH . . .	THE EARL OF HARDWICKE
1879 YARMOUTH & NORWICH	THE LORD WAVENEY, F.R.S.
1880 DEVIZES . . .	THE EARL NELSON
1881 GREAT MALVERN . .	LORD ALWYNE COMPTON, D.D., DEAN OF WORCESTER
1882 PLYMOUTH . . .	THE DUKE OF SOMERSET, K.G.
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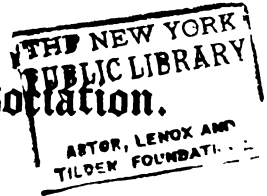


THE JOURNAL

OF THE

British Archaeological Association

MARCH 1900.



A SKETCH OF THE ARCHÆOLOGY OF DERBYSHIRE. ✓

BY JOHN WARD, ESQ., F.S.A. (CARDIFF).

(Read at the Burton Congress, July 20th, 1899.)



FROM an archæological point of view, Derbyshire, in proportion to its size, is probably unsurpassed by any other English county. The finest monuments, it is true, of each class of English antiquities must be looked for elsewhere; but assuredly this county is in the very front rank in respect to the number of these classes represented within its borders, and the very complete manner in which most of them are exemplified.

These ancient monuments are very unevenly distributed in the county. Those of pre- and sub-historic age are most numerous in the mountainous region which lies north of Ashbourne and Wirksworth, and west of Ashover and East Moor—the “Peak Country” familiar to the tourist. The geological structure of this region takes the form of an anticline (or, to be more strict, an elongated dome) in the Carboniferous rocks, the axis of which is approximately north-west and south-east. The nucleus consists of Mountain-limestone, which is traversed by the

ravines and rock-girt valleys for which the Peak is famous, and it abounds in water-worn caverns. Bordering this tract are the successive outcrops of Yoredale-shales, Millstone-grit, and Coal-measures, the second attaining an unusual thickness in this part of the country, and forming the highest elevations, its outcrops constituting the "edges" which give character to the scenery of the eastern side of the Derwent valley. The more fertile and less hilly part of the county consisting mostly of Triassic rocks in the south, and of Coal-measures in the east, is relatively richer in mediæval antiquities, especially of an ecclesiastical and domestic nature.

Why the older remains should, broadly speaking, be confined to the hilly portions of the county, is uncertain. Did the earlier peoples prefer these highlands, because the more open lowlands were less easily defended against the marauding incursions of other tribes? Tribal warfare does not seem to have been the normal state of things in Derbyshire, for its ancient camps are few, and, as a rule, insignificant. Probably, cultivation has more to do with the question than anything else. The lowlands have been longer and more completely under cultivation than the highlands; and if both were once equally strewn with prehistoric monuments, it is hardly a matter of surprise that so few should have survived to our day in the former region. In the Peak, more havoc has been wrought to these remains since the commencement of the long series of Acts for the enclosure of the wastes, a hundred and fifty years ago, than during the whole time before. The cairns have supplied materials for the construction of stone fences and for the repairing of roads, while the greater stones of cists and circles have come in useful for gate-posts. Then, in the case of earthworks, the plough is slowly but surely effecting their removal.

The archæological literature of the county is copious. From the numerous contributions of Major Hayman Rooke, F.S.A., and the Rev. Samuel Pegge, L.L.D., to the pages of *Archæologia*, last century, down to the present day, there has been an almost unbroken stream of investigators of its antiquities, and some of the works they have written are justly esteemed to have a far

higher than merely local value. Bray's *Tour in Derbyshire, etc.* (1778), and Pilkington's *Present State of Derbyshire* (1789), share with the early volumes of *Archæologia* in containing the first published accounts of many of the chief prehistoric remains of the county. Lysons' *Magna Britannia*, vol. vi (1817), and Clark's *History of Derbyshire* (1833), are replete with the subject, so far as it was known in the earlier part of the present century. Bateman's *Vestiges of the Antiquities of Derbyshire* (1848), and *Ten Years' Diggings* (1851), are mainly records of the indefatigable investigations of the late William and Thomas Bateman, F.S.A., Samuel Carrington, and others, among the British, Roman, and Saxon remains of the county and the adjacent parts of Staffordshire. Similarly, *Barrows and Bone Caves of Derbyshire* (1877) records the investigations of the late Mr. Rooke Pennington, in the Peak; and Turner's *Archæological Discoveries of Mr. Micah Salt*, now about to be issued, promises to be a valuable addition to the antiquarian literature of the county. The *Proceedings* of the Society of Antiquaries, the *Journals* of the Royal Archæological Institute, the British Archæological Association, and the Geological Society, contain many papers relating to this county; and of still greater value is the *Reliquary*, from the circumstance that it is published at Derby, and up to 1890 was edited by Derbyshire antiquaries. The Derbyshire Archæological and Natural History Society, since its foundation in 1878, has issued an annual journal; and much information may also be culled from the *Notts. and Derbyshire Notes and Queries*: a useful periodical which commenced in 1892, and has recently come to an untimely end. The ecclesiology is exhaustively treated by the Rev. J. C. Cox, L.L.D., in *Notes of the Churches of Derbyshire*, a work unsurpassed of its kind, and from which I shall draw most of my information about the ecclesiastical remains of the county. Besides these, there are a number of works of more restricted range, some of which will be noted as we proceed.

Human time in Derbyshire, as elsewhere in the west of Europe, falls into two well-defined æons, which corres-

pond with the Pleistocene, and the post-Pleistocene or Recent, eras of the geologist. These eras were unlike one another in several important particulars. The Pleistocene climate oscillated between the extremes of Arctic coldness and sub-tropical heat, and these oscillations were associated with corresponding changes in the fauna and flora. Forms now confined to more northern, and others to more southern latitudes, replaced one another with comparative rapidity; while some remarkable mammals have become extinct. The configuration of the land surface also underwent great changes, chiefly through glacial action. The Recent period, on the other hand, represents a course of time during which the present conditions as to climate, surface, and life have undergone but little change. Although approximately *recent* time to the geologist, it nevertheless is of such long duration as to include all prehistoric time from the Neolithic to the early Iron Ages, and all subsequent historic time.

I.—THE PLEISTOCENE ERA.

The Pleistocene deposits of Derbyshire are comparatively meagre. Glacial drift occurs as small patches in Peakland hollows, and as a discontinuous veneer in the southern parts of the county. River gravels and terraces also occur; but the only Pleistocene deposits which have yielded remains of man and his handiwork are those which occur as “fox-earths,” stalagmites, and breccias in the caverns and fissures. Considering how numerous these natural cavities are in the Peak, it must be admitted that the recorded instances of such discoveries are very few indeed; probably because only a few of the caves have had their floors scientifically examined. If, however, the yield is small numerically, it is of great intrinsic importance.

Three small caves—the Pin, Church, and Robin Hood Holes—at Cresswell, on the north-east border of the county, have yielded results unsurpassed by any other English cave, except the famous Kent’s Hole at Torquay. The discovery that these caves contained relics of the past was made by the Rev. Magens Mello, F.G.S., about twenty years ago; and this led to their systematic excavation by

that gentleman, aided by Professor Boyd Dawkins, F.R.S., and the late Mr. T. Heath, of Derby, in 1875 and 1876. Reports of this work were published in the *Journal of the Geological Society* for those years; also in the Derbyshire Archæological and Natural History Society's *Journal* for 1878, in *Barrows and Bone Caves of Derbyshire*, and in a brochure by Mr. Heath, *An Abstract Description and History of the Bone Caves of Creswell Crags*. Not only did the investigation prove beyond a doubt the co-existence of man with the great extinct mammals of the Pleistocene, but it proved also that that era was of immense duration, with clearly-marked periods, during which there "were successive races of men exhibiting a progressive civilisation." The implements of the lowest bed (the deposits of the three caves were practically identical) were of the "rudest possible construction"—quartzite pebbles which had been used, without any preparation, as hammers, crushers, and pot-boilers, or rudely chipped, so as to enable them to be more easily handled; or the flakes therefrom adapted, by a little additional chipping, for use as scrapers, knives, or hatchets. In the higher beds, quartzite was replaced by flint for implements, fabricated into simple forms at first, then more complex as the topmost beds were reached—"well-made lance-heads, chipped on both faces," and "delicately-made borers and scrapers." With these occurred bone needles, pins, awls, and arrow-heads, such as have been found in Kent's Cavern and in Continental caves. But the most remarkable object was the sketch of an unmistakable Pleistocene horse on a piece of flat bone—"the first trace of pictorial art yet discovered in Great Britain." Similar sketches have been found in deposits of the same era in Switzerland and Aquitaine; and this Derbyshire specimen, taken in connection with the general character of the implements with which it was associated, "affords the clearest proof that the hunters of Southern France and Switzerland had found their way along the great eastern valley now covered with the waters of the German Ocean, and wandered as far north as the borders of Yorkshire."

The other Pleistocene discoveries of the county do not

strictly come within our range, as they have not been associated with traces of man. But I cannot pass without notice a remarkable find of bones of the bison, reindeer, and other Pleistocene animals, at Windy Knoll, near Castleton, as it well illustrates the immense lapse of time between their day and the present. The deposit containing these bones was in a limestone fissure, which proved, in the course of its excavation by the late Mr. Rooke Pennington, Prof. Boyd Dawkins, and Mr. J. Tym, in 1874-6, to be an ancient "water-swallow" or opening, through which water disappeared into a subterranean channel. The animals represented by these bones had resorted to the "swallow" to drink, and were either swamped or drowned there. As Windy Knoll is now an elevated neck of land, it is an impossible position for an active "water-swallow"; so it is clear that since these animals met their fate the surface-configuration of the district has undergone a great change, in which a place in a valley-bottom where water was engulfed has been transformed into a lofty ridge.

The following is a list of the Pleistocene mammals whose remains have hitherto been found in this county:—

Mammoth,	Red deer,
Woolly rhinoceros,	Roe deer,
Bison,	Wild boar,
Urus,	Horse,
Cave lion (<i>Leo spelæa</i>),	Grizzly bear,
Machairodus latidens,	Brown bear,
Leopard,	Wolf,
Arctic fox (<i>Canis lagopus</i>),	Fox,
Cave hyæna (<i>Hycæna spelæa</i>),	Wild cat,
Lynx,	Pole-cat,
Glutton,	Water-vole,
Reindeer,	Bat,
Irish elk (<i>Cervus megaceras</i>),	Shrew.

II.—THE POST-PLEISTOCENE ERA.

Wherever Pleistocene and post-Pleistocene (or Recent) deposits occur together in Britain, there is, apparently always, a sharp line of demarcation between them, representing probably the last glaciation of the great Ice

Age. This break is not repeated in later times. With the return of the temperate climate which we still enjoy, came the existing fauna and flora. Human culture has advanced to its present position with an unbroken progression. The periods—Neolithic, Bronze, and Early Iron—into which the prehistoric portion of post-Pleistocene time is usually divided must not be regarded as sharply defined from one another, nor even in any given locality, as necessarily consecutive. These terms represent stages in an evolution. From the first, post-Pleistocene man appears on the scene as a herdsman: hence this era may be described as that of the *Domesticated Animals*.

The Derbyshire remains of the pre- and sub-historical portions of this "Era of the Domestic Animals" consist in the main of barrows and other sepulchral remains, of which the county possesses an unusual wealth. It is impossible to estimate the number of these vestiges; but excluding the Anglo-Saxon *cemeteries* for the present, the number of barrows which have been opened in the interests of science in Derbyshire and the adjacent parts of North Staffordshire (which may be regarded as an extension of the Peak country) can hardly be less than four hundred; and the number of their separate interments, whether of one individual or of several buried together, may be set down as seven hundred. Of these barrows, six contain megalithic chambers, such as are with general consent attributed to the Neolithic stage of culture; three hundred may be classed as pre-Roman British; and the residue must be assigned to Romano-British and post-Roman times, ending with the conversion of the English tribes to Christianity.

Chambered Barrows.—At Mininglow (two) and Harborough Rocks near Brassington, Bole Hill near Bakewell, Ringham Low near Moneyash, and Five Wells near Taddington, are the remains of barrows containing megalithic chambers; all of these, with the exception of that at the Harborough Rocks (which was opened by the writer), were examined by the Batemans, but were found to have been previously rifled. Still it is possible to reconstruct the type to which most, if not all, of them

belong. The mounds were circular, of bold elevation, protected by a podium of dry walling, and containing one or several galleried chambers. These chambers were constructed of massive slabs of stone, but they did not attain the large proportions which prevail in some parts of the country. In most instances they appear to have been somewhat wedge-shaped in plan, with sides leaning inwards. The galleries were of similar construction. Each chamber appears to have had its own gallery, which led to the periphery of the mound, but whether it opened out through the podium, or was masked by it, is not certain. In every instance in Derbyshire in which the original interments remained the skulls were dolichocephalic, and the flint implements delicate leaf-shaped arrow-heads.

Pre-Roman British Interments.—The 300 barrows which can be assigned to the pre-Roman British period, or in other words, to the Bronze Age, present great diversity of construction and contents. Their builders practised both inhumation and cremation, sometimes together. The interment, whether unburnt or burnt, was frequently simply buried; but as often as not it was placed in a grave in the natural soil, which was sometimes converted into a vault by a roofing of slabs of stone; or in an enclosure constructed of dry-walling or of upright slabs of stone, which, when roofed with other slabs, formed a cist. The cist was probably derived from the Neolithic chamber, but—in Derbyshire, at least—it differed in having no entrance or gallery and in not being used for *successive* interments. The covering mound was usually constructed of stones only, which were often laid together with some order; and only rarely was it composed of fine materials, as gravels or earth. When not bowl-shaped, the mound was flattened, or rendered irregular by the addition of secondary mounds. The base was sometimes defined by a ditch, or a circle of stones, or an annular mound. The central mound may be diminutive, or be omitted altogether, when the barrow will be resolved into a circular area enclosed by one or more of these fences.

In Derbyshire, the unburnt bodies were buried in a

flexed posture, nearly always on the side, rarely sitting. When cremated, the burnt bones were sometimes allowed to remain as left by the pyre, but more frequently they were collected into a heap on the spot, or were transferred to a depression in the ground, to a cist, or to a flat stone; free, tied in a cloth, or deposited in a basket or an earthen urn. The Derbyshire examples of these rude, hand-made vessels have a constant form, and the heavy overhanging rim is almost invariably ornamented. They were buried upright, with a stone over the mouth, or mouth downwards and resting on a stone.

Diverse, however, as these British interments were in the above respects, the various objects of human handiwork which accompanied them have a common likeness which mark them as belonging to one era. The most remarkable and characteristic of these objects are the earthen vessels. Besides the cinerary urns just referred to, vessels of other shapes, but similar in material and decoration, have been frequently found—"drinking-cups" and "food-vases," rightly named, as they certainly contained offerings of drink and food, and the changeful little vessels fancifully designated "incense-cups." The most frequent accompaniments, however, have been flakes and rude implements (mostly scrapers and arrow-points) of flint. Borers, pins, and other objects of bone follow next; then bronze "three-rivet" dagger-blades, awls, rings, pins, etc.; jet and amber beads and necklaces; and, very rarely, iron objects. Some of the interments containing the latter were almost certainly post-Roman, and possibly the rest were also, although in other respects they were like the British. Besides the above, polished basalt and granite hammers and axes, whetstones, quartz pebbles, red ochre, and iron ore have been occasionally met with. The animal remains associated with these interments were those of still-existing species in Europe, and they include the present domestic animals—ox, sheep, goat, pig, horse, and dog.

The following table gives the approximate percentages of Derbyshire-Staffordshire interments which have yielded the above accompaniments:—

Drinking-cups	.	.	with	6.4	per cent. of the interments.
Food-vases	.	.	"	12.5	" "
Cinerary urns	.	.	"	18.0	" "
Incense-cups	.	.	"	2.5	" "
Flint and other stone objects	.	.	"	40.0	" "
Bronze	"	.	"	8.0	" "
Bone	"	.	"	8.0	" "
Jet and amber objects	.	.	"	3.2	" "
Iron objects	.	.	"	.7	" "

It is noteworthy that while the implements and ornaments were tolerably evenly distributed between burnt and unburnt interments, it was otherwise with the vessels.

The following table shows their distribution:—

- 36 drinking-cups, all associated with unburnt interments ;
- 71 food-vases, of which 56 were associated with unburnt and 15 with unurned burnt interments ; and
- 14 incense-cups, of which 2 were associated with unurned burnt and 12 with urned burnt interments.

Various explanations might be suggested for this distribution ; but after giving it much consideration in all its bearings, I am inclined to think that the table expresses a progress in time: that is, that the drinking-cup was succeeded by the food-vase, and the food-vase by the cinerary urn and incense-cup. If this be so, we must conclude that in Derbyshire, at least, cremation was of later introduction than inhumation ; but it must not be inferred from this that the former *supplanted* the latter. For anything we know, the two modes continued side by side until the Roman occupation. The relative positions of these different interments, when occurring in the same barrow, strongly tends to confirm my view. In no instance in our area has a drinking-cup interment been found under circumstances which point to its later introduction into the mound than a neighbouring food-vase or urned interment ; nor is there an example of a food-vase inhumated interment succeeding an urned one ; whereas in each case, the reverse has frequently been noted. Or, to look at the matter from another point of view : the majority of drinking-cup interments found in these barrows are obviously their primary interments ; while

the urns as a rule are either high up or near the margin—positions which mark them as secondary interments.

The frequent instance in which the skeleton of an infant was associated with that of an adult, usually a woman and presumably the mother, points to infanticide. The occasional presence of a woman's skeleton with a man's seems to indicate Sutteeism. More frequently, burnt human bones have accompanied an unburnt skeleton; in which cases the skeleton undoubtedly represented the interment proper, the burnt deposit probably representing a human sacrifice. It is possible that in these subordinate interments we have the germ of the later mode of disposing of the dead. It is not always easy to determine whether such a deposit was the accompaniment of the unburnt interment near it, or was a separate interment; but we are well within the mark in saying that our area has supplied forty-four undoubted and twenty-eight presumed examples to the point, out of a total of nearly four hundred pre-Roman inhumated interments. As only one undoubted example has been found among the thirty-six drinking-cup interments, whereas ten have been obtained from the fifty-six vased inhumated interments, it looks as though the custom did not find favour at first.

A hundred or more examples of urned burnt interments have been reported from our area. These urns probably represent the cists and vaults of the earlier burials, and the incense-cups may really be diminutive food-vases. The different varieties of pre-Roman interments are not evenly intermixed; those after cremation, urned or otherwise, for instance, predominate on and around Stanton Moor,¹ and in the country between Eyam, Castleton, and Sheffield.

Circles.—Of the dozen or so "Druidical Circles" in the county, that of Arborlow is conspicuous for its magnitude, and is one of the finest in the country. Its central area, which is 168 ft. in diameter, is bounded first by a ditch and then a rampart, both discontinued in two

¹ Since the above was written, two more British cinerary urns have been discovered on this moor, one of which has passed into the hands of my friend, Mr. Joseph Heathcote, of Birchover.

places to form entrances. Upon the enclosed space stood a circle of huge standing stones, now fallen, and in the centre are several large stones. About 1,000 ft. away is a large barrow, which in 1848 was found to contain a cremated interment, accompanied by a typical food-vase of the pre-Roman British era, in a large cist. As this barrow is connected with the circle by a winding bank, it is probable that both are of like antiquity. At Dove Holes is a little-known circle similar to Arborlow, but without the stones. At Wet-Withens, near Eyam, is another, 99 ft. in diameter, consisting of an annular bank with sixteen standing stones on its inner edge; and on Offerton Moor adjacent is another somewhat less. The rest of the Derbyshire circles are much smaller, and are doubtless sepulchral. The larger ones may also have had the same origin, but there is no reason why the popular theory that they were temples should be discarded. With the exception of Arborlow and Dove Holes, the Derbyshire circles are confined to localities in which urned interments abound.

Ancient Non-Roman Camps.—While it is certain that these camps are not Roman, it is not easy to fix their age. Some may have been thrown up by the natives during the English invasion, and possibly some by the English themselves to resist the Danes; but it seems more likely that, as a class, they are pre-Roman, and of great antiquity. The magnitude and careful construction of several of them indicate that they were not erected as temporary barriers against foreign invasion, but as refuges in a permanent state of insecurity, such as tribal warfare would give rise to. In neither the number nor the magnitude of the camps does this county vie with some of the western counties; but two—that which conspicuously crowns Mam Tor at Castleton, and the Carl-Wark, near Hathersage—of its eight or ten examples are fine and noteworthy. The former is about sixteen acres in area, and is surrounded by a double trench. The Carl-Wark may be described as a natural fortress improved by art. Its raised platform, which crowns a gentle hill, presents on three sides a rocky face, the gaps in which are filled up with rude masonry. Across the

remaining side a ditch has been cut, and behind this is an earthen rampart, faced with a wall 8 ft. or 9 ft. high, composed of huge stones in their natural shapes. Other intrenchments occur at Pilsbury, near Hartington, Calton, near Chatsworth, Camp Green at Hathersage; and on Fin Cop, Combs Moss, Hartle Moor, Staden Low, near Buxton, and Cronkstone, Alport, and Tapton Hills.

Pre-Roman Cave Remains.—Rains Cave, near Brasington, which was excavated under the writer's supervision in 1890-1, yielded many objects of the British period anterior to the Roman occupation. The work proved that the cave had been used by man at various times; first as a dwelling-place, probably as far back as the Neolithic age, then as a burial-place, then as a temporary residence, then again as a burial-place. The fragments of the pottery which accompanied the interments were of the ordinary British barrow type, hence they served to fix the period when the cave was used as a sepulchre. The animal remains of this cave furnish a very full list of the fauna of the county at the time:—

British short-horned Ox,	Wolf,
Urus,	Dog,
Sheep,	Fox,
Goat,	Badger,
Horse,	Weasel,
Wild Hog,	Hedgehog,
Red Deer,	Water Vole,
Roe Deer,	Hare.

Mr. Rooke Pennington obtained from two small caves in Cave Dale, Castleton, a similar series of animal remains, associated with rude pottery, flint flakes, jet, a perforated stone hammer, and a bronze axe of peculiar form and alloy, all presumably pre-Roman. The same gentleman obtained from a cave in Hartle Dale, near Bradwell, rude prehistoric pottery. A few pre-Roman objects have been obtained from the prolific cave, "Thirst House," near Buxton, by Mr. Salt, who has done excellent work there; and some of the things which he has recently found in several other caves and rock shelters around that town, may be of like age. At Cresswell nothing appa-

rently intervened between the Pleistocene and the Romano-British remains.

Pit Dwellings, Sites of Habitations, etc.—Very little has been done to elucidate this class of Derbyshire antiquities. Writer after writer has enlarged upon the “supposed site of a British town” at Linda-spring, near Crich, but no one seems to have thought of applying the evidence of the spade to the depressions. The sites of huts, presumably of pre-Roman age, have been recorded on Hartle and Abney Moors, at Over Oldhams, and Smerril Grange, near Youlgreave. The present writer excavated such a site on Harborough Rocks, near Brasington, and concluded that it was British of Roman age; and Mr. Salt has in hand some curious and most promising pits on Ravenslow, near Buxton. It is obvious, however, that there must be many remains of this class in Derbyshire, a county so rich in prehistoric archæology.

Maenhirs, Rocking-Stones, Rock-Basins, -Altars, -Idols, etc.—At various places along the lines of the outcrop of the Millstone Grit, particularly in the vicinity of Stanton, Eyam, Hathersage and Ashover, are fantastic blocks and masses of rock, which were descanted upon by the older antiquaries as “Druidical.” Some of these are rocking-stones; others have been designated, according to their fancied resemblances, altars, idols, basins, etc. Most, if not all, of these are of natural origin, the result of weathering; but it is quite possible that some few were altered by man in ancient times. The well-known rocking-stones and other blocks at Rowter, near Stanton, were “improved” about a century-and-a-half ago by a gentleman who resided near. Standing-stones, which appear to have been artificially placed, are to be met with in the Peak, but as yet no antiquary has systematically investigated them. In the Buxton Gardens may be seen two stones, the one a “holed” stone, which were removed from a place in the vicinity of the town and set up in these gardens with much learned ceremony, some years ago; but they appear to have been gate-posts, and the hole has been formed naturally.

Romano-British Barrows.—About fifty barrows, interspersed among the pre-Roman series, have been found to

bear a strong family likeness, and various circumstances point to their Roman age. Their materials were wholly or mostly fine, as clays of various colours, sand, gravel, turf, and even moss, which whether used singly or several together, were usually laid in definite layers. These barrows seem to have invariably been raised over the site of the funeral pyre; and the human remains, cremated in every case, have been found remaining as left by the fire, or gathered into a little heap, and thus covered up. It was seldom that anything more than a few flint flakes and a potsherd or two rewarded the opener; and it has generally been observed that the potsherds were buried *as potsherds*, and not as perfect vessels. In no case did these potsherds appear to have belonged to vessels of the British sepulchral type; on the other hand, many were described as hard and wheel-made, and some as distinctly Roman.

Recently, Mr. Micah Salt laid bare two unburnt extended interments, which were associated with objects of this age, in Deepdale, immediately below the mouth of "Thirst House," and another similar interment of probably the same period has been discovered at Bradwell.

The Roman Occupation.—In 1768, Dr Pegge gave the world ("Derbeiesseira Romana," *Bibl. Top. Brit.*, No. 24), a very complete survey of the remains of this period in Derbyshire; and in 1885 and 1886, the late Mr. W. Thompson Watkin contributed two articles to the *Derbyshire Archæological and Natural History Society's Journal*, which covered the same ground, only if anything with greater fulness. A comparison of these two writers shows that little progress had been made in this branch of Derbyshire archæology during the interval of 117 years, and little progress has been made since. None of the more important sites have been excavated in the interests of archæology; so that our information rests upon such superficial vestiges as have escaped obliteration, and such accidental discoveries as have chanced to come under the notice of antiquaries.

The Peak was undoubtedly an important lead-mining district during the occupation, and this is evidenced by the pigs of lead of that period found in this and the

neighbouring counties. The earliest recorded discovery of an inscribed pig in this county was on Cromford Nether Moor, in 1777; this was followed by another on Matlock Moor, in 1783; a third near the last, in 1787; and a fourth, also near the last, in 1894.

The sites of several stations are known, and their names identified with more or less certainty. Little Chester, which by a consensus of opinion was the *Derbentio* of Ravennas, was probably the chief Roman centre of the district. Buxton was certainly *Aquæ*. Two others, Melandra Castle, near Glossop, and Brough, in Hope Dale, have been ingeniously identified by Mr. Thompson Watkin as *Zerdotalia* and *Navio*. Very slight traces of the *castrum* of Little Chester remain, but in 1721 Dr. Stukeley could sufficiently follow up its outline to determine that it was rectangular, 500 ft. by 600 ft. Nothing is known of the *castrum* of Buxton; but remains of baths and other buildings were discovered there in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, on such a scale as to prove that the place was a fashionable resort in Roman times. Unlike these, the stations of Melandra and Brough are in fair preservation, the former being 336 ft. by 366 ft., and the latter 270 ft. by 310 ft., and at both places numerous remains have been dug up from time to time. Besides these, there was another important station, which was probably the headquarters of the lead trade, but its site is unknown. It has been identified with Chesterfield; but Mr. Watkin's theory that it was in the vicinity of Wirksworth has more in its favour. Several small camps of Roman character are pointed out: one is at Parwich, another near Pentrich; and some years ago the late Mr. Redfern, of Uttoxeter, traced what he believed to be such a camp at Ballidon, near Parwich.

The great Roman road which connected York with the Severn, known in later times as the Rykneld Street, threaded the county from the north-east to the south-west, passing Little Chester *en route*. Another great road, connecting Colchester and Leicester with Chester, known as the *Via Devana*, intersected the southern part of the county, crossing the Trent in the vicinity of Burton. Through the Peak passed a third road, which

connected Lincoln with Chester, threading in so doing the Derbyshire stations of Brough and Buxton. Another important line of road seems to have diverged from the Via Devana at Leicester, and passing through Little Chester and Buxton proceeded to Manchester (Man-cunium), and the north-west generally. From Little Chester, a branch road ran due west through Rocester to Chesterton (Mediolanum), near Newcastle-under-Lyme, where it joined the Via Devana for Chester. Another took a more northerly course, and has been traced over the Chevin and in the vicinity of Belper-lane-end, pointing towards Cromford: probably it passed through the heart of the Peak country to Brough. If this be the case, the winding "Doctor's Gate," which can be followed between Brough and Melandra Castle, must be regarded as its continuation. The present highway between Derby and Tutbury seems to have been a minor Roman way. Probably it was connected with an ancient way, which has been traced on the south side of the Dove, to Uttoxeter. From Buxton there appears to have been a branch to Chesterton, passing through Leek; and another, with a course due west, making for the Mersey. A west road has been traced from Melandra Castle, which probably connected that station with Manchester.

A number of smaller vestiges of the occupation have been brought to light in various parts of the county, and serve to show how firm the Roman hold was. Hoards of coins have been found at Fenny Bentley, Alfreton (two), Crich Cliff and Moor, Pleasley, Fritchley, Culland Park, Ashbourne, Cromford and Heanor, during the last century and a half. The district around Middleton-by-Youlgreave has been prolific in remains of this period; and in less degree, also Oker Hill in Darley Dale, Chesterfield, Upper Haddon, and Eyam. Roman pottery was found upon the site of Duffield Castle in 1886, and upon that of ancient buildings at the foot of Rainster Rocks, near Brassington, by the writer in 1890. Several caves have yielded Roman objects, notably, Poole's Hole, Buxton; the upper deposits of the Cresswell Caves; the "Bat House," a fissure near Ambergate; while the array

of these remains from Thirst House, near King's Sterndale, is unprecedented in England.

Post-Roman or Early Saxon Interments.—The Teutonic invaders (Saxons, Angles, Danes, etc.), like the Britons before them, practised both inhumation and cremation; but it is clear that, in Derbyshire, at least, these were not as a rule practised together. The interments occur singly, and in groups or cemeteries. In the former cases, the interment was either placed in an already existing barrow—British, for instance—or it was covered by its own mound. In the cemeteries, the mounds were small, so that usually all traces have disappeared. Saxon interments of both kinds can generally be readily distinguished from the British in this county. In those by inhumation, the corpse was usually extended at full length on its back or side, with the head often to the west; sometimes, however, it was flexed after the British manner. Occasionally it was deposited in a wooden chest or coffin, rarely in a stone cist; and in any case it was often embedded in puddled earth or clay. The male was buried with his iron sword, spear, or knife, and his wooden “war-board” with its iron umbo; the female, with domestic appliances and trinkets, as keys, chatelaines, combs, caskets, thread-boxes, needles, pins, and the like. In either sex, these were frequently augmented by jewellery of elaborate description, earthen and glass vessels, buckles, whetstones, querns, etc.—all together furnishing much information on the civilization of the period. The cremated interments were often deposited in cinerary urns, hand-made and ill-fired like the British, but differing in decoration and shape, being somewhat globular with contracted mouths. Descriptions of about forty inhumated interments of this period, which have been opened in the Peak and the neighbouring parts of Staffordshire, have been published; but only few examples of the cremated interments have been found in this region. Several important cemeteries have been discovered in South Derbyshire. Mr. Thomas Bateman investigated one consisting of about fifty slight mounds near Foremark, which simply covered up the remains of both the pyre and the corpse intermingled, as they lay

on the old natural surface. The site of another, containing a large number of Saxon cinerary urns in a fragmentary condition, was discovered at King's Newton, near Melbourn, in 1867. In 1882 the Burton Natural History and Archæological Society excavated a highly-interesting cemetery at Stapenhill, which contained thirty-one unburnt and five burnt interments. Of the unburnt examples, fourteen were extended on the back and two on the side, five were flexed and lying on the left side, while the positions of the remaining ten were undetermined. The heads of these skeletons pointed in various directions, but the majority took a westerly direction. None of them seem to have been placed in coffins, or were otherwise protected. Associated with them were nine rude hand-made vessels, several iron knives and spear-heads, the umbo of a shield, several bronze fibulæ, pins, etc., glass and terra-cotta beads, a perforated Roman coin, and some bone objects. With many were also placed fragments of flint and potsherds. The five cremated interments were deposited in urns of the typical shape. Small groups of unburnt interments of this period have also been found at Overton, near Ashover, and near Calver in the Peak.

Pre-Norman or Late Saxon Remains.—These consist chiefly of crosses and architectural structures. The two finest examples of the former are at Eyam and Bakewell; and fragments of others occur at the latter place, and at Hope, Blackwall, Darley Dale, Spondon, Aston-on-Trent, and St. Alkmund's, Derby. At Wilne there is a remarkable font, which is made out of a decorated pillar of this period, which, according to Rev. G. F. Browne, now Bishop of Bristol, was probably the permanent "altar" on which the itinerant priest placed the portable holy table during celebration (*Journal*, Derbyshire Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc., vol. vii). There is an elaborate coped tombstone, carved with scenes from the life of Christ, in Wirksworth Church, and another, with less detail, from Bakewell, now in the Weston Park Museum at Sheffield. The finest specimen of pre-Norman architecture in the country is the shell of the chancel at Repton, with much of the crypt below. The chancel arches of Sawley,

Marston Montgomery, Long Eaton, and Stanton-by-Bridge, and windows in Caldwell Church, are apparently of the same period.

Mediæval Ecclesiological Antiquities.—"This county," wrote Rev. Dr. Cox, in his *Churches of Derbyshire*, "cannot for a moment pretend to vie with Somerset in its spires, with Northamptonshire in its towers, with Norfolk or Suffolk in the size and beauty of so many of their churches, or with Kent in the number of its brasses; but this can, I believe, be fairly claimed for Derbyshire, that no other part of the country of the same size has anything like the same extensive variety of styles and excellent specimens of every period, both in the ecclesiastical fabrics themselves and in the monumental remains and other details they shelter."

The largest churches in the county are those of Ashbourne, Chesterfield, Wirksworth, Tideswell, Bakewell, and Melbourn—all fine examples of mediæval cruciform churches; each, with the exception of Tideswell, surmounted with a tower, or tower and spire, at the intersection of the transepts. The spire of Chesterfield is not only the loftiest (228 ft.) in the county, but is one of the most remarkable in the kingdom: being of wood, covered with lead, which through faulty construction has become so warped by the sun's heat as to assume a curious crooked twist. The graceful proportions of the decorated spire of Ashbourne have brought it the epithet, "The Pride of the Peak."

Steetley Church is the most beautiful Norman structure in the county. Those of Melbourn and Whitwell are more extensive and imposing examples, but both have been much altered in later periods. As a rule, where Norman occurs in this county, it is in the nave-arcades, chancel-arches, and doorways. The chancel-arches of Sandiacre, Castleton, Beighton and Twyford are particularly fine; as also are the doorways of Breadsall, Allestre, and Killamarsh. The churches of Bakewell, Youlgreave, Longford, Aston-on-Trent, Hault Hucknall and Morley, contain many features in this style.

The best Derbyshire examples of thirteenth-century or Early-English architecture occur as towers and chancels:

as the towers of Eckington and Breadsall, the chancels of Ashbourne, Dovebridge, Marston-on-Dove, Weston-on-Trent, and the ruined choir of Dale Abbey. St. John's Chapel, Belper, and the ruins of Yeaveley Preceptory are also excellent examples of the period.

The fourteenth century was an era of church rebuilding in Derbyshire. The structure generally, or in large part, of the majority of its churches, dates from this, the Decorated period. Tideswell and Spondon churches were entirely rebuilt in this style, and exhibit scarcely any work of a later period. The chancels of Dronfield and Sandiacre have been frequently figured in works on architecture. The beautiful spire of Ashbourne has already been referred to. The churches of Chesterfield, Hathersage, Mackworth, Crich, Repton, Ilkeston, St. Peter's (Derby), Moneyash, Duffield and Bonsall, all exhibit pleasing Decorated work.

The Perpendicular architecture of the fifteenth and earlier half of the sixteenth centuries is almost as well represented in the county; but, as indicated above, it usually takes the form of additions to and insertions in older fabrics. From the general custom which prevailed at this time of raising the naves of churches to form clerestories (which had hitherto been confined to the larger churches), these additions, with the new roofs they necessitated, are the most numerous of the works in this style; and those of Repton and Longstone may be instanced as good examples. The improvements effected in stained glass, and its growing popularity, led to the frequent replacement of old windows by larger ones with more elaborate tracery. The great chancel windows of St. Peter's (Derby), Ashbourne, Haddon and Breadsall, are beautiful Perpendicular insertions. The external features of Horsley Church, except its spire, are in this style. The recess containing the tomb of John Bothe, at Sawley, is a fine specimen of late Perpendicular on a small scale. The tower of Youlgreave is well-proportioned and of the best period, and those of Elvaston, North Wingfield, Alfreton and Walton-on-Trent have excellent points. The towers of All Saints', Derby, Dethic and Cubley, are typical examples of late Perpendicular, the

first-mentioned being one of the loftiest and finest-proportioned towers in the country. At Risley and Wilne are specimens of debased Perpendicular, mixed with Renaissance details; while Foremark Church, which was erected in 1662, is interesting as a survival of mediæval architecture in comparative purity.

Derbyshire churches are not rich in timber-work. The most notable examples are the fourteenth-century roof at Tideswell, the fifteenth-century roofs at Longstone and Repton, and screens of the same period at Wingerworth, Chesterfield, Fenny Bentley and Elvaston; stalls at Sawley; and benches at Morley and Youlgreave. Mellor boasts of a unique fourteenth-century wooden pulpit, carved out of one piece of oak. At Belper there is a perfect pre-Reformation stone bracket altar; and there are altar-slabs at Beighton, Haddon and Alfreton. "Low-side" windows occur at Spondon, Church Broughton, Croxall, Breaston, Ravenston, Aston-on-Trent, Weston-on-Trent, Dronfield, Clown, Barrow, and elsewhere. The font of Ashover is a fine lead one of the twelfth century, and that of Youlgreave is remarkable in having a holy-water stoup attached to it. At Chelmerton there is a thirteenth-century holy-water stoup, and moveable ones at Haddon, Boulton, and Barlborough. Stone gospel lecterns occur at Crich, Chaddesden, Etwall, Taddington, Mickleover and Spondon; stone chancel-screens at Ilkeston and Chelmorton, and a stone parclose at Darley Dale. At Dale Abbey, Morley and Repton, are large and varied series of encaustic tiles, mostly of the fifteenth century; and others occur at Newton Solney, Tideswell, Ashbourne, Cubley, Bakewell, Fenny Bentley, Kirk Langley, Boulton, and Aston-on-Trent. The old stained glass of Morley and Norbury is unusually extensive, and there are fine examples at Ashbourne and Eggington. Mural frescoes have been found in many of the churches, but as a rule they cannot be described as more than mere traces. Remains of various diaper patterns and groups of figures, among which the Holy Trinity is conspicuous, are to be seen at Haddon. Of the pre-Reformation bells, those of Marston-on-Dove, Morley, Hathersage (sanctus bell), and Marston-Montgomery are the most notable.

With regard to the sepulchral monuments, I cannot do better than to quote Dr. Cox : " No county can compare with Derbyshire in the abundance of early incised slabs, from the tenth century downwards. They are found built into the walls of many of the churches, especially in North and East Derbyshire. The best collections are at Bakewell, Darley, and Chelmorton. Effigies incised on slabs of the local alabaster found at Chellaston are common in South Derbyshire churches, for the most part of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. There are remarkable semi-effigial monuments at Brampton, Kedleston, Hartington and Mackworth. Early stone effigies are found at Darley, Eggington, Ilkeston, Melbourn, Norbury, Newton-Solney, Sawley, Sudbury, Wingerworth, North Wingfield, Youlgreave, etc. There are some fine alabaster effigies at Ashbourne, Aston-on-Trent, Cubley, Duffield, Kedleston, Longford, Newton-Solney, Norbury and Radbourne. Owing to the prevalence of stone, brasses are not common ; but there is an excellent series at Morley, and some good ones at Ashover, Dronfield, Etwall, Hathersage, Mugginton, Norbury, Sawley, Staveley, Tideswell, Walton-on-Trent and Wilne."

The county does not contain a perfect mediæval church-yard cross. Except for a thirteenth-century shaft at Dovebridge, the remaining fragments are of uncertain age, and rarely consist of more than the steps and the socket-stone. At Wheston-in-the-Peak is an exquisite fourteenth-century wayside cross, almost perfect ; and the head of the King's Newton cross of the same period is preserved in a garden at that place.

The monastic remains of Derbyshire are not extensive. A few windows incorporated into some cottages mark the site of the largest religious house in the county, the Augustinian abbey of Darley, near Derby. The remains of Repton Priory, a house of the same order, are considerable. Most of the site of the church was excavated in 1883-4. The western range of its claustral buildings is now used as the school-house, and the gateway of the precincts is still standing. The present church of Gresley is a portion of the small Augustinian priory there. The Premonstratensians had two houses in the county, one at

Beauchief in the north, and the other at Dale near Derby. The nave and fourteenth-century tower of the former is now the parish church. Dale Abbey is richer in picturesque traditions than in visible remains. The lower courses of most of the church were laid bare by the Derbyshire Archæological and Natural History Society in 1878, and still remain open to inspection. The little building now used as the parish church exhibits Norman, Early-English, and Perpendicular work, and probably was part of the monastic infirmary. One side of the cloister, with its Perpendicular windows and coeval stained glass, now forms the north side of the north aisle at Morley, and some of the Abbey stalls are at Radbourne. Some Early-English windows remain of the Preceptory of Yeaveley, and extensive mounds and foundations mark the site of that of Arleston near. At Dale there is a rock-hermitage that dates from the twelfth century; at Cratcliffe, near Youlgreave, is another which has a well-preserved crucifix carved in high relief on its rocky side. Anchor Church, a curious excavation in the rock near Ingleby, has probably the same origin, but it has been greatly altered in modern times.

Mediæval Strongholds.—Derbyshire is not conspicuous for its mediæval castles. Peak Castle, Castleton, is a characteristic Norman stronghold, on a small scale. The shell of the keep (27 ft. by 29 ft.) is tolerably perfect, and retains much of its ashlar facing. The curtain wall is apparently of earlier construction, and exhibits the only herring-bone masonry in the county. The site of Duffield Castle, a De Ferrers stronghold, was excavated under the auspices of the Derbyshire Archæological and Natural History Society in 1886, when the lower courses of one of the largest Norman keeps in the kingdom (93 ft. by 95 ft.), with walls ranging from 14 ft. to 20 ft. in thickness, was laid bare. Bolsover Castle is partly in ruins. The oldest portion of the existing buildings was erected at the commencement of the seventeenth century upon the foundations of the Norman keep erected by the Peverels. Much of the site of the royal castle of Horsley, near Derby, was quarried away in the last century. The existing remains seem to relate to a multangular keep of

the fourteenth century. Gresley Castle is now a mere mound; Melbourne, scanty foundations and a wall. The existing remains of Codnor Castle show that it was of considerable extent, partaking, however, more of the character of a fortified mansion than a feudal fortress; the oldest work belongs to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. A few earthworks mark the site of the Saxon castle of Bakewell, while that of Derby is but a memory.

Since this paper was read, the generalisations on pages 7 and 8, anent what may be tentatively regarded as the Derbyshire type of chambered tumulus, have received considerable confirmation and amplification. Last August Mr. Salt, of Buxton, and myself, investigated the Five Wells barrow. This mound originally contained in its central region two megalithic chambers, each entered by its own gallery from opposite sides. One of these chambers is almost perfect, except that it lacks a roof. It is wedge-shaped in plan, with sides leaning inwards, not through pressure of the materials of the mound, but as part of the original design. Some of its floor-paving remained, and the galleries also were rudely paved or pitched. The wall-like podium was found to be intact to the height of about 2 ft. 6 ins., where excavated. It was not a separable retaining-wall, but was part and parcel of the general structure of the mound, which consisted of quarried thinly-bedded limestones, laid in courses. This podium was not (as has been observed in some parts of the country) curved inwards to the actual entrances of the galleries, nor was it drawn over them so as to mask them. Apparently, in the perfect condition, they were simple square openings in the face of the podium, and flush with it. The chambers had been completely rifled, but we found in the corner of one a flint knife wrought by exquisite surface-flaking, exactly corresponding in workmanship with the leaf-shaped arrow-heads found in Derbyshire chambers.

Subsequently, Mr. Salt continued the exploration with a remarkable result. In clearing the podium in another place, he discovered a contracted human skeleton in a small rude *cist*, erected against the face of the podium; and with it was associated a slightly-trimmed flint flake. It is obvious that this interment was of subsequent date to the construction of the barrow; and as it exactly agrees with the large class of contracted interments described on pages 8 to 11, which with universal consent are regarded as pre-Roman, it affords a decisive proof of the high antiquity of the Derbyshire chambered tumuli, in spite of the attempts of the author of *Rude Stone Monuments* to give them a comparatively recent date.

J. W.



ON THE DISCOVERIES AT THE TOWER OF LONDON IN THE SPRING OF 1899.

BY C. H. COMPTON, ESQ., V.-P.

(Read November 1st, 1899.)



IN the month of June last, shortly after the close of our Session 1898-1899, the public press called attention to discoveries made at the Tower of London, in the course of excavations which were then being made on the ground adjoining the south-west side of the White Tower, preparatory to the erection, by the War Office, of a guard-room and other buildings for the convenience of the troops quartered in the Tower.

The articles discovered consisted of a quantity (about 200) of stone, iron, and lead shot embedded in masonry, with portions of oyster-shells adhering. The majority of the stone balls were of Kentish rag stones, the largest being $7\frac{1}{2}$ ins. in diameter; a block of Roman masonry, a Roman pot, damaged in the course of its exhumation, four lengths of the flue of a hypocaust *with paving tiles* adhering, which became detached on removal; an old bottle of wine, half full of a light-coloured liquor, supposed to be Canary or sack; a portion of an earthenware bottle with Bellarmine head, tobacco-pipes, daggers, etc.

There was also brought to light an underground stone-vaulted passage, leading from the White Tower to the Moat, of Norman transitional twelfth-century work; and at the south-west angle of the White Tower an oubliette was discovered, also a well of Norman construction, with water in it to the depth of 30 ft. The contractor of the works was proceeding to fill in this well, but on the representations of H.M. Board of Works, it is to be bricked

over, with a manhole, to enable investigations to be made on application.

These discoveries are specially interesting in a twofold point of view. So much of them as are connected with the recognized periods of the existence of our old fortress will afford materials for enquiry and research within ascertained limits; whilst those which point to an earlier epoch will form additional proofs of a more remote antiquity: which was once the dream, but of late has become a settled conviction, that there was a fortress on this site during the Roman occupation of Britain.

A portion of the site of these excavations is the foundation of the Cold Harbour Tower, which formerly stood at the south-west corner of the White Tower, and formed the entrance to an enclosure containing the domestic apartments of the Palace, which occupied the entire south-east angle of the inner ward.¹ At the south-east corner of the White Tower stood the Wardrobe Tower.²

In the twenty-third year of the reign of King Henry VIII (A.D. 1532) a survey³ was made of the Tower of London, in order to a general repair of its different buildings, in which the item relating to the Cold Harbour Tower is as follows :

“The tower called Colde-Harber—The same tower the most part of it to be taken down and to be gazettyde tabled ventyde lowped copyde and crestyd w^h cane stone and the vics of the same mendyd as also rough cast with lyme.”

“The wall from the tower and lodgyng of the King's re'co'ds⁴ upon the right hand going up to the hyll adioynyng vnto Colde Harbour g^t in lengthe cxxx of foote the same wall to be ventyd lowped copy^d and crestyd with cane stone and also rough cast with lyme.”

Both the Cold Harbour Tower and the Wardrobe Tower are shown in a survey and plan made in 1597 by W. Haiward and J. Gascoigne, which is now at the

¹ Bailey's *Hist. of the Tower*.

² The Cold Harbour Tower is sometimes referred to as the Cold Harbour Gate; and in the *Harleian MS.* No. 1326 there is a description: “The Nun's Bower—the Prisons over the Cole harbour Gate.”

³ This survey is fully set out in Bailey's *Hist. of the Tower*, p. 1; App., p. viii, vol. I.

⁴ *I.e.*, the Wakefield Tower, since demolished.

office of H.M. Commissioners of Works. The Cold Harbour Tower does not appear in the plan of the Tower made in 1726, where the position of the Ordnance Office and store-houses is shown. It may have been removed to make way for these buildings, which in their turn have been swept away; and in dealing with their site the discoveries we are now discussing were made.

It has been suggested that the stone, iron, and lead shot were relics of Sir Thomas Wyatt's rebellion against Queen Mary, in the first year of her reign (A.D. 1553); that Wyatt not only attacked the Tower, but succeeded in forcing an entrance into it; and that these missiles were fired from the river. This hypothesis may coincide with Harrison Ainsworth's somewhat melodramatic account of an attack by the insurgents and the gallant defence of the Byward Tower by the three giants and their puny colleague, but it is in direct opposition to the accounts given by Holinshed, Grafton and Stow, who wrote sufficiently near to the events they record to give their writings all the prestige of contemporaneous history. From the account of these historians, we find that Wyatt, when he left Rochester, came to Southwark on February 3rd, 1553, with about two thousand men, and approached London Bridge; "which, so soon as it was perceived, there was shot off out of the White Tower six or eight shot, but missed them, sometime shooting over and sometime short. After knowledge thereof once had in London, forthwith the drawbridge was cut down and the bridge gates shut. By this time was Wyatt entered into Kent Street, and so by St. George's Church into Southwark. He and part of his company came in good array down Bermondsey Street, and they were suffered peaceably to enter Southwark without repulse, all the men then joining with Wyatt."

On Shrove Tuesday (February 6th) Wyatt moved out of Southwark towards Kingston Bridge. His reason for doing so is thus given by Stow¹:—

"On this occasion, the night before his departing out of Southwark, by chance as one of the lieutenants men of the Tower named

¹ *Annales* (1592), pp. 1049-50.

Thomas Menchen rowed with a sculler over against the Bishop of Winchester's place¹ there was a waterman of the Tower stairs desired the said lieutenants man to take him in who did so which being espied of Wyat's men seven of them with harquebusses called to them to land again but they would not whereupon each man discharged his piece and killed the said waterman; the sculler rowed through the bridge to the Tower wharfe with the lieutenants man and the dead man in his boat which thing was no sooner known to the lieutenant than the same night and next morning he bent seven great pieces of ordnance culverius and demi cannons full against the foot of the bridge and against Southwark and the two steeples of St Olive and St Mary Overies besides all the pieces on the White Tower, one culvering on the Diving Tower and three fauconets over the Water Gate."

Then the inhabitants of Southwark pleaded with Wyat, and he turned away to Kingston.

On arriving there, he found 30 ft. or thereabouts of the bridge taken away. Wyat repaired the bridge, and about eleven o'clock in the same night passed with his army over the bridge without resistance or peril, and marched towards London, meaning to have been at the Court Gate before daybreak; but some of his artillery, being dismounted by the way, the Earl of Pembroke, General of the Queen's army, was with his men in good order of battle in St. James's Field, beside Westminster two or three hours before Wyat could reach thither. A battle ensued, in which Wyat's army was divided, and he, with a small company, got as far as the Belle Sauvage Inn, near Lud Gate; but, finding the gate shut and guarded by the Queen's troops, he retired to Temple Bar, where Sir Maurice Berkeley found him, and persuaded him to repair to the Court and surrender himself to the Queen: which advice he followed, and, on arrival, he was immediately committed to the Tower, and afterwards executed.²

It seems clear from these accounts that Wyat never attacked the Tower with firearms, the only use of which,

¹ The Bishop of Winchester's Palace was in Southwark.

² Stow, in his *Survey of London*, says distinctly: "Wyat and his people entered Southwark, where they lay till the 6th of February, but could get no entry of the City by the bridge, the same was then so well defended by the Citizens, the Lord Wm. Howard assisting; wherefore he moved towards Kingston, etc., as in my *Annals*."

by him, was on the occasion of the waterman being killed; nor that he forced his way into the City over London Bridge. The connection, therefore, with the cannon balls and warlike weapons recently discovered with Wyat's insurrection entirely fails.

The only attack on the Tower where ordnance was used, an account of which I have been able to find, was that made during the contest between the houses of York and Lancaster, when, on the news of the landing of the Earls of March, Salisbury and Warwick, from Calais in 1460, Lord Scales was dispatched with the Earl of Kendal and Lord Lovat, and a considerable body of troops for the protection of London. The Earls of March and Warwick and others went to the King (Henry VI) at Northampton, leaving the Earl of Salisbury to be Governor of the City in their absence. The Lords Scales, Hungerford and Vesey, and others, went to the Tower of London. Then (says Stow in his *Annales*) "was the Tower besieged both by water and land, and they that were within the Tower cast wildfire into the City and shot many small guns, whereby they brient and slew men, women and children in the streets. Also they of the City laid great guns on the further side of the Thames against the Tower and broke the walls in divers places."¹ On the 10th July in the same year, the battle of Northampton was fought, which led to the overthrow of the Lancastrians; and on the capture of the King the fortress surrendered to the Earl of March.²

In Bailey's *Hist. of the Tower*³ it is said—

"Sir John Wenlock carried on the seige on the eastern side of the fortress towards St. Catherines; on the south side artillery was placed on the opposite side of the river; towards the west the seige was conducted by Lord Cobham and certain Aldermen of the City."

It would seem more than probable that the missiles lately discovered were used on the occasion of this attack :

¹ Stow's *Annales of England*, 1592, p. 669. Holinshed, Grafton and Hall, say the Earls of March, Warwick, etc., went to the King at Coventry (not Northampton). Hall adds: "The King not ignorant of these doings, assembled his army and came to Northampton."

² Stow's *Annales*, p. 669.

³ Referring to Hall and Keene, vol. i, p. 422.

which may also have supplied the materials for Harrison Ainsworth's description, in disregard of the unity of time though not of place.¹

On the occasion of our Society's visit to the Tower of London, on the 27th of October, 1880, their attention was drawn to a portion of a wall of Roman construction, which had been brought to light by the removal of a range of buildings erected in the fourteenth or fifteenth century, on the east side of the White Tower, and extending at right angles to those then known as the Horse Armoury, and the remains of the Wardrobe Tower, which formed the north wall of the Horse Armoury. This fragment of Roman wall was subsequently opened out and inspected by our late secretary, Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, the result of whose investigation was embodied in a paper read by him on the 1st December, 1880, and printed in our journal, vol. 38, p. 127. Subsequently to this, the Horse Armoury and the building used as a warehouse for the Ordnance Department were removed, but care was taken to preserve the portion of Roman wall and what remained of the Wardrobe Tower. This discovery raised anew the question, mooted from time to time, whether there was a Roman fort on this site before the Norman fortress was built, or whether this portion of a Roman wall was part of the City wall. This was discussed by Mr. Brock in his paper, and was also alluded to in a paper, by the present writer, read the same evening, on the "Cradle Tower and other recent discoveries at the Tower of London."² When the Armoury and Ordnance buildings were removed, further indications of Roman material were found; but owing to the Fenian dynamite scare which was then at its height, strict precautions were taken for regulating access by the public to the Tower, and no further investigations were made.

The discoveries brought to light by the recent excavations have renewed the interest taken in this subject.

The piece of Roman masonry was about 2 ft. by 9 in.

¹ When this paper was read, one of the cannon balls was exhibited. It was stamped with a capital "H," surmounted by a crown.

² *Journal* of the British Archaeological Association, 1st Series, vol. xxxvii, p. 279.

by 1 ft., and was found 16 ft. south-west of the south-west angle of the White Tower, 9 ft. 6 in. below the surface. The flue-pipes to the hypocaust are 6 ft. 3 in. long by 7 in. by $4\frac{1}{2}$ in., the flues being 5 in. by $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. The paving tiles are 8 in. by 8 in. by $1\frac{1}{2}$ in.

The difficulty hitherto experienced in coming to any exact conclusion as to the existence of Roman buildings on the site of the Tower has been, that the materials discovered have not been sufficiently indicative of structures for the purpose of defence or habitation, and from their propinquity to the line of the City wall, parts of which have been discovered in the neighbourhood; and it could only be matter of conjecture whether what was discovered was part of a separate building or of the City wall. But we have now the addition of portions of a hypocaust, Roman tiles, and other things which unmistakably refer to habitation, in addition to masonry of Roman construction; and if we consider these in connection with the previous discovery on the south-east side of the White Tower, we have strong confirmatory evidence, not only of Roman occupation, but in favour of the hypothesis of there having been a fort or other works of defence on some part of the site now occupied by the Tower of London.

It may be as well to give a summary of the various Roman remains which have from time to time come to light and been recorded:—

1. In the year 1777, an ingot of silver bearing an inscription which has been read "Ex officinâ Honorii," and three gold coins of Honorius and of Arcadius, were met with in digging the foundations of the Ordnance Office, and below the level of the river. There was also found, in another spot, a sepulchral stone inscribed "Diis manib. T. Licini Ascanivs." There is no evidence as to whether or not this stone marked an interment, or had only been used as old material.¹

2. The fragment of Roman wall discovered in 1880, referred to above.

3. The masonry, hypocaust, flue, and other materials recently discovered.

¹ Vide Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock's paper, *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, vol. xxxviii, p. 127, n.



THE ROMAN NAME OF MATLOCK, ✓
WITH SOME NOTES ON THE
ANCIENT LEAD MINES AND THEIR RELICS IN
DERBYSHIRE.

BY W. DE GRAY BIRCH, ESQ., V.-P., LL.D., F.S.A.

(Read at the Buxton Congress, July 18th, 1899.)



LEAD has always been a factor among the antiquities of the races of mankind, but unfortunately its character does not, except under very favourable conditions, tend to its preservation. Nevertheless, there are excellent specimens of art work, and epigraphy, among the relics of Greece and Rome, Cyprus, Egypt, and Anglo-Saxondom still remaining to show how much appreciation was given to this metal by the ancients. Probably, a great proportion of the lead used by the Romans for their numerous objects of domestic, public, and military life, came from Britain; and a consideration of the sites where abandoned masses of this metal are found would enable us to lay down, pretty accurately, the paths or roads which lead from the manufactories on the site of the mines to the ports of distribution.

The lead mines of this county were certainly worked by the Romans, and probably by the Britons.

On one well-known inscribed block, or pig—or *sow*, as it is sometimes called—discovered near *Matlock*, on *Cromford Moor*, and now in the British Museum, occurs the legend *Socio Romæ*, “to my partner at Rome,” which shows that lead was an article of export trade.

The pigs were usually stamped in relief with the name of the reigning emperor. This may perhaps be explained as indicating that the mine whence each one came was crown property.

From the fact that the Emperor Claudius's name occurs on one, we may assume that the mines of the Peak were worked by the natives before the Roman advent.

Not only imperial names, but other words, more or less accurately understood, as will be shown in the course of this paper, are recorded on the metal masses. It is in connection with one phrase of occasional occurrence that I desire particularly to draw the attention of local archæologists. Those to whom the study of the leaden relics of Roman Britain is familiar will, no doubt, accept or criticise my proposition.

These ancient masses called pigs, or sows, bearing, as I have said, imperial and other inscriptions, are among the most interesting remains our islands possess relating to Roman occupation. They introduce to our notice many speculations as to the trade, commerce, mining and metallurgy, and even nomenclature, of the tribes who raised, manufactured, and distributed the metal. Forty-eight examples, ranging in date from A.D. 44 to 169, from Britannicus to Hadrian, are known to antiquaries; the explanation of some obscure points in the legends still leaves much to be desired. The one especially in which I take much interest, is the term *LVT* and *LVTVD*, which some interpret as *Lutudarense* or *Lutudarum*, a Roman station, on the site of Chesterfield, in this county according to the authority called *Ravennas*; others see in it the Latin word *lutum*, washed, that is, refined. The latest pig, that of P. Ruber Abascantus, reads *metalli Lutudares*. It has been thought that *LVT* is *LVTVM*, equivalent to *llud* in Welsh and ancient British for *pure ore* (of lead). *Lutudarum* would then be of the people called *Lutudæ*, or inhabitants of the lead mine district. But on this point some original remarks are offered in another part of this paper.

This pig of Abascantus was found at MATLOCK in 1894, and created much interest. In the latter part of last century, three pigs were found very near to it, two on MATLOCK Moor, one on Cromford Nether-moor. On each of these *MET.LVT*, or *METAL.LVTUD* occurs. There are traces of leadworking, both ancient and modern, all around: one of the pigs abovementioned was found near a "bole,"

or place marked by heaps of slag, and an open hearth. "Wirksworth," says Mr. Leader in the *Journal* of the British Archæological Association, vol. 1, p. 185, "has long been a centre for Derbyshire lead-mining, but I do not know of any Roman remains there." It was, as a matter of fact, worked long before the Romans. In times immediately succeeding the Roman occupation, its name is Wircesworth, the *Worth* or town of the (lead) works.¹

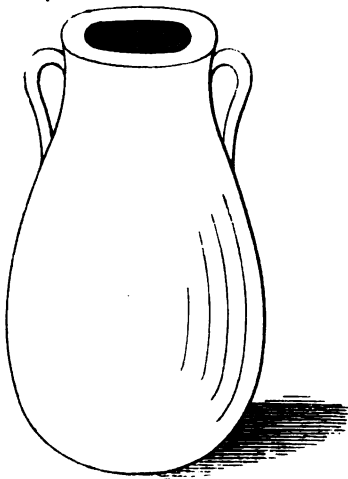
The *Lutudarum mansio*, or "town of the Lutudæ," is said by Lysons to be on the road between Chester and Leicester, but this is vague. There are three sites which may be examined in respect of this word. (1) *Ludlow*, Salop. (2) *Loughborough*, in North Leicestershire, on the border of the great forest of Charnwood; and (3) *Ludgershall*, on the Watling Street in the same county on the south. None of these is very satisfactory. It is worthy of notice that LVT. pigs are found at MATLOCK and Wirksworth, co. Derb.; Pulborough, Sussex; and Hargrave Park, near Mansfield, Nottinghamshire; and LVTUD. at Matlock Moor. It would seem, therefore, that *Metalli Lutudares*, which have furnished about one-third of the whole number of pigs extant, were of capacious output. May not the name of MATLOCK be a corruption of *Metal.-Lut*, strained and twisted though it be in its flight *per ora virorum*, for two thousand years? Of the full form of *Lutud.* in the nominative, we know nothing definite as yet; future discoveries will show whether *Lutudas*, *Lutudar*, *Lutudaris*, or *Lutudæ* is the true word. The site has been stated to be situated *in finibus Brigantum*, somewhat indefinitely, and the abbreviated word has been conjecturally extended into *Lutudensia*.

The broad pronunciation of *e* into *a* is a common feature in these parts, as in *Derbyshire*, pronounced *Darbyshire*, etc. If the identification which I here suggest be correct, MATLOCK should yield more pigs and traces of ancient lead hereafter to the adventurous investigator; and, what is more attractive nowadays, should prove to be an excessively fertile field for lead-mining after the most modern and thorough method. Of course,

¹ See, in this connection, the papers on "Roman Pigs of Lead," by Mr. Leader and Dr. Birch, *Journal B. A. A., N. S.*, iv, pp. 267-275.

we must not confine the term to the parochial boundaries of *Matlock*. Wirksworth hundred, in which it is situate, is and has been, as we all know, a great centre of lead industry, and its name is supposed to point to the lead *works* with which its fortunes have so long been bound up. I read, however, that "the lead mines were formerly worked to a great extent in the parish of Matlock, but at present (1831) there are only a *few* in operation." That Wirksworth, representing in its area practically the lead district,—(not the present parochial *Matlock*, but the ancient site or territory of *Matlock*)—gave birth to the *Metal-Lut*. pigs, I have no doubt; and I ask antiquaries and all who know ancient Derbyshire to accept my identification.

The apparatus of lead-mining appears to have been very limited and puerile. In the same way it is found that the tools of the Egyptians, notwithstanding their colossal work and delicate art productions, were of the weakest and, to all appearance, most inadequate character.¹ I am enabled by the kindness of the Rev. D. H. Davies, Vicar of Cenarth, co. Carmarthen, to show a drawing in actual size, of a crucible or melting-pot, found by some



Melting-pot for lead, from Goginan.

miners at the Goginan lead mines, near Aberystwyth, about the year 1852. Several other objects were found at the same time and place, such as Roman coins, a bronze bowl, etc. This object is flattened on one side. Mr. Davies thinks it to be a model of the larger Roman or Egyptian *situla*, hung up in tombs to propitiate the gods, or as charms to drive away evil spirits, and that it contained sacred oil or unguent; being perhaps brought into Wales by Egyptian miners who were employed by the Romans in working their mines at Goginan and other places. But I am inclined to believe that such a vessel, found

¹ See Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians* (Edit. S. Birch, 1878).

in a lead mine, must have had a reason for its presence, and have been used either as a measure of quantity or as a crucible, rather than as an offering. No interment appears to have been observed in connection with it. The Oriental form may easily be accounted for by the doctrine of *survival of forms*: a sentiment which determines the architecture of our buildings to-day as powerfully as it did the shape of utensils a thousand or 1,500 years ago.

The mines and miners of this country, according to the late Sir Fortunatus Dwarris, F.R.S., are governed by certain ancient customs and regulations, which were ascertained by a jury acting under powers granted to a commission in the year 1287, the mining concerns being under superintendence of a *Barmaster* whose courts (which are courts of law and of equity) are held at intervals of six months, with right of appeal to the court of the Duchy of Lancaster. Here are decided all questions relating to the duties payable to the Crown or to the lessee, all matters of dispute as to the working of the mines, and punishments for offences committed on mineral property. Debts incurred in working the mines are also cognizable in the *Barmote* courts.

Among curious local customs in mines is that by which any adventurer finding a lead vein unoccupied in the "King's field," has a right to work it, on any one's land, without giving compensation; and the *Barmaster* has a duty to perform, when called on, in putting such adventurers into possession. There are, however, certain well-known exceptions to this custom.

The first discoverer of such a mine is entitled to two *meers* of ground: a *meer* being the old *gemare*, or area, of the Anglo-Saxons, here expressing a vein varying from 27 yds. to 32 yds. long, to be retained at first by crosses and holes, afterwards by *stoces*, or *stowuses*, of wood; the first "dish" of ore to be delivered to the lord, whereby the *meer* is freed. Dwarris amusingly points out how some owners of estates obtain possession of veins by such means, and keep two or three miners pretending to work them, so as to keep strangers out.

The old writer, James Pilkington, in his *View of the*

Present State of Derbyshire, 1789, 2 vols., 8vo., gives a very accurately detailed notice of the lead mines of Derbyshire, and the ancient method of working them, in vol. i, pp. 95, *et seq.* His account may here be summarised.

The date of the discovery of lead in Derbyshire is not known, but must be of remote antiquity. Pliny is thought, by Camden, to have referred to this county where he states that in Britain lead is found near the surface of the earth in such abundance, that a law is made limiting the manufacture.

In the footsteps of the Romans, the Saxons and Danes admitted the value of the metal, as is shown by the *Odin* mine near Castleton, presumably so named before the introduction of Christianity into England.

I have alluded further on to the grant by Kenewara, to Christ Church, Canterbury, and to the leaden coffin for the hermit, Guthlac, elsewhere in this paper. Of the *Domesday Book* entries about mines, some notice has also been made.

In 16 Edward I, an inquest was made at Ashbourn into the rights and customs of mines.

In 22 Edward I, a silver mine, found at Comb-Martin, co. Devon, was discovered, and 337 Derbyshire miners were taken from the Peak of Derbyshire to work there.

In 4 Henry VIII, a brazen "dish" or measure, was made for measuring lead, and kept hanging by a chain in the Moot-hall, Wirksworth, to be for ever used as a standard. Is it still there?

During the seventeenth century the produce of the Derbyshire lead mines was very considerable, and in the time of Pilkington lead ore was found in various places within the county, being met with throughout the wapentake of Wirksworth—which I suppose to represent the Lutudarian region of METALLUM LUTUD. or MATLOCK—and in the High Peak, as far to the north as Castleton; in fact, it is found in every limestone bed in the county, but in greatest abundance about ten miles to north and south of the River Wye.

With the technical manner of working in the old days, the antiquary is not particularly concerned. There was the *pipe-work*, between two rocks of limestone, with

ramifications communicating by slender threads or *leadings*; the *rake*, in chasms and clefts of limestone; the *flatwork*, without leader and branches, etc.

The old rules and customs no doubt originated as anciently as the mines themselves. Disputes and titles are settled by the intervention of the *Barmaster*, a corrupt word signifying *Bergmaster*, or governor of the mines: *Berg* being in this word akin to *Burrow*; an underground passage, made by a rabbit or other animal.

The chief lead district of Derbyshire is known as the "King's field," and is for the most part Crown property, and in the same custody with the castle. This field is let on a lease, and the lessors have each a *steward* and *barmasters*; the steward presiding as judge in the *Barmote* court, with twenty-four jurymen chosen half-yearly, and meeting every six months at Money-ash and Wirksworth.

The Ore is called—1. *Bing*, the largest sort; 2. *Pesey*, next best; 3. *Smitham*, the small; 4. *Belland*, smallest and most impure stuff. It is subject to a toll, after measurement in a "*dish*" or hopper of fourteen or sixteen pints, varying—in proportion to the total taking, in various districts—all detailed by Pilkington at considerable length.

Before the lead ore is disposed of, it is pounded into small pieces, washed and sifted, then smelted with wood and coal fires, and cast into half-pigs; the slag being passed into the slag- or cupola-furnace a second time, so as to save as much as possible of this precious metal. The blocks vary in weight. According to some, I find:—

Two *pieces* equal a *pig*.

Eight *pigs* equal a *fodder*, or ton.

Pilkington estimates the yearly output of lead at High Peak to be about 2,000 tons, and the whole produce of the county between 5,000 and 6,000 tons; but he admits the output is not so large now (1789) as it was twenty years ago, notwithstanding the practice of "buddling" for ore, or washing heaps of discarded slag and rubbish in hope of reclaiming some good metal. The infiltration of water is a difficulty that has to be constantly kept in check; and

other expenses consume much of the profit; notwithstanding which, from 1758 to 1783 the Derbyshire lead was valued at nearly £106,000, produced by 1511 tons annual average output. I have no modern statistics with which to compare these figures. No doubt some one can do so.

Digressing for a moment, let us take note of a district celebrated for its lead, not far away from this county.

The forest of Mendip, in Somersetshire, a large tract of open country abounding in lead and *lapis calaminaris*, has been treated of by our late member the Rev. Preb. H. M. Scarth, in the *Journal*, vol. xxxi, p. 237. I have recently found notice of a remarkable custom by which the miners of this district were governed anciently, to the effect that "if any man of that occupation do pick or steal any lead or ore to the value of thirteence halfpenny, the lord or his officer may arrest all his lead and ore, house and hearth, with all his goods, grooves and works, and keep them as forfeit to his own use; and shall take the person that hath so offended, and bring him where his house, and work, and all his tools and instruments belonging to the same occupation are; and put him into his house or work, and set everything on fire about him, and banish him from that occupation before all the miners for ever." (Collinson, *History of Somerset*, vol. iii, p. 374.)

In these mines the ore sometimes runs in a vein, or in banks or crevices of rock; at other times surrounded with spar and chalk, white, transparent, and brittle as glass; or mixed with a white, soft, mealy stone called *croots*. The vein frequently terminates suddenly, and within a fathom or two in a direct line is found again: at other times it is interrupted by a black stone called *jamb*. The surface of Mendip closely resembles that of the Peak district of Derbyshire, consisting of bold swells and hollows of easy descent. The extreme declivities of the hills are in many parts very precipitous and steep, and either clad with fine hanging woods, or jagged into craggy cliffs of a romantic appearance. According to Fuller, an old punishment for stealing ore on the third conviction was, that the offender's hand should be stuck through with a knife unto the haft in the *stowse*, where

it remained till death, or until the offender cut off his own hand to free himself.¹ The customs of Derbyshire do not permit the use of engines to draw off water from mines against the consent of the proprietor of the land. They also do not permit the workmen to live on the land.

There are other well-known customs which regulate and modify the manifest inconveniences of such legalised trespass as mining adventurers were wont to commit, to the annoyance of landowners; but it is not necessary to go further into this part of the subject on this occasion.

One of the most important MSS. in the British Museum on the subject is *Add. MS.* 32,465A: "The Liberties and Customs of Miners in the Peak," from inquests of 16 Edw. I, A.D. 1288, 16 Henry VIII, A.D. 1525, and 3 Edward VI, A.D. 1549; a copy made in 1620. This MS. should be carefully edited. It contains, among other most interesting matter, the proceedings of the Great Courte of the *Barmote*, 3 Edward VI, at which the twenty-four customs are set down at full length. The Association has enabled me to print this MS. of "Liberties" as a continuation (in the next part of this *Journal*) to the present paper, for I believe it is unique. One of the paramount duties of such an Association as this is to perpetuate records of high interest, whether they be national or local, and thereby stimulate the desire of archæology to arrive at an accurate knowledge of the past. In this respect the British Archæological Association has always acted with liberality.

The *leaden* coffin used for the great and rich in Roman times—of which several examples of Roman date are extant, early specimens of a sepulchral fashion not even yet discarded—must have created a demand for lead everywhere.

It is recorded that, in A.D. 714, Eadburga,² the abbess of Repton, to which abbey Wirksworth at that time belonged, sent as a present from Wirksworth to Crowland in the Fenlands, a leaden coffin, during his lifetime, to preserve the remains of St. Guthlac, the hermit-abbot of Crowland.

¹ See also British Museum, *Add. MS.* 32,465, fol. 3.

² See Birch, *Memorials of St. Guthlac*, 1881, p. 50.

“Reverentissima virgo virginum Christi Ecgburga abbatissa, Aldulfi regis filia, ad sublimium meritorum venerabilem virum Guð. *sarcophagum plumbeum* linteumque in eo volutum, qui virum Dei post obitum circumdari rogabat, . . . mittebat.” There was an Ecgburga, abbess of Thanet, in 681, according to Dugdale’s *Nov. Mon.*; but if the abbess were of Repton, she is new to Anglo-Saxon history. Aldulf, King of the East Angles, reigned from 664 to 693. At his death, Guthlac says (*l. c.*): “Dices quoque ut illa (Pega, *his sister*) corpus meum ponet in sarcophago et in sindone involvat quam mihi Ecgburg misit, . . . pro amore dilecte Christi Virginis que hec munera mihi mittere voluit, ad volvendum corpus meum reservare curavi.”¹ The twelfth-century picture of this *leaden sarcophagus* in British Museum, *Harl. Roll*, Y. 6, shows it to have been of highly ornamental beauty.

In A.D. 833 a lead mine—*lead gedelfe*, i.e., lead-delving—occurs in *Cartul. Saxon.*, No. 551, at the junction of the Avon and Severn rivers; and no doubt many other scattered notices of leaden relics and lead mines could be brought together by a patient research among our chronicles and records, for lead has been used for an infinity of purposes: the leaden *glans*, or sling-bullet, inscribed with the name of him who shot it, or with a facetious dictum of Rome; the leaden toys found by the Cesnolas in Cypriote tombs; the leaden coffin of St. Guthlac; the pipes and tubes of later days; the roofing covers of our churches and palaces—all exhibit to us how universal was its application and utility.

One of the earliest notices relating to the lead mines of Derbyshire is that record contained in a MS. preserved in the library of Lambeth Palace, No. 1212, a Register of the Muniments of Christ Church, Canterbury. It is a grant,² in the year 835, by Cyneuara, Abbess of Repindon, or Repton, an ancient Benedictine nunnery in co. Derby, to Humbert, a Dux or Duke of the county, of certain land in her possession called Wyrcesuuyrthe, that is Wirksworth, subject to the condition that he shall annually pay to Christ Church, Canterbury, as *gable*, or

¹ See Birch, *Memorials of St. Guthlac*, 1881, p. 56.

² Birch, *Cartul. Saxon.*, No. 414.

rent-charge, lead of the value of 300 shillings—a large sum in those days—for the use of the said cathedral church, to Archbishop Ceolnoth and his successors. It is not shown what the consideration was which induced the abbes of Repton—a comparatively poor foundation—to grant away so valuable a possession as Wirksworth must have been, to Duke Humbert; probably in return he took the institution under his powerful protection, as was the case with other monasteries in unsettled parts of the island. Nor is it shown how Christ Church, Canterbury, came to have so valuable a royalty as 300 shillings' worth of lead out of the Wirksworth mines. If, as is well shown presently, lead was worth $\frac{1}{2}d.$ per pound in Henry VIII's time, the value in A.D. 835, seven hundred years earlier, may be taken at four times less, or 16 lbs. for 1*d.* Then 16 times 3,600*d.* (= 300*s.*) = 57,600 lbs. or nearly 30 tons of metal.

Domesday Book, as usual in other cases, throws much light on the lead works in England in the time of the Conqueror. The royal demesne in *Derbyshire* was the only site where they were existent.

In *Mestesforde* there was one *plumbaria* (Royal manor).

In *Werchesworde*, or *Wirksworth* (Royal manor), "there are three *plumbariæ* or lead mines."

In *Badequella*, or *Bakewell*, one *plumbaria* (Royal manor).

In *Aisseford*, or *Ashford*, one *plumbaria* (Royal manor).

In *Hope* "these three manors paid in the time of King Edward Confessor £30, 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ sextarii of honey, and 5 *plaustratæ* or wain-loads of lead, consisting of 50 tablets (*tabulæ*). Now they pay £10 6*s.* 0*d.*"—which looks as if the lead works were declining. "William Peverel was the warden of these royal manors."

At the same time we read in the same invaluable record that at *Bremesgrave*, or *Bromsgrove*, co. Worc., there were 6 *plumbi* (Royal manor), and in *Terdeberie*, hundred of Came, 2 *plumbi* (Royal manor).

The Bishop of Worcester receives from *Wich* manor, *i.e.*, *Droitwich*, "de *fabrica plumbi* 2 *solidos*."

Mestesforde is the manor on the site of the present

parish of Matlock; but there was no ancient parish of Matlock. In the old days, Matlock was a *Metal* district of undefined or ill-defined area, like Anderida in Kent, and other similar sites.

Among the large number of documents and transcripts of documents relating to the ancient lead mines of Derbyshire and other counties, preserved in the British Museum, I will only mention the following:—

A grant of a lead mine in *Winster*, co. Derby., late in the reign of Henry II. (*Wolley Charter*, ix, 4.)

Wm. Earl of Ferrers grants to Wm. de Mungai in fee hereditary “terciam partem mine mee plumbi quam habeo in campis Winester ubicunque fuerit inventa in territorio (*sic*) predictae ville scilicet Winester, . . . per duas ocreas cordewannas ad pentecosten annuatim reddendo.”

A grant of iron and lead mines in *Penyvae*, co. Glamorgan, to Margam Abbey, 1261. (*Harley Charter*, 75 C. 51.)

In this deed Robert Russel of Penvey, son of Milo or Milot, with assent of his wife Agnes and his heir Thomas, grant “si marla reperta fuerit in terra mea vel vena mine ferri aut plumbi, omnia que sibi fuerint necessaria dicti monachi libere et quiete accipiant in perpetuum.”

VIII fothers de plumbe from lands in co. Northumberland, 1421. (*Cotton Charter*, xii, 41.)

A cov't to supply VIII fothers de plumbe pour quarante livers. 8 fothers for £40 = £5 per fother. The fother being 19½ cwt., lead was at the date of this charter worth a fraction more than 5 shillings the *cwt.* or a trifle over ¼d. per *lb.*

The Deed of Sale of lead in *Cromford*, co. Derby., A.D. 1491 (*Wolley Charter*, viii, 14), records that Philip Leche of Chattersworth, Esqre., sells to Wm. Merlage of Derby, 13 fothers leed booll *weight* and marchandable to be del'd at Cromforth booll' at Helesched, “and the seid Phillipp grauntes by theis presentes auctoritie and power to the seid William for to assigne the tenauntes and servauntes of the said Phillip for to blok and brenne the seid leed at such seisons and as often tymes as the same William shall think convenient and profitable to the seid Phillip. And that when the seid leed is brent and smylted the seid William to take the half thereof after every booll so brent to his own use and behofe vnto the seid 13 fothers be to hym or to his assignes or executoures fully delyvered & peid, etc.”

The supply of lead for Hampton Court Palace may be

fairly inferred to be derived from Derbyshire according to Mr. W. H. Black, because of the names of the persons from whom it was bought—Sir Godfrey Foljambe, Henry Smythe of the Peake, and William Fyssher of Derby.

Privileges granted by Queen Elizabeth to mine for the calamine stone, 1584. (*Harley Charter*, 79 a. 4.)

Sales of lead in co. Cardigan, 1638-1646. (*Harley Charter*, 111, d. 6, 8, 10.)

A covenant concerning sale of lead to be brought to Aberdovey, co. Merioneth, 1641-9. (*Harley Charter*, 85 n. 37, a. b.)

Viz, 625 tons of good, pure, and merchaunttable lead in *Souces* accompting 20 hundred waight to every tonne to be delivered to Thos. Deacon on the common landing place of the port or creek of Aberdovey, co. Merion., for £3250. This works out the price of lead at £5 4s. 0d. per ton, or 5½ sh. per *cwt.*; or very little more than ½d. per *lb.*

Crown lease of Customs in lead ore to Thomas Bushell, 1644. (*Harley Charter*, 83 n. 29.) "Lead, lead Oare, and litterage of lead," "which shall be exported out of the kingdom" at a yearly rent of £6000.

Covenant for working Sir E. Lloyd's lead mines, 1657. (*Add MS.* 3652, fol. 111.)

Exemplification of a record in a suit concerning lead mines in Bakewell, etc., co. Derby., 1730. (*Wolley Charter*, XII, 144.)

An early statute, but of uncertain date [Stat. vol. i, p. 204], says:

"Six times 20 stone, *i.e.*, 1590*lbs.* make a load of lead, to wit, the *great load* of London, but the load of the Peak is much less."

And

"The load of lead (*Charrus plumbi*) doth consist of thirty *fofmals* or formels. Each *fofmal* equals 6 stones, minus 2 lbs. Each stone (*petra*) equals 12 lbs. Each pound equals 25 shillings in weight. Sum total of pounds in the *fofmal*, 70 lbs. But the sum of the stones in the load is 8 times 20, plus 15, and it is proved by 6 by 30 equals 9 by 20, but of every *fofmal* subtract 2 lbs, in the foresaid multiplication, which are 60, which make 5 stone; and so in the load there are 8 by 20 *plus* 15 as before."

"According to others the *charre* consists of 12 wayes after troy weight; and the sum of stones in this load is 8 by 20 *plus* 8, proved by 12 by 14. The way is 14 stones."

The lead from the Peak found a ready market in all parts of England, and we find occasional notices of its use and its especial manner of weighing, in ancient MSS.

A twelfth-century MS., belonging to the Nunnery of Ely in Cambridgeshire, states that :

The *Carreta* of lead of the Peak contains 24 *fofmeles*.¹

Each *fofmel* contains 70 pounds, and this is 14 *Cutti*.

Each *Cuttus* contains 5 pounds.

Whereas (the same authority goes on), the *Carreta* of "Lundon" is greater than the above, but its actual weight is somewhat obscurely expressed. "Carreta de lund' est maior illa de cccc *lib.* et xx *lib.* per minus centum." (*Inquis. Elien.*, p. 191.)

At a later period, during the reign of Henry VIII, as our learned associate, the late Mr. W. H. Black, ascertained from the original documents in H.M. Record Office, the supply of lead for the king's buildings at Hampton Court was reckoned by the *fother*² of 19½ hundredweight according to London custom, and the price was about ½*d.* per pound ; the *sow* of lead was the eighth part of the *fother*.

It is remarkable that the lead for the above appears to have been bought in London at *Leadenhall*, then perhaps a market for the metal, as it was in the time of the Ely record four hundred years earlier.

Giles Jacob, in 1772, describes the *Fother* from the Teutonic *Fuder*, and states that it is "a weight of lead containing 8 pigs ; each pig, 20½ stone. So that it is about a *tun*, or common cart-load. Among the plumbers in London it is 19½ *cwt.*, and at the mines it is 20½ *cwt.*"

¹ The first part of this word appears to be connected with *fother*, mentioned presently ; *mel* is Gothic *mela*, *modius*, a bushel measure.

² *Fother* is an Anglo-Saxon word meaning a basket = *Cophinus*, and was used as a measure of *wood*, and of coal, corn, etc., as well as of lead. (*Cart. Sax.*, Nos. 464, 465, etc.)

(To be continued.)





LITTLE GIDDING AND THE KNIGHTS TEMPLARS. L

BY REV. W. MACKRETH NOBLE, B.A.

(Read at the Peterborough Congress, July 18th, 1898.)



LITTLE GIDDING is a village with a history different in many respects from that of its neighbours. It would seem that, at the time of the *Domesday Survey*, the division of the Manor of Gidding was only beginning, for in that we find that "the Abbot of Ramsey had there one hide that paid geld. There is land for one plough. This land was in the demesne. Now Lunen holds of the Abbot, and has there one plough, and 2 villanes and 1 borderer with 1 plough, and 6 acres of meadow. In the time of King Edward it was worth 30s., and is so now." Then in the same division of the book we find "the Abbot had 7 hides that paid geld; that there were 28 villanes with 7 ploughs, 20 acres of meadow and 2 furlongs of low wood, and its value was 100s."

Further on, we find that in the township of Gidding, Alwold and his five brothers had $4\frac{1}{2}$ hides that paid geld. These brothers complained that Eustace has unlawfully deprived them of it. Then we are told—which please note specially—that "William Engayne claims half a yard land, and 18 acres of land, as witness the jurors of the whole hundred." Further on again, we are told: "Wm. Engayne now has in the demesne 2 carucates and 15 villanes and 3 borderers who have 5 ploughs and 22 acres of meadow."

The above seems to show that Wm. Engayne had two separate estates within the township of Gidding.

There is no mention of a church in any of these entries, as so frequently occurs in the *Domesday Survey*; but Ramsey Abbey seems soon to have formed its part of Gidding into a separate parish; and there, hard by the chancel door, is a stone, probably in memory of Robert of Gidding, Abbot of Ramsey, who died at Gidding A.D. 1207.

In the year 1226 we find Robert de Hedleya appointed rector of Little Gidding by the Bishop of Lincoln. There is no explanation of the patronage being in the bishop's hands, nor statement as to when Little Gidding became a separate parish; but from this time the advowson was in the hands of the Knights Templars, and it requires no great stretch of imagination to see the owner of a part of Gidding building a church and endowing it, as we know he did, leaving behind a priest to act as Aaron and Hur to Moses, while he, the donor, went out to fight the battles of the cross in distant Syria.

There were only two parishes in the county that belonged to the Knights Templars—Bottlebridge, as it is called, and Little Gidding. Now, who gave Little Gidding to the Knights Templars? One cannot speak with absolute certainty, but consider this: in Lansdowne MS. 921, three Giddings are mentioned (*temp.* Ed. I) "Gidding Abbatis," Steeple Gidding," which belonged to Ramsey Abbey, "Gidding Engayne," and "Gidding Prior." Now, Great Gidding had belonged to Huntingdon Priory from at least as early as 1237, when W. de Molesworth was presented to the vicarage of that body, therefore Gidding Prior must surely have been Great Gidding, and that leaves Gidding Engayne as Little Gidding. So it would seem that the manor of Little Gidding remained to the Engaynes, the Knights Templars being patrons of the living.¹

The Rev. G. Johnston, in his translation of the Hunts'.

¹ Dugdale's *Monasticon* tells us that Matilda Engaine gave the church of Gedyngs (Little Gidding) to the Knights Templars. If this was Matilda (de Bollers) widow of Ri. Engaine, who died soon after the foundation of the Order, Little Gidding church must have been one of the earliest possessions of the Knights Templars.—W. M. N.

portion of *Domesday*, quotes (p. 23) from the *Hundred Rolls of Ed. I*: "John Engayne holds the above-mentioned manor of Gidding of our Lord the King, for the support of his hounds, with which he hunts the wolf, the fox, the wild-cat, the badger, and the hare, in 4 counties and $\frac{1}{2}$, that is to say in the counties Northampton, Hunt. Ox., Buck, and Rutland."

Thus, while the Engaynes continued to hold the manor, one of their number seems to have been the man who built and endowed the church of Little Gidding, entrusting the patronage to the Knights Templars, to which body he probably himself belonged.

The Engaynes owned property in Staughton and Graffham, Dillington in Hunts., also at Blatherwick in Northants, 1272-1393, and we find them as patrons of the livings of Graffham and Waresley, 1239-1349. Pedigrees can be consulted. But to return to Little Gidding: in 1238 John de Richemund was appointed rector by Ro. Saumford, Master of the Knights Templars; in 1255 Radulph Basseth by Roscelin de Ros, Master of the Knights Templars; in 1276, Galfrid de Langeford, by the Master not named; and in 1277 Will. de Laundo by Ro. de Turville, Master of the Knights Templars.

In 1312 this Order was dissolved in England, and its property given to the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, hence the present dedication of the Church of St. John. Just after this change, the Bishop of Lincoln again presented, and then we find Ph. de Thame, the Prior of the Hospitallers presenting, 1335, 1342, 1348, 1350 and 1351; John Penely in 1360; Hidebrande Inge, locum tenens of prior, in 1392 and 1396; Walter Grendon in 1396, 1405, 1406, 1408, 1414, 1415 and 1416; Hen. Crowhall as locum tenens of prior, 1423; Rob. Botyll, prior in 1452, 1454, 1461 and 1465; John Kendall in 1492, and Tho. Newporte, who is called Master of the Hospitallers, in 1501.

From this it will be seen that it would be easy to compile a list of Priors of St. John of Jerusalem, if that has not been done.

After the dissolution of the monasteries in Henry

VIII's reign, the manor and patronage still continued separate, for in 1554 the rector was ejected, and his successor appointed by Philip and Mary, King and Queen of England. From that time till the reign of Charles II we have no patrons' names, for the Lincoln registers are very defective at this period, but we know a little about the lords of the manor.

The will of Ro. Drewell, which was proved May 3rd, 1566, states that he wished to be buried in the chancel of Little Gidding church; that on his burial day, 7th day and 30th day, £6 should be distributed; he left to his wife Katharine certain moneys, plate, and all his furniture, except the brewing vessels and a table, which were to remain at his *manor house* at Little Gidding.

So he was certainly owner of the manor. He had two sons, Umfrey and Robert, and three daughters, Brigitte, Margaret and Christian; and he seems to have been the brother of the lady who married William Taylard (see Camden, *Visit. Hunts.*, p. 89). We have other mentions of the Drewells, particularly in 1588, when Humphrey Drewell furnished one light horse and one petronyll, to join in the national resistance to the Spanish Armada; so we have again a military owner of Little Gidding.

Let me sum up:

Between 1185, when the Order of the Knights Templars was established in England, and 1238, the patronage of the living was conferred on the Knights Templars. The founder was almost certainly an Engayne, whose name bespeaks his Norman origin. The patronage of the living was held by the Knights Templars till 1312, then by the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem till the Dissolution, no doubt, and then it passed to the Crown. The Engaynes retained the manor, which passed before the middle of the sixteenth century to the Drewells; whether it passed direct from that family to the Ferrars' or not, I cannot say.

Almost the whole of the evidence I have laid before you to-night is from the Registry of the Bishop of Lincoln, who has kindly allowed me to make extracts

from his registers bearing on the county of Huntingdon, and these registers contain an almost complete list of incumbents and patrons from 1220 to 1837, and give the names and dates of many members of our county families : in fact, are most valuable for pedigree and historical purposes.

I have also used the translation of *Domesday* by the late Rev. G. Johnston, formerly rector of Broughton, and some notes kindly sent me from the *Lansdowne* and *Harleian MSS.* by Mr. Ladds, an antiquary, relative to the oldest incumbent in the county, now vicar of Leighton.

I hope it may add to the interest of visitors to Little Gidding to think of the piety and devotion of the knight of old, who handed over some portion of his estate for religious uses, and then, no doubt, started out to fight the battles of the Cross against the Crescent. Dying, perhaps by fever, perhaps with his face to the foe, he fills a nameless grave, probably far from his ancestral home : but wherever his bones are now, his feet have trodden the path yours will tread to-morrow ; he has worshipped on the very spot where you will stand ; he probably went south by the old road you yourselves will cross : though dead, the gallant soldier of the Cross speaks to us still.

The very fact that Little Gidding belonged in a special way to soldiers of the Cross for centuries adds an interest to it, and makes it a fitting home for the piety and devotion of a Nicholas Ferrar.

This does not dwarf Nicholas Ferrar or his work ; rather the opposite. Ferrar is usually spoken of as if he were a lighthouse on a plain, instead of, as he is, a beacon-light, set up on a hill, and therefore seen afar.

Nicholas Ferrar is the central, most conspicuous figure directing a great work ; but before him in his humble cell, close to the little church, we can believe that many a devoted servant of God did his life's work ; and the spot is hallowed by the devotion of the original founder, by the work and life of those by means of his endowment placed in that quiet spot, and most of all by Nicholas Ferrar : in him we may see the grandest man

of a grand army, not an isolated spark lost in the darkness of ages.

A jewel is a jewel still if uncut, but its beauty is enhanced if it is set in its proper surroundings.

I have added a list of more than fifty rectors, with dates and patrons, which I need not read. My studies have lately been directed to following out the descendants of Nicholas Ferrar's brothers and sisters; and this, with a short notice, must account for the disjointed sentences and ideas which I have been unable to avoid.

Rectors and Patrons of Little Gidding, with dates, and whether resigned (r) or died (d).

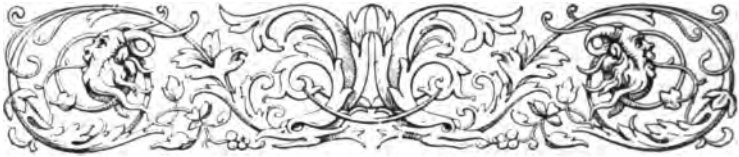
RECTORS.		PATRONS.	
1226. Robert de Hedleya ...	...	The Bishop of Lincoln.	
1238. John de Richmund ...	...	Bro. Ro. Saumford, Master of the Knights Templars ...	r. 1255
1255. Radulph Basseth ...	...	Roscelin de Ros ...	r. 1276
1276. Galfrid de Laugelford ...	...	The Master of the Knights Templars ...	d. 1277
1277. William de la Launde ...	...	Rob. de Turville.	
1313. John de Stannford ...	...	The Bishop of Lincoln ...	r. 1335
1335. William Cross de Baumburgh ...	...	Ph. de Thame, Prior of Hospital- tallers of St. John of Jerusalem	r. 1342
1342. Richard de Aston ...	...	No patron mentioned	d. 1348
1348. John de Potteshall ...	...	Prior and Hospitaliers of St. John of Jerusalem ...	r. 1350
1350. Richard Duk (de Elington) ...	...	...	r. 1351
1351. John de Kirkeby ...	...	Ph. de Thame, Prior, etc.	d. 1360
1360. Adam de Chateriz ...	...	John Penely.	
Robert Foster ...	...	...	r. 1391
1391. William Smith ...	...	No patron mentioned	r. 1392
1392. William Ingelde ...	...	Hildebrande Inge, Locum Tenens of Prior of St. John of Jerusa- lem ...	r. 1396
1396. Thomas Jekys ...	...	Walter Grendon, Prior, etc.	d. 1405
1405. Stephen Stokes ...	...	...	r. 1406
1406. William Byngnam ...	...	...	r. 1408
1408. John Aylmere ...	...	...	r. 1411
1411. John Wright ...	...	No patron mentioned	1413
1413. Richard Snowe ...	...	...	r. 1414
1414. Rob., son of Simon de Baumburgh	...	Walter Grendon, Prior, etc.	r. 1415
1415. William Coneworth ...	...	...	r. 1416
1416. John Louge ...	...	...	d. 1423
1423. John Green ...	...	Hen. Cromhale for the Prior, etc.	
John Evans ...	...	...	r. 1452
1452. William flareyn ...	...	Robert Botyll, Prior, etc.	r. 1454
1454. Robert Crane ...	...	...	r. 1461
1461. John Bolton ...	...	...	r. 1465
1465. Thomas Howde ...	...	...	d. 1492
1442. John Ineman ...	...	John Kendall, Prior, etc.	r. 1501
1501. William Johnson ...	...	Thomas Newporte, Master, etc.	

RECTORS.

PATRONS.

	Henry Empson, was Rector 1535.			
	No name given ... ..	...	...	deprived 1554
1554.	Thomas Lambert ... ..	...	King Philip and Queen Mary.	
1579.	Walter Bickelles ... ..	...	Queen	left 1579
1580.	Thomas Clarke ... ..	...	Queen.	
1590.	William Bate, M.A. ... ..	...	Ld. Chancellor, presentation revoked	1591
1591.	John Brooke, M.A.			
1597.	Thomas Prowde, S.T.B. ... ..	...	Lord Keeper of the Great Seal ... r.	1597
1597.	Henry Williamson, M.A.			
1614.	Michael Reade.			
1625.	David Stevenson, M.A.			
1651.	Edward Wallis.			
1659.	Farrar Collet, M.A. ... ..	...	...	cession 1663
1664.	James Wildbore ... ..	...	King Charles II.	
1674.	Anthony Hill ... ..	...	"	... d. 1691
1691.	Thomas Ferrar, M.A. ... ..	...	King William III and Queen Mary.	
(1697.	James Ibbotson ?)			
	No name given ... ..	...	...	... r. 1707
1707.	William Postlethwayte ... ..	...	...	... d. 1731
1731.	William Robinson ... ..	...	...	... d. 1781
1781.	Thomas Harris ... ..	...	King George III ... ..	... d. 1792
1792.	Gerard Clough ... ..	...	...	... d. 1831
1831.	William Pullen ... ..	...	King William IV.	
1843.	William Whall, D.D. ... ..	...	Queen Victoria ... ..	... d. 1874
1874.	William Salmon Bagshaw, M.A. ... ..	...	





DERBYSHIRE FUNERAL GARLANDS.

BY T. N. BRUSHFIELD, ESQ., M.D., F.S.A.

(Read at the Buxton Congress, July 19th, 1899.)



ALTHOUGH mentioned by various writers, the first author to devote a special paper to the subject of Funeral Garlands was Mr. Ll. Jewitt, in one that appeared in the first number of the *Reliquary*, issued in 1860. Of this archæological periodical he remained the editor from that year to the close of his life in 1886. I may be permitted to add that I first called his attention to the garlands preserved in Ashford Church, during the period of a joint visit to the late Mr. Thomas Bateman, the well-known antiquary, of Lomerdale House, near Youlgreave.

Let me at once attempt to explain what is meant by a Funeral Garland.

It was formerly the custom in many English counties, and one which extended into the present century, on the occasion of the death of an unmarried woman who had led a pure and blameless life, for her friends and neighbours to construct in her honour a light framework, nearly always of wood, and decorated with flowers (real and artificial), ribbons and paper ornaments, several emblematical articles being suspended in the interior. This was generally termed a Funeral Garland, and was borne with much ceremony before her coffin in its way to the place of interment; and at the conclusion of the burial service, was hung up in a conspicuous position in the church. The mode in which this was carried out varied considerably in its details in different places. Although regarded as an obsolete custom, it is still practised in a Hampshire village (*vide post*).

In explanation of the term, the *Historical English Dictionary* defines it as "A wreath of ribbons, chiefly nautical"; and quotes instances of its employment from four different works, three relating to naval decorations, while the fourth is taken from the *Cleveland Glossary* of the Rev. J. C. Atkinson, and runs thus: "Wreaths of ribbons enclosing a white glove, formerly borne at the funerals of young unmarried women."

It appears to be a mistake to include under the same definition the naval wreath or garland used for rejoicings, and the funeral one, as the objects of each were so wholly different.

It has been designated a *funeral, funereal, or funebral garland, a coronal, a chaplet, wreath, burial garland, Virgin's crown, and Virgin's garland*;—none of these terms require comment. There is, however, one of some interest that demands a short notice here.

In the graveyard scene in *Hamlet*, as the burial procession of Ophelia's body approaches the place of interment, the Priest, in reply to Laertes, remarks, that "her death was doubtful"; so that instead of being lodged "in ground unsanctify'd," and being pelted with "shards, flints, and pebbles," as a suicide,

"she is allow'd her virgin crants,
Her maiden strewments, and the bringing home
Of bell and burial."

(*Hamlet*, v, 1.)

Now "crants" in Johnson's *Dict.* (ed. Latham), is defined as "Crown; chaplet; garland; "from the German *Krantz*;" and this important note is added:—"This word, which never became English, seems to have been used by Shakespeare on the strength of his having learned that *rose-crown* is the translation of the name of one of his characters, *Rosencranz*." This, at first sight, appears to be corroborated by Halliwell and Wright in their edition of Nares' *Glossary*. But on turning to the *Historical English Dictionary*, we find it accepted as an English word, although now obsolete. According to Fleay (*The English Drama*, ii, 185), *Hamlet* was first performed in 1601, and published in 1602 or following year; but as

shown by Dr. Murray, the word had been employed by English authors some years prior to Shakespeare's play, the earliest quotation given by him in illustration being the following:—

"The filthy queane weares a craunce and is a Frenchwoman, forsooth." (Robert Greene, in *A Quip for an Upstart Courtier* . . . Imprinted by John Wolfe, at Poules Chayne, 1592).

"Rites" was substituted for "crants" in the later editions of Shakespeare's works. Mr. Syer Cuming reports "crant" to be "an old northern word for garland" (*Journal of the B. A. A.*, xxxi, 192), but it is not contained in the *English Dialect Dictionary*.

It is hardly necessary to advert to the practice of adorning the dead with flowers, or of employing them at the time of the funeral ceremony—a custom that probably dates back as far as History itself—nevertheless, a few remarks may not be deemed out of place.

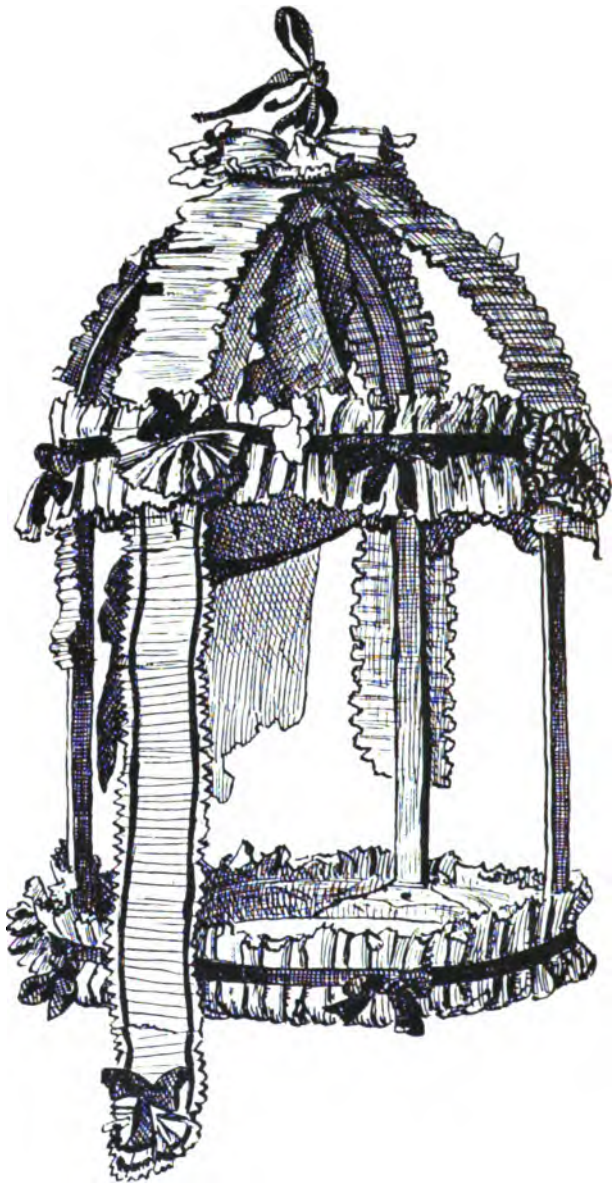
In his work on the *Ancient Egyptians*, Sir G. Wilkinson has pointed out, how they crowned the embalmed body of the deceased "with a garland of immortelles, bay-leaves, or fresh flowers"; adding this pertinent note: "Some suppose that these wreaths of xeranthemums and other flowers were only given to unmarried women" (ed. S. Birch, 1878, iii, 451). Chaplets of flowers were placed on the heads of the deceased by both Greeks and Romans. The floral decoration of deceased virgins is alluded to by the early Christian writers; and as an emblem of purity flowers continued to be used for successive centuries, made up into wreaths or garlands, or cast upon the dead body before the funeral, or even while lying in the grave. Thus, at the funeral of Ophelia, Hamlet's mother, after "scattering flowers" over the body, mournfully remarks:

"I thought thy bride-bed to have deck'd, sweet maid,
And not have strew'd thy grave."¹

Notwithstanding the prevalence of the custom in this and in other countries for so long a period, it is uncertain

¹ Sir T. Browne, in *Certain Miscellany Tracts* (1689), enumerates several kinds in his second Tract, entitled "Of Garlands, and Coronary or Garland Plants," '89-'95; and amongst others mentions the "Depository, such as they laid upon the Graves and Monuments of the dead."

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FUNERAL GARLAND, ASHFORD CHURCH, DERBYSHIRE.

G. S. Ramsey, del.

when the practice of bearing a garland of special form, such as has been used during the last three centuries, first commenced. We may, however, feel assured that natural flowers were employed for the decoration up to a comparatively late period. Indeed, the Rev. M. E. C. Walcott affirms, that the substitution of artificial ones did not take place until the commencement of the last century (*Notes and Queries*, 5th Ser., i, 12).

We pass on to describe the funeral garlands of this county (Derbyshire), premising that, although similar in their general form, the details of their construction, how carried in the funeral procession, etc., varied much in different villages.¹

The first on our list is Ashford Church, where five of these garlands yet remain suspended from the roof of the north aisle. Within living memory the number was seven. Although they are much dilapidated, and the greater portion of their more perishable decorations have disappeared, yet enough remain to show the main features of their construction; and, notwithstanding many years elapsed between the oldest and the most recent, they possess a striking resemblance to each other, and were evidently framed on one model. The following is a brief description of one of these garlands when completed, together with the mode of construction.

The framework in each consists of two pliable pieces of thin wood, crossing each other at right angles in the centre, where they are bound together. The four free ends are bent downwards, and attached to a horizontal wooden hoop. A second hoop is fixed to the vertical portion, a short distance above the former, and the whole is secured firmly together at all the points of contact, so that the shape assumed is that of a skeleton helmet. The dimensions of the five vary from 15 ins. to 18 ins. in height, and from 11 ins. to 13 ins. in breadth.

Each horizontal hoop is encircled with a slip of white

¹ Much of the information relating to Derbyshire Garlands is taken from papers in the *Reliquary*, by Mr. Llew. Jewitt and Mr. J. S. Briggs, and from Dr. Cox's *Churches of Derbyshire*. The Rev. J. B. Fenwick has kindly supplied several facts respecting the Garlands at Abbot's Ann Church, near Andover.

goffered paper, about twice the breadth of the hoop, and tied in the centre with a piece of narrow black ribbon. The uprights are concealed by long slips of pleated white paper, black bordered and with toothed edging, which hang down like streamers for several inches below the lower hoop, and terminate in semi-rosettes with bows of black ribbon. To the apex and junction with the upper hoop (and in some to the lower one also) are attached at the points of junction folded rosettes. These complete the external decorations.

From the inside of the apex are suspended a single white long-armed glove, and a kerchief (or collar), of white paper, which do not project beyond the base of the framework.

That one or other of these suspended articles usually bore an inscription recording the name and date of death of the maiden in whose honour the garland had been constructed, together with some lines of poetry, is fairly certain.

We have the testimony of Mr. Llew. Jewitt that, in 1860, the following lines appeared on the kerchief of one:—

“ Be always ready, no time delay,
I in my youth was called away ;
Great grief to those that's left behind,
But I hope I'm great joy to find.

Ann Swindel,
Aged 22 years,
Dec. 9th, 1798.”

With the exception of a small portion containing the terminal lines

“ — time delay,
— ed away,”

the remainder has perished.

The Burial Register contains this entry of her interment:—

“ 1798. Dec the 12. Bur^d Ann Daug^r of Ralph and Mary Swindel.”

As her name is entered in the Register of Baptisms on June 2nd, 1776, her age at the time of death was twenty-two, and serves to corroborate the correctness of Mr. Jewitt's statement.

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W. N. Stebbins, Photographer, Matlock Bridge.]

FUNERAL GARLANDS IN MATLOCK CHURCH.

In the same year Mr. Jewitt deciphered the name on another garland to be Ann Howard, who died at the age of twenty-one, the date being April 12th, 1747. This was accompanied with "six lines of poetry, now perfectly illegible." No traces of the inscription are now left. As far as is at present known, this is the oldest of the five.

The most recent appears to have been one made to commemorate the memory of Rebecca Sheldon, aged nineteen, who, according to the Parish Register, was buried on October 16th, 1825. Dr. Cox, however, was informed "that the most modern of these garlands was to a maiden of the name of Blackwell; and that an old man, who had died in 1869 at about the age of eighty, had carried it before the coffin".¹ The Burial Register is destitute of any entry in corroboration, nor is there now any local tradition relating to it. It may be noted that for a man to carry the garland was a very exceptional circumstance.

Matlock is the next on our list. Six garlands are carefully preserved in a cupboard in the vestry of the church; and, through the kindness of the rector (the Rev. J. W. Kewley), I am enabled to exhibit an excellent photograph of them. They possess several local peculiarities: in four, a second hoop has not been used, so that the form of the garland is more conical than usual; some possess small fan-like ornaments; in several the framework is covered with paper cut into shreds; and the suspended articles project below the base. Except that in one the roses are formed of yellow paper, all the decorations are white; but the style of ornamentation varies in each—one being covered with rosettes of small size, another with large ones, while several have but few.

Two other specimens that formerly belonged to this church were added to Mr. T. Bateman's museum in 1859, but after his death were lost sight of altogether. The curator (Mr. E. Howorth) of the Public Museum at Sheffield, to which Mr. Bateman's collection was lent in 1876 (and purchased by the Corporation in 1893), informs me that neither of the garlands could be found when the

¹ Cox's *Churches of Derbyshire*, ii, 52.

transference from Lomberdale House was effected. Fortunately they were seen by Mr. Jewitt in 1860, and *fac-similes* of his drawings serve to illustrate his article in the *Reliquary*. That of the more perfect one possesses several of the local peculiarities already described, especially as to the projection of the gloves.

According to Mr. J. J. Briggs, one formerly "hung in the church of West Hallam . . . bearing the following beautiful motto :—

"For violets which the sweetest showers
Can ne'er bring back again."

(*Reliquary*, i, 126.)

As in the Ashford inscription, so here, the village poet was content to quote lines that were deemed appropriate from any available source. The ballad from which the above are taken (and slightly altered), is the well-known "Friar of Orders Grey," written by Dr. T. Percy (compiled from ancient ballads), and first published in *Reliques of English Poetry* in 1765, in which the following verse will be found :—

"Weep no more, lady, weep no more ;
Thy sorrow is in vain :
For violets plucked, the sweetest shower
Will ne'er make grow again."

A more beautiful and apposite quotation might have been taken from the speech of Laertes at the burial of his sister Ophelia :—

"Lay her i' the earth ;
And from her fair and unpolluted flesh
May violets spring."

(*Hamlet*, v, 1).

According to Rhodes (*Peak Scenery*, ed. of 1824, 181), there were in Hathersage Church "several of these memorials of early dissolution, but only one of a recent date ; the others were covered with dust, and the hand of time had destroyed their freshness." (In his *Sacred Archæology*, Mr. E. Walcott notes that "at Hathersage, Derby, brides still wear a wedding chaplet." In the churchwardens' accounts of St. Margaret, Westminster, is the entry : "1534. Payd for the hire of Seynt Mar-

garett's serkelett, xvjd." ; and the inventories of that church frequently mention a "serclet for maidens when they be maried".¹ Thus Chaucer :

"A coroune on hire hed they han ydressed."

At Glossop, Rhodes² observed the remains of some hanging up "near the entrance into the chancel," and he associated them with rush-bearing;³ but there is a greater probability they were ordinary funeral ones : indeed, Mr. Jewitt affirms "garlands were formerly suspended in the church;" and adds, "it is said that on one occasion, when the young men of the village determined to do the highest honour to the remains of a maiden who was loved by all, they expended no less a sum than thirty pounds in forming a garland of ribbands, artificial flowers, and costly materials of every kind."

We have the testimony of Anna Seward, who was born at Eyam, that in the church of that village

"The low beams with paper garlands hung
In memory of some village youth or maid."

We may accept the statement as to the garland being used for "some village youth" as a possible poetic license. No garlands have been preserved in Eyam church, but W. Wood, the historian of the village, informed Mr. Jewitt that, about 1830, "several faded garlands were taken down and destroyed"; and about ten years later a similar garland and two baskets of flowers "were thrown in the grave on to the coffin" of a young woman under twenty. The same informant mentioned having seen another garland "carried before a young woman from Grindleford-bridge . . . some 40 years ago" (*circ.* 1820).

"About fifty years ago" (*circ.* 1810), according to Mr. Briggs, "several existed in the parish church of Alvaston."

Dr. Cox describes one that remained in the church of

¹ *Hist. of St. Margaret's Church, Westminster*, p. 112.

² *Peak Scenery*, p. 202.

³ In an engraving of the interior of Great Musgrove Church, Westmoreland, many garlands are depicted as suspended from the walls, etc. They are reported to be some that were borne at the time of the rush-bearing festivals, but none appear to be similar to funeral ones (*Gent.'s Mag.* December, 1843).

South Winfield, and "was carried at the funeral of Ann Kendall, who died on the 14th of May, 1745." It is affirmed she died broken-hearted," and that "before her death, by her own desire, the 109th Psalm was read to her, and this is still known in the village as Miss Kendall's Psalm."

The vicar (Rev. F. W. Christian) informs me this garland is still preserved in the church, and "is decorated with rosettes and other ornaments of white paper."

Although none have been preserved in St. Helen's Church, Darley Dale, Mr. J. S. Luxmoore was informed by a former inhabitant of Ashford that he had seen eleven there, about thirty years ago, prior to the church being restored.

(Since the paper was read, the following has appeared in the *Darley Parish Magazine*: "Previous to the restoration of Darley Church in 1854, several funeral garlands were hung from the gallery which then existed in the south transept; and that the last occasion on which the custom was observed in this parish was at the funeral of Hannah, only daughter of Mr. Daniel Dakeyne, who died at the age of 16, and was buried March 27th, 1792.")

From the same source I learn that, some years since, there were three or four in Longstone Church.

Within present memory one or more were formerly preserved in the small chapel of Peak Forest. Previous to its being pulled down, Dr. Cox "noticed against the south wall a relic of this old custom, in a wreath of divers coloured everlasting flowers, to which was attached the funeral card of an undertaker, bearing date 1872 (*Notes and Queries*, 5th Ser., vi, 317).

There are records of similar garlands having formerly been preserved in the churches of Ashover, Hope, Fairfield, Tissington, Bolsover and Heanor, and probably this was the case with the majority of Derbyshire churches. At the present date, only those of Ashford, Matlock and South Winfield are known to possess any.

It will be evident from what has been stated that the custom prevailed to a considerable extent in this county, and in several instances down to a comparatively late period.

That the construction of these garlands varied considerably at different times and in different places is certain ; but a statement that appeared in the *Gent.'s Mag.* of 1747, that one of filagree work of gold and silver wire "in resemblance of myrtle," had been disinterred in the churchyard of Bromley in Kent, in the year 1733, is open to much doubt as to whether it was a funeral garland of the kind now under notice. It has been accepted as the same by some authors (including the Rev. Dr. Geo. Oliver) as a practice that was customary in the parish of Clee in Lincolnshire (*Ibid.*, 1829, i, 1416, cf. *Antiquarian Repertory*, iv, 663-4). Occasionally, as at Astley Abbots, near Bridgnorth, the framework was made of wire instead of wood (*Shropshire Folk-Lore*, by Miss C. S. Burne, 311).

Although the flowers were customarily made of paper, "dy'd horn, or silk," is stated to have been also employed (*Gent.'s Mag.*, 1747, 264). The streamers were sometimes made of ordinary silk ribbon.

Again, Washington Irving, in his *Sketch-Book* (art. "Rural Funerals"), quotes the following from an old poem, entitled "Corydon's Doleful Knell":—

"A garland shall be framed
By Art and Nature's skill,
Of sundry-coloured flowers,
In token of goodwill.

"And sundry-coloured ribands
On it I will bestow,
But chiefly *black* and yellow
With her to grave shall go."

In the description of a garland in the *Comical Pilgrim's Pilgrimage*, *circ.* 1723, it is stated that from it "hung down two black ribbons, signifying our mortal state, and two white ones as an emblem of purity and innocence."

The garland preserved at Minsterley, near Shrewsbury, was adorned with "lilies and roses (two sizes), made of pink and white paper" (*Journal of the B. A. A.*, xxxi, 193). Dr. Oliver was of opinion that the decorations were "variously disposed according to the rank or situation of the deceased;" but an examination of various garlands has failed to corroborate his statement.

Although white was the prevailing colour of the

decorations, others were intermingled. One of the Matlock garlands has yellow rosettes, while at Acton Burnell one was "covered with narrow strips of white paper and black ribbon, adorned with black rosettes" (*Shropshire Folk-Lore*, 312).

Of the articles suspended in the framework, the gloves were the most constant, and appear to have been the one thing essential to a proper garland. There were generally two suspended from the inside of the apex, but this was subject to great variation; and, as already noticed, at Ashford only one was used. In the Minsterley specimen, three pairs of paper gloves of ordinary size were attached



Minsterley Garland.

to different parts of the framework; while at Abbot's Ann, near Andover, "cartridge-paper cut into the form of long gloves or gauntlets are attached to ends of the rods in the circle, and a fifth to where they meet in the centre of the crown" (*Inf. of the Rector*, the Rev. J. B. Fenwick).

Occasionally real gloves have been employed, as in the instance of the "Lover's Garland" preserved in Astley Abbot's Church, Shropshire, which contains a pair of white kid gloves in memory of Hannah Phillips, who died on the eve of her marriage, and was buried May 12th, 1707 (*Shropshire Folk-Lore*, 311). By a curious perversion, the *Shropshire Directory* affirms it was Henry

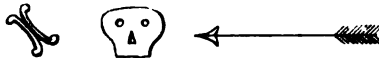
Phillips who "died in 1707, when presenting himself at the altar to be married. The lady to whom he was about to be united survived him but a short period." (quoted in the *Reliquary*, xxvi, 239). A paper kerchief or collar (for it is uncertain which was intended to be represented) commonly, but not invariably, accompanied the gloves.

According to the *Antiquarian Repertory*, iv (1809), 664, the gloves, etc., "were many times intermixt with gilded or painted empty shells of blown eggs, as further ornaments, or, it may be, as emblems of bubbles or bitterness of this life"; and this has been accepted as authentic by several writers. It is, however, copied verbatim from an article "On Burial Garlands" in *Gent.'s Mag.* of 1747, 264-5, where no authority for the statement is recorded, no example cited, and is uncorroborated by any other person.

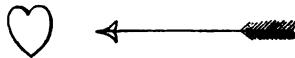
The same article affirms that some "garlands had only a solitary hour-glass hanging therein, as a more significant symbol of mortality." This also appears in the *Antiquarian Repertory*, and has been quoted by various writers as though based on fact (Dr. Oliver in *Gent.'s Mag.*, 1829, i, 417; *Journal of the B. A. A.*, xxxi, 194); but evidently founded on the following statement:—The *Gent.'s Mag.* of 1746, 640, contains "an account of an Hour-glass, found in a grave in Clerkenwell Church-yard," in 1718. The sexton while digging a grave unearthed a coffin, so rotten as to fall to pieces at once, when there was "found an hour-glass close to the left side of the scull." There is not the slightest intimation of its having formed a portion of a garland. Now the author of the article in the vol. for 1747, already noticed, after recording he had seen garlands placed in graves "in many places," adds: "I doubt not but such a garland, with an hour-glass, was thus placed in the grave at Clerkenwell, which, at the rotting and falling in of the coffin, must consequently be found close to the scull, etc."—an assumption that has led to error. At present, no authentic instance has been cited of an hour-glass forming a portion of the contents of a funeral garland.

Although, as Dr. Oliver states, on the articles

suspended "inscriptions were frequently written, containing the name and age of the deceased, with verses expressive of the domestic virtues for which she had been remarkable," very few of such inscriptions have come down to us. Two have already been noticed; that at Ashford was written on the kerchief, but authors mention it to have been usually inscribed on the gloves. No traces of any exist in the Matlock specimens. A very curious one may here be noticed: a garland in the church of Walsham-le-Willows, Suffolk, "hangs from the south wall of the nave. It is a large oval lozenge, surmounted by a small heart. On the side facing the chancel is written the name of Mary Boyce, in plain black letters. Above the name are cross-bones, and a skull and arrow, thus:



Below is a heart and arrow, thus:



On the side of the west door is written:

"y^e 15
NOVE
MBER
1685"

Her death is thus recorded in the Burial Register in 1685:

"Mary, y^e daughter of William Boyce, Nov. 15th" (*Folk-Lore of Suffolk*, Folk-Lore Society, 1893, 54-5).

The garland was almost invariably carried in front of the coffin, and usually by two maidens dressed in white, by whom it was borne on a stick or wand. At Ashford the bearers had been companions or dearest friends of the deceased, and this probably was the general rule as far as it could be carried out. At Abbot's Ann they were clothed in white dresses with white hoods, and were "of the same age as the deceased."

A singular custom is reported to have been in vogue in East Yorkshire, where "at the funeral of a maiden,

a pair of white gloves used to be carried at the head of the procession, by a girl about the same age and as much like the deceased as possible . . . The gloves bore the maiden's name, age, and date of death" (*Folk-Lore of East Yorkshire*, by J. Nicholson, 1890, 8). It will be noticed that no garland is mentioned, only one attendant is recorded, and whether the gloves were real or of paper does not appear. In the *Comical Pilgrim's Pilgrimage*, the garland is reported as "carried by a young woman on her head," but four others hold the ends of the streamers attached to it, "before whom a basket of herbs and flowers is supported by two other maids, who strew them along the streets to the place of burial." According to Dr. Oliver, at Clee, Lincs., the procession was headed by "children . . . habited in white, and arranged in pairs."

Some of the popular ballads issued in the early part of the seventeenth century (of which examples will be found in the Roxburghe, Bagford, Pepysian and other collections), demonstrate it to have been customary at that period to use fresh flowers for the garland, etc.; and the ceremony was made far more imposing than at a later date, by a larger number of white-clad maidens taking part in it. For example, the first portion of one, entitled "The Bride's Buriall," printed in 1603, thus describes the ceremony :

- " And now this Lover lives
 A discontented life,
 Whose Bride was brought unto the grave
 A Maiden and a Wife.
- " A garland fresh and faire
 Of Lillies there was made,
 In signe of her Virginitie,
 And on her Coffin laid :
- " Sixe maidens, all in white,
 Did beare her to the ground ;
 The Bells did ring in solemne sort,
 And made a solemne sound.
- " In earth they laid her then,
 For hungry wormes a prey :
 So shall the fairest face alive
 At length be brought to clay."
- Roxburghe Ballads* (Ball. Soc., i, 186-9).

There is a rude wood-cut at the head of the ballad, showing the coffin covered with a black pall, on which is placed the funeral garland. Six maidens habited in white, with their hair loose, are represented as though bearing the coffin. It is probable that it is intended to show the latter in the church during the service, when it was customary to lay the garland upon it, as was certainly the practice at a later day.

Another in the same collection, headed "Two Unfortunate Lovers ; or, A True Relation of the lamentable end



"The Bride's Buriall."

of John True and Susan Mease," has an impression from the same block ; and at the funeral of the latter, who is termed "the patterne of true love," we are informed—

"Six maids in white, as custome is,
Did bring her to the grave."

(*Ibid.*, ii, 644-8. The same woodcut also does duty as an illustration to "The True Lovers Lamentable Overthrow," in the *Bagford Ballads* (Ball. Soc., i, 154).

A different illustration accompanies "The Obsequy of Faire Phillida"; the coffin, borne by four men, is covered with a black pall or hearse, on which seventeen wreaths are shown. At the funeral "many shepheards—

“ With mournfull verse,
Did all attend her hearse,”

and Flora

“ With sweet fragrant flowers,
Now her grave adorned,
And with flowers mourned,
Teares thereon in vaine she powres.”

(*Ibid.*, ii, 345-6.) A similar woodcut accompanies “The Young Mans Complaint,” in the *Bagford Ballads* (Ball. Soc., ii, 938). It is far from improbable it was originally intended to illustrate a man’s funeral.



“ The Obsequy of Faire Phillida.”

During the service in the church the general practice was for the garland to rest on the coffin. Thus we learn from *The Virgin’s Pattern*—an account of the funeral of Susanna Perwich in Hackney Church in the year 1661—that “the hearse being set down with the garland upon it,” a funeral sermon was preached, and then, “the rich coffin anointed with sweet odours,” was let down into the grave (*Hist. of Hackney*, by W. Robinson [1842], 218). The customary practice was for it to be carried before the coffin to the place of interment, and after the conclusion of the ceremony to be taken back to the church. One writer affirms it was hung over the grave (*Notes and Queries*, 5th Ser., i, 57), but this is exceedingly doubtful.

From various records we learn that the place in the church where it was fixed varied a good deal. At Acton Burnell it was "finally hung over her seat in church to 'keep her memory green'" (*Shropshire Folk-Lore*, 312.) "Near to the place usually occupied by the departed one" (*Folk-Lore of East Yorkshire*, 8). Before its restoration (?) *circ.* 1820, "two or three time-worn chaplets of flowers hung withered and dusty on the screen at Bottesford Church" (*Antiquary*, Nov., 1895, 332; cf. *The Denham Tracts* (Folk-Lore Soc.), ii [1895], 33). At Astley Abbot's, the "Lover's Garland," already noted, was suspended to the sounding-board of the pulpit, but was subsequently removed to the north aisle, the latter position being the place of suspension of the Ashford examples.

A curious modification was adopted in some churches in Shropshire: thus, at Minsterley, "projecting from the upper part of the interior north and south walls of this church are several short iron rods with heart-shaped escutcheons at their ends, four of which are respectively inscribed 'E. W., 1736,' 'M. M., 1736,' 'F. J., 1734,' 'M. J., 1751.' To these iron brackets the garlands or crowns were originally attached, but seven of them now depend against the gallery walls" (*Journal of the B. A. A.*, xxxi, 193). At Abbot's Ann the garland is hung over the entrance into the church for a Sunday, and is afterwards attached to the wall-plate in the interior, where a small escutcheon records the name of the deceased, with the date of her death (Inf. of Rev. J. B. Fenwick). "Little wooden tablets or shields are attached to the 'Lover's Garland' itself at Astley Abbot's, containing the initials, with date of death."

The garlands were not always approved of by the ecclesiastical authorities. As early as 1662, we find the Bishop of Ely enquiring at his Visitation: "Are any mean toys and childish gewgaws, such as the fonder sort of people prepare at some burials, suffered to be fastened up in your church at anyone's pleasure? or any garlands and other ordinary funeral ensigns to hang where they hinder the prospect, or until they grow foul and dusty, withered and rotten? (*Notes and Queries*, 5th Ser., i, 57).

"In some districts the garlands were only allowed to

remain suspended in the church for a twelvemonth after the burial" (Chambers's *Book of Days*, art. "Funeral Garlands"). The cessation of the practice of suspending them in any part of the church began, apparently, at the commencement of the eighteenth century; such was the case in the neighbourhood of London—so remarks Mr. Walcott (*Notes and Queries*, 5th Ser., i, 12). When it was disallowed, the garland was often deposited on the coffin in the grave—thus a writer in *Gent.'s Mag.*, 1747, 265, states.

"About forty years ago these garlands grew much out of repute, and were thought by many as very unbecoming decorations for so sacred a place as the church; and at the reparation or new-beautifying several churches, where I have been concern'd, I was oblig'd, by order of the minister and churchwardens, to take the garlands down, and the inhabitants strictly forbid to hang up any more for the future. Yet, notwithstanding, several people, unwilling to forsake their ancient and delightful custom, continued still the making of them, and they were carried at the funerals, as before, to the grave, and put therein, upon the coffin, over the face of the dead; this I have seen done in many places."

Wood, the historian of Eyam, relates an instance that occurred in the church there, of a garland with flowers being "thrown into the grave;" the prohibition against hanging them in the church having apparently commenced ten years before, when "several faded garlands were taken down and destroyed" (*Reliquary*, i, 7). To this prohibition may be probably due the following occurrence, reported in the *Argus* for August 5th, 1790:

"Sunday being St. James's Day, the votaries of St. James's church-yard attended in considerable crowds at the shrines of their departed friends, and paid the usual tributary honours of paper gloves and garlands of flowers on their graves" (*Notes and Queries*, 5th Ser., i, 57).

As a rule, garlands were borne before the funerals of unmarried women whose characters were above reproach; but at Ministerly, according to Miss Burne, "tradition says that they are the memorials of betrothed maidens, who died constant to their affianced lovers."

"Lay a garland on my hearse
Of the dismal yew ;
Maidens, willow branches bear,
Say, I died true !"

Shropshire Folk-Lore, 312.

Writing in 1631, J. Weever reports " when as a widow died having had but one husband, they carried her to her graue with a crowne of chastitie upon her head " (*Funeral Monuments*, 12).

The Rev. J. B. Fenwick, the Rector of Abbott's Ann Church, mentions " there are garlands still hanging " in that church " to lads or men." This is the only example known to the writer, and appears to corroborate the statement of Anna Seward already quoted.

Judging from the reports of the garlands still preserved in the churches of Derbyshire and of Shropshire, they must have been very common in those counties. Again, at Abbott's Ann, Hants., a correspondent of *Notes and Queries* states : " I counted nearly forty of these coronals suspended from the roof " of the church (4th Ser., xii, 406). But the largest number yet found recorded is thus stated in Hare's *Sussex* (119): " When a virgin died in this parish (Alfriston), a wreath of white flowers used to be laid upon her coffin, and afterwards hung up in the church. A few years since, as many as seventy ' virgins ' garlands ' hung in Alfriston Church at once." In their remarks upon this church, neither M. A. Lower nor Hussey allude to them. It is possible they may have been single wreaths, and not garlands like those of Ashford or Matlock.

The custom prevailed extensively in the Midland and Northern counties of England, and sparingly in the Eastern and South-eastern counties, as in the vicinity of London ; but in those of the South-west, to wit, Somerset, Devon and Cornwall, it was apparently unknown. No example or tradition of it has yet been found in the latter. Had it been practised in Devonshire, we should naturally have expected some allusion to it in the *Britannia's Pastorals* of William Browne (1591-1643) ; or in the *Hesperides* of Robert Herrick (1591-1679), whose marked fondness for flowers would have naturally induced him to notice the custom in such pieces as his " Upon a

Maid that Died the Day she was Married," had he been aware of it in his own district. It is true that the Devon poet, Gay (1688-1732), thus alludes to it in the fifth pastoral of his "Shepherd's Week":—

"To show their love, the neighbours far and near
Follow'd with wistful look the damsel's bier.
Sprigg'd rosemary the lads and lasses bore,
While dismally the Parson walk'd before.
Upon her grave the rosemary they threw,
The daisie, butter-flow'r, and endive blue.

"To her sweet mem'ry flow'ry garlands strung,
O'er her now-empty seat aloft were hung."

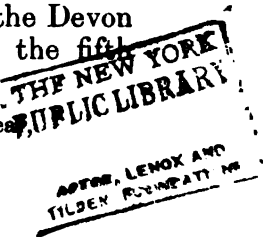
But this must not be accepted as applying to Devonshire: Gay's knowledge being based on what he knew of the custom in those parts where he spent the greater part of his life.

The majority of garlands that have been preserved date from the last, or early part of the present, century. The earliest and only one at present known as belonging to the seventeenth century is that of Walsham-le-Willows, Suffolk, which is dated 1685; the next oldest being that in Astley Abbot's Church, 1707.

That so few are now to be found in churches is due to several causes. Too frequently, as at Cleve and Eyam, the restoration of the fabric was attended with their destruction. Again, at Abbot's Ann Church "one or two have fallen from decay within the last twenty years" (Inf. of Rev. J. B. Fenwick); and this was probably the natural end of many, owing to the perishable character of the materials employed in their construction. Their preservation in Ashford and Matlock Churches has been wholly due to the care and attention they have received from their respective incumbents.

There is only one parish in England where the custom is still kept up: that of Abbot's Ann, near Andover, the last occasion of a garland being suspended in the church being so recent as February 17th, 1896. As the oldest one yet remaining there is dated 1750, a period of full 150 years is covered by them.

A brief explanation of the objects of the custom is necessary before closing these remarks.



The gloves, taken by themselves (and without them a garland is incomplete), are affirmed to represent a kind of challenge "to any or all to asperse the character of the deceased, and are attached to the crown as proof of inability to do so." But the garland *as a whole*, with all the ceremonies attending it, was accepted as a tribute to the virginity of the deceased maiden, and was literally a Virgin's crown or garland. It was the overt testimony of those who knew her to her purity, innocence, and blameless life; and the suspension of the decorated framework in the church where she worshipped kept her memory "green," and in constant remembrance. Some have continued the emblem a step further, in declaring it to be "the old and beautiful idea that young virgins are snatched away by death that they may become the 'Brides of Christ,' like those who dedicate themselves to Him living, when they take the veil" (*Notes and Queries*, 4th Ser., xii, 480). Of the universality of the floral emblem, Mr. A. Clouston has remarked: that the purity of female life, as symbolised in the virgin's garland, is reflected in other forms in "many old European romances and ballads. A rose is the test in the romance of Perce Forest; in "Amadis de Gaul" it is a garland that blooms on the head of her that is faithful, and fades on the brow of the inconstant" (*Popular Tales*, 1873, i, 173).

It can easily be understood how such a beautiful custom, whatever may have been its origin, lingered for many years in rural and hill districts, long after it had ceased in more populous places; and we can but regret the cessation of one that served to influence others for good, was perfectly innocent in itself, and was a tribute of affection to departed worth.



British Archaeological Association.

FIFTY-SIXTH ANNUAL CONGRESS AT BUXTON, 1899.

MONDAY, JULY 17TH, TO SATURDAY, JULY 22ND.

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Proceedings of the Congress.

MONDAY, JULY 17TH, 1899.

THE fifty-sixth Annual Congress of the British Archæological Association opened in splendid weather on Monday, July 17th. The Reception was in the Council Chamber at the Town Hall, at four o'clock. Amongst those present were Mr. H. A. Hubbersty, J.P. (chairman of the local committee), Mr. and Mrs. Blashill, Mr. and Mrs. Cates and the Misses Rose, Mr. and Mrs. Horsfall, Mr. Williams, Mr. Rayson, Rev. H. J. D. and Mrs. Astley, Dr. and Mrs. Brushfield, Mr. Wimperis, Mr. Gould, Mr. and Mrs. Lynam, Mr. George Patrick, Mr. Nicholls, Col. Lambert, Dr. Winstone, Mr. Mitchell, Mr. Hughes, Mr. and Mrs. Nathan, Rev. Dr. Cresswell, Mr. and Mrs. Birts, Rev. C. C. Nation (Vicar of Buxton), Rev. W. Fyldes (Vicar of Hartington), Mr. J. Willoughby, J.P. (chairman of the Buxton Urban District Council), Mr. J. H. Lawson, Mr. J. Beswick, Mr. W. Sheppard, Rev. A. R. T. Winckley, Mr. J. E. Harrison, Mr. A. Brown, Mr. W. R. Bryden (local hon. secretary), Mr. C. J. Smilter, Mr. M. Salt, Mr. Josiah Taylor, Mr. Joseph Taylor, Mr. Wyles, etc.

Mr. H. A. Hubbersty, J.P., whose rising was acknowledged with applause, said it gave him very great pleasure, as chairman of the committee which had been formed in Buxton to try and draw up a programme for their edification during this week, to welcome them there that afternoon. Some two hundred years ago it was supposed to be a great thing—in fact, one of the wonders of the day, to know and see the Seven Wonders of the Peak. At any rate, a very learned man, well known in the district, named Cotton, wrote a very excellent little book on the Seven Wonders of the Peak; and he thought he must have foreshadowed this meeting, because he began with an archæological subject and ended with an archæological subject, the first being Poole's Hole and the last Peveril of the Peak Castle.

Between those two items, and since the days of two hundred years ago, a great deal had been found out, and a great deal had yet to be found out. There was a large margin between the two eras, and it was hoped during the week to pick the brains of some of those gentlemen who had made a study of the wonders of the Peak district. If they went to the top of the highest hill they would find something of interest; they had, in fact, made archæological discoveries on the top of the highest hills. Or let them take a lower line, they would find archæological discoveries had been made all about the district; or if they went deeper still and tried to get under the earth, explorations proved how rich this district was in finds. Then they might go further, and come down to a later period, which was more interesting to archæologists, perhaps, than those who had studied the earlier periods. They had the magnificent pile of Haddon Hall and beautiful churches in their midst, to say nothing of the still earlier crosses which were scattered about. The great difficulty had been to arrange a programme so as to bring in as much of interest as possible in the time at their disposal, and therefore they were bound to leave out many interesting places. He hoped the week would continue as fine as the past week had been, and that they would be able to see what a lovely spot Buxton was; that all about it was so pleasant, and there being so much more that they might explore, that they would come again some other day, and he could assure them they would be glad to see them again. This was an informal meeting, and as many had travelled some distance and desired rest, he would not detain them longer.

Mr. J. Willoughby, J.P., said it was his privilege, as chairman of the Urban District Council, to offer to the members of the British Archæological Association, who had favoured them with their presence that day, a most cordial and hearty welcome on behalf of the inhabitants of Buxton. As Mr. Hubbersty had said, the district must be rich and highly interesting to archæologists; and it was the sincere hope of the townspeople that they might have one of the most notable meetings ever organised by the Association. He would only add his own wish that they might have a happy week with them.

Mr. Thomas Blashill said it was a matter of great personal regret to him as Treasurer, and as one of the Vice-Presidents of the association, to have to respond to the very kind welcome which had been extended to them. As they knew, their President for this year, the Marquis of Granby, who so very courteously and genially received them, and had so very heartily expressed his desire to do all he could to help them,

had expressed his distinct intention, if not of being with them that day, of meeting them on the morrow. He had been sufficiently in Buxton himself to make the acquaintance of many of their members, and many of the townspeople, and he had been very much struck with the cordial way in which they had been received. He was particularly interested in what they were to see and hear. He was sure that by the help of their local hon. secretary and colleagues a very excellent programme was drawn up. He was amazed himself at the extent and variety of what they had to see within a reasonable distance, and within reasonable carriage or railway ride. After the very cordial welcome which had been extended to them, it remained but for him to say that they would conduct their meetings as best they could without the help which they had hoped from the Marquis of Granby. They felt indebted to those gentlemen who had been good enough to offer them papers and addresses. He could only imperfectly thank them for their very kind and cordial reception, and especially the chairman (Mr. Hubbersty) for the constant labour he had taken during a few months past, and the committee. In beginning their arrangements, let them all say God-speed !

THE CONVERSAZIONE.

A conversazione was held in the Town Hall in the evening, and the event proved one of the most brilliant functions ever held in Buxton. The room itself could not possibly have presented a more beautiful and attractive appearance. The ample space was well adapted to the requirements of the large number of members of the Association and invited guests who attended. The stage was decorated with flowers, palms, etc. of the most beautiful and varied tints that the conservatories could supply, while the recesses of each window were treated in an artistic manner with plants, flowers, and ferns, and between each window the space was filled with rare specimens of ancient armour, including helmets, chain-mail, shields, Cromwellian boots, etc. Below the stage was a dais for the orchestra. The floor space was arranged to the best possible advantage. From the pillars stood out fine and effective palms. The arrangements made by Mr. W. R. Bryden (hon. local secretary) and the committee could not have been better. The guests began to arrive before eight o'clock, and half-an-hour later the room was comfortably filled, and when the light was turned on the spectacle provided was of a brilliant description. In convenient spots arranged on tables, all set out in spacious glass-covered cases, was a wealth of objects of great interest, and, we may add, priceless value to the archæologist, including the following : Mr. Micah

Salt's choice and varied collection of curiosities found in Deep Dale caverns—prehistoric and Roman—which were described by Mr. Salt and his son, both of whom have been ardent workers in the cause of antiquity in this neighbourhood. In addition to this, the Buxton Free Library Committee had a case containing relics from Deep Dale on view, the proceeds of the joint searches made by Mr. Salt and Mr. Millett, and a plan prepared of the cavern by the latter gentleman. Another object of interest was a Roman spade, found in an old lead mine near Millers Dale, lent by Mr. J. C. Webster, Garvock House, Buxton. The three large cases of curiosities found in the neighbourhood of Buxton attracted—as indeed they well deserved to do—the keen attention and appreciation of the visitors. But no account of the objects of interest on view would be complete without a notice of the remarkable collection of caskets and early metal-work by Mr. W. J. Andrew, of Whaley Bridge. First and foremost, under a glass case, we viewed with interest an early relic, an inscribed stone, containing the first verse of St. John's Gospel, in Greek characters, probably the sixth or seventh century. Then there was armour of the period of King Henry VIII and Queen Elizabeth. There were contributions of armour also from Mr. Ronald Leigh, of Lyndhurst, Buxton, and from Mr. Ernest Gunson, of Manchester. Mr. Andrew was also the exhibitor of the curious pair of Cromwellian boots to which reference has already been made; while a charming example of the leather water-bottle was exhibited by Mr. Nathan Heywood, of Manchester. A gem of the collection, so kindly lent by Mr. Andrew, however, must not be forgotten, in the shape of a lady's casket and oratory combined. On the lid of the little door below was a silver crucifix, and above a lovely painting on marble of the Holy Family. In this curious old-world casket are a number of secret drawers. The ancient metal-work, in a glass case, was most curious; and so were the old money-coffers about which Mr. Andrew has given much interesting information to *Notes and Queries*. The Ashton Brank, or Scold's Bridle, was of the Tudor period, lent by the Stamford Park Joint Committee. Last, but by no means least, we noticed a choice collection of photographs, forwarded by Mr. Blashill, of London, depicting Carnac, the covered alley, the Dolmen des Marchands, the interior being most curious, and showing the sculptures. Then there was the Dolmen, or Cromlech, Bagneux, near Saumur on the Loire, the great fallen menhir at Locmari-aquer, ornaments in stone at Pierres Plates, the alignments of Carnac, the tumulus at Gavr Inis, etc. Sufficient has been said to show that there were many valuable and interesting objects on view for the entertainment of the guests.

Amongst those present with friends we noticed the following : Mr. W. J. Andrew, Mr. and Mrs. W. Armstrong, Rev. H. J. and Mrs. Dukinfield Astley, Mr. Bemrose, Dr. and Mrs. Brushfield, Mr. and Mrs. Bryden, Mrs. Bennett, Mr. and Mrs. Blashill, Mrs. Best, Mr. and Mrs. Cates, the Rev. Dr. Cresswell, Mr. and Mrs. A. B. Chapman, Mr. and Mrs. Wilson Chandley, Rev. J. and Mrs. Eayrs, Mr. and Mrs. E. W. Fry, Rev. Dr. Ford, Rev. C. E. and Mrs. Green, Mr. and Mrs. Gregg, Mr. and Mrs. Gibbons, Mr. I. C. Gould, Dr. Hyde, Colonel Howard, Rev. G. and Mrs. Hobson, Mr. and Mrs. Horsfall, Mr. W. E. Hughes, Mr. Digby Johnson, Mr. C. F. Johnson, Colonel Lambert, Mr. J. J. and Mrs. Lees, Mr. T. H. Lowthian, J.P., Mr. J. H. Lawson, Mr. and Mrs. Lynam, Mrs. McMillan, Mrs. Marsden, Mr. and Mrs. Milligan, Rev. C. C. and Mrs. Nation, Mr. A. J. Nichols, Rev. A. and Mrs. Newenham, Mr. George Patrick, Mr. and Mrs. Peacock, Mr. S. Rayson, the Misses Alice and Eleanor Rose, Mr. and Mrs. Schofield, Mr. and Miss Scull, Rev. W. H. and Mrs. Scotter, Miss Turner, Mr. Williams, Mr. and Mrs. Walker, Mr. J. T. Wimperis, Mr. Kenarth Watson, Sir Thomas Wardle, Knt., Mr. F. Wright, Miss Wilde, Mr. Joseph Whalley, etc., etc.

The Chairman (Mr. H. A. Hubbersty), on behalf of the Buxton Branch of the British Archæological Association, said he had great pleasure in welcoming the real members of the Association to Buxton. They hoped they would be able to show them, in the district of Buxton, something worth coming for ; especially as there was so much of interest in the neighbourhood. He had, first of all, to apologise to them—a letter would be read shortly from the Right Hon. the Marquis of Granby, saying he was unable to be present that night, owing, as they all knew, to the unfortunate loss which his family had sustained by the death of Her Grace the Duchess of Rutland, a lady whose loss in Buxton they would all very much feel : for on several occasions she had been there, and nothing could have exceeded the graciousness and kindness with which she had received and spoken to everybody. Therefore, they all fully appreciated the great loss, and they all felt the greatest sympathy and condolence with the family in their very serious bereavement ; and a greater loss was it to them as archæologists—and he (the Chairman) might for the time being be classed as such—for they would not have the benefit of their company at the most interesting portion of their visit in the district, viz., to Haddon. There was no doubt they would not only have had the pleasure of Lord Granby's company and a valuable address from him, but he felt sure that, had her ladyship been alive and well, they would also have had the honour of her company.

It was a double loss they thus felt, as regarded their visit to Haddon on Tuesday. During the week he hoped they had arranged a programme for them which would be of very great interest. They knew that many came for various objects. Some might have come to see what they could of the very earliest stage—the stage when man lived on the earth in the earliest period, that of the Stone Age. If so, he could tell them that they had found in this district specimens, which they would see in that room, of the Stone Age, of a most interesting kind, and one in which this particular portion of the country was especially rich. But he did not pretend to be able to give them any particulars upon that learned subject. They would hear, during the week, more than he would be able to explain of the rich finds that had been made in that immediate neighbourhood. From the oldest times on record, the wonders of the Peak had been written of; but since those times more valuable finds had been made, and they would see in the cases in that room very good specimens of what the people did in those remote ages. He took it that what the archaeologist had to do was to try to revivify the past; to try to bring to their imaginations how the natives in those days spent their time; and they could see, from the few things which had been left, something of the way in which they managed to exist in those periods when each man acted for himself. Or they might take the more recent period commonly called the Bronze Age, when the natives formed themselves into tribal districts; and some men came to the fore, and were able to attach the tribe to themselves and become in a way chieftains; and, having accumulated wealth, they undertook expeditions about the country; while at the same time, by a knowledge of fire and the smelting of metals, they had so far advanced from the Stone Age that they were able to form not only more protective but aggressive weapons, by which they could acquire power. Then, again, on the hills round Buxton, where some of these chieftains had been buried—some on the very highest points: why, it was for them to say; but the fact remained that they did select the highest points, commonly called “lows,”—“barrows” and bronze instruments had been discovered. How long they had been buried they knew not, but they did know that in some parts of the globe the same conditions existed now—for example, the Stone Age of the past in England might be found to-day in the South Sea Islands, as the Bronze Age might in Central Africa. Then they came to the Iron Age, which he might call the agricultural stage. Our forefathers had been able to establish themselves in a country which they kept for themselves, and were able to cultivate, and in that Age they erected buildings which

remain to the present day. Then he came to a more interesting age, when people began to burrow into the earth, and tried to find stone and bronze implements. He might, too, refer them to one of the most interesting buildings—the Castle, at Castleton,—which had been handed down to us, and about which there was a certain amount of myth; but there the building remained, and it was most interesting as being one of the oldest of its class in the county. To come down to later times, there was the magnificent baronial pile, Haddon Hall, a visit to which was part of the programme, and which all of them would be only too glad to visit, and hear for themselves many of the new facts which had come to light lately respecting it, and which would arouse more interest in it than had hitherto been taken. Finally, they might come down to the architect of to-day, who tried to a certain extent to revivify the past in stone. They might take, for example, the best class of building which had been put up by our forefathers, the Cathedral of the Peak at Tideswell, and the splendid church at Bakewell, which had at times been restored, and these would show them something of the greatness and the cleverness of the architects of the past. There was a still earlier period in ecclesiastical history, represented by the crosses with which this district abounds; and at Bakewell Church, Eyam, and other places, they would have an opportunity of hearing something from those who knew their history. He thought they had a programme sufficient to enable them to occupy the week in a very interesting way. If they found there were places which the committee had omitted to insert, owing to the time required to go from place to place, the country round was so rich in archaeological subjects, that, given fine weather such as they had had that day, he felt sure a great many would be so satisfied with what they had to show in the Peak that they would be very glad indeed, and he hoped they would, to come at some future time to explore the remainder of this district. So far as the Association was concerned, the Buxton branch offered them a most hearty welcome. They thanked them very much for doing them the honour to come to Buxton, because they felt that they had so much to learn. Many of them had been in that place all their life, and would not take much interest in it if such a gathering as that Association did not come amongst them, and bring to their notice all the things to which they paid so little regard. In conclusion, he hoped they would have a very pleasant evening.

A programme of choice music was performed by the Buxton Amateur Orchestra and others.

Mr. Thomas Blashill, responding to the address of welcome, said

their chairman had alluded to the great loss sustained by their president, which they all very much felt. He was hopeful for the success of the Congress, after the spirit in which the chairman had dealt with a class of subjects that were their peculiar study. He directed the attention of their own members to the extremely interesting collection of dolmens which they saw round the walls. They were going on Thursday to Arbor Low, and he had not the least doubt that a further search would enable them to discover more. He must acknowledge that the people of Buxton had received them most handsomely, not only in regard to the preparation made for them, but in regard to the charming conversazione that night. Nothing could be more delightful than the way they had entertained them. He had known Derbyshire—not much, but a little—and he should, if he might say so, call it the playground of England. The charm and beauty of its landscape and the purity of its air, together with its objects of interest, would, as the chairman had said, no doubt bring them back again to Buxton. Let him say, on behalf of his colleagues, how much they thanked him and all for what they had done and were doing, and for the valuable assistance they had received and were to render during the week.

Mr. George Patrick, Hon. Secretary to the Association, said the Marquis of Granby had sent a letter, expressing his great regret that the unfortunate loss his family had sustained had made it impossible for him to fulfil his engagement. The letter was as follows:—

“ 16, Arlington Street, W.C., July 15th.

“ DEAR MR. PATRICK,—This sad death of my stepmother will, as my telegram has by now informed you, prevent my presiding or being present at the Archæological Congress at Buxton next week. I deeply regret this should be so, but I am sure you will understand the impossibility of my attempting such an undertaking under such circumstances. May I ask that my sincere apologies should be made to the Congress ?

“ I am, yours faithfully,

“ GRANBY.”

On receipt of this letter, he (Mr. Patrick) wrote, on behalf of the Congress, expressing their respectful sympathy with the Duke of Rutland and family under such sad circumstances.

The company dispersed at 10.30 o'clock.

TUESDAY, JULY 18TH, 1899.

On Tuesday morning the members left Buxton in saloon carriages on the Midland Railway 10.5 train for Bakewell. The weather was

brilliantly fine, the ladies and gentlemen thoroughly enjoyed the outing. Upon arrival at Bakewell, the party proceeded, by kind permission of Mr. R. W. M. Nesfield, J.P., to view the ancient earthwork, close to the station, and after reaching the summit of the hill, Mr. I. C. Gould gave the following account:—

“If we carry our minds back nearly a thousand years to the early part of the tenth century, we find England in the throes of the conflict between the English and the Danish power. You will remember that the Saxon King, Edward, waged his long contest, winning his way to success over the Danes, both he and his wonderful castle-building sister, Ethelfleda, “Lady of the Mercians,” constructing many fortresses about this land, to maintain the power the Saxons had secured.

“The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, under date A.D. 924, tells us that, after being at Nottingham with his forces, King Edward ‘Went thence into Peakland, to Bakewell, and commanded a burh to be built nigh thereunto and manned.’

There is, I think, good presumptive evidence that this is the site of King Edward’s burh; and here, as in Nottingham, Stamford, and elsewhere, his policy was to construct the accommodation for his garrison and people on the side of the river opposite to that occupied by the town. The method of construction of this and similar forts was simple. First was thrown up a mound (the parent idea, as it were, of subsequent stone keeps), the mound generally surrounded by a moat, though owing to the formation of the ground, not so here; next was thrown up a great rampart, or wall of earth, surrounding a bailey or base court attached to the mound; then in some instances, as in this, a second bailey or outer court was added—not always for defence of flocks and herds, as Clark suggests in his *Medieval Military Architecture*—but in this place, as in some others, to form a defensive enclosure for the homes of the King’s people, who would be to some extent at enmity to the inhabitants of the town, many of whom probably were of Danish blood. Surrounding the summit of this mound or keep, then possibly of somewhat larger dimensions, would be a stockade or wall of timber—a similar defence being placed along the top of the earthen ramparts of the baileys. The freshly-made mound would not have carried the weight of a stone structure, even if stone had been customarily used for such purpose at that period; but there is some appearance of a small circular tower having been erected on the spot at some subsequent time, perhaps indeed two or three centuries after.

“The mound is placed, not within the bailey, but forming part of

its line of defence, and admirably placed for commanding the road of approach, which winds up below ; this road would also be subject to the missiles of the defenders from the high round of the rampart on the north-east.

"This plan, for the production of which I have to thank Mr. H. A. Rye, shows the mound and its base court, which ended, I believe, with the ditch where there is now a fence on the north-east ; but beyond that ditch there is some trace of defensive work to the elongation of the hill further north.

"The road from the station was sunk only some twelve years ago, but there is evidence of a cutting there prior to the deeper cutting for the road.

"As I am dealing only with the period of the construction of the fortress, I need not refer to any subsequent incidents of Bakewell's history in relation to this spot.

"There is, on the east side of the railway, a rounded hill with a deep sunken way on one side, and some traces of a slight trench between the hill and the higher slope of the range behind. There appear no remains of defensive works, perhaps it was used for some purpose in early British times ; or possibly, with its commanding view of the valley of the Wye and surrounding country, it may have served as a look-out for the defenders of this Saxon stronghold."

A plan of the burh was exhibited and explained by Mr. Gould, and that gentleman was thanked for his services and address.

From the mound a delightful view of the country is obtained, with Bakewell lying in the hollow, and the hills forming an amphitheatre around it, every one of them having prehistoric remains in the shape of barrows, for the most part on their summits ; while a distance off, up the valley, a plateau cut out on the hillside seems to speak of an ancient "mote-place," or gathering-ground for the tribes.

From the Castle the party proceeded to the church, so ancient in its history, so modern as far as the greater part of the actual building is concerned, for it was "restored" in 1824, 1841, and 1852. In the course of these restorations, the whole of the nave, aisles, tower and spire were taken down and rebuilt. After inspecting the exterior of the building, the members and friends took their places in the church, when the Vicar, Revd. C. T. Abraham, first gave an account of the recent discovery of remains of the foundations of two Norman flanking towers at the west end, and of other works lately carried out.

The Vicar said : "I have nothing to say about the history and architecture of Bakewell Church, as a whole. Dr. Cox will deal with

that exhaustively when he comes. All I want to do is to speak of two pieces of work which have been done lately—since he visited Bakewell—at the west end, the oldest and by far the most interesting part of the church above ground archæologically; to tell you what was done and found, and to leave to you the explanation of it, on which I am not competent to speak, and have only a tentative suggestion to offer. Here I should like to say that plans, photographs, and pictures of Bakewell Church at different times will be found by members of the Association in the vestry, which may interest them and assist in the understanding of what has been done. (1) Eighteen months ago, Mr. Barker kindly undertook to reinstate the western end of the church and the west door, which is of the first-half of the twelfth century; and after some delay, Mr. C. Hodgson-Fowler's plans were finally worked out by Messrs. Allsop, Robert Smith (of Bakewell), and Haslam (of Derby). The soil of the churchyard then came up to the roll-moulding on the outside, covering up the plinth to a depth of 2 ft. 4 in.; there was a deep water culvert, narrow, faced on both sides with rough limestone, and covered over with flags, which ran along the entire west front; and 1 ft. 6 ins. above that ran the level of the path, with the ground sloping up westward. The lower 2 ft. 5 ins. of the present west door was filled in with rough masonry; the cill was laid at that level, of worked stone in a line with the roll-moulding; there were short pillars on bases standing on the cill; the upper part of the door was filled with rough boards. The whole west doorway was dwarfed by being docked of 2 ft. 4 ins. of its proper height. When the masonry was removed, the original jambs were found to continue to the old cill, part of which has been preserved, the rest having been entirely broken up; the base of one Norman pillar, and the beginning of the circular shaft upon it, were found and preserved *in situ*. The rest of the work done you will see. The ironwork on the south door was suggested by the twelfth-century ironwork on the south door of Mowle Church in Shropshire, which is extant on a large oak door of about the same date as this doorway. The steps in the western wall have been left untouched. (2) In lowering the soil to the original level, so as to get the proper elevation of the western front and sufficient area for the path, and in laying the drains to carry off the surface water from the area, fragments of a south-western tower were found; the north and south wall of the tower had been cut through and removed to form the culvert of which I spoke, but the two lower courses of dressed Norman work were found, which formed the western inner face of the tower, and a narrow passage and doorway leading to a turret stair in the south-west angle of the tower, and two courses also of the beginnings of the north and south

wall. Photographs by Mr. Mellor and Miss Cross of these, in satin, are in the vestry, and a plan to scale by Mr. Rye. When they had been carefully measured and photographed, these were covered in, and the concrete laid over them. This was at the end of April. Early in May, corresponding masonry was found of the north-western tower—the stones were more perfect and the newel and flint step, and the stone giving the curve to the turret stair, were also found. When these also had been measured and photographed they were raised, and laid in identical order on the top of the western bank—and they ask your attention with a view of fixing the date of the work. Before this part of the excavations were filled in, digging was continued south from the north-west tower, and the two courses of the original inner face of the west end of the nave were found, in a line with the inner face of the south and north-west towers. Here we tested the thickness of the western wall—it was 6 ft. 9 ins. Outside were large quarry-picked gritstones, laid roughly side by side without mortar, and under the bank the remainder of the wall was filled in with small rubble. The outer and inner walls north and south of the north-west tower were 4 ft. 6 ins. thick. So much for the facts. Whether these towers and the western wall of the nave were ever built, there is nothing to show. What I venture to suggest is, that the original plan was to build the western end like that of Melbourne Church, with arches entering the nave from the north and south towers, and that the Norman arches still standing at the west end of the north and south aisles also led from the church into the lower chambers of these towers. The measurements inside these arches correspond with the measurements of the width of the towers; the level of the south aisle under the arch corresponds with the level of the lower course of the masonry in the south-west tower. The stonework appears to me to be of the same date. That is for you to judge. Then, for some reason (perhaps to get the advantage of the western doorway, which, owing to the formation of the ground outside, would have been difficult on the original plan), the whole west end was brought about 9 ft. farther east, on a line with the arches already built, to enter the towers from the aisles, and the present west end of the nave, and the walls on the façade, which now block the arches outside, and yet are of Norman work, were built. The evident fact that the Norman work in the nave is later than the Norman work in the two aisles seems to point to this—and yet, as it is Norman, would seem to exclude the possibility of the towers and original west end of the nave having ever been finished on the first plan—no further fragments of them having been discovered. It is interesting to notice that the existence of these towers was argued from

the aisle arches by Dr. Cox, p. 13 of edition of 1877 of his book on *The Churches of Derbyshire*, and that the plan has been confirmed by our recent excavations. (3) The only other thing to which I direct your attention are the incised crosses and fragments of pre-Norman sculpture, which formed part of the late Mr. T. Bateman's collection, and were generously restored to their old home in Bakewell Church by the Corporation of Sheffield early in the present year, after having left it for fifty-eight years. There are still some sculptured tombs which, being catalogued, remain in the Weston Park Museum at Sheffield, and these not the least interesting portions of the collection. The stones from the Museum are on the shelves in the archway in the north aisle. Also, there are others which till lately were in the south porch, but are better seen in their present position, where they were placed at the suggestion of the Bishop of Bristol. This has been a dry summary, I fear, for you, but the work has been of the greatest interest, as you may conceive, to us in Bakewell; and we look to you of the Archaeological Association to interpret it for us."

The Rev. Dr. Cox, F.S.A., Vicar of Holdenby, upon arrival, immediately proceeded to speak on the antiquity of the church. He said he was almost ashamed of speaking to them, because it was so many years since he was in that most interesting pile. He had heard from their present Vicar of the interesting finds that had been made. He (Dr. Cox) found, before leaving home, that it was thirty-three years since he first took some notes in that church. He was exceedingly sorry that, owing to an engagement to preach in the round church at Northampton the previous evening, he was prevented from being there to listen to their friend, Mr. Gould, speaking on the Anglo-Saxon earthworks, a subject which had a fascination for him. This brought them to the period when there was a church of some importance at Bakewell. The year 924 was the date when King Edward established his castle and garrison there. He could not help thinking that, in all probability, at that time there was a church possibly a hundred years old, or more than that. This would be in the heart of the old Peakland, and the work of missionaries would have made it one of the early centres for Christian missionary enterprise, and consequently it became a widespread parish.

If they wanted to have any clear idea of the state of things at that early date when England was being Christianised, modern missionary enterprise might help them to understand it better, as in the case of the Central African mission, where the missionaries adapted themselves to the habits of the natives, and built at first very simple churches, not much superior to the best huts, and then, after a while,

churches of stone. So, originally, there was the central mission station, so to say, at Bakewell, with chapelries at—among other places—Baslow, Taddington, and Monyash, and these chapels remained chapels, and did not become parishes for a long time.

The history of the minsters of Derbyshire was alluded to in passing, and the effect of the spread of Christianity noted. The first historical mention of the place was in 924, when it was recorded that King Edward went with his force to Nottingham, and commanded the castle to be built on the south side of the river, over against the other, and the bridge over the Trent between the two castles; and then he went thence into Peakland, to Bakewell, and commanded a castle to be built nigh thereunto and garrisoned. There was a great deal to be learned as to the architecture of the original church, but, so far as he was aware, they had nothing to help them very much in that part. There was a stone church, probably, in a district like that, where various remains of a pre-Norman character had been found. It was hardly possible to suppose they would have had a building of wood. In those warlike times, Bakewell would become a place of some importance, and this church, at the time of the Domesday Survey, 1086, had two priests: an honour that was only shared in that county by Repton, an ancient capital of the Mercian kingdom, and a special Christian centre in Derbyshire. Indeed, the first Mercian bishopric was established there before its removal to Lichfield. The fine Norman doorway at the west end of the church used to puzzle him a little as to its date. Dr. Cox proceeded to explain the condition of the fabric in that part of the building, and its immediate entourage, and pointed out the remarkable fact that the steps did not bear the appearance of having ever been worn by the tread of man. It seemed to him very probable that, for some reason or other, in those unsettled times, the people were interrupted in their plans, and did not carry out the full design; or that their plans were somewhat reduced. The idea that the Norman church was the work of King John could not be sustained; the style of architecture pointed to the twelfth century, and in all probability the founder was William Peveril, illegitimate son of William the Conqueror, who died in 1113, and had great possessions in that district. He settled in that part of Derbyshire for a considerable time. Bakewell was one of the English manors bestowed upon his favourite by the Conqueror. In a large district like that, the tithes would have been almost fabulous. They were estimated at £200 a year, a sum which would represent at least £4,000 of money now. The advowson of the church appeared to have been in the hands of the holder of the manor; but when the estates of

the Peverils were escheated in Henry II's reign, both manor and church reverted to the crown, and were bestowed by Henry on his second son, John, the Earl of Montaigne. John presented the church to the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry. He noticed the other day it was said that this Bishop must have been a very great friend indeed to John, as he addressed him on the charter as his "much-loved friend," but in those days the phraseology of kings was very loving. Indeed, in these times something of the same kind could be noticed, for he (Dr. Cox) was spoken of, when presented to his living, as Her Majesty's beloved cousin. Proceeding, Dr. Cox traced the history of the church and its revenues, to the time when it became attached to the Dean and Chapter of Lichfield. Archbishop Peckham made his visitation in 1280, and rebuked the Dean and Chapter for their greed. A good deal of information was to be obtained from the valuable capitular documents of the Dean and Chapter of Lichfield. The first alterations in the old Norman church were made about 1250, and when the central tower piers were taken down it was found the Norman work had been cut away in parts. Pointing to the large south transept, he said this came to be known by the name Newark, *i.e.*, new work, because it was considerably enlarged from the size of the old Norman transept, and the name still survives to the present day. The Vernon chapel, an east aisle to the south transept, was erected in or about 1360, when certain remarkable alterations were made. There were interesting records in stone of the Black Death in various parts of the country, and he was inclined to think that this church—as most certainly the one at Tideswell—formed one of these most interesting records. In some churches they would find the two dates differing on either side. He could not help thinking that the Vernon chapel might have been erected shortly after the time of the Black Death. Passing on, he referred to the roof of the church, which was a fairly good example of the Perpendicular style, and then dealt with the windows and the tracery of them. In the next place, there were special things to note about the monuments. One of the most interesting was a small monument of Sir Godfrey Foljambe and his first wife Anne. It was very beautifully finished. He had seen many hundreds of churches, but not a monument of such small size representing two half-length figures of that date, or one so carefully arranged as, on the whole, that was. The date of death of Sir Godfrey Foljambe was 1377. The next monument in point of date was that of Sir Thomas Wendesley, in the south transept. The figure formerly rested on a raised tomb. He was under a recess, as having presumably founded

some chantry there. It seemed strange to find Sir Thomas Wendesley buried in that church instead of at Darley, where he lived, but he was probably connected with the celebrated Guild of the Holy Cross there. On his helmet were the letters I.H.S., besides which there were other evidences that this must have been the case. He was killed, in 1403, in the battle of Shrewsbury. Dr. Cox then called attention to the Vernon Chapel monuments, especially the one to Sir George Vernon and his two wives, and said close attention must be paid to effigies if they wished to understand the history of sculpture. As far back as the fourteenth century there were schools in Derbyshire which turned out work in alabaster, and did them infinite credit. There were few churches that had such good Elizabethan and early Stuart work as was to be found in this transept. In conclusion, he called attention to the pre-Norman and early Norman sepulchral stones. There were supposed to be sixty-five, and most of them had been recovered now. Indeed, no church possessed such a fine collection of pre-Norman sepulchral stones as this one of Bakewell. He did not intend to refer to the early crosses: the Bishop of Bristol had dealt with that subject.

A cordial vote of thanks was accorded the Vicar of Bakewell and the Rev. Dr. Cox, for their valuable addresses.

Lunch was then partaken of, and after a rest the visitors proceeded, in brakes and carriages, to visit the historic pile so well known to, though so little understood by, the thousands of tourists who rush through it every year—Haddon Hall. On arriving, a paper by Mr. Carrington, hon. librarian at Belvoir, "On the Family and Record History of Haddon," was read, in his absence, owing to the death of the Duchess of Rutland, by Mr. George Patrick.

This interesting paper first dealt with the history of Haddon, relating how, at the Domesday, it was granted to William Peveril, natural son of the Conqueror; how it was afterwards confiscated to the Crown, came to the family of Ferrars, Earls of Derby, and afterwards the Avenels. Richard de Vernon married a daughter of a William Avenel, of Haddon, and thus the estates came into the Vernon family. The Vernon family derived its name from the Castle of Vernon, in Normandy. The paper went on to explain the relationship between the Vernons of Cheshire and those of Haddon, and gave the pedigree of the Vernon family, with the noble deeds of the holders of the name, until the sixteenth century, when the marriage of John Manners with Dorothy Vernon brought the Haddon estates into the Rutland family. Haddon Hall was formerly surrounded by a park enclosed with pales. In 1637 this park contained 597 head of deer.

Mr. Carrington's lucid and valuable paper concluded with a short account of the records preserved at Belvoir and Haddon, upon which he has spent many valuable years of labour. It is hoped that this paper will be published in the *Journal* later on.

Mr. Gotch, F.S.A., followed with an admirable paper "On the Architecture of Haddon," in which he traced the marks left on the building by all the various families to whom it has belonged, until it became what Horace Walpole called it, and what it is to-day, "an abandoned old castle of the Rutlands in a romantic situation," for we have arrived at an age in which romance and beauty and rude plenty must give way to comfort and light and air. Mr. Gotch conducted the party through the building, pointing out all to which he had drawn attention in his paper: the Gothic banqueting-hall, with its fine screen, the panelled withdrawing-room, and other parts connected with the Vernons, and especially with Sir George Vernon, who wrote up over his doorway, "God save the Vernon," and the splendid long gallery or ballroom of the early seventeenth century. Incidentally, Mr. Gotch finally shattered all the romance connected with Dorothy Vernon. Dr. Cox, in the morning, had remarked that there was no need for an elopement, as Sir John Manners was as good a match as the young lady could expect; and now it was pointed out that, in any case, the ballroom and the flight of steps and the terrace were none of them in existence till some time after her death. But romance is slow to die, and, as Mr. Gotch eloquently put it, in spite of all that antiquaries may discover, Venus will still hold sway. This paper has already appeared in print elsewhere.

In the chapel—a most interesting little building, with south aisle, nave, and chancel—Dr. Cox gave another address, descriptive of it.

Private chapel though it be, it, too, has its history. Norman pillar and font, Early English arcade, Decorated west window, Perpendicular clearstory and chancel, high gilded pews and pulpit, all tell their own story. The aisle was a separate chantry or guild chapel of St. Nicholas, with its own priest. The altar-slab, with the five consecration marks, is *in situ*, as is also that of the high altar, on which now stands a poor communion-table. On the north, a flight of steps leads from the long gallery to the chapel, and a door opens on to the rood-screen—no longer existing. Opposite this door, on the south, is a curious squint in the wall, looking right on the centre of the guild altar—no doubt for the sacristan to know when to ring the sanctus bell. At the east end, on the lintel of the window, are three hollows cut in the stonework to hold the cross and candlesticks belonging to the altar, showing the pre-Reformation use.

The members then made a close inspection of the various portions of the Hall and grounds, and drove to Bakewell Station and returned to Buxton by the 5.29 express.

At the evening meeting, in the Town Hall, the Rev. W. Fyldes read a paper "On the Roman Roads in the Neighbourhood of Buxton," dealing specially with two : (1) that from Little Chester, *viâ* Derby and Arbor Lowe, to Buxton ; and (2) that from Brough.

A milestone on the former road was found in 1862 ; but it is mutilated, and the inscription almost illegible. It mentions an Emperor, and is "X miles" from somewhere. The latter is known to this day as Bathamgate, *i.e.*, "the road to the baths"—pure Anglo-Saxon. From this and many other circumstances, Mr. Fyldes argued the importance of Buxton as a Roman station and bath. This paper will be published in a future number of the *Journal*.

The second paper was by Dr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., "On the Name of Matlock and the Ancient Lead Mines of Derbyshire," and was read, in his absence, by the Rev. H. J. D. Astley, Hon. Secretary. This paper is published on pp. 33-46.

(To be continued).





Proceedings of the Association.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 17TH, 1900.

C. H. COMPTON, ESQ., V.-P., IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the donors of the subjoined presents to the library :—

- To the* Cambrian Archæological Association for "Archæologia Cambrensis," October, 1899.
- „ The Leigh-Browne Trust for "Biological Experimentation": Its Functions and Limits, by Sir B. Ward Richardson, M.D., etc.
- „ Executors of Jos. Stevens for "Parochial History of S. Mary Bourne, Hants.," by Jos. Stevens.
- „ Essex Archæological Society for "Transactions," vol. vii, Part iv, New Ser., 1899.
- „ Royal Archæological Institute for "Archæological Journal," 2nd Ser., vol. vi, No. III, 1899.
- „ Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society for "Magazine," vol. xxx, 1899.
- „ Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society for "Inquisitions," p.m., ch. i. Part vii, 1899.
- „ Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society for "Additions to Library," App. III, 1899.
- „ Société d'Archæologie de Bruxelles for "Reports, &c.," July to October, 1899.

Mr. Cecil Davis read a Paper upon "Zoology represented on Monumental Brasses in Gloucestershire," which was illustrated by many rubbings and engravings. The Paper dealt with some of the various animals represented on our old monumental brasses, but did not notice those borne as charges on shields. As the mediæval sculptor availed himself largely of the forms of animals in the enrichments of his carvings, whether of gargoyles, capitals, or misereres, so in like

manner the brass engraver found in the representation of animals a valuable aid to his compositions. Chief amongst the animals represented is, of course, the king of beasts, which, as symbolical of strength and courage, is fitly found supporting the feet of the knight or warrior; but the lion is also found on the brasses of judges, as an emblem of the power they wielded when sitting in their courts. The lion again appears in a winged form as the symbol of St. Mark. Next to the lion the most frequent animal represented is the dog, which, as the personification of fidelity, is to be seen on many brasses to ladies. At Deerhurst is an interesting example of a dog, which is shown as a supporter of the feet of Lady Cassey. It is evidently a favourite dog, for beneath is its name "Terri." The only other known instance is on a brass formerly at Ingham, Norfolk, where the pet's name is recorded "Jakke." The dogs are often found lying on the ladies' skirts as lapdogs, and looking up into the faces of their mistresses. A collar of bells is represented round the neck, and the bells are curiously like the bells used for a similar purpose at the present day. The sheep is another animal well represented in Gloucestershire brasses, especially in the wool-growing districts of the Cotswolds. They are sometimes associated with a woolpack, as in the case of a wool merchant and his wife at Northleach, c. 1485, where each has the right foot resting upon a sheep couchant and the left on a woolpack. On the woolpack of the husband is his merchant's mark. Animals and other creatures are found on monumental brasses forming the "breaks" in the inscriptions bordering the brasses, of which the Fortey brass, c. 1447, is a capital example. In this brass the designer seems to have copied his examples direct from nature; they are not conventionalized in the least; and living specimens of the various creatures represented, such as the crayfish, are to be found in the streams of the Cotswolds at the present day.

An interesting discussion followed, in which Mr. Andrew Oliver, Mr. Gould, the Rev. H. J. D. Astley, Mr. Rayson, the Chairman, Mr. Williams, and Mr. Patrick took part.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 31ST, 1900.

C. H. COMPTON, ESQ., V.-P., IN THE CHAIR.

A Paper was read by Mrs. Day upon the "Life and Portrait of Robert Holgate, fifty-ninth Archbishop of York," which was illustrated by a fine engraving of the portrait, in oils, of the Archbishop, still to be seen in the Governor's room of the hospital which he founded at Hemsworth, near Pontefract, and by several photographs and

sketches. The Paper, which was exceedingly interesting, was compiled from original MSS. and documents placed in the writer's hands during the past summer. Robert Holgate was a man of considerable wealth and eminence, and was born at Hemsworth, in the West Riding of Yorks, in 1481. He was bred a Gilbertine, and became Master of the Order at Sempringham, in Lincolnshire, and Prior of Watton, in the county of York, which was a branch house of the Gilbertines. He was also Vicar of Cadney, co. Lincoln, and was appointed Preacher to the University of Cambridge in 1524; subsequently he became Chaplain to the King, and on March 29th, 1537, Bishop of Llandaff; and in the same year the King, Henry VIII, nominated him President of the Council in the North, which office he held for twelve years. From Llandaff he was translated to the Archbishopric of York in 1544. In 1549 the Archbishop married; but Queen Mary, on her accession, because of his marriage, deprived him of the Archbishopric and committed him to the Tower. He admitted his fault, and offered a thousand pounds sterling to the Queen, and was released on January 18th, 1555. The Archbishop died in November of the same year at the Master of Sempringham's head house, which was situated at Cow Lane, Smithfield. Three free schools were founded and endowed by him during his life, viz., York, Old Malton, and Hemsworth; and, by his will, left all his lands for the erection and endowment of a hospital at Hemsworth for a master and twenty brethren and sisters of the age of sixty, or blind, or lame, belonging to Hemsworth and three adjacent parishes. In 1831, the reserved rents of this hospital were said to exceed £2,000 per annum. Under an enlarged and revised scheme, this institution still flourishes, and is the source of even greater good than its beneficent founder anticipated. The paper, which will be published, was supplemented by an interesting description of the "Gilbertines," the only English monastic order.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 7TH, 1900.

CHAS. LYNAM, ESQ., F.S.A., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

The following Members were duly elected:—

J. N. Beckett, Esq., Stoke-on-Trent.

The Free Library, Reading.

The Rev. W. S. Lach-Szyrma, M.A., was unanimously elected to a seat on the Council.

W. R. Bryden, Esq., was unanimously elected Local Member of Council for Derbyshire.

Mr. F. Trehawke Davies produced for inspection a most interesting collection of old deeds, dating from the time of Henry II, and mostly belonging to an old Lincolnshire family. Many of these deeds and indentures were elaborately engrossed, and most beautifully decorated with flowers and scroll-work in exquisite penmanship. Amongst these deeds were some of the time of Charles I, the Protector, and Richard Cromwell, together with a unique deed dated November 17th, 1659, commencing "The Keepers of the Liberty of England by authority of Parliament." This was probably engrossed during the period immediately succeeding Richard Cromwell's resignation of the Protectorship and his retirement into private life. A small parchment, dated October 14th, 1639, purporting to be a shooting license, and signed by King Charles I, evoked some comment, as it set forth that the King had previously issued a proclamation forbidding all his loving subjects to take any partridges or pheasants on their own lands. Amongst many more documents of equal interest were an award signed by Archbishop Cranmer, a militia summons, dated July 29th, 1659, in very quaint language, and two receipts (dated respectively March 23rd, 1652, and September 23rd, 1653) under contracts for sale of lands forfeited to the Commonwealth for treason, and sold by Act of Parliament dated November, 1652.

Dr. Birch said the Deed of 1659 was by no means "unique," as the phrase was commonly employed both before and after Oliver's Protectorate.

A Paper was read by Mr. Andrew Oliver on "Christian Symbols and Emblems." He said there is some difference between a symbol and an emblem. A symbol is the representation of some dogma of religious belief, whereas an emblem is but the arbitrary representation of an idea of human invention. Religious symbols may be either written or pictorial. In the early Christian Church symbols were largely used, as may be seen in the catacombs of Rome. The cross appears under a variety of forms, and legends innumerable have gathered round it. The Paper was illustrated by many diagrams, and by a large collection of examples of various dates and countries, some rare enamels, crucifixes, reliquaries, and other objects of ecclesiastical art. There were also several terra-cotta lamps from the Roman catacombs, and one in the form of a fish, all bearing the sacred monogram in varying forms.

An interesting discussion followed the Paper, which will be published.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 21ST, 1900.

W. DE GRAY BIRCH, ESQ., LL.D., F.S.A., V.-P., IN THE CHAIR.

The following member was duly elected :—

Walter W. Folkard, Esq., Gwydir House, Charity Commission, Whitehall, and 13, Blomefield Street, Upper Westbourne Park.

At the meeting on February 21st, Dr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., V.-P., in the Chair, a Paper was read by Dr. Brushfield, F.S.A., on "Norman Tympana, with especial reference to those of Derbyshire." There are many Norman tympana still remaining in the churches of this county, some of which were inspected by the members of this Association during the recent Congress at Buxton. The principal doorways of perhaps the majority of the later Anglo-Saxon churches had heads of semicircular form, which feature was also continued into and to the end of the Norman period; but the architects of the twelfth century filled up the space between the arch and the square head of the door with a stone slab, or Tympanum. This tympanum was often left quite plain, but in very many instances it was carved with devices of extremely varied character. Some bore patterns of geometric figures, chequers, etc. The number of these, however, was comparatively few, the majority being sculptured with representations of the human form, of animals—real or fabulous—and with attendant scrollwork. Scriptural scenes were also represented, both symbolically and literally. The whole was usually surrounded by a border, generally of a simple kind, but occasionally richly decorated. In cases where the tympanum does not occupy the whole space between the arch and the doorhead, a separate lintel is fixed, generally on a level with the capitals of the shafts supporting the arch; and this lintel is generally carved with a subject quite different from that on the upper stone, as at Little Langford, Wilts, and Dinton, in Bucks. Occasionally, however, the sculpture of the tympanum proper is continued into the lintel, as in the Prior's door at Ely Cathedral. There is very considerable difference in the character of the sculptures on the tympana of the south and north doors respectively, although not many churches possess both at the present time. The north door is traditionally known in many churches as the "Devil's door," from its being the entrance set apart for the use of lepers, cagots, and other proscribed races; and the sculpture on the tympanum of each door was intended to demonstrate the different kind of lesson each was intended to convey to the worshippers. In the Derbyshire churches, there is a preponderance of ordinary animals represented over

the fabulous ones represented elsewhere ; which, it seems reasonable to suppose, is owing to so many of the churches being situated either within or upon the borders of the great Midland forest of early times, which were full of wild animals, like the boar and the wolf, much feared by the sparse inhabitants of the district for their ferocity, and therefore represented over church doors either as types of evil, or as showing, by their adoration, the power of the Cross. In both cases, they would appeal to the eyes of the ordinary worshippers from the originals being so well known to and feared by them. It may be noted that no examples of tympana in Derbyshire refer to the Patron Saint of the church.

An interesting discussion followed the Paper (which will be published), in which Mr. Gould, Mr. C. R. B. Barrett, Rev. H. J. D. Astley, and others took part.

Mr. C. R. B. Barrett pointed out that St. George of Cappadocia, represented on some of the tympana mentioned, was not the same saint as St. George of Merrie England.

The Rev. H. J. D. Astley, referring to the difference in the symbolisms depicted on the north and south doors of churches, and to the fact that the north door was, in some places, known as the Devil's door, said that we have here a curious illustration of the alteration in feeling produced by Christianity. In pre-Christian times, the north was conceived of as the Divine dwelling-place. Among the Accadians and Babylonians, "the Holy Mountain of the Gods" was situated in the north. Mount Olympus is on the north of Greece ; and even among the Hebrews the same idea is found, as, *e.g.*, we read of "the sides of the north, the City of the Great King"—Yahwè ; but the early teachers of Christianity felt that this idea must be rooted out: the more so that, to them, the gods of the heathen had an objective existence as devils or demons. Accordingly, the south, the abode of light and warmth and sunshine, became the symbol of God's presence, and Christian emblems are found on the south doors of churches ; while the north, the abode of cold and darkness, became the symbol of heathenism, and the north doors of churches became the Devil's doors. The same symbolism is found in the Ritual of the Church, the Epistle—the message to Christians—being read on the south side of the altar ; the Gospel—the message to the world—on the north.

The Chairman remarked that a good service would be rendered to archæology by arranging an index to all sculpture, tympana, and details of architecture, other than technical lines and areas. He also dwelt on the universality of animal symbolism in connection with religion, referring to the Winged Bulls of Nineveh, the Egyptian Bull, Apis,

the Serpent, the Agnus Dei, etc. He suggested that when, as in some instances, the signs of the Zodiac are depicted on tympana, *e.g.*, the Centaur or Sagittarius, it may be intended to note the month of dedication of the Church.

The Rev. H. T. Owen, M.A., read a Paper upon "Recent Discoveries at Valle Crucis Abbey," in which he described the various works undertaken during the last six years, and the results obtained. Several of the buttresses at the east end of the Abbey, the central window of the Chapter-house, and the Abbots' throne, all of which were in ruinous condition, have recently been restored at the expense of Sir Theodore Martin. In July last some further excavations were commenced, under Mr. Owen's supervision, in the cloister, where a building had stood which had for many years been used as a stable. After clearing away about three feet of earth and *débris*, the ancient walls of a bath were discovered; and at a lower depth much water was met with, which stopped the work for a week or two. A pump was obtained, and kept going all day to keep down the water; and at length, at a further depth of about 4 ft., what is believed to be a Roman bath was met with. The bath measures about 21 ft. by 9 ft. A second fine bath was discovered to the west, and there is a third, which it is intended to excavate as soon as funds permit. Mr. Owen thinks the whole area of the cloisters was a Roman sanatorium. Some curious finds were met with in the course of these excavations, including a brass of Constantine, some silver pennies of the first two Edwards, and a token of the eighteenth century. In the first ages of Christianity the large bath may have been used as a baptistery, and at the bottom of this bath some embroidered hair was found; it is related that, in the early period, the newly-baptised had to cut off the plaited hair as a token that they were not again to go back into the world. In this bath also were discovered some ancient beads, probably belonging to a rosary. Roman pottery and oyster-shells were met with in the course of the excavations. Many of these articles discovered were exhibited, including a copy of the Koran in Arabic, which was found built up in a wall, and is thought likely to have been brought over by a Saracen prisoner during the Wars of the Crusades.

Mr. C. R. B. Barrett drew attention to the fact that this copy of the Koran was on *paper*, which would make Mr. Owen's suggestion utterly impossible, as paper was unknown to the Arabs or Saracens in the time of the Crusade. It was good paper, and the book well bound, while the handwriting was beautiful. It was probably lost or hidden in the wall by some former owner, perhaps not later than the last century.

Dr. Brushfield considered further evidence was required before the discoveries could be demonstrated; and Dr. Birch said archæologists should hold their opinions in abeyance, pending the result of further excavation and examination.

About £50 is still required to complete the excavations of these baths.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 7TH, 1900.

W. DE GRAY BIRCH, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A., V.-P., IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the donors of the following presents for the library :—

To the Cambrian Archæological Society for "Archæologia Cambrensis," 5th Ser., No. 65, January 1900.

„ Société d'Archæologie de Bruxelles for "Annuaire," 1900.

The Hon. Secretary, Mr. Patrick, directed the attention of the meeting to a letter which had appeared in the *Westminster Gazette* respecting the castle of Launceston, said to be in danger of falling.

The meeting expressed the hope that steps would be taken without delay (either by the authorities of the Duchy of Cornwall, or by Lord Halsbury as Constable), to preserve this historical building from destruction.

The Rev. H. J. D. Astley drew attention to the fact that the recent gales had caused the fall of one of the two remaining arches in the banqueting-hall at Conway Castle; and the meeting expressed the hope that steps might be taken by those responsible for the preservation of that venerable relic of antiquity to avert further irreparable loss.

The Hon. Editorial Secretary also drew attention to a remarkable series of finds in the Central District of Ireland, consisting of some splendid specimens of weapons of the Bronze Age, in one of which the handle of wood still remains intact: a circumstance believed to be unique. There were also specimens of Neolithic arrow-heads and celts, and in the upper level mediæval remains, showing the continuity of occupation. These finds are now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

Mr. I. C. Gould exhibited a parchment dated 1604, which contained a curious clause with respect to the marriage of young men in relation to loans of money.

The Rev. H. J. D. Astley read a Paper entitled "Two Norfolk Villages," being those of East and West Rudham, situated on the main road between Lynn and Fakenham. Much of the present church of

St. Mary, East Rudham, is modern, but there are several exceedingly interesting features still remaining, including a beautiful pillar piscina, with an aumbry over it, in the thickness of the wall. The south porch has a fine groined roof, with Tudor roses at the intersections, and a central boss upon which is represented the Holy Trinity. The Father is shown seated, supporting between His knees the Son upon the cross, the arms of which are upheld by the hands of the Father. The representation of the Holy Spirit upon the head of the Father, in the shape of a dove, although very much worn away, is still discernible. When the church was restored after the fall of the tower in 1876, a discovery of an interesting nature was made in the north wall of the sacarium at the level of the floor. This consisted of numerous fragments, mostly greatly defaced, of carved figures and other subjects in alabaster. They mainly constituted the remains of what must at one time have been a very beautiful reredos of fifteenth-century date, together with some other portions of what may have been an altar frontal. Remains of colour and gilding still exist upon some of the pieces. The paper, which will be published, was illustrated by photographs and sketches, and some of the tiles from Coxford Priory.

Mr. Patrick exhibited and explained the drawings he had made of the remains of the reredos and other features of the church. The register of West Rudham, which commences in 1565, was exhibited, special attention being drawn to a page containing historical notes, written by the Rev. John Robotham, Vicar in 1626. Among other items of interest, there is mention of an inscription then existing in the chancel, recording its restoration in 1456 by the prior and monks of Coxford; and of another inscription over the north door of the church recording the burial of Rev. Peter Stanclif, Vicar, who "in the days of Queen Mary was enforced to put away his wife, whereupon she married to another man; but (when Queen Elizabeth came to the crown), he took her again from her second husband."

An interesting discussion followed the Paper, the Chairman remarking that he believed the above entry in the register was a unique record of a fact which must have been not uncommon during the Reformation period. He also commented on the very unusual position of the Dove, representing the Third Person in the Holy Trinity, in the central boss in the south porch. It is generally found to one side of the cross.



Obituary.

RICHARD SAUL FERGUSON, F.S.A.

“CARLISLE’S most distinguished son, a man of many parts, and a past master in all his varied avocations”—so they spoke of my good friend, Chancellor Ferguson, in the council chamber of the grand old Border City, where he was born on July 28th, 1837. Educated at Shrewsbury and St. John’s College, Cambridge, he graduated as twenty-seventh Wrangler in 1860. He was called to the Bar, and became Chairman of the Quarter Sessions, Chancellor of the Diocese of Carlisle, an Alderman and twice Mayor of the City; and was the President of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian Society for a long series of years. He was elected F.S.A. on March 1st, 1877, and was a most energetic local secretary for Cumberland. He was elected a life member of our Association on November 19th, 1879, and made several short contributions to our Journals, and contributed several interesting exhibits.

His chief work was done for the Cumberland Society: he edited their Journal, and the scholarly works on *Carlisle Diocese Church Plate*, on the *Charters of Carlisle*, and other learned works, appeared under their auspices. He wrote histories of Cumberland and Westmorland for Mr. Elliot Stock’s *County Histories*.

His great work was on *Corporate Insignia*. He was an influential member of the Archaeological Institute, and many of his best papers appear in their Journal.

At my request he read, on December 16th, 1893, a most interesting paper at the Manchester Town Hall on “The Dignity of a Mayor.” The immediate result of this paper was the presentation of a very handsome Mace to the City of Manchester.

A courteous gentleman, a ripe scholar, a kindly friend, was our Chancellor. I well remember meeting him, and enjoying his antiquarian talk, at a pleasant little dinner at the Manchester Reform Club, when Mr. J. Holme Nicholson (our honorary member) entertained at dinner to meet him Professor Boyd Dawkins, the City Librarian (Mr. C. W. Sutton), Dr. Colley March, F.S.A., and myself.

His last act of kindness to me was only a few weeks ago, when he joined Lord Dillon, Sir Henry Howorth, the Bishop of Oxford, and other “good men and true,” in nominating me for the Fellowship of the Society of Antiquaries.

He died somewhat suddenly, on March 3rd last, and was interred with every tribute of respect in the family vault at Stanwix, near Carlisle, after an impressive service at St. Cuthbert’s, in that city.

T. CANN HUGHES.



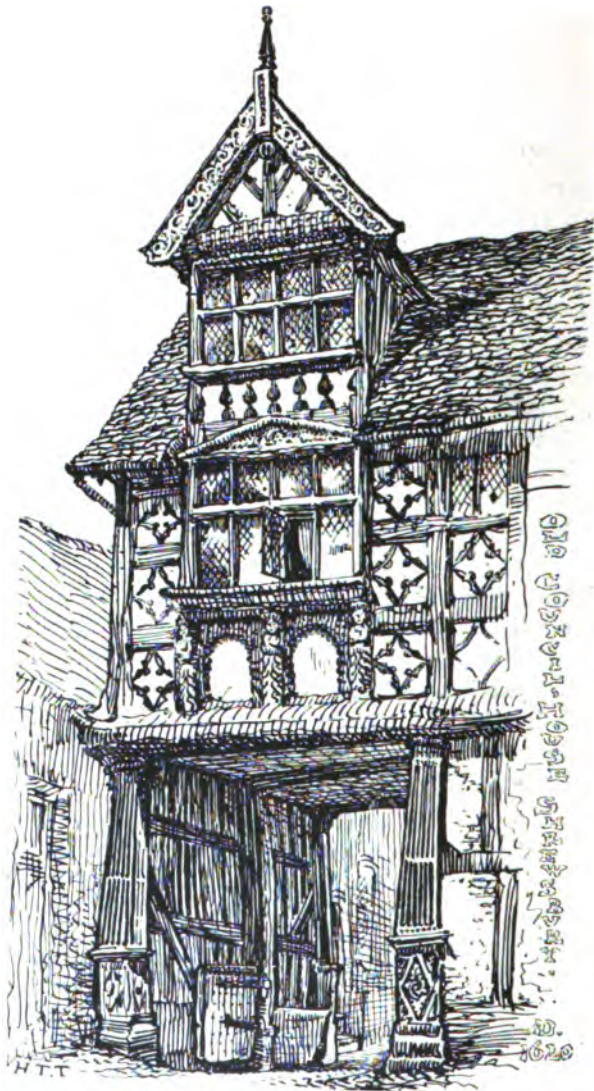
Antiquarian Intelligence.

Nooks and Corners of Shropshire; an Artist's Sketching Rambles in the Country; very fully illustrated with original drawings. By H. THORNHILL TIMMINS, F.R.G.S., Author of *Nooks and Corners of Herefordshire*, and *Nooks and Corners of Pembrokeshire* (London: Elliot Stock, 21s.).—This is a charming book, as those who are familiar with the author's previous works need not be told. The letterpress is racy and interesting, and the style easy and flowing, like the waters of the Teme or the Severn, down whose banks we wander in the writer's company. The illustrations, of which there are some 130, are for the most part beautifully done, and enhance the interest of the book with that artistic touch which enables the reader to see what he might not be able otherwise properly to imagine. It is delightful to have the gift of writing so as to compel the reader's attention; it is more delightful when combined with antiquarian knowledge and skill; it is most delightful of all when the writer who loves quiet country sights and sounds, and has himself come under the spell and glamour of the past, possesses also the power to pourtray these things to the eye; and such threefold excellence Mr. Timmins has in a high degree.

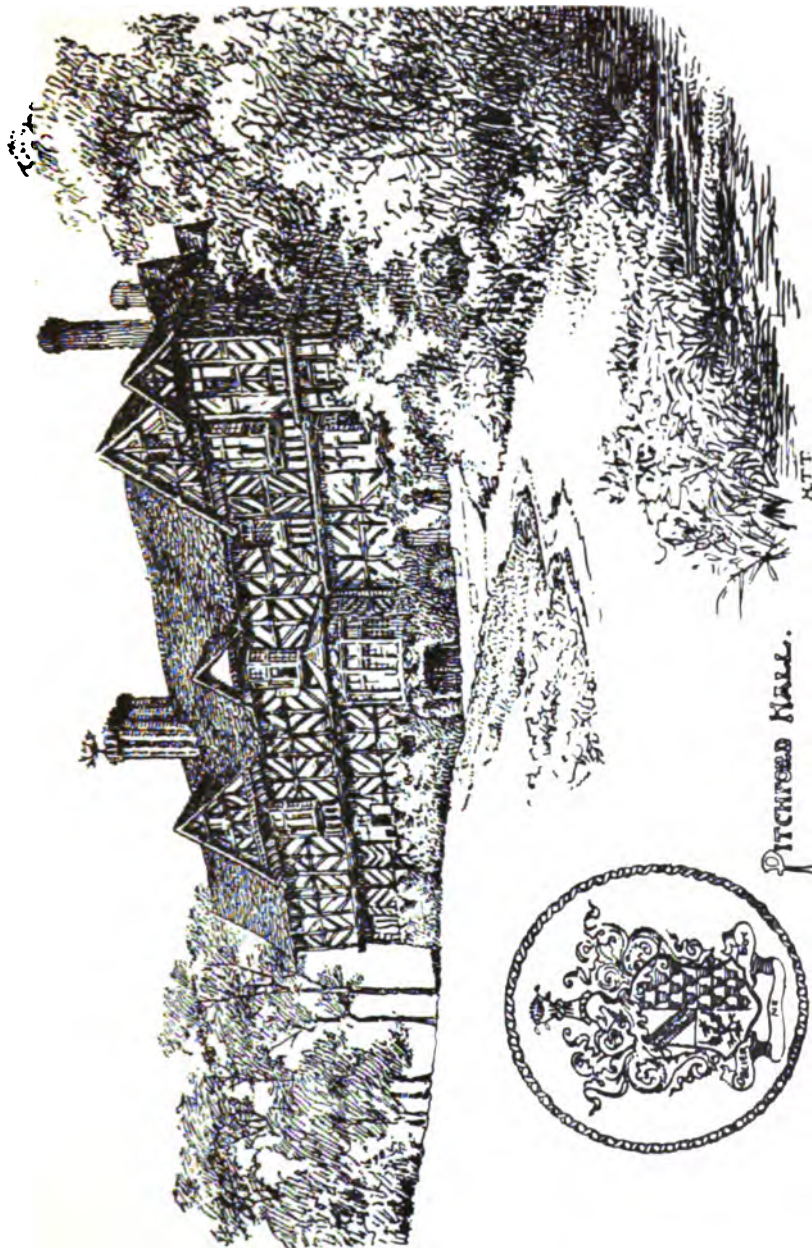
The book is called *Nooks and Corners of Shropshire*, but it is only with the country south of Shrewsbury that the author deals in this volume. The northern part of the country is, we hope, reserved for a future occasion.

The writer starts with a thorough exploration of Shrewsbury, the quaint and ancient city on the Severn, the capital of "proud Salopia." Thence, by easy stages, and with many pauses for a chat, or for a visit to old churches, old houses, and the ruins of castles and monasteries, which abound in this pleasant and fertile district, he conducts the reader to the various places of interest: to Ludlow, with its far-famed Castle and Church; to Much Wenlock and its ruined priory; to Cleobury Mortimer; and to Bridgnorth, perched on its rocky eyrie by Severn side. Wroxeter, the Roman Uriconium, affords a theme for some pleasant antiquarian gossip; its time-honoured walls and ruined hypocausts being duly drawn and described. This is varied by a climb to the summit of the Wrekin, and a description of the views to be obtained from that well-known Salopian hill.

Clun Forest and Corve Dale are thoroughly explored, and described both in pen and pencil; and excursions are made to Tong (described



in Dickens's *Old Curiosity Shop*), to Lilleshall Abbey, Acton Burnell, and Stokesay Castle, and many another fascinating spot. Pitchford Hall, Condoover, Plowden Hall, Marrington Hall and Kinlet Hall, are



M.T.T.

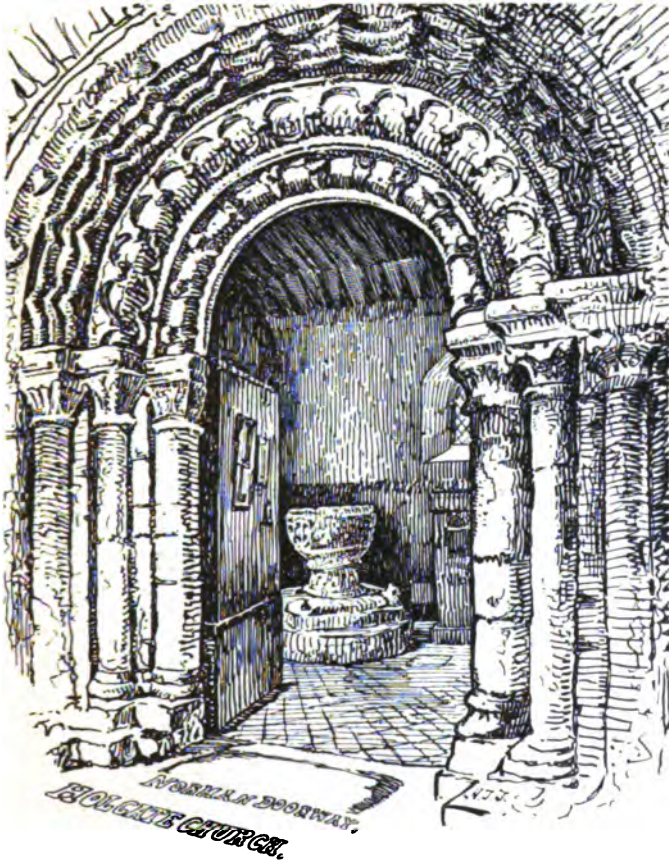
PITCHFORD HALL.



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numbered amongst the ancestral mansions represented here, and old historic Boscobel House is amply illustrated.

Bending his steps towards Wales, the author introduces his reader to a pleasant, rural, little-frequented district. Chirbury and Minsterley yield their tale of archæological spoil ; some old-time abodes



near the Breidden Hills are recorded here in black-and-white ; and a visit is paid to Mitchell's-Fold, a remarkable megalithic circle, whereby hangs a fantastic legend.

In the course of these various rambles the reader finds himself tramping the heather athwart the breezy Longmynd, pausing to admire some venerable homestead, or investigating an ancient parish church, with its hour-glass, quaint "miserere" seats, or sculptured

tombs. Such objects as these, with here a rustic inn-sign, and there the village stocks, yield many a study for the author's pencil.

Many odds-and-ends of curious local information, notes of personal interest, and scraps of tradition or folk-lore, have been gleaned by the author, and garnered into the pages of this work. To a general outline of the natural features of this part of the county, he has added a short sketch of such local events as go to the making of its history : with a glance at the records of the county families whose ancestral homes figure among the illustrations.

An excellent map, specially drawn to indicate the antiquities, is a useful adjunct to the book, and enables the reader to easily identify the points of interest described.

A striking point to be noted by the visitor to the county is the number of old half-timbered buildings which still fortunately remain ; and a good deal of Norman work may still be found in the churches, notably, the Heath Chapel in the Clee district, which does not appear to have been touched since its Norman builders left it.

The author touches on antiquities with a light hand, but we have noted very few inaccuracies. We would refer him to Dr. Brushfield's exhaustive paper, in this part of the *Journal*, for a correction to his views on "Funeral Garlands ; and on p. 216 "HADRANI" is, of course, a misprint for "HADRIANI ;" while on p. 220 he has confounded the Black Canons of St. Austin, who had a Priory at Chirbury, with the Austin, or White, Friars, a totally distinct confraternity.

The book is tastefully printed on fine paper, and handsomely bound, with a view of Buildwas Abbey on the cover ; altogether, more a book for the boudoir than the study. For specimens of one or two of the illustrations, we are indebted to the courtesy of the publisher.

Luton Church : Historical and Descriptive. By the late HENRY COBBE, M.A. (London: Geo. Bell & Sons, 12s.)—The author of this book—a well-known scholar and antiquary, and brother of Miss Frances Power Cobbe—intended it to be a complete historical survey of the Parish and Church of Luton, in Bedfordshire. It consists of four parts, of which only the first two, containing the history of the Church and Parish, with a voluminous appendix, and the description of the Church (illustrated), are included in the present massive volume of over 650 pages. The author, who died at an advanced age in the latter part of last year, only survived long enough to complete the revision of the proofs of the first part ; and the work suffers a little in consequence : for it is unlikely that, had he lived, he would have adopted the arrangement whereby the more important part is relegated

to the appendix. Notwithstanding, as it is, and without the addition of Parts 3 and 4, dealing with the history of the Wenlock family, and with the later history of Bedford Monastery, it is a monumental work, and one which any man might be proud to leave as his life-work to posterity.

The earlier history of Luton is largely conjectural, and requires the use of a considerable amount of the historical imagination ; but we do not think that the author fell into any serious errors, while several of his deductions are brilliant.

Bedfordshire was converted to Christianity in the latter part of the seventh century, and there can be no doubt whatever that monasteries were at that time established in this part of Mercia as centres for the teaching of the new or revived faith. It is highly probable, although it cannot be definitely proved, that Luton was one of these centres. This first church or monastic establishment would, doubtless, be swept away during the incursion of the pagan Danes. In 919, Edward the Elder re-conquered the entire district now called Bedfordshire, recovering at the same time the full extent of the royal estate at Luton. Edward, who was usually known as "the Builder," from the number of churches that he erected, would not fail to build or rebuild a great church at Luton. Here his son Athelstan held a national Parliament in 931, at which there was the largest attendance of any on record.

After the Norman Conquest, at which time the rectory was held by "Morcar the priest," the manor and revenues of Luton were held immediately by the Conqueror and by Rufus. Henry I. bestowed them upon his illegitimate son Robert, Earl of Gloucester. During Earl Robert's possession, the old Saxon church was levelled to the ground, and a Norman church of some magnitude erected on a new site in the midst of the growing population, who were leaving the vicinity of the old manor-house, and settling themselves along the road leading to St. Albans. About 1150 the advowson of the church was made over to Robert, eighteenth Abbot of the neighbouring Abbey of St. Albans ; and the abbot, with the consent of the convent, appropriated its revenues to the cellarer of the abbey. The profits were to be chiefly employed in providing for pilgrims to the shrine, and for travellers and guests, but a certain portion was to be set apart for two priests of good life, to perform divine service in the church of Luton.

Richard I. conferred on Baldwin de Bethune, afterwards Earl of Albemarle, the three royal manors of Luton, Wantage (Berks), and Norton (Northampton). The confirmation of the abbey's property and privileges by Earl Baldwin's two charters relates matter of much local interest as to the vicarage, market, and fair, which is fully dealt with

by Mr. Cobbe. At the annual fair, which was held on "Lady Day in harvest" (August 15th), everything was allowed to be sold save gold, horses, tanned skins, and men. It is expressly stated that men (*i.e.*, slaves) used formerly to be sold at this fair.

The successor to Earl Baldwin in the manor and honour of Luton was another man of note, Falkes de Breaté, a Norman of humble origin, who showed an unscrupulous devotion to the king's cause, and was rewarded by John with lavish generosity. The king, on his deathbed in 1216, assigned to him the honour of Luton, and made him one of the executors of his will; and in 1221, Falkes had completed the building of his castle at Luton, by which he intended to overawe the town and district. He appropriated to himself the common pastures, dispossessed thirty-two of his own freemen in the manor of Luton of their holdings; and did wanton injury to the property of the abbey. The wrongs done to the town-folk of Luton formed the climax which brought about the tyrant's downfall, and his eventual outlawry.

William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, one of the most strenuous supporters of the baronial cause in the time of John, was the next of the famous holders of Luton Manor. His wife, Lady Eleanor, was sister to Henry III; and on the Earl's death in 1231, she held Luton for the seven years of her widowhood, having taken a vow of chastity before the Archbishop of Canterbury. The Countess was but eleven at the time of her marriage, and only seventeen when she became a widow, so that it is scarcely surprising to learn that a dispensation from her vow was sought and obtained at the age of twenty-four, to enable her to marry Simon de Montfort. For twenty-seven years the Earl of Leicester held the manor of Luton. The friendliness of Simon and Eleanor to the church of Luton is shown by his directing that the tithes from his demesne within the parish should be paid without the expense of collecting them, thereby forestalling the modern plan of a cheque from the agent of the estate.

A deservedly full account is furnished of the formal ordination of a vicarage at Luton, at the early date of 1219. The arrangement on the part of the Abbey of St. Albans, of appointing a temporary and stipendiary vicar for Luton, removable at the will of the patron, was the subject of prolonged controversy between the able and energetic Bishop Wells, of Lincoln, and the abbey. The Pope appointed a commission to settle the dispute, and never was the decision of a commission of greater moment to the Church of England, or awaited with greater anxiety by both diocesans and religious communities. It was felt on all sides that the case of Luton would prove a most important precedent. The commissioners were the Bishop of Salisbury and the

Abbots of Westminster and Waltham. Happily for the parishes of England, the decision was in favour of the diocesan. The judges determined that the vicar of Luton should henceforth be presented for approval and institution to the Bishop of Lincoln by the abbot ; that all the small tithes and obventions should be assigned for his income ; that he should be furnished with a suitable house and glebe ; and that the Bishops of Lincoln should have full jurisdiction in the church. The Luton decision became henceforth the rule and model of all such cases. Bishop Wells's immediate action throughout his great diocese for the general ordination of vicarages is set out with detail in the appendix. Luton was the best preferment in the gift of the great abbey, and it had a succession of somewhat distinguished vicars immediately preceding or contemporary with the Reformation. For ten years (1492-1502) it had as a non-resident vicar the notorious Italian cardinal Adrian de Castello, who was consecrated Bishop of Hereford in 1502, and translated to Bath and Wells in 1504.

His successor, Edward Sheffield, Canon of Lichfield, was a respectable man ; a brass to his memory is extant in the church. John Gwynneth, a Welshman, was vicar from 1537 to 1558, and was of no small fame as a musician and controversialist. In 1531 he obtained the Oxford degree of Doctor of Music, stating that he had spent twenty years in the practice and theory of music, and had composed "all the responses of the whole year in division song, and had published three masses of five parts and five masses of four ; as also certain symphonies, antiphones, and divers songs for the use of the church." He was a staunch advocate of the old religion, and seems to have died just before the close of Mary's reign. He was succeeded by George Mason (1558-62), who was instituted about a fortnight after the accession of Elizabeth. Mason was a considerable pluralist, holding three rectories in London diocese, and eventually a prebend at St. Paul's and a canonry at Windsor. He did not, however, immediately accept the declarations enforced by the royal visitation of the summer of 1559, but saved himself from deprivation by taking the necessary oaths at the adjourned commission in November of that year. This is not stated by Mr. Cobbe, but can be gleaned from Gee's recently-issued work on the Elizabethan clergy.

The subsequent ecclesiastical story of Luton and its vicars follows the usual course through the troublous days of the seventeenth century. Its later vicars of the Georgian and Victorian eras have not been distinguished.

Mr. Cobbe tells with lucidity the tale of the church itself. It has a few Early-English and Decorated features, but is in the main of 15th-

century date. The east end has an imitation Early-English triplet window, placed there by the late Mr. G. E. Street in 1866, when the whole of that end was rebuilt. It would have been much better to have retained the eighteenth-century work, which was good and substantial of its kind, and possessed its own historic value. One of the chief features of the church is the two-storied sacristy on the north side of the chancel, the lower room of which is groined in four bays from a central shaft. Its date is *circa* 1400, and we cannot follow Mr. Cobbe in accepting Mr. Herbert Carpenter's theory, that it was taken down from elsewhere and rebuilt in its present position. But the most distinctive feature of Luton Church is the unique baptistery. It is an octagonal stone screen, 10 ft. wide and 20 ft. high, round the font, and has open traceried panels under crocketed gables. The structure is of late Decorated date, and now stands in the nave immediately east of the tower arch. It was moved to its present position in 1866, under the idea (which is very doubtful) that that was its original site. Last century the baptistery was at the west end of the south aisle, and in 1823 it was removed to the south transept. All this shifting has caused considerable injury to the structure, and it has been in consequence much renovated. The descriptive pages contain several minor mistakes of the usual character about leper-windows, confessionals, chantries, and vestments; but not of sufficient moment to mar in any way materially an excellent work. A considerable number of photographic plates illustrate the church and its more noteworthy details; and there is a careful ground plan. The church at one time abounded in brasses and other monuments, of which only a few remain. About 1720 the vicar and churchwardens actually melted down a great number of brasses to form a large chandelier, which now hangs in the sacristy!

In the north transept is a slab to David Knight, who died in 1756, and had his own epitaph engraved in his lifetime. We give it, as it is believed that it has hitherto escaped the notice of epitaph hunters:—

“ Here lyeth the body of Daniel Knight,
 Who all my life-time lived in spite.
 Base flatterers sought me to undoe,
 And made me sign what was not true.
 Reader, take care whene're you venture,
 To trust a canting false Dissenter.”

This history of Luton is, on the whole, and despite the defective arrangement above alluded to, a model of the results which may be obtained by painstaking and patient research in the records of local and parochial history; and we cordially recommend it to the attention of our members, and of antiquaries in general.



THE JOURNAL
OF THE
British Archaeological Association:

JUNE 1900.

THE ROMAN NAME OF MATLOCK,
WITH SOME NOTES ON THE
ANCIENT LEAD MINES AND THEIR RELICS IN
DERBYSHIRE.

BY W. DE GRAY BIRCH, ESQ., V.-P., LL.D., F.S.A.

(Continued from p. 46.)



THE best account of the ancient laws of the Mines and Miners of Derbyshire is given in the *History of the County of Derby*, from materials collected by Stephen Glover, and edited by Thomas Noble, Derby, 8vo, 1829; vol. i, appendix, pp. 34 *et seqq.* But, as the record of these laws is fragmentary and incomplete, I have thought it useful to give, by way of continuation of the foregoing paper, a transcript of an old MS. in the British Museum, which carries the printed matter further still, and thereby contributes to our somewhat scanty knowledge of the regulations which affected Derbyshire mines and miners a little more exact knowledge. Of the remote antiquity on which these laws rest there can be no doubt; for, as Glover remarks, a few mines were left by the Romans at the conquest of this island, under the command of Julius Cæsar, whose descendants continued their

work in the lead mines in the High Peak ; a few about the Forest of Dean and Mendip, co. Somerset ; and some at Finney, co. Cornwall ; all of which governed themselves by the Belgic and Roman laws in force among them, separate from all other subjects of Great Britain ; deciding all differences in their own courts by their ancient laws and customs, and not by any law as practised in Westminster Hall. Edward I enquired into mineral affairs ; and the following record relates to the summoning of a jury of inquest on Saturday (29 May) after Trinity Sunday (23 May), sixteenth year (A.D. 1288) :—

BRITISH MUSEUM. *Addit. MS. 32465A.*

Of the Bundell of the Excheter and the inquisition de Anno of the Rainge of Kinge Edward the first the xvijth.

DERBY. *Scilicet.* Edward by the grace of God Kinge of England and Lorde of Ireland and duke of Aquitayne, To the shirief of the Countie of Derby greetinge.

Knowe yee that wee have assigned our faithfull and welbeloved Reynalde of the liege² and William of Menill³ to enquire by oathes of good and lawefull men of your Countie by the which the trueth may be best knowne of the liberties which our miners doe clayme to haue in these partes, and which they are vsed to have, and by what meanes and how and from what tyme, and by what warrant. And therefore wee doe Comaund thee, that at a Certaine daye and place which the said Rinald and William shall appoint thee, thou shalt Cause to Come before them so many, and such good and lawfull men of thy bailiweeke, by the which the trueth may there be best knowne in the premisses by this inquire, and that thou have there this writt. Wittnesseth our welbeloued Cousyn Edmund Earle of Cornewal. At Westminster the xxvijth⁴ daye of Aprill in the yeare of our Rainge the xvjth by William of Hamelton and at the instance of Hugh of Cressingham, the daye ys appointed at Ashburne vpon Saterdag next after the feast of the holie trinitie.

An inquisition to be at Ashburne the Saterdag next after the feast of the holie trinitie in the yeare of the rainge of Edward the first the xvjth. Before Reignold of the leige² and William of Meynelle³ of the liberties which the miners of our said soveraigne Lord the Kinge in the Peake doe clayme to have in these partes and which they are vsed to have, by what meanes and how and from what

¹ Printed by Glover, with the principal variations collated in the following notes.

³ Meinill (Meynell) Glover.

² Ley (Lea), Glover.

⁴ 28th, Glover.

tyme and by what warrant by the oathes of¹ Thomas Pleagame, William Hallye, Raphe Cotterell', William of Longsdeu, John of Tiperture, Clement of forde, William of Bradlowe, Peter of Rolunde, Rice of Longsdenn, William the sonne of the smith of Bradwall, Henry ffallgraive, and John of Longsdenn, which doe saye that in the begininge when the miners did come to the field seeking for a myne, and findinge a myne, they did Come to the Beylyff which is Called the Borghmaster, and did desire yf it weare in a newe field that they might have two meares of ground, and² one meare of ground the miners desired to have also in an oulde worke, of right tobe measurde to the said miners, and euerie meare to Containe foure measures, and the hole of the myne to be of vij ffootes wide or broade, and every measure shalbe of xxiiij ffoote, and the Kinge shall have the third meare next to the finder, and the other two meares shalbe delivered to the first³ workeman finder of the newe myne by the Burghmaster ; and in the ould field every workeman demaunding such worke, one meare, in the ffee of our soveraigne Lorde the Kinge, and the Kinge shall have the xiiijth dish or measure of Ewer which is called the Lott and this hath bene vsed. And for this our Soveraigne lord the Kinge shall finde vnto the miners free ingresse and regresse into and from their mines, to Care and beare their Oare vnto the Kinges highwaye. And the said Jurie doe saye that they are vsed for goinge⁴ in there mines, and that our said soveraigne Lord the Kinge shall have the buying of there ewer before all other geving as another man will, and if the minors have receaued any money of any other man before hand for his oare, the[n] the minor shall paye his debt without lett of the borghmaster, so that this be without fraud or decept or els the Kinge shall haue the oare before all other as is aforesaid. And the jurie doe saye further vpon their oathes that it is and shalbe lawfull to the minors to sell geve and assigne his grove or meare of ground or any parte thereof without the Kinges Licence or the Burghmaster and this hath bene vsed tyme out of the memorie of man in all the territories and liberties of the highe peake vnto this tyme, Saving in a Certain place Called Mandall', in which place all buyers of oare are prohibited to buye ewer by the space of foure yeares now next Cominge by the Borghmaster and for what Cause the miners may mayntayne their rightes and Customes aforesaid, the said Jurie doe saye that the auntient Custome of the myners ys, that the pleas or Courtes of the Burghmaster ought of right to be kept and houlden yearlie vpon the miners from three weekes to three weekes. And the jurie doe saye vpon there oathes that if any miner be slayne by infortune, that such miner shalbe buried without the viewe of the Coroners of the said Countie by the view of the

¹ All these names vary in *Glover*.

² Not as in *Glover*.

³ "first", omitted *Glover*.

⁴ "Coming," *Glover*.

minors, and if any person or persons be Convicted of any small trespasse he ought to paye for his americiament *ij*d. and that to be paid the same daye or els to double the same americiament till yt come to *vs. iiij*d., and if any blod be shedd vpon the myne, the authour shall paye *vs. iiij*d. the same daye or els shall double the same everie daye till yt come to a hundreth shillinges, and if any miner doe any trespasse vnder the ground to his fellow he shall paye for his americiament *vs. iiij*d. and satisfie his fellow the full value of such trespasse.

In Dei nomine Amen. The first tyme that the newe myne was founde in the newe field the Lord¹ Marchant and the Miners Chose them a Barmayster for to delyver two ffynners to the finder of the myne and to the lord of the field a meare next the same ffynners, one that one part, or els half a meare on the one side of the ffynners, and another half on that other side, on the same ffynners at his owne election. And after the Barmayster shall deliver to the minors meares for to worke after the law of the myne.² And a meare shall Conteigne in length fourscore foote and seaven there awaye as the myne goeth betweene two wonghes, and the miners shall have their meares to them and to their heirs. But if they forfeit them to the Lord by the law of the myne, and their wives shall have their dowers in the said meares, but if they forfeit them as ys aforesaid and miners shall worke there meares duley Chaes the stoole up that one partie, as they may finde myne, Betweene two wonghes in the naturall waye till he Come to the meare stake, And then his neighbour next him shall Chass the stoole in the same maner, and soe the stoole shalbe Chassed from meare to meare, but if it be lett by water, And the Barmayster shall see that the myne be wrought daily, And where he findeth a meare vnwrought he shall on the spindle score one score and soe from week to week he shall vse the field, and see that the meares be wrought, And if he finde any meare standing vnwrought three weekes together he shall score three scores vpon the spindle and deliver it to them that will worke it as the law will. But if it be borrowed as law of the myne will at the three weekes ende, And the Lord of the myne shall ordeyne them a Convenable dishe or measure by the which the Lord shall receive their lott, and the miners shall sell their myne, And the minors abiding in their meare shall haue deliuered to them by the Barmayster for his lodge and for his Courtlodge sufficient hedgeboote and heyboote and all maner of tymber for his groves, delivered by the lord or by his officers yf they haue sufficient within the lordship or els the minors shall ordeyne them of their owne proper Costes in another lordship, and then the Lord shall have his lott. And it shall be lawfull to them then to Carie ewer myne whither they list, and bringe yt and doe with yt what they

¹ "Lord" omitted, *Glover*.

² Here ends the record printed by *Glover*.

please without trouble of the Lord or any of his officers. And the minors and marchantes of the said myne shalbe quite of all p'nage and other customes as farr as the lordship lasteth as the lord may dispend foure pence by yeare. And the miners shall haue for their bestes pasturing with the Lordes beastes in his wastes outtaken of his fenced parkes meadows sowinge fields and in that no minors of the Lord shall impound them or distress them for no article that belongeth to the myne, within the franchises of the myne. And the Barmayster the Lord and the Steward shall hould Courtes on the myne when he will. Two greate Courtes in the yeare, and if there by any minor or other be attainted for stealinge of oare, first he shalbe amerced vs. iiij*d.* the which iiij*d.* the Barmayster shall haue. And if he be againe attainted hee shalbe amerced xs viii*d.* which viii*d.* the Barmayster shall haue. And if he be attainted the third tyme for stealinge ewer myne, he shalbe taken and stricken thorough the palme of the hande with a knife vp to the hafte into the stowes, and there stand till he be dead, or else gett hymself loose, and then he shall forswear the ffranchesis of the myne. And if any man be taken by occasion of any article that belongeth to the myne, he shall abide in the Barmayster's keepinge, and if he will be meinprised in payne of one hundreth shillinges to be brought before the steward the next Court of the myne, and if that he that is so meinprised be attainted of felonie in the Court of the steward he shall doe by hym as the law will vpon the same place, and if he will putt hym on the minors, and eache trespass of others and of bloodshedd he shalbe amerced vs. iiij*d.* the which iiij*d.* the Barmayster shall haue, and if any other trespass be done vpon the myne yt shalbe fined to i*d.*, and that shalbe paid to the Barmayster, the first of a fferment, or els the i*d.* shall ever double from daye to daye till yt Come to vs. iiij*d.*, and then the Barmayster shall haue the iiij*d.* and the Lord the vs., and mynors and marchants shall haue weightes for leade and measures for ewer at all tymes when they will. And the ministers to be readie on warninge without the lett of the lord or his officers, and if it fortune that the minors or any other be dead in any grove or elsewhere within the myne, no Escheator nor no Coroner nor no officer of the lord shall medle of lands goods or Cattell' of hym that ys so slayne by any misfortune but the Barmayster of the myne. And if any felonie be done within the franchises by Manslaughter or strife, or felonie or theft robberie of Cattell yf they haue no better grace. And if any man of his owne free will so deraine his neighbours meare, he shall fill it vp vnder with such as hee gott out, pure myne Borghe and bosse and be amerced vs. iiij*d.*, which iiij*d.* the Barmayster shall haue. Alsoe if any minors or other take any Costage of marchants, and minors finde myne to the marchant that will make more costage to the vers of in the same place to the profett of another marchant that findes the myne, the first marchant after

if they be two or three then Comes the first marchant that first maketh his Costage, and he shall have the third stone till he have receaved his costage, and the other marchants shall have the two partes because there myne was found on his Costage. Also the minors and marchants shall have entrie and issue through all the Lordshipp to Carie their myne and berne it whither they will without lett of the Lord or any of his officers geving to the lord for every loade iiijd. for ever for issue in his lordshipp which is called the lott, and if any minor or marchant dye by any adventure vnder the earth, or be slayne by medlinge, The Baremayster shall see his bodie as Coroner, and lett his bodie be buried without any other Coroners, and the minors shall haue for their lott and Coppe sufficient tyMBER for their workes of the next founder within the kings Lordshipp. Also they shall have water to washe their myne without any lett for the said lott and Coppe, and if the lord will buye their myne, and doe as well as another to their price, he shalbe before another, and if he will not, then shall they sell their myne where they like best without lett of the lord or any of his officers.

This verdict of the greate enquest of the xxiiij minors was given and presented to the Steward at Workesworth the xth daye of Januarie in the xvijth yeare of the Raigne of Kinge Henry the Eight [A.D. 1525], and he did Confirme theise articles sett downe.

WARKESWORTH WAPINTAGE.

Curia¹ magna Bermot¹ tenta apud Workesworth coram Francisco Comite Salopie vicesimo die Septembris anno Regni Edwardi Sexti Tertio. [A.D. 1549.]

Inquisitio magna pro domino Rege minira infra Wapentagium predictum per Sacramentum.

Nicholas Hyddes	William Benett
Robert Cotton	Thomas Steple
Edward Robotham	Thomas Wood
Henry Storer	James Hall
William Leighe	Roger Gell
John Spencer	John Steere
Thomas Bramall	Henry Spencer
John Gratton	Raph Houghton
John Somer	Oliver Stone
Richard Wigley	Roger Male
Thomas Cockshutt	Edward Wylie
Thomas Woodwisse	William Shawe. ²

Jurati.

¹ Printed by Glover, but incorrectly. The names and order of the Jurymen vary.

² Glover, whose notice ends with the list of these jurymen, states that "the report of the jurors was similar to the former made at

Wee doe present ordeyne and sett paynes for the minors as followeth :—

1.—*Two able dishes.*

First wee will that the lorde of the field shall make an able dishe¹ from this day forth, betweene marchant buyer and the seller, and against everie good tyme, as Christinas, Easter, Whittsontide two able dishes vpon paine for every tyme wantinge if it be Called for, to forfeit for every time iij*s.* iij*d.* to the Kinge.

2.—*Goinge over ye mine.*

And that the lord of the fieldes deputie and the Beremaster or his deputie shall goe everie week once or twice over the fieldes, and where they finde any ground wrought wrongfully by any man Contrary to right Custom of the myne, then they shall take them vp vntill such tyme as the law of the Bermott hath determined yt, or els the Beremaster or his deputie accordinge to the ould Custome shall putt four or six indifferent men, among the xxiiij that they may haue the hearinge of the matter betweene the parties for to sett an order for the same ground so wrought wrongfullie, that the field be not stopped, and whosoever disturbeth this article to forfeitt for every tyme so doinge iij*s.* iij*d.* or els to goe to the stockes if he be a light person, and the xxiiij miners, and all other miners shall aide the officers in so doinge accordinge to the ould Custom of the myne.

3.—*Next waye to the highe waye.*

Also that the Beremaster or his deputie shall able vs the next waye to the Kinges hyewaye, to the water with our ewre, yf any man stopp vs accordinge to the ould Custom of the myne.

4.—*Delivery of Ewre vnder a loade.*

Also yf there be any poore man that have any ewre vnder a loade to mete and geve the Beremaster warninge according to the Custom of the myne, and Cannott have the dishe, then yt shalbe lawfull for such poore man to take two honest neighbours and deliver his ewre to whom it please hym paying the Church and the King their dietes.

Ashbourn," and gives no account of it. It will be seen that he is incorrect in this, as the following laws contain important differences from what has gone before.

¹ See the wood engravings of the "Miners' Standard Dish," in the Moot Hall, Wirksworth, with inscription recording its being made on "4 October 4 Henry VIII," i.e., A.D. 1512, in Glover's *History*, vol. i, p. 69.

5.—*Stealing of Ewre.*

Also if the Beremaster attach any ewre or his deputie which is stolne, he shall attach the steler thereof that he may have the lawe of the myne according to the Charter.

6.—*Wrongfully clayminge any groundes.*

Also if there be any man that make any title or clayme to any mans groundes contrary to right and it be tried at the law, he that is cast shall pay two shillinges for the twelve mens dinners, and if he will not paye it, then the Beremaster shall take so much ewre of hym as Cometh to ijs. or els some other distress if he be worth so much.

7.—*Lawfull warninge.*

Also no myner shalbe amerced by the Beremaster without lawfull warninge.

8.—*No man is to mete without the dishe.*

Also that no man shall mete no Ewer without the kinges dishe, for if he doe and be so taken, if it be aboue a load of Ewer, the lord of the field shall have, and if it be vnder a load, or a load the Beremaster shall have it, if it be taken metinge besides the dishe, if he doe not Call for the Kinges dishe according to ould Custom.

9.—*The Suite out of the Bermott for ewer debt.*

Also that no man shall sue any myner for any ewer debt forth of the Beremot Court, nor no officer shall serue any warrant or writt vpon no myner when he is at his worke vpon the myne, nor when the miner Cometh to the greate leetes of the Beremottes, but the Beremaster or his deputie, and if any man sue for ewer debt forth of the Beremott courte he shall loose the debt and paye the Costes.

10.—*Two greate Courtes every yeare.*

Also the Beremaster shall keepe two greate Courtes every yeare, and yf neede require everie three weekes a Court vpon payne of iij*s.* iij*d.*

11.—*The finding of a newe veine.*

Also if any myner by the grace of God doe finde any newe Rake or vayne, the first finder shall have two meares, and the next meare after, the Beremaster shall have for the Kinge according to the ould Custom of the myne, and every taker after but one meare, and so the field to be occupied according to right Custom.

12.—*Wood of the Kinges woodes.*

Also by the ould Custom myners ought to have wood of the kinges wood to stowe and tymber their groves vnder the earth and above, and therefore they paye lott to the kinge, for the which they ought to have sufficient wood of the kinges ground that is next therto.

13.—*Miners killed in the groundes.*

Also if there be any man slayne or murdered vpon the myne within any grove, neither Escheator nor Coroner nor no other officer shall medle thereof But onelie the Beremaster.

14.—*Crosses and holes. Three daies standinge.*

Also all newe groundes as Crosses and holes that be not stowed nor yoked lawfully from the first daies of Julie or within three weekes and a daie next after, that then it shalbe lawfull for any man to take them and worke them lawfully, and no Crosses nor holes shall stand no longer then a man may goe home, and fetch his tooles to worke with, and tymber to stowe with, the furthest day so standinge to be three daies, and after the third daie, any Crosse or hole shalbe lawfull for any man to worke them lawfullie.

15.—*No measure of ground before Ewer be gotten therin.*

Also wee saie that the Beremaster shall measure no man his ground vntill such time as the miner haue ewer gotten within the same ground, to ffree it with, or els it shall not be measured.

16.—*No man shall touche the Kinges Dishe.*

Alsoe that no marchant buyer of Ewer shall touche the kinges dishe, nor putt his handes therin to make his measure, but the Beremaster or his deputie shalbe indifferent betweene the marchant buyer and the seller.

17.—*The first workman shall worke.*

Also that no man that is a workman that doeth worke his ground truelie, there shall no man Come and Clayme his ground and take hym vp to topp the field but the first workman shall worke, and the Claymer shall take the law, and the Beremaster shall doe hym the law truelie.

18.—*No dishe but the Kinges vsed.*

Also no Beremaster nor any other deputie shall keepe no Counterfaite Dishe nor gages in their Cowes nor houses but every man shall buye by the kinges dishe and no other to be vsed vpon payne of every dishe or gage so knowne or taken to forfeit for everie time vjs. viijd. and the sellour to forfeit his ewer.

19.—*Ground to be kept with stowes and tymber.*

Also if any gentleman or other haue any ground lying in the myne Called the kinges field of the mine, they shall keepe them lawfully with stowes and tymber openly in all mens sight betweene this and Michelmas next Cominge or els it shalbe lawfull for any man to take and worke them for their owne.

20.—*No man shall sell or geve groves in varience.*

Also wee laye a payne that no person or persons shall at any tyme from henceforth goe to any gentleman or any other man for to geve or sell any groves or groundes in varience for maintenance vpon payne for every person so doinge to loose his said grove or groves, and the taker of any such groves in varience as aforesaid to forfait xls. to the Kinge.

21.—*No man shall Counterfait the Kinges dish.*

Also if any person or persons from hencefurth doe make any gage or Counterfait the kinges measure to mete Ewer with if it be above a loade, every such person or persons so taken shall forfait for every time xls. and his ewer to the Kinge.

22.—*No ewer in variaunce to be measured.*

Also wee sett a paine that no person nor persons shall mete no ewer in varience neither by the kinges dishe nor gage except this ewer be putt into an indifferent mans handes vntill such time as booth the parties be agreed vpon payne for euery time so doinge to forfait xls.

23.—*No man shall take away stowes or timber.*

Also if any maner of person or persons doe take any mans stowes or his tymber or any thinge belonginge to the Myne, and so taken to forfeit for every time ijs. iiijd. to the kinge.

24.—

Also that no light nor suspected person shall Carie no Ewer after daye light vpon payne of forfeiting the Ewer to the Kinge and his bodie to prison.

Finis, 1620.

A metrical account of the Liberties and Customs of the Lead Mines within the Wapentake of Wirksworth, composed by Edward Manlove, and printed at London in 1657, is reprinted by Glover, vol. i, Appendix, No. I. There is a MS. copy in the British Museum, Add. MS. 26,749, fol. 34. It embodies some of the preceding regulations or laws, and is provided with marginal notes of reference to precedents and governing cases.



ANCIENT BRITISH COSTUME.

BY REV. W. S. LACH-SZYRMA, M.A.

(Read March 1st, 1899.)



HERE is one extremely interesting but difficult subject to consider, which is intimately connected with my paper read last year, on February 16th, before our Society, on which I should like to say a few words; although, I own, I have not many facts to add to those known; but a learned friend, in his comments on my paper, has drawn my attention to its importance. I refer to what was the costume of the early Britons, or rather the Euskarian inhabitants of this island, prior to the Aryan immigration here of the Celts, *i.e.*, the Gaels and Cymri: probably those southern Britons who, Tacitus said, were like Spaniards or Iberians, and whose last descendants are to be found in the Basques of South-Western France and Northern Spain to-day.

In the Neolithic or very primitive races, *e.g.*, the Australians and Africans, whom we meet in this *fin du siècle*, we find little to lead us to any satisfactory conclusion. They have little or no costume to guide us; because, not only are they savage, and find the procuring of clothing difficult (save from the white man, when they come into contact with him), and this, of course, is no evidence at all for us, but also because their climate is more or less warm all the year round, and therefore the provision of warm clothing is not a necessity.

I remember some conversation I had with an intelligent African (an Ibo man), who lamented to me the great facility and cheapness of living in the Niger territory as a great hindrance to human progress there. He said, a man could with little effort obtain food for his family,

and that he had not much need of clothing. I rather think Herodotus makes somewhere a similar remark about Africa; and since the days of the Father of History the central and western Africans have made but little progress in culture, save such as they have derived from Europe or Asia. But this could never have applied to Britain. The climate here in winter must always (since man settled in the islands) have been severe. Perchance the winters, when this island was nearer the Glacial Epoch, may have been more severe than now. Some of the statements in the classics support that view. In any case, we can hardly imagine any English winter in which people had not a need for fairly warm clothing. In Cornwall—assuming it was the country called “the Cassiterides”—the people seen by the Phœnician traders had long black tunics, like the Tragic Furies of the Greek drama. It is curious that the labouring class, both of Cornwall and Wales to this day, have still a liking for black clothing for their men in holiday attire. Is it a modern fashion, or derived from ancient tradition? If the latter, it would have prevailed during the Middle Ages; but of this we have no evidence either way. The women’s plaids in South Wales are black and red (which, unless evidence was produced to the contrary, I should assume was a tradition from early British times). The weaving of two textures was remarked by Roman writers as a characteristic of the Celts. Even the name “Britain” was said to be derived from it. The most striking survival of it is the varied plaids of the Scottish clans: a form of peasant dress marking tribal distinctions. These Scotch plaids, as everyone knows, are of very varied colours. In Wales and Cornwall, I suspect they were black or very dark. It is said by Borlase that Druids had a right to six, chieftains to five colours, peasant Britons to less.

There must have been a time anterior to weaving, when mankind must have needed clothing in Britain. The plaid is a woven texture, representing a certain stage of civilization. The most handy clothing for mankind in cold climates must have been in early times the skins of animals. Perhaps even in Greece there was a tradition of this kind of dress, *e.g.*, in the legend of Herakles and

his robe of fur of the Nemean lion. Its most striking survival is that of the Russian peasants' sheepskin costume, girded round the waist with a leathern girdle. Perhaps this is the last tradition down to our day, of the skin costume of the ancient European. We have here the simplest material—the mere skin of an animal (cut now, it is true, into a modern form), but a survival of the most primitive times.

I have thought whether the philabeg of the Highlander may not be a tradition of this fur costume of the early Briton. It is not unlikely that first it was of skin or fur only (such as one sees in some ancient Greek statues, and in the Nemean robe of Herakles), and then, when weaving came into vogue, the plaid was added, until at last the fur was reduced to one small article of dress, and the plaid (woven in the Celtic mode) superseded the rest.

The traditional costume of old Britain I therefore conceive to be best traced in Wales and the Scotch Highlands. In the one we have the black and red plaid of the women, pinned behind in curious pleats, with the antique cross-shawl over the breast, where a baby has to be carried—a very ancient mode which has the advantage of warmth and convenience, and which from its oblique lines has a picturesque and antique effect. In the Highlands we see the divers clans marked by their own plaids—each clan having its plaid—a very ancient use. As for the general form of the Scotch dress, it is (at present) more like a survival of the old Roman costume than any other in Europe, though the *ligae* may still be seen in Italy and in the Vistula country. But it may have preceded the Roman invasion, and be merely the dress of the ancient world, of which the Roman costume was a variant.

As to the Welsh woman's hat, that is merely an adoption from England. It is picturesque, and a prominent part in modern Welsh costume, but is at best merely mediæval. The plaid, however, and the shawl folded to carry a child, looks far more ancient and primitive. As to the Britons having fought Cæsar without their clothes, and being merely tattooed with woad (like the modern Burmese or New Zealanders), that only shows that the Britons stripped to fight, and put on their war-paint for

the battle, as the warriors on the frieze of the Parthenon did.

There are some good pictures of ancient British and Gaulish costumes in Sion College. These support my contention that ancient British costume was at first skins of animals, and afterwards probably plaids in cross-bars of different colours, and that the oblique lines so striking and pleasing in old Greek and Roman costumes were observed here at a very early date.

As for the long black tunics of the ancient Cornish, the question may be asked: were they simply skeepskins dyed black, or tunics made of black woven cloth? They are said to have looked like the "Tragic Furies" on the Greek stage. This would imply that they were woven—possibly clothes bought for, or bargained for, tin.

To sum up, in conclusion, the evidence before me leads to the following:—

1. That the primitive costume of the aborigines of Britain was probably skins (a costume surviving still in Russia, *i.e.*, the oldest European costume).

2. That in the extreme West the people at an early date wore long black woven tunics.

3. That the British warriors put on their war-paint of woad, and stripped to fight in battle.

4. That the prevalent costume of the Celts was woven plaids in stripes, of which we still have a survival in Wales and the Scotch Highlanders.

5. That the upper classes had plaids of divers colours, more complex than those of the common people.

These are the main conclusions I have attained and commend to your attention. The subject is obscure, but of much interest.





ARBOR LOW.

BY T. N. BRUSHFIELD, M.D., F.S.A.

(Read at the Buxton Congress, July 20th, 1899.)



SITUATED on a long ridge of hill about one mile from Parsley Hay, south of a road leading from that place eastwards to Youlgreave, three miles distant, and at an elevation of nearly 1,200 ft. above sea level, is a great prehistoric circle of earth and stone generally termed Arbor Low.

It was first described by the Rev. S. Pegge (the Rector of Whittington) in a Paper read at a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries on May 29th, 1783, and printed in *Archæologia*, vii, 131-148, with a plate. Up to that period it was almost unknown, and received no mention from any writer; nor is it entered in any of the county maps until after the publication of that Paper.

It is noted by that author "as being by far the most magnificent and capital Druidical remain of any we have in Derbyshire, not to say in all this part of England." By the majority of writers up to a recent date, it has usually been called a Druidical circle or Druidical temple; and the former term appears in the Ordnance maps, except in that last issued, where it is simply designated a "Stone Circle."

A few words are necessary respecting the origin of the double name *Arbor Low*. The word *Low* presents no difficulty, being simply the A.-S. *hlaew*, a barrow or tumulus; and from the circumstance of so many of these barrows or "lows" capping the highest eminences in Derbyshire, the term has been transferred to the latter, as though synonymous with a high place. The fallacy of this is evident from the fact that they are occasionally found in low situations: for example, one opened by Mr.

W. Bateman, in 1825, was "placed in a meadow called Larks Lowe, and near the rivulet called the Bradford."¹ The derivation of *Arbor* is extremely uncertain, and assuredly cannot be the Latin word. Locally, the place is known as *Arbelow*. Most probably it is from the same root as *Abury* or *Arbury*.² Variations of the latter as place-names will be found all over England. There is an *Arbour-low-close* in Staffordshire. It is noteworthy that Dr. Pegge designates the great stone circle as "the temple," whereas he restricts the term "Arbor Lows" (or "Arbelows") to the two barrows adjacent to it. All later writers have, however, transferred the latter name to the former structure; and T. Wright appears to rely upon this application of the term "Low" to prove it could not have been a temple.

The structure consists of an encircling vallum or rampart, composed of earth and stones. This is customarily described as being of circular form, whereas it is in reality slightly elliptical, the long axis being almost north and south. With one exception, all the ground plans, commencing with the earliest—that of Dr. Pegge—show it to be a true circle, the exception being one that accompanies a paper on this subject by Sir J. G. Wilkinson (in *Journal of British Archæological Association*, xvi, pl. 9, p. 115).³

¹ Another example is recorded by Dr. Pegge, situated between Metham Bridge and Hope.

² In a letter printed in the *Antiquary* of November 1899, Mr. H. Harrison affirms "Arbury" to be "a syncopated dialectical form of Anglo-Saxon *eorthburh*" = earthworks.

³ *Authorities Quoted* :—

1. "A Disquisition on the Lows or Barrows . . . of Derbyshire . . . by the Rev. Mr. Pegge." *Archæologia*, vii (1785), pp. 131-148, with plate showing ground plan, sections, and view of Arbor Low.
2. *A View of the Present State of Derbyshire*, by J. Pilkington. Two vols (1789). Plan and description of Arbor Low (ed. of 1803), pp. 88, 459-462.
3. *History of Derbyshire*, by S. Glover. Two vols. (1829). Description of Arbor Low, with plan, i, pp. 275, 6. Reprinted in Bateman's *Vestiges of the Antiquities of Derbyshire* (1848), pp. 109-111, with view from No. 4.
4. "On the Ancient Circular Temple of Arbor-lowe," by the Rev. S. Isaacson. Winchester volume of *British Archæological*

Owing to weathering, and perhaps to some portion of the earth having been removed to be distributed on the adjoining land, it varies greatly in height, but at the present time averages about 16 ft. above the surrounding level. It encloses a slightly elliptical flat area, with a diameter varying between 160 and 170 feet, and is separated from the vallum by a fosse, or ditch, averaging 18 feet in width at the top, the bottom being raised considerably owing to the amount of earth washed into it from the vallum and sides of the area. As the vallum has evidently been formed by the material dug out of the fosse, it is from 6 to 8 feet deeper on the inside; and, moreover, according to Wilkinson, it has the "counter-scarp, towards the ditch, fronted with stone."

The fosse as well as the vallum is interrupted on two opposite sides by the entrances: formed, apparently, by the natural ground being left undisturbed. Each is about 27 feet wide; their direction is respectively nearly south-east and north-west, and, as pointed out by Wilkinson, "do not accord with the centre of the circle."

Near the circumference of the area are a number of slabs of limestone, all more or less recumbent, much weathered, extremely irregular in form and dimensions, and showing no marks of tooling. Of the latter, there is at first sight an apparent exception, as the bases of a few are flat; but this is really due to a natural fault in the limestone bed. Some slabs near the centre of the area will be noticed presently.

Their number has been variously estimated: according to Pegge, thirty-two; Glover and Isaacson, about thirty;

Association (1846), pp. 197-204, with view of Arbor Low and woodcuts.

5. "The Rock Basins of Dartmoor, and some British Remains in England," by Sir J. G. Wilkinson. *Journal of British Archaeological Association*, xvi (1860), pp. 115-117, with large ground plan of Arbor Low.
6. *Rude Stone Monuments*, by J. Ferguson (1872). "Arbor Low," pp. 139-142; plan and woodcuts.
7. "Arbor Low," by Sir J. Lubbock. *Reliquary*, xx (1879) pp. 81-85; view and woodcuts.

Pilkington states, "about thirty large ones," and adds, in a later paragraph, "about fourteen smaller ones intermixed with them;" Lubbock, thirty to forty; and Wilkinson, forty to fifty. The last-named attributes it to the circumstance of some of the slabs being much broken and the pieces widely separated from each other, so that it "requires some attention in observing and numbering them." This is corroborated by the following Table of measurements, made by William Fowler and Benjamin Sellars, two inhabitants of Ashford-in-the-Water, on September 27th, 1823:—

Length.		Breadth.		Length.		Breadth.	
Ft.	In.	Ft.	In.	Ft.	In.	Ft.	In.
1.	14	0	—	19.	9	0	—
2.	12	0	—	20.	2	set edgeway	—
3.	12	0	—	21.	5	0	—
4.	10	0	—	22.	12	0	4
5.	2	set edgeway	—	23.	6	0	—
6.	12	0	6	24.	8	lays con-	—
7.	3	small ones	—			trary way	—
8.	9	0	—	25.	2	set edgeway	—
9.	9	0	—	26.	6	0	—
10.	10	0	—	27.	2	small ones	—
11.	7	0	—	28.	12	0	4
12.	2	set edgeway	—	29.	7	0	4
13.	9	0	—	30.	3	small ones	0
14.	3	small ones	—	31.	11	0	5
15.	8	0	—	32.	6	0	6
16.	9	0	—	33.	7	0	—
17.	11	0	—	34.	11	6	3
18.	11	0	—	35.	11	6	5

(This Table is affixed to a plan where the position of each slab is numbered.)

Of this Table the following is a summary:—

13 slabs from 10 ft. to 14 ft. each in length.

10 " 7 " 9 " " "

4 " 5 " 6 " " "

4 sets of small ones

4 " placed edgeways

35

Owing to the irregular surface of the slabs, it is diffi-

cult to give anything but a general idea as to their average thickness; the majority are about 15 ins. or 16 ins., but some measure 1 ft. 10 ins., and others as little as 6 ins. or 7 ins. The measurements given in the Table are approximately correct at the present time, and are very different from those noted by some authors. Thus, Glover reports them to be "from six to eight feet in length, and three or four broad at the widest part;" and this is repeated by Lubbock. It is scarcely possible they could have been inspected by Pilkington, who affirms them to be "for the most part about five feet long," and in his plan shows thirty stones in the circumference, and all of equal size.

Writers disagree as to whether they were originally fixed in an upright position, or lay flat on the ground from the first. Isaacson asserts emphatically, "these stones were never placed in an erect position, but laid on the bare surface of the rock at regular intervals, although now much displaced." Lubbock, with more caution, states: "It is doubtful whether they were ever upright." On the other hand, Wilkinson declares: "It is evident that they originally stood upright," and "lie in the direction in which they have fallen." According to Pegge, "the stones formerly stood on end . . . some of them" being "much broken by their fall." This was written in 1783, at which time he cites as a witness a man aged sixty, who "testified that some of the stones were standing in his memory." Six years later, while Pilkington gave his opinion of their original position being "uncertain" (and so regarded by Glover), qualified it by an eye-witness who remembered, "when he was a boy, to have seen them standing obliquely upon one end." To his description Pegge adds that they originally stood "two and two together," a statement scarcely borne out by a personal examination. One point tells strongly in favour of their erect position originally, and one apparently unnoticed by writers on the subject. A reference to the foregoing Table shows that several of the stones are recorded to be "set edgeway:" that is, are fixed vertically in the ground; but, being broken off low down, easily escape observation. Their importance is increased by the cir-

cumstance that, as they all occupy nearly the same relative distance from the edge of the central area when perfect, they point out the probable position of all the stones in the circumference at the period of its first construction.

As far as we know at present, all stones of large size connected with barrows and temples, or single memorial ones, erected during the prehistoric period, were invariably fixed in an erect position; and there is little reason to doubt that these now under notice formed no exception to this rule.

At whatever period they may have been thrown down, and whether by accident or design—the latter being probable—some fell more or less towards the centre, and a few the reverse way. One of the largest size on the west side has its base tilted slightly upwards.

That the circumferential stones formed a single circle is fairly certain.

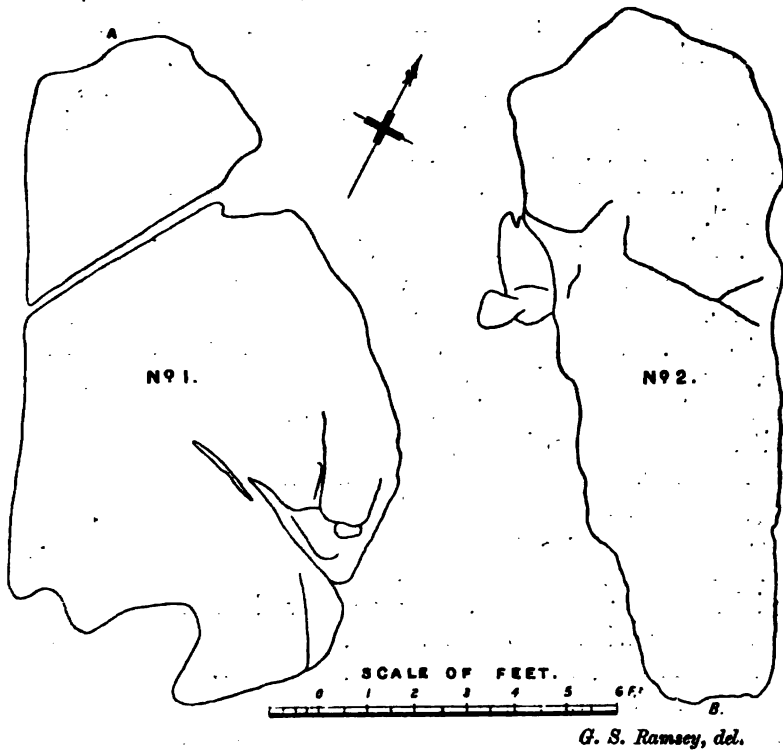
Those situated near the centre of the area are recumbent; they are three in number, and, with perhaps one exception, are larger and heavier than any of those in the circumference. One is so much broken up, and deficient of some portions, that no proper estimate of its original dimensions is obtainable: the largest fragment is 6 ft. 9 ins. long by 3 ft. wide. The other two are situated a little to the east of the centre of the area, and somewhat below it. A straight line drawn through them would point north-north-west, the end of one being distant 8 ft. from that of the other. The accompanying sketch is from an accurate plan kindly made for me by Mr. G. S. Ramsey, and is drawn to scale. No. 1 measures 13 ft. 9 ins. long, and is 8 ft. 7 ins. in its greatest width. No. 2 is 14 ft. long and 5 ft. 5 ins. wide immediately below the projection.

(While endeavouring to ascertain the thickness of the slabs by removing the grass which encumbered their sides, Mr. Ramsey found beneath No. 1 a few rats' bones and some small chippings of flint. As a rule, these are usually regarded as indications of an interment being within a short distance, but were probably due in the present instance to the rats making a home for them-

selves beneath the huge stone irrespective of any other cause.)

Pegge estimated the larger one to weigh three or four tons. According to Isaacson, the largest was 15 ft. long, and weighed "probably five tons."

A comparison of the various plans (omitting that of Pilkington) shows that no material change in the number.



Eight feet in direct line between A and B.

and disposition of the stones has taken place since Pegge's description of them in 1783.

Before proceeding further in our remarks upon the great stone circle, it is necessary to describe three other structures which bear some relation to it:—

1. As shown in Sir J. G. Wilkinson's plan, a large barrow is placed near the south entrance to the circle, and adjoining the east side and external face of the

vallum—on which, indeed, it partly rests. Between 1770 and 1824, three unsuccessful attempts had been made to discover an interment; but a fourth, made by Mr. T. Bateman on May 23rd, 1845, resulted in its discovery. About 18 ins. above the natural soil, a large slab 5 ft. broad by 3 ft. wide was found to be the cover to a six-sided cist, constructed of ten pieces of limestone of different sizes placed on end, and having a floor formed of three other pieces: these, like the rest, being untooled. No soil had penetrated the cist, and its original contents had been undisturbed. These consisted of two small urns (one $4\frac{1}{2}$ ins. and the other $4\frac{3}{4}$ ins. high), calcined human bones, a bone pin, a small flint weapon, and a piece of iron pyrites. Evidently a barrow of the Neolithic period.

2. About 350 yards west of the great circle is a conical tumulus about 18 ft. high, which on two occasions had been explored without finding an interment. In January, 1848, Mr. T. Bateman, after operations extending over several days, found a small cist-vaen within a short distance of the apex of the barrow, and in it a small urn with burnt human bones, and some small pieces of flint. Here is Mr. Bateman's account of the former: "A rectangular cist, measuring inside 2 ft. 6 ins. by 2 ft., composed of four massive blocks of limestone, covered in by a fifth of irregular form, averaging 4 ft. square by 10 ins. thick." It was subsequently "removed and re-erected in conformity with its original plan, in the garden of Lomberdale House, where it now remains." We cannot help expressing the hope that it may at some future period be deposited in some public museum in Derbyshire. In the opinion of Mr. Bateman, the tumulus was evidently, like that of Silbury Hill, near the great temple of Abury, not primarily intended for sepulchral purposes, having been raised over four small mounds of a non-sepulchral character; but that, being so raised, advantage was taken to deposit the Neolithic interment in its upper part. Although known to antiquaries as Gib Hill, in the Ordnance Map just issued it is termed Bunker's Hill.

3. A very low elevation of stone and earth commences at the south-west side of the great circle, and extends for

a considerable distance in a straight line in a westerly direction. Opposite Gib Hill, and about a hundred yards from it, it curves to the north and passes on to the north-west, where it is lost. A great portion is either obliterated or presents but faint traces. This description agrees with the plan attached to the table of measurements made in 1823, and with the account by Rev. S. Isaacson in 1846.

We pass on to consider the purposes which the great circle and its surroundings were probably intended to serve, and may at once dismiss from our minds the possibility of its having been employed as a place of refuge, a fortification, or for an ordinary assembling-place of the local tribes. Two other suggestions have been made, and with a greater share of probability, viz., that it was either a barrow, or else a place for religious worship; and these demand a separate inquiry.

Sir J. Lubbock has defined "a complete burial-place" of the prehistoric period to consist of "a dolmen, covered by a tumulus, and surrounded by a stone circle;" and at first sight Arbor Low appears to fulfil most of these requirements.

If, as is very probable, the stones in the centre belonged to a dolmen, and being approximately of the same length, they may have been the upright pieces, in which case the capstone alone would be wanting, and the completed structure would be similar to the example at Drewsteignton, in Devonshire. On the other hand, no known dolmen in England possesses such tall supporting uprights; and at present no sepulchral remains of any kind have been unearthed within the area. The want of covering material can form no basis of objection, inasmuch as some dolmens are known to have been left uncovered; while in some places the earth has been removed, but had any been needed for farming purposes adjacent to the present structure, the vallum would have supplied it.

That barrows are frequently surrounded by a circle of stones is correct enough; they are, however, invariably of small size, in no instance approaching the length of those of Arbor Low. Those of Dartmoor may be cited as examples. Again, such stones are placed on the external

circumference of a barrow, whereas in the structure under description this was surrounded by a vallum with a fosse inside it.

Now Stonehenge and Abury are generally admitted to be temples of the prehistoric period. Stonehenge consists of a circle of huge blocks of stone, varying in height from about 16 ft. to 21½ ft. (it is unnecessary for our present purpose to take the smaller ones into consideration), and hand-tooled. At a distance equal to its diameter it is encircled by a vallum of earth, and has one principal entrance. As the majority of the enormous barrows in its vicinity are known to belong to the Bronze period, the temple is universally assigned to the same age.

Covering an area of 28½ acres, Abury, even in its ruin, termed by Sir J. Lubbock "the grandest megalithic monument in the world," has around it a vallum with an inner fosse, nearly circular in form, the enclosed space containing two enormous double circles of stone blocks reared on end, untooled, and from 5 ft. to 20 ft. in height. In the centre of each are the remains of dolmens (?), and access to the inner area was obtained by two entrances. It is believed to belong to the close of the Stone or to the commencement of the Bronze period.

Compared with these two structures, Arbor Low is certainly of a more primitive construction: a fact that, *per se*, appears to indicate its earlier date. It consists of a single row, set in a circle, of irregularly-shaped stone slabs; and although these are somewhat of smaller dimensions than those of Abury and Stonehenge, they are much larger than any connected with any barrow in England. In the centre are the remains of a dolmen (?), of which the slabs are larger than those in the circumference. Some of the striking resemblances to Abury consist in the stone circle being enclosed by a high vallum having a fosse on the *inner* side, the presence of two entrances, and the existence of a Roman road adjacent to it. A large number of the barrows opened by Mr. T. Bateman in its neighbourhood certainly belonged to the Neolithic period; and this is emphasised by the fact of the contents of the barrow, already pointed out, as resting partly

on the south side of the vallum being assigned to the same period; this alone showing it—to use the words of Dr. Pegge—to “have been of a later construction than the temple itself.” It is, therefore, difficult to understand why Sir J. Lubbock refers Arbor Low “to the Bronze Age,” after attributing Stonehenge to the same period from the evidence of the contents of the barrows in its vicinity.

From the foregoing statements, it is but reasonable to conclude that Arbor Low must be regarded as a Neolithic temple, of a higher antiquity than either Abury or Stonehenge, and to be one of the oldest prehistoric monuments in England.

The remains of a circle at Penrith, figured and described in Ferguson's *Rude Stone Monuments*, pp. 128, 129, approximates closely in form and dimensions to those of Arbor Low; but all stonework has long since disappeared. A similar, though smaller, structure is preserved at Stennis, in the Orkneys, and some of the stones which yet remain (originally few in number) measure from 15 ft. to 18 ft. (*Ibid.*, 241).

A few words may be devoted to the consideration of the probable form of worship suggested to have been practised there.

Dr. Stukeley's idea that it was one of the Dracontia, for the purposes of serpent worship, may be passed by without comment. So, also, may that of the Rev. S. Isaacson, as to the area being “divided into twelve equal parts, representing the months,” so as to “constitute a calendar . . . of three hundred and sixty days,” basing this on the assumption of there being exactly thirty stones in the circumference. This seems to be regarded as the correct number by the authors of the *Crania Britannica*, and to have “some astronomical significance” (i, 124).

Sun-worship was the form of religion practised here according to some writers. Isaacson, for example, remarks: “the position of the largest stone (in the centre of area) immediately facing the east, renders it not improbable that the founders were sun-worshippers; and the two other stones, exhibiting indisputable marks of

having undergone the action of intense heats, it is likely that on these were kindled the great fires with which the earliest inhabitants . . . were accustomed periodically to worship their god Belus, or Baal." This is partly based on the assumption of the stones resting in their original position, but even were this the case the principal one cannot be said to face the west, and the action of fire on the others is not perceptible at the present date. Pilkington favours this theory, in asserting the stones of the circumference "seem to diverge from one common centre"; adding the suggestion, that they were "used as seats or supports for those who attended the celebration of the rites of worship." But, as Glover pointed out in 1829 (and so continues at the present time), their direction is extremely varied. The author of a series of papers on Arbor Low contained in *The Reliquary*, vols. xvii-xx, advocates the sun-worship theory.

Whatever the form of religious observance, Dr. Pegge believed one of the slabs in the centre to have been "employed for sacrifices." While adopting this suggestion, Pilkington added his opinion that the barrow adjoining the vallum was "employed as a repository for the bones of the victims which were used in the celebration of religious rites!" Isaacson also was a believer in "the altar of sacrifice."

A due consideration of the foregoing facts, especially after a comparison has been made with those relating to other structures of a similar character, generally recognised as temples belonging to a pre-historic period, does not militate against the possibility of the site having in the onset been employed for burial purposes. Any extended remarks on this subject would be alien to the immediate purpose of this paper: suffice it to say that the practice of interment, connected as it apparently was with the primary idea of religion and of religious observances, most probably commenced with Neolithic man. The site of the burial-place of one who when living was felt to be above his fellows, a leader of men, and who after his death would be regarded as a hero, would, by a kind of hero-worship, have the place of his

interment regarded as a sacred one. The small circle of stones surrounding the central dolmen would be replaced by one of much greater size and marked by more massive blocks or slabs; then would follow an encircling vallum with an inner fosse, and two entrances into the central area where any religious rites would take place. All this may be conjectural, but yet may have been the sequence in the development of the structure whose ruins are in evidence at the present day.





ON THE FAMILY AND RECORD HISTORY OF HADDON.

BY W. A. CARRINGTON, ESQ.

(Read at the Buxton Congress, July 18th, 1899.)



THE early history of Haddon and its possessors is somewhat involved, and, although many attempts have been made to elucidate it, yet it will be found that no two agree in the result of their investigations. One of the chief difficulties in regard to the Vernon genealogy arises from the prevalence of Richards, which renders it difficult in some instances to distinguish one from another—seven Richards occurring from the latter half of the twelfth century until the year 1450. The marriages, also, of the Richards have been a source of much confusion, the father and son being assigned to the same wife.

The manor of Haddon is situated in the parish of Bakewell, and it was anciently within that lordship, as appears from the *Domesday Survey* :

“King Edward had in the manor of Bakewell 18 carucates, with 8 villis or hamlets. The King (William) has now, in demesne, 7 carucates, with 33 villans, or villagers, and 9 bordars. Henry de Ferrers is assessed at 1 carucate in Hadune.”

The manor of Bakewell, with many other extensive domains, was bestowed by the Conqueror upon his natural son, William Peverel, by Maud, daughter of Ingelric, who afterwards married Ranulph, son of Payne Peverel (standard bearer to Robert, Duke of Normandy, father of the Conqueror), after whom, not only this William, but other issue he had by her, assumed the name of Peverel. William Peverel possessed sixteen manors in Derbyshire, besides Peak and Nottingham

Castles. He is said to have founded the Priory of St. James, near Northampton; and Lenton, near Nottingham, in 1102; and to have died in 1113, but it seems more probable that it was not the son of the Conqueror, but his grandson, a second William, who founded these priories. William Peverel the fourth, grandson of the last-named William, was deprived of his great possessions by Henry II, for poisoning Ranulph, Earl of Chester, in 1153. Most of these lands and honours were given by Henry to his son John, Earl of Moreton, afterwards king. Several Peverels are met with in this neighbourhood in the *Belvoir Charters* at a considerably later date. A Henry Peverel is a witness to a lease of Alport mill in the reign of John, or early Henry III; and they were evidently located, and held lands at Hassop, a village about a mile and a half north-east of Bakewell, in the reigns of Henry III and Edward I, where they are described as Cecilia, the widow of Nicholas Peverel, Nicholas, son and heir of Peter; Roger, son of Nicholas, etc. It is not improbable that these Peverels were descendants of the Peverels of Haddon. While, doubtless, the whole of the estates of William Peverel, which he possessed at the time of his outlawry, were confiscated to the Crown, it may be presumed that those lands and manors which either he, or his predecessors, had bestowed upon their dependents by tenure of knights' service, escaped the general confiscation. It appears that some of these possessions came to the family of Ferrers, Earls of Derby, by the marriage of Robert de Ferrers with Margaret Peverel, eldest daughter and co-heiress of the third William Peverel; and on the forfeiture of William Peverel, these lands were held direct from the Crown. Haddon and other possessions in Derbyshire had been granted by one of the Peverels, apparently the second William, to one Avenellus, one of his knights, who was one of the witnesses to the foundation charter of Lenton Priory, in 1102.

The records of the Avenels of Haddon are somewhat scanty, but they appear in local charters until the reign of Edward I, more particularly in the records of Middleton and Youlgreave, in which they occur as residents, and

owners of lands in those places. In the reign of Henry III, William Avenel granted Meadow Place and Conkesbury, with land in Over Haddon, to the Abbey of Leicester.

The Avenels were one of the great Norman families, and hereditary Seneschals of the Counts of Mortaine. William, the Seneschal, was one of the Conqueror's companions, and fought at Hastings, but he does not appear to have been very amply rewarded for his services, though afterwards this family became possessors of considerable property in various parts of the kingdom. They are found at an early date in the counties of Beds., Gloucester, Cambridge, Leicester, Devon, etc., as well as in Scotland. The earliest record relating to Haddon in the possession of the Duke of Rutland, and very probably the earliest existing at the present time, is a charter in the form of a fine, or agreement, between William Avenel of Haddon, the younger, and his two sons-in-law, Richard de Vernon, and Simon Basset: who had married his two daughters and co-heirs, Avice and Elizabeth.

This deed measures $6\frac{3}{4}$ ins. by 5 ins., but it has unfortunately suffered from time and exposure, in consequence of which it is somewhat difficult to decipher. As this is a most interesting and important document, a translation of it is given as follows:

"Be it known unto all, as well present as to come, that I, William Avenel, have entered into an agreement with Richard de Vernon, and Simon Basset, who have my two daughters, and heirs, of all my land and inheritance, and to them, as my heirs, I have granted and enfeoffed all my land and inheritance after my decease, which they shall divide, sharing equally everywhere, and in all things, as my heirs, and so that Simon Basset, and his heirs, shall do to Richard de Vernon, and his heirs, what the younger shall owe to the elder. Moreover, in my manor, namely Haddon, I have granted to the aforesaid Richard, my capital mansion, which is at the east, where my father William Avenell dwelt, and where the Chapel of St. Nicholas is founded, with the orchard on the same side; and to Simon Basset, my other mansion, which is at the west, with the orchard on the west side. In Adestoca (co. Bucks.) I have granted to the said Richard de Vernon, my capital mansion, with two orchards, one on each side of the mansion. Also to Simon Basset, in the same vill, a certain mansion. equal in size

to the capital mansion, with the orchard of Roger (*sic.*). In Irtliburc also I have granted to the said Simon Basset a capital mansion, and to the said Richard de Vernon in the same vill a certain mansion, equal in size to the capital mansion. This covenant and agreement, the said Richard de Vernon and Simon Basset, my order having been faithfully preserved, have confirmed, by oath. Of this covenant and agreement, these are the witnesses: William, son of Hugh de Fuletibi; William, son of Hugh the falconer; Gerold, son of Richard."

The names of the last two witnesses are illegible. This concord, or agreement, would be executed in duplicate; and as two labels, with guards or bags of linen are attached, it is evident that this is the counterpart, to which the seals of Richard Vernon and Simon Basset were appended—both unfortunately missing.

The family of Basset continued to possess a moiety of Nether Haddon in the reign of Edward III (*Inq. p. m.*, 3 Edward III), but in or before the reign of Henry VI, it became vested by purchase in the Vernons.

In consequence of this agreement, or settlement, a moiety of Haddon and other property became vested, after the death of William Avenel, in the family of Vernon.

This family derived its name from the Castle of Vernon, now a commune in the department of Evreux. A Roger was Baron of Vernon about 1030, whose grandson William recovered Vernon (which had been granted to Count Guy of Burgundy), and from him descended the Barons of Vernon. Two of his sons, Richard and Walter, appear in *Domesday*, both holding lands in Cheshire. Richard was one of the Barons of Hugh Lupus, Earl of Chester, and had a castle at Shipbrook. He is said by Ormerod to have been succeeded, in the fourth or fifth generation, by a second Richard, from whose son William, Chief Justice of Chester (1230-32), all the legitimate lines of this family derive their descent.

The connection of the Vernons of Haddon with the Cheshire family has been generally accepted, yet a recent writer on this subject has propounded the theory, that the Vernons of Haddon derive their descent more pro-

bably from the family of De Insula, Earls of Devon; but the Cheshire and Belvoir records supply strong evidence of the identity of the Cheshire and Haddon families of Vernon. General Wrottesley, in his investigations on the early descent of the Vernons, while differing from other authorities, also favours the idea of the connection of the two families; and on the assumption of this connection, this attempt to trace the succession of the Vernons of Haddon in the male line will commence with—

Walter de Vernon (already referred to), who held in 1086 four manors of the Earl of Chester, and three manors of the King, *in capite*, in Bucks. (*Domesday*). This Walter was succeeded by—

Walter de Vernon, probably a grandson of the last-mentioned, who was living 11 Henry II (*Pipe Roll, Oxfordshire*). A deed in Shaw shows that Walter de Vernon, a grandson of a former Walter, was enfeoffed at Harlaston by Matilda, Countess of Chester, during her widowhood. Eyton says: this took place between 1154 and 1157 (*Salt Collections*). The next in descent is—

Richard de Vernon, who married Avice, daughter and co-heires of William Avenel, of Haddon, to whom John, Earl of Moreton, during his brother's absence, probably in the Holy Land, issued a license, to strengthen, but not to fortify (as has been sometimes stated), his house or mansion at Haddon, with a wall 12 ft. high, of which the following is a translation:

“John, Earl of Moreton, to his Justices, Sheriffs, Bailiffs, Ministers, and all his faithful people, sends greetings. Know you that I have granted and given license to Richard de Vernon to strengthen (firmandi) his House of Haddon with a wall raised twelve feet high, without Battlements (sine Kernello). And I forbid lest anyone of ours hereafter disturb him. Witness, Robert de Mara, at Clipston.”

This document was exhibited to the British Archæological Association when they visited Haddon in 1851, and it is now preserved in a glass case in the library at Belvoir, with a selection of other early and interesting charters. This Richard de Vernon forfeited his estates in 6 & 7 Richard I (*Staffordshire Pipe Roll*), but they

were afterwards restored to him. He was living in 16 John (*Derbyshire Pipe Roll*), and was apparently dead before 3 Henry III, when William de Vernon occurs. The "Quo Warranto" Pleas of the Channel Islands show that a Richard de Vernon held the Island of Sark, which was resumed by the Crown because Richard had selected a Norman domicile, on the separation of Normandy from England. This Richard was buried at Lenton Priory. He was succeeded by his son—

William de Vernon, by Avice, his wife. He occurs in 3 Henry III (*Derbyshire Pipe Rolls*), and was living 20 Henry III (*Testa de Nevill*). He was probably identical with William de Vernon, Justiciary of Chester, 1229 and 1232. That Richard de Vernon of Haddon was succeeded by a William, is placed beyond doubt from the evidence on record amongst the *Belvoir Charters*. One of these is a confirmation by Richard de Vernon, and Avice his wife, and Richard de Vernon, their son and heir, to Azer, son of Nigel, of a virgate of land in Adstock. The date of this deed appears to be Richard I, or John. Richard de Vernon and Avice his wife occur in a fine made at Westminster, 27 Henry II (1181), between Walkelin Harenc, and Richard de Vernon, and Avice his wife, of the third part of the fee of Swinfen (co. Staff.), on a plea of covenant, viz.: that Richard, and Avice his wife, claim to quit-claim the third part of Swinfen to Walkelin Harenc, for which the said Walkelin gives to Richard de Vernon, and Avice his wife, four virgates of land in exchange for the third part of Swinfen. William Vernon, of Haddon and Harlaston, married Margaret, daughter of Robert de Stockport. Sir Robert de Stockport, his son, and brother to Margaret Vernon, re-granted and confirmed Marple and Wibbersley to the said William and Margaret, between 1209 and 1229 (*Cheshire Grants*).

From an inquisition taken after the death of Sir Robert de Stockport, who died in 1249, it was found that Marple and Wibbersley were held of the King, as Earl of Chester, *in capite*, and that Sir Richard de Vernon held the same from him.

The Belvoir muniments contain several very interesting

charters bearing on the question of the connection of the Haddon Vernons with the Cheshire family. One of these is a release by Robert, son of Sir Robert de Stockport, to William de Vernon, and Margaret his wife, of Marple and Wibbersley. This deed is witnessed, amongst others, by Warin de Vernon, and Phillip de Orreby, Justiciar of Chester (1209-1229). Another of these charters is a grant and confirmation by Sir Robert de Stockport, the elder, to William, son and heir to Richard de Vernon, of the manor of Baslow and Bubnell, in free marriage with Margaret, his daughter. All the witnesses to this charter are Cheshire men, with one exception, viz. : Henry, clerk of Tideswell—probably the scribe who wrote it. Two of the charters alluded to relate to Lenton Priory. One of these, dated 1237, recites that William de Vernon, for the repose of his soul, and the souls of his wife Alice, and all his ancestors and successors, had given all the land which he had in Stanton (near Haddon), to the Prior and Convent of Lenton, together with his body, there to be buried beside his father. From another deed, dated 1242, it appears that the Abbot of Diulacresse, and the Priors of Lenton, Chester, and Derby were the executors of the will of the said William Vernon, Knt., and that his debts were to be proved at Derby. It appears, therefore, that William Vernon died about this time. It will be observed that Alice is given as the wife of William de Vernon; and in a portion of a Vernon pedigree amongst the *Woolley MSS.*, Alice is also described as the wife of William Vernon. She must, therefore, have been a second wife.

The following is an abstract of a transcript of a Latin charter in a volume of the *Towneley MSS.*

“To all about to see or hear this writing, etc. Know you that I have given, etc., for my soul, and the souls of Margaret my wife, and my successors, to God, and St. Mary, and St. Editha of Polesworth (near Tamworth), 5s. of my rent of Harlaston, to be paid annually at the feast of St. John the Baptist, for the maintenance of a lamp with oil, to burn every night in the Chapter of the said House.”

This deed has the names of two Derbyshire witnesses,

amongst others. William de Vernon was succeeded by his son and heir, Richard de Vernon. He was alive in 4 Edw. I, but, dying without issue, was succeeded by his brother,

Robert de Vernon, who, it is supposed, died shortly after. Robert held Adstock under his brother Richard (*Testa de Nevill*). The descent of Haddon, and other possessions, terminated in the male line of the Vernons with this Robert, who appears to have died without male issue, leaving a daughter,

Hawise, or Havisia, who married Gilbert le Franceys, who was afterwards knighted, but about whom but little seems to be known; but he was, probably, a member of a Yorkshire family of that name. He held Harlaston in right of his wife. He was dead in 6 Edw. I (*Inq. p. m.*). He was succeeded by his son and heir,

Richard, born in 1261 (*Inq. p. m.*, 11 Edw. I). Assumed the name of Vernon. He was presented to the advowson of Pichcote in 1310, and in 8 Edw. II he conveyed Harlaston and Appleby to his son Richard, who reconveyed them to his father. He was apparently alive in 16 Edw. II, when his son died (*Inq. p. m.*, 16 Edw. II). He very probably married Isabel, daughter of Sir William Gernon, Lord of Bakewell, by Isabella, his wife, son of Sir Ralph Gernon, Lord of Bakewell, by Elizabeth, his wife, daughter of Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford. His son, who predeceased him, married Matilda, or Maud, daughter and co-heir of William Camville, Lord of Clifton, co. Staff., who survived her husband. In 1337, William de Camville granted to his daughters, Matilda de Vernon and Eleanor, wife of Richard de Penres, his manor of Clifton Camville, with the advowson of the Church of Clifton (*Belvoir Charters*). On the *Patent Roll*, 11 Edw. III, is a grant or confirmation for the manor of Lanstephen, in Carmarthenshire, to Matilda, formerly the wife of Ric. de Vernon, and Eleanor her sister, daughters and heiresses of William de Camville. This Richard, who died in the lifetime of his father, left a son and heir,

William de Vernon, born in 1314 (*Inq. p. m.*, 16 Edw. II), who succeeded his grandfather, Richard. It

does not appear whom this William married. He was succeeded by his son,

Sir Richard de Vernon, Knight, who seems to have been a warrior, from the records at Belvoir and elsewhere. One of these is an indenture, dated 31 Edw. III, by which he assigns his manor of Haddon to trustees, prior to proceeding to the Holy Land, reserving to himself a right of re-entry if he returned to England; otherwise, his trustees were to enfeof the said manor to his heir, failing which, to Sir Alverey de Sulney (Sully, or Sulwy, co. Glamorgan?). He evidently returned from the Holy Land, as appears from another deed in French, of later date, by which he settles his manor of Pichcote, having been summoned to go across the sea into Gascony in the service of the King (Edw. III), where he is said to have been in the retinue of Ralph Basset, of Drayton. There is an inventory at Belvoir, in Latin, of the goods of this Sir Richard de Vernon at the manor of Harlaston, dated 16th March, 1369, which mentions iron furnaces in the hall for burning sea-coal, and refers to beds ornamented with oak leaves and *fleurs-de-lis*; and to which is appended a note that, after the inventory had been made, Sir Richard took some of the articles included in it away with him to Gascony. He married Juliana, sister and heiress of Sir Fulk de Pembrugge, Lord of Tong, in Shropshire. She married, secondly, Thomas Wennesley. In 1380, the King granted to Juliana, formerly wife of Richard de Vernon, of Harlaston, Knt., and to Thomas de Wenneslegh, a lease of two-thirds of Marple and Wibbersley, to hold during the minority of the heir of Ric. de Vernon (*Chesh. Records*). Sir Richard de Vernon died in September, 1376 (*Inq. p. m.*), leaving a son nine years of age, and his widow in 1410, aged sixty-one years and more (*Inq. p. m.*). He was succeeded by his son and heir,

Richard de Vernon, who obtained the living of Marple in 1390. He married Johanna, daughter of Rees ap Griffith, Knt., cousin and heir of Sir Richard de Stacpole (*Mar. Sett. 1380, Belvoir Chart.*), and died in 1400 at the age of thirty-one years (*Writ of diem clausit extremum*, dated 8th September, 1400, *Cheshire Inquisitions*).

The original will, in Latin, of his widow, Johanna, who long survived him, is amongst the Belvior muniments. It is dated 14th October, 1437, and was proved at the Deanery of Pembroke, 12th May, 1439. She gave her body to be buried in the church of St. Michael at Stackpool, to which she bequeathed 40s. for providing bells. The residue of her goods she gave and bequeathed to Richard de Vernon, Knight, her son, who succeeded his father.

Sir Richard de Vernon, Knt., proved his age in 1411. He was Treasurer of Calais, Captain at Rouen, and Speaker in the Parliament at Leicester. He married *Benedicta*, the daughter of Sir John Ludlow, of Hodnet and Stokesay, co. Salop, by whom he had a large family. He died on the Sunday after the Feast of St. Bartholomew, 1450 (*Inq. p. m.*, 30 Hen. VI). There is a rich alabaster tomb in Tong church, with the recumbent effigies of a Vernon and a lady, which are supposed to be this Richard and *Benedicta*, his wife. The bell-turret of the chapel at Haddon is supposed to have been built by this William, from the carved W on the outside of it; and the east window of the chapel has the following inscription at the bottom: "Orate pro animabus Ricardi Vernon et *Benedicte* uxoris ejus que fecerunt anno Domini milesimo ccccxxvii." Richard de Vernon was succeeded by his son and heir,

Sir William Vernon, who was found thirty years of age and upwards in 1450 (*Inq. p. m.*). He represented the county of Derby in the Parliament summoned to meet in 1442, and was again elected in 1449 and 1450. He had a grant of the office of Knight Constable of England for life. He married Margaret, daughter of William Swinfen and Jocosa, his wife. He was cousin and heir of Sir Robert Pype, of Pype Ridware, and Jocosa was younger daughter and co-heir of William Dureversale, *alias* Spemore. (Probably Margaret's father adopted his cousin's name.) William Vernon and Margaret were married in 1435, when they had grants of her grandfather's lands. Sir William died 30th June, 1467, and was buried in Tong church, where there is a fine altar-tomb, with slab inlaid with brasses, having the following inscription, translated:—

“Here lie Sir William Vernon Knight, sometime Knight Constable of England, son and heir of Sir Richard Vernon, Knight, who sometime was Treasurer of Calais, which Sir William indeed died the last day of the month of June, in the Year of our Lord 1467, and Margaret, wife of the said William, daughter and heiress of Sir Robert Pipe and Spernore Knight, which Margaret indeed died day of the month in the Year of our Lord 146—on whose souls may God be merciful. Amen.”

Margaret, the widow of Sir William Vernon, was living in 1470. Sir William Vernon had seven sons and five daughters. By his will dated June, 1467, and proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, he bequeathed his body to be buried in the Church of St. Bartholomew in Tong, and directed that his tomb be made according to his degree. He was succeeded by his son and heir,

Sir Henry Vernon, who was found by an Inquisition to be twenty-six years of age in 1467 (*Inq. p. m.* 6 Edward IV). Sir Henry was appointed Governor and Treasurer to Prince Arthur (born 1486), who lived at Ludlow Castle; and when that Prince was created Prince of Wales, and Earl of Chester and Flint, in 1489, Sir Henry was made a Knight of the Bath, and, according to tradition, Prince Arthur spent much of his time at Haddon with Sir Henry Vernon, where one of the compartments was called the Prince's Chamber. Sir Henry witnessed the marriage contract between Prince Arthur and the Princess Katherine of Arragon. This marriage took place in 1501, when the Prince was only sixteen years of age. Sir Henry represented the county of Derby in Parliament in 1478, and was High Sheriff for Derby, 1504. He was one of the nobles, knights, and gentlemen who gathered round the royal standard, June 6th, 1487. He married Anne, daughter of John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury (*Mar. Sett.*, October 6th, 1466), by whom he had a numerous family, of which three sons are commemorated at Tong, viz.: a monument to Arthur, priest, fifth and youngest son; Richard Vernon, of Haddon, who succeeded his father; and a monument to Humphrey, third son. Sir John, the fourth son, was the ancestor of the Lords Vernon of Sudbury. Sir Henry died April 13th, 1515, and Anne his wife, May 17th,

1494, and were buried in the Vernon Chantry in Tong Church, where there is a fine altar-tomb, with stone effigies commemorating them, which has the following inscription in Latin, translated :—

“ Here lie the bodies of Sir Henry Vernon, Knight, the founder of this Chantry Chapel, and Dame Anne Talbot his wife, daughter of John, Earl of Shrewsbury, which said Henry died the 13th day of the month of April, in the year of our Lord 1515, and the said Lady Anne died the 17th day of May, in the year of our Lord 1494, on whose souls may God be merciful.”

The following extracts are taken from the will of Sir Henry Vernon, dated January 18th, 1515 :—

“ Item I bequeath my body to be buried at Tonge where I have assigned my selfe to lye And for as muche as w't good prayers and almes deeds the soule ys deliuered from euerlasting dethe and payne therfor ytt ys that I wyll and bequethe that a Covenable preste shall syng for my Sowle my wyffe Sowle my ffathur and Mother and all my Chyldern and all Crysten Sowlys and say dayly w't full offes of dethe in the sayd Church of Tonge or in the Chapell when ytt ys made,” &c. “ Item I bequeath and gyff for Makyng of the sayde tombe and Chappell *Cl.* Item I wyll that my sayd tombe and Chappell be made w't in ij yeres next after my deceasse or erst and the better and the more hon'able for the blode that my wyffe ys comyn of.”

Richard Vernon, eldest son and heir of Sir Henry, was found from an Inquisition taken 1515 (*Inq. p. m.*, 7 Henry VIII), to be thirty years of age and upwards. He married Margaret, daughter of Sir Robert Dimock, Knight (*Mar. Sett.*, November 7th, 1507), and dying August 15th, 1517, was succeeded by his only son and heir, Sir George Vernon (*Inq. p. m.*). Richard Vernon, and possibly his wife, were buried in Tong Church, under an alabaster altar-tomb, with recumbent effigies of himself and his wife, with an inscription, as follows, translated :—

“ Here lie the bodies of Richard Vernon, of Haddon, Esquire, and Margaret his wife, daughter of Sir Robert Dymmok, Knight, who had issue George Vernon. Richard indeed died on the Vigil of the Assumption of Saint Mary the Virgin, in the year of our Lord, 1517, and the said Margaret died day of the month in the year of our Lord 15—, on whose souls God Almighty be merciful. Amen.”

It is probable that Margaret, the widow of Richard Vernon, was not buried at Tong—hence the blanks in the dates—as she married, secondly, Sir William Coffin, Knt., a member of a very ancient family of that name in Devonshire, by whom she appears to have had no issue; as Sir William Coffin, by his will, dated 1538, and proved in the following year, devised all his manors and lands in Devon to his nephews. Sir William Coffin and Margaret, his wife, are described in various deeds in the possession of the Duke of Rutland, as of Haddon, where they probably resided during the minority of George Vernon, who was only three years of age at the time of his father's death in 1517 (*Inq. p. m.* 16 Henry VIII). Margaret, the widow of the said William Coffin, and formerly the wife of Richard Vernon, married, thirdly, in 1539, Richard Manners, Esq., son of Sir George, and brother of Sir Thomas Manners, afterwards first Earl of Rutland. She died in 1550. Sir George Vernon was the last male of the line of Vernons who inherited Haddon, about whom so much as been written as to require no further repetition. Camden, alluding to him, says:—

“Insomuch that Sir George Vernon, Knt., who lived in our time, for his magnificence, for his kind reception of all good men, and his hospitality, gained the name of King of the Peak among the vulgar.”

Sir George Vernon was twice married: first to Margaret, daughter and co-heiress of Sir George Talboys, by whom he had issue two daughters, Margaret and Dorothy. Shortly after her death, which took place on or about March 25th, 1558, he married, secondly, Matilda, daughter of Sir Ralph Longford, of Longford, co. Derby, Knt. Sir George died August 31st, 1565, when Margaret, the wife of Sir Thomas Stanley, and Dorothy, the wife of John Manners, Esq., were found from Inquisitions to be his heirs, Margaret being aged twenty-five years and Dorothy twenty years (*Inq. p. m.* 8 Elizabeth). Sir George Vernon was buried in Bakewell Church, under a large altar-tomb, upon which are the recumbent effigies of him and his two wives, with an inscription, which has

not been completed—the dates of the deaths being left blank. When the Vernon Chapel and other parts of Bakewell Church were reconstructed in 1841, it was found necessary to disturb interments; and in the report of these proceedings, it is stated that three skeletons were discovered under this tomb, supposed to be the remains of Sir George Vernon and his two wives; but it may be questioned whether Matilda, the second wife of Sir George Vernon, was interred in Vernon Chapel, as she married, secondly, Sir Francis Hastings, of North Cadbury in Somersetshire, of the family of the Earls of Huntingdon. This marriage took place before April, 1569.

In connection with the Vernon monuments in the Vernon Chapel, a few remarks may be offered relating to the small carved alabaster altar-tomb, commemorating John Vernon, son and heir of Sir Henry Vernon, of Haddon, who died in 1477. It has been conjectured that this John was the father of Richard, who succeeded Sir Henry, but this could not have been the case. On reference to an Inquisition taken after the death of Sir Henry, in 1515, Richard is described as the son and heir of Sir Henry, and of the age of thirty years and upwards; accordingly, he would be born about 1485, some eight years after the death of the John referred to, who would be the elder brother of Richard, and not the father; and could only have been comparatively young, as his father was born in 1441, or about thirty-six years prior to his son John's death. On the division of Sir George Vernon's estates, Tong, Harlaston, and other lands in Staffordshire passed to Sir Thomas Stanley, of Winwick, co. Lancaster; while Haddon and other large possessions in Derbyshire became the property of the family of Manners, with which they still remain.

In two deeds, dated 1569, John Manners and Dorothy, his wife, are described as of Uffington, co. Linc., and of Wiverton, co. Notts., a few miles from Belvoir. Francis Hastings and Maud his wife, late wife of Sir George Vernon, occur in a deed dated December 12th, 1567, which shows that the widow of Sir George Vernon re-married shortly after his death.

That the betrothal and marriage of Margaret, the elder daughter of Sir George Vernon, had no element of romance, whatever may have been the case with regard to her sister Dorothy, is abundantly evident from the numerous entries in an early volume of Household Accounts, from which the following selections have been made :—

1555. "Paid for Ale at S'r Thomas Stanley being here *iiij*d*.*
 „ "Spent by my Mr. at the new castle (Newcastle-under-Lyne) apon Thursday the vth of Sept. at the talks of the maryage betwyxt S'r Tho. Stanley & Mrs. Margett . . . *vili.*
 „ "To my Mr. in playe the viij of Sep. w'th S'r Tho: Stanley and S'r Will: Inglebe . . . *vs.*
1556. "Att London, Payd for the Copyinge of thar-ticles betwyxt theyrle of Derbye and my Mr. for the maryage that shold be had betwyxt the said Erles son and his daughter . . . *iijs. iiij*d*.*
 „ "Gevon to Mr. Seriant Gawdye for his Counseyll in the same *xs.*
 „ "Spent by Mr. Agard and Thomas Morten beyng there for the makinge vpp of books betwyxt the said Erle & my Mr. by the space of vj weeks lackyng ij days . . . *viiij*li*. xs.*
 „ 17th Dec. "To Mrs. Margett to play at tables w'th S'r Thomas Stanley *iijs. iiij*d*."*

The marriage of Sir Thomas Stanley with Margaret Vernon took place between January and May, 1558, when Margaret was about eighteen years of age.

It appears from an Inquisition taken in 1600, that Sir Thomas Stanley died at Clerkenwell, on November 17th, 1577, and that Margaret his widow, married, secondly, William Mather, Esq., at Harlaston on November 1st, 1579; and that the said Margaret died at Coventry, on September 9th, 1596, and that Edward Stanley was son and next heir, aged thirty-five and upwards.

There is a remarkably fine monument in Tong Church, in commemoration of Sir Thomas, Margaret his wife, and Sir Edward, their son. Sir Edward died in 1632.

Unfortunately—or perhaps fortunately for the romantic story of the elopement of Dorothy Vernon with John

Manners—the volume of accounts from which the foregoing extracts relating to the marriage of Margaret Vernon, terminates with the year of her marriage in 1558, and the accounts are not resumed until 1564, within which time the marriage of Sir John Manners with Dorothy Vernon doubtless took place. There is a tradition that they were married at Aylestone, which was one of the Manners estates; but there seems to be little probability of any evidence forthcoming to determine whether the popular legend of the elopement of Dorothy has any foundation or not.

No trace of the handwriting of Dorothy Vernon has been discovered, beyond her initials across the labels of one or two deeds at Belvoir.

It is not probable that the chapel at Haddon was ever a place of sepulture, but that such was contemplated appears from the following note in *Add. MS.*, 6669, *Brit. Mus.*

“A Burying vault ordered to be made in Haddon Chappell.’
“Lady Rutland’s 3 children buried in the Quire at Bakewell, betw’n S’r Geo: Vernon’s Tombe and S’r Jno. Manners.” “She wanted their Bones removed. Query if done?”

The three children were George, Edward and Roger Manners, children of John Manners, eighth Earl of Rutland, and Frances his wife; and during the restoration of Bakewell Church in 1841, three small lead coffins were found between the tomb of John and Dorothy Manners and that of Sir George Manners.

Haddon Hall was formerly surrounded by a park, enclosed with pales, which must have been of considerable extent, from a view of the deer taken in 1637, when it contained 597 head of bucks and does.

This Paper will conclude with a short account of the Records preserved at Belvoir and Haddon.

The collection of Records contained in the muniment-rooms at Belvoir and Haddon, in the possession of His Grace the Duke of Rutland, is probably unsurpassed in extent and varied interest by any other in the hands of a private individual in the kingdom. Of the highest rank is a series of Charters, relating to many English

counties, and numbering over 6,000, from the reign of Henry I, to the reign of Henry VIII, inclusive: of which about 2,300 relate to Derbyshire alone, including in the series over 800 Bakewell charters.

In the next rank may be placed the remarkable collection of Court Rolls, many of which begin in the reign of Edward II.

The remaining records include Chartularies of Belvoir Priory, Croxton Abbey and other foundations, Patents, Grants, Settlements, Wills, Household Accounts, Forest Rolls, Inventories, and an immense number of deeds, family and miscellaneous records, too numerous to enumerate.

The earliest document preserved at Belvoir is a grant by Henry I to the monks of Belvoir Priory, to hold a fair at Belvoir, annually, for eight days, at the feast of St. John the Baptist. A portion of a seal is appended to this deed, with representations of Henry I on horseback, and on the throne.

The only instance of a dated deed in which Richard de Vernon and Avice, his wife, daughter of William Avenel, occurs in a Fine, dated 27 Henry II (1181), between Walkelin Harenc and Richard de Vernon and Avice, his wife, of land at Swinfen, co. Staff.

Amongst the Bakewell deeds are a grant by King John, in the first year of his reign, of the manor or fee of Bakewell to Ralph Gernon, and confirmation of the same by Henry III, in the twelfth year of his reign, with seals appended. These two charters are in excellent preservation, and are amongst the charters exhibited at Belvoir.

The Gernons remained Lords of Bakewell until 1383, when, Sir John Gernon dying without male issue, the manor passed into moieties to his two daughters. It was purchased by Sir Henry Vernon from the representatives of the Gernons in 1502.

Moor, or Gernon Hall, the ancient seat of the Gernons, stood about a mile westward of Bakewell, near the edge of the moor, and there were vestiges of it remaining at the beginning of this century.

But the most interesting deed relating to Bakewell is

a Charter of Liberties granted by William Gernon, Lord of Bakewell, in 1286, to his burgesses and free-tenants of Bakewell. This charter measures 17 ins. by 11 ins., and is in good preservation, with a seal of dark green wax appended.

Another fine charter amongst the Haddon series is a grant by Edmund Plantagenet, Earl of Lancaster, second son of Henry III, to the Abbot and Convent of Darley, of a bovate of land near Wirksworth, with a seal bearing a tri-corporate lion, and inscribed :—"Sigillum Edmundi filii Regis Anglie."

There is a very interesting series of Inventories of the furniture, silver, pewters, and effects at Haddon, taken on different occasions from 1623 to 1730, with the names and contents of all the rooms, from which the following extracts have been taken :—

1623. "At the gallery dore a cubboard and a Viall chest with a bandora & Vialls."

Among the plate were :—

"A silver double salt with the peacocke at the top," "6 greate silver candlesticks," "6 little candlesticks," "a silver bason & ewer, 3 silver drinking bowles, with cover."

1637. "In the gallery were a gilded organ, two harpsicalls, with frames to stand on, a shovel-board table on tresells, a large looking-glass of seventy-two glasses, and four pictures of shepherds and sheperdeses."

1640. List of silver plate at Haddon (extracts) :—

"1 very large dish weight 110 ou."

"4 dishes of the next size wayeing aboute 78 ou. a peece."

"8 dishes of the next size wayeing aboute 64 ou. a peece."

"5 dishes of the next size wayeing aboute 64 ou. a peece."

"2 dishes of the next size wayeing aboute 22 ou. a peece."

"1 large pye plate."

"VI sausers wayeing aboute 6 ou a peece."

"All the said Vessells hath the Manners and Montague cotes in a Reathe."

"48 trencher plates."

"4 porringers for the children."

"4 spoones to them."

"6 spoones with folks att the'nds."

"A great guilt plate sault 3 hights with the Peacock on the topp."

"A guilt challis & cover."

1637. "1 Guilded orgaine."

"2 large harpsicalls."

"1 Shovel board table with tressells."

"1—13 hole bord to bowle att."

"1 large looking glasse of 72 glasses."

In my Mrs. Sweet meat Clossett.

"8 leather voyders."

"5 gingerbread prints."

"2 perfuminge pans."

"A booke written by S'r Geffrey Chaucer."

"A glasse churne."

"37 Venice glasses of all sizes."

1641. In the Gallerye :

"The organ."

"Two Harpsicalls with frames."

"A great picture over the Chimney."

"Two Couches with silver and coloured leather."

"Twenty backe Chaires of ye same, all Covered with Blew bayes."

"Five Turkie carpets."

"One great glasse."

1663. In the Gallery :

"One cabinet organ."

"One paire of Virginalls."

1668. A list of silver plate at Haddon includes a "Communion boule & cover."

Haddon Hall was completely furnished so late as 1730, but the latest reference to the occupation by any of the family in the Stewards' Accounts occurs in 1702; the Steward of the Duke of Rutland's Haddon estates, however, resided at Haddon for some years after that date.





ST. ANNE'S CHURCH, BUXTON.

BY THE REV. J. THWAITES MUMFORD, M.A.

(Contributed to the Buxton Congress, July 22nd, 1899.)



PERHAPS it will be convenient to give, first of all, a few dates and facts relating to the present building of St. Anne's Church.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the waters of Buxton were as popular as ever they had been in the past, and people were flocking in great numbers to the wells and baths. At that time there was no spiritual accommodation for them, and in consequence the neighbouring church of Fairfield, then a chapel attached to Hope, became overcrowded. Accordingly, what Glover describes in his *History of Derbyshire* as a "very mean building," the present church of St. Anne, was built in 1625.

The material used throughout was the local limestone, with the exception of the mullions, sills, etc., of the windows, which were of millstone grit, probably from the Roaches near Leek.

It was probably nothing more than a rectangular building, *i.e.*, the present nave of the church. In 1715 a small vestry was added at the south-east, and in 1841 the porch on the north-west side was built.

It would seem that this church served for the spiritual necessities of the inhabitants of, and visitors to, Buxton for upwards of a century and a half, until 1798, when a petition was presented to Quarter Sessions praying that a brief might be granted for obtaining funds for a larger building. Accordingly, what is now the parish church was built on the other side of Buxton in 1811.

It may be interesting to note that the population of Buxton in 1821 was 1,036. The effect of this, of course, was to close St. Anne's, and the fabric began to fall into decay. But in 1841 the Duke of Devonshire restored the church, and service was regularly held in it again during the incumbency of the then vicar of Buxton—Rev. W. Hull-Brown. After that the church saw many vicissitudes. Divine service was discontinued; it became a day school, then a Sunday school, then a mortuary chapel; and finally was closed altogether, only to be opened as a show place at the request of a passing visitor.

At length, during the vicariate of the Rev. W. Malam, St. Anne's was put into thorough repair, at the wish and by the generous help of certain parishioners and friends, and was given over to the Rev. W. Lear to be worked henceforth as a sole charge. Under his earnest ministrations, the little church rapidly became a centre of worship, and acquired a reputation among visitors who flocked to it during their sojourn in Buxton, which it has always held since. In 1894 the vestry was enlarged to its present proportions.

The building itself is oblong in shape, 56 ft. 2 ins. long by 20 ft. 4 ins. wide. The roof is an open one, with five large trusses of black oak, roughly shaped with the adze, across from side to side. The windows are square-headed. The font is somewhat unusual in shape: on its east side may be seen the date 1625, on the west the initials T. Y., on the north the Greek character Ω, and on the south a shield charged with a saltire. The reading-desk and two ancient chairs are made from old oak, procured from Wormhill. In 1898 the graveyard, which had been used continuously since 1625, was closed by an order in Council.

Such is a brief history of the present church of St. Anne. I say "present" because, interesting as the immediate past of the church has been, this church, small as it is, has a magnificent record behind it. It forms the last of a series of chapels in Buxton which reach back most probably to the time of the Romans, prior to the introduction of Christianity.

The vicar of Hartington (Rev. W. Fyldes), who has

made the past history of Buxton his special study, believes that a Roman altar stood in close proximity to the well of St. Anne; and it is a known fact that the Romans knew of, and duly appreciated, the healing properties of the Buxton waters. But the spread of Christianity would give a different complexion to popular religion, and very soon a small Christian chapel would doubtless be erected, chiefly for the benefit and use of the visiting sick people. This "well-chapel" would be served two or three times a week by a priest sent from the neighbouring church of Chelmorton, or more possibly from the collegiate church of Bakewell.

Little of historical matter of any value can be found before the sixteenth century, owing to the subordinate position of the chapel of St. Anne and its lack of endowment, etc. Most probably, Archbishop Peckham would find the church standing in his day, when making his visitation in 1280, but would not think it worth while to make any mention of it, owing to the above reason. Therefore, it is not surprising that the earliest historical allusion to St. Anne's is that made by the Commissioners of Henry VIII, in connection with the church at Bakewell, in the following words, and expressed in such a way:—

"Capella de Bukstones in p'ochia de Bakewell. In oblationibus ibidem ad Sanctam Annam coram nobis dictis commissionariis non patet."

Subsequent history of the church has the same sad tale to tell—a tale that is familiar to all archæological students of church architecture—of misplaced zeal and fanatical iconoclasm. Even the name of St. Anne's was changed to that of St. John, in order (apparently) to avoid all opportunity of superstition. The writer is thankful to say that the old dedication has been brought back into use through the practical sympathy of the Lord Bishop of the diocese.

An interesting letter of this melancholy period is extant, written by one William Bassett, knight, to Lord Cromwell, and the direct result was that the church then standing on the site of the present Town Hall was

entirely demolished. For half a century Buxton was without any centre of worship, until the building of the present church in 1625.

One question remains, and that a most important one. *Why* was this church built in such meagre dimensions? The most crowded congregation, packed together as far as human ingenuity can effect, can only amount to two hundred souls. There is, no doubt, some reason for the structure being so small.

The writer had a theory, by no means original, that the materials used for this building in 1625 came, for the most part, from those that had formed part of the former church, demolished fifty years before. And this theory was strengthened by the age and appearance of the rough oak tie-beams, and the crude way in which they enter the walls.

The former church would partake more of the nature of a well-chapel, intended for few worshippers at a time, than in accordance with the modern idea of a building to accommodate a congregation. It seemed, therefore, ingenious to suppose that the builders of 1625 used up old material, and cut their coat according to their cloth. It is, however, but a theory, for a timber roof of that period would be quite in accordance with that described above; and the roof of the present St. Anne's is what is often called a "carpenter's roof," and therefore evidently the builder was his own architect. It is impossible, however, to entirely relinquish the theory, without at the same time suggesting that, in 1625, some traces of the old St. Anne's were still to be found, or that a ground-plan of the building was extant, and that the erectors of the new edifice wished to preserve as far as possible that continuity in building and form which is to be found in so many ecclesiastical structures: a good and striking illustration of the inner life and continuity which is at once the reality and charm of the English Church to which we belong. And while on this subject, it is interesting to point out the use which St. Anne's church serves still, after the manner of its predecessors.

The visitors and others who throng the little church, on Sundays and weekdays alike, are the direct successors

of those who, centuries ago, climbed the hill, thanks to Buxton and its waters, with a vigour unknown before, to offer to God their due thanksgiving for renewed health and strength. St. Anne's does not possess, hanging up on its walls, crutches and other evidences of returned strength (almost miraculous) which were formerly so familiar a sight. But it has a possession just as valuable—the affection for its venerable structure, and still more ancient history, felt by hundreds living in all parts of the country, who have learned within its walls to bestow their gratitude on the real Author of their present health and happiness.





ON

ORNAMENTS OF JET AND CANNEL COAL,
ON CUP-AND-RING MARKINGS,

AND ON

SLATE WEAPONS, AS CHARACTERISTIC OF THE
NEOLITHIC AGE.

BY THE REV. H. J. DUKINFIELD ASTLEY, M.A.

(Read at the Buxton Congress, July 21st, 1899.)



ONE of the most interesting, and at the same time most instructive, facts in anthropology is the universal taste for adornment, personal or otherwise, which exists among human beings. The love of ornament seems to be—if we may use the phrase—inherent in the human race; the more primitive the race, the more universal it appears to be. Among savages, and races not far removed from barbarism, this love of ornament is found chiefly characteristic of the men; as civilisation advances, it is relegated more and more to the women, until it becomes almost entirely confined to them. In the primitive stage of culture, man is in the same condition as the lower creatures, and ornaments are used for almost the same purpose. Among insects and birds the males are adorned with all the colours of the rainbow, while the females are content to array themselves in more sober drabs and browns; so the Red Indian, and the Negro, and the New Zealander, adorns himself with all the bravery he can muster; while his wife, as the household drudge, has to be content to do the work, and go unadorned. Even down to the last century, among the

most civilised nations of Europe, the "beaux" and "macaronis" shone resplendent in gorgeous silks and satins of varied hues, and adorned themselves with jewellery of all kinds. To-day the South African millionaire is content to appear in white shirt-front and black frock coat; gay attire is left to his lacqueys, and gold and diamonds adorn the ample proportions of his comely wife, or display to greater perfection the budding beauties of his fair daughters.

Among primitive races, this love of ornamentation is found sometimes combined with great artistic ability; sometimes it takes forms the most grotesque, and apparently absurd.

It is not my purpose in this Paper to speak of ornaments in the shape of fine clothes, nor of gold-work or jewellery. Dr. Schliemann at Mycenæ and Troy, Dr. Montelius in Scandinavia, Dr. Phené in Britain, and many others, have demonstrated to what perfection of workmanship the primitive artificers had attained in the latter respect, after the discovery of metals from the Bronze Age downwards; and no modern goldsmith, with all the resources of science, can rival the exquisite torques and bracelets and brooches found in Mycenaean, or Scandinavian, or Celtic barrows and graves.

I propose to go a step further back in the history of man's evolutionary progress, and, with the help of examples drawn from races who are at the present time still in the Stone Age, to endeavour to throw some light on the probable age to which certain ornaments and weapons recently discovered, and upon which much discussion has arisen, belong.

To go back for a moment to the earliest remains of our race: it is well known that in days so remote as those in which the mammoth and the reindeer roamed over the Central Plain of Europe, and extended as far south as to what is now the coast of the Riviera, our Palæolithic ancestors—if they were indeed such, and were not all extinct before Neolithic man appeared upon the scene—were fully possessed of what we cannot but call the artistic instinct. Savages no doubt they were, perhaps cannibals, rather from the oft-recurring lack of food when

game was scarce and agriculture unknown, than from any other cause ; but, like many modern savages, such as the Fijians and others, they were not devoid of intellectual ability and manual skill. There are no personal ornaments remaining from their days, but no one is now ignorant of the remarkable evidences of their art which have been found in the caves of Perigord and the Dordogne in France, and in Switzerland. These consist of drawings of the animals with which they were familiar, executed on bone by means of sharp-pointed flint or bone tools, much in the same way as the modern Esquimaux depicts the objects with which he is familiar. Whether the Palæolithic artist was drawing a mammoth, or a reindeer, or a horse, he did it with wonderful accuracy and attention to detail, and not without spirit. The drawings of a mammoth on a piece of mammoth ivory, and of the naked man and horses' heads, from the cave of La Madeleine, in the Dordogne, of the former of which a cast may be seen in the British Museum, and another of a reindeer feeding, from the grotto of Thayngen, near Schaffhausen, are particularly interesting considering the remote age from which they are derived; for they prove that then, as now, "man was man, and master of his fate."¹

Between the age of Palæolithic man and Neolithic man in Western Europe, there is a great gulf fixed. How many centuries elapsed we shall never know, but in the interval the mammoth became extinct, the reindeer migrated to the north, the climate became more temperate, and—most important change of all—Britain became detached from the Continent. All these changes took time, and in the interval all traces of man disappear. Roughly speaking, we may say that in N. Europe Palæolithic man was contemporary with the Fir, Neolithic man with the Oak ; and, we may note in passing, Bronze Age man with the Beech, the Alder, and the Ash. Whether any of the older primitive races survived, and became blended with the advancing Neolithic peoples, is, as we

¹ One example was found in the Cresswell Crag cave, in Derbyshire, in the seventies, by Prof. Dawkins and the Rev. J. M. Mills. It is a sketch of a horse's head on bone, and is figured in the Professor's books. Up to the present time it is unique in Britain. See figs. 1 and 2.

have seen, doubtful, and indeed hardly probable. Like the mammoth, as the climate changed, they died out; their modern representatives, though not descendants, have been found in the Esquimaux of North America, and in the now-extinct Tasmanians. The Neolithic races of Western Europe, however, are in one unbroken line with ourselves. They belonged to the Ugrian stock, and their representatives are to be found to-day in peoples so far apart as the Lapps and Finns in Northern Europe, and the Basques in the country on both sides of the Pyrenees; while their blood, although swamped in the advancing tide of Celtic and Teutonic invasion, is still largely intermingled with our own; and, indeed, the inhabitants of South Wales, the Silures of Tacitus, were of almost pure Neolithic race, and their descendants may be seen among the numerous so-called Welshmen who are short, squat, thick-set, long-headed, with straight black hair and dark complexion, and whose whole physique betrays their origin, however proud they may be of their fancied Celtic blood. The length of time during which the Neolithic Age lasted varied much in the different countries of Europe. Greeks and Romans had left it far behind at the dawn of history; Dr. Montelius dates its *close* in Scandinavia about 1500 B.C.; in our islands it probably lasted quite 500 years longer, when the great Celtic immigration began.

It is not my intention to dwell at all upon the state of culture, conditions of life, social progress, tribal arrangements, etc., of man in Neolithic times. Doubtless these differed considerably in different localities, and at the close as compared with the beginning of the period. Though possessed now of a knowledge of agriculture, and capable of doing good work with his beautifully-polished implements of flint or other stone, man was still a savage, or, at any rate, a wild creature; largely dependant on his prowess in hunting for his means of livelihood, and engaged in continual warfare with his neighbours: as is testified by the multitudes of polished stone arrowheads and spearheads which have been found in his settlements.

All this has been described fully in the learned works

of Professor Boyd Dawkins, Sir John Evans, Sir John Lubbock,¹ Canon Greenwell, and others.

My subject is confined to one department only of their life: their love of ornament whether beautiful or grotesque; the materials of which these ornaments were made; the evidence which these afford of religious ideas in however rudimentary a stage; and the combination of these particular ornaments with weapons, adorned or unadorned, made of slate; and, finally, I shall ask whether the conjunction of slate weapons with ornaments made out of Cannel coal does not afford presumptive evidence that the people who made and used these things, and were at the same time absolutely ignorant of the arts of metallurgy and ceramics, belonged to the Neolithic Age? It will thus be seen that our enquiry, though confined to a single point, covers a somewhat wide range.

Now, with the incoming of the Neolithic races, a curious fact is at once noticed, viz., the old art of the Palæolithic people seems to have utterly died out—at any rate, it has disappeared. We find no more drawings.² In its place has arisen a new art: that of personal adornment, and the ornamentation of weapons and tools. In the absence of metals, jet (when found), or Cannel coal (for a like reason), are used for personal adornment, as are also oyster and other shells; and these latter, as well as the weapons and tools, are ornamented with straight lines radiating from a centre, sometimes crossing one another, and often terminating in the same curious cup-and-ring marks as are found on the rocks in many parts of Scotland and other countries. These are all characteristic of the Neolithic Age.

According to the testimony of Dr. Munro, the greatest authority on lake-dwellings in the world, rings, beads and bracelets of jet or Cannel coal are found in the lake-dwellings of the Stone Age in Switzerland and other

¹ Since the above was written, Sir John Lubbock has become Lord Avebury.

² One only, a very rude one, of an animal which it is almost impossible to distinguish, is figured from Stone Age pottery (therefore late) in Scandinavia, by Dr. Montelius. It is so rude that the drawings of Palæolithic Man are finished pictures in comparison (*Civilization of Sweden in Heathen Times*, p. 29). See fig. 6.

parts of Europe; though, as the dwellings were continuously inhabited, and sometimes more than once destroyed by fire, they are frequently found mixed up with the Bronze and Iron Ages, and it is sometimes difficult to tell to what age they actually belong. Still, that the idea of personal adornment occupied a large place in the view of Neolithic man is borne witness to in the following remarks of Dr. Munro:—"Nor were these early settlers insensible to the charms of personal ornament. Shells, both recent and fossilized, coloured pebbles, the teeth of carnivorous animals, ornamented pieces of bone and horn, stone and clay beads, and even roundlets of the human skull, were pierced for suspension, and worn either as pendants or necklaces" (*Lake Dwellings of Europe*, p. 504).¹

In Scandinavia, according to Dr. Montelius, from the abundance of the material along the shores of the Baltic, ornaments of amber were largely used for the same purpose as jet or Cannel coal in other countries. The teeth and bones of animals were also used; and with regard to the ornamentation on these, Dr. Montelius says: "The decorations consist only of straight lines; as yet we find neither spirals, nor other ornaments with curved lines" (*Civilization of Sweden in Heathen Times*, p. 30).

As regards the ornaments made of amber, or jet, or Cannel coal, according to the locality, it is plain that these materials were used in the absence of any knowledge of the use of metals, as the most appropriate for the purpose, and were often of very beautiful workmanship. As an illustration of the use of similar materials, as a survival long after the introduction of metals, we may refer to the curious so-called "coal-money" found in the Isle of Purbeck, and other parts of Dorsetshire. These consist of circular discs made of Kimmeridge coal; and

¹ Ornaments of jet, of various kinds, have been found in barrows in Yorkshire, belonging, if not to the Stone Age itself, at least to the transition between Stone and Bronze, the so-called Copper Age; and an armet of jet, ornamented with cups and rings, has been found in a barrow in Guernsey.—*Journal of the British Archæological Association*, iii, 344.

through ignorance of the way in which they had been produced, and of their real purposelessness in themselves, they were for long designated by the name above employed, and thought to be some form of ancient money. But it is now known that these were simply the discs left behind after the cutting of circular rings of the Kimmeridge coal by Britons of the Bronze Age, for armlets, anklets, etc.¹

Rings of Kimmeridge coal, of various sizes for armlets, anklets, bracelets, etc., have been found in places very far removed from one another, showing the commerce and intercourse that must have been carried on in early ages; and these, while often associated with bronze and even iron, have been also found in situations which, not only from the absence of metal, but also from the condition of the skeletons and the presence of flint implements, prove that they belong to the Stone Age originally, and that their use by the Romano-Britons was, as I have suggested, a *survival*. *E.g.*: in 1848 a barrow belonging undoubtedly to the Stone Age was opened in this county of Derby, which, as is well known, abounds in barrows, not only of the Stone and Bronze Ages, but also contains many which can only be assigned to interments of the Pagan Saxons. In this barrow, which contained the skeleton of a female in the prime of life, and a child about four years old, there was found, along with rat bones innumerable, and a *cow's tooth* (an article almost invariably found in the more ancient interments), round the neck of the adult skeleton a necklace of variously-shaped beads and ornaments of Kimmeridge coal and bone, similar to those found in another barrow at Cow Low in 1846. The various pieces numbered 400; 328 very small; 54 larger; and the remaining 18 studs and plates, some of them with *punctured* devices. Considering that it was fashioned with tools of flint or bone, it is a surprising example of primitive industry (*Journal of the British Archæological Association*, vii, 216).

¹ See a learned Paper, by Mr. John Sydenham, in *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, vol. i, pp. 325, 347; and cf. iv, 401; and xii, 166-9.

Still keeping to Derbyshire, in 1845, a large flat barrow, called Net Lowe, was opened on Alsop Moor. This is of a later age than the preceding, because in it was found a large brass dagger with thirty rivets, and two pins of brass; but there were also numerous chippings of white flint, and two instruments of the same. There were also rats' bones, fragments of a coarse urn, and horses' teeth. Besides these, there were *two ornaments of Kimmeridge coal*, of a circular form, and moulded round the edges. There are many other barrows on Alsop Moor, most of them belonging to the Stone Age (*Journal of the British Archæological Association, Winchester Congress, 1845, p. 209*).

Other examples of the use of Kimmeridge coal have been found in many places. Two sepulchral vases from Warden, in Beds., are in possession of the Cambrian Antiquarian Society; a fragment was discovered at Colchester, and a bracelet from a Roman grave near the same town; a ring has also been met with in a Romano-British cemetery near Royston. Mr. Syer-Cuming was of the opinion that all these were the production of the ancient turnery which existed in Portland from a period in all probability anterior to the Roman Conquest, whilst the *Durotriges* were lords of Dorsetshire (*Journal of the British Archæological Association, xii, 168*).

In Mr. John Sydenham's Paper (*Journal of the British Archæological Association, i, 352*), it is also noted that an armet of precisely similar form and dimensions to those discovered at Durnovaria has been found in Scotland. (He does not mention where.) This bracelet, with other ornaments, was formed of Cannel coal, like those we shall mention presently.¹

It may be observed in passing, that jet, Kinmeridge coal, and Cannel coal, are all varieties of the same substance: a bituminous shale, of which jet is the hardest, and capable of the greatest finish and polish.

Shells (oyster or other), small stones, and weapons, inscribed with line ornaments (see Dr. Montelius, *op. cit.*)

¹ Dr. Munro figures a very fine ring of Cannel coal, which, with fragments of two others, was found at Barhapple, co. Wigtown, the largest Crannog in Scotland (*Lake Dwellings, p. 437*).

and with cup-and-ring markings, must also be taken to be of the same age as other ornaments, even those from far distant localities, adorned with lines; and also of the same age as that to which the rocks covered with cup-and-ring markings belong, *i.e.*, assuredly the Neolithic. These cup-and-ring markings are found in many parts of the world besides Scotland (on the rock on which the great cathedral at Seville is built; on the steps of the Forum at Rome; on the pedestal of a statue from Athens; in India; and even in the far Pacific, in Easter Island), and they are always associated with people who knew, or know, nothing of the uses of metals; *i.e.*, they belong to the Stone Age. Their purpose remains a mystery. Had they any purpose at all beyond that of mere ornament? Were they a primitive form of writing, and could ideas be conveyed by their means? Miss Maclagan, the latest writer on the subject, relates that in the Himalayas the people use them, even at the present day, for divination. Is this a relic from the past? It is well known that the people of the Stone Age had some dim ideas of religion; their mode of burial and the objects found in their tombs prove this;¹ and much of our fairy mythology and folk-lore, as well as the greater part of the mythology of the gods among the Greeks and Romans, comes down to us from them. In that age of still primitive savagery, gods and men, and beasts and trees, and stones and the heavenly bodies, were all blended together in inextricable confusion: all were equally alive, all capable of perpetual kaleidoscopic changes from one to another. The same is true of the present condition of thought of the natives of

¹ In this connection Dr. Montelius makes the following remarks: "Upon the upper surface of the roof-stones of graves belonging to the Stone Age are often seen small, round, sometimes oblong, *cup-shaped* depressions. These were certainly used for offerings, either to or for the dead (he figures such a stone, which he calls 'sacrificial'). What gives us good ground to suppose that these holes, which are now popularly called 'elf-mills,' were actually intended for offerings, is that even to this present day they are in many places regarded as holy, and offerings secretly made in them" (*op. cit.*, p. 36). Here we have the 'cups' without the rings, and a present-day use similar to that described by Miss Maclagan in Hindostan. See fig. 4, and cf. with fig. 16, "Cup-marked Stone from Dullatur, near Stirling."

Australia, the best living examples of the men of the Stone Age, as is amply proved by Mr. A. Lang in his fascinating book, *Myth, Ritual, and Religion*, and is exemplified in Mrs. Langloh Parker's interesting transcriptions from native lips of the *Tales and Folk-Lore of Australia*.¹

Such being the case, we shall not be far wrong if we decide that these mysterious cup-and-ring markings, whether on rocks or shells, or weapons, have a ritual or religious significance, and we shall not be surprised if certain ornaments may also be described as "amulets."² Dr. Munro describes "certain roundlets cut out of human skulls, with a hole for suspension," belonging to undoubted lake-dwellings of the Stone Age in Switzerland, as "amulets; he also figures two stones, inscribed with cup-and-ring-markings, found at Ballinderry, in Ireland, along with bone pins, and ornaments, as "amulets" (*op. cit.*, pp. 360, 537). He certainly throws some doubt on the genuineness of these latter; but for no apparent reason that I can see, except that, if genuine, they afford evidence of a crannog of the Stone Age in Ireland.³

But what is an "amulet"? The answer will be, a "charm," *i. e.*, something possessing a protective power—against what? Doubtless against some being, spiritual or otherwise, conceived of as capable of working mischief, whose evil machinations may be warded off by the wearing of the "amulet."⁴

¹ See also Appendix A. *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*. By Spencer and Gillen, London: Macmillan and Co., 1899.

² It must be remembered that "the savage is extremely practical. His arts, music, and drawing" (may we not add, his ornaments?) "exist not *pour l'art*, but for a definite purpose, as methods of getting something that the artist wants."—A. Lang, *Myth, Ritual and Religion*, i, 103.

³ See figs. 9 and 10, "Amulets and Bone-pins from Ballinderry."

⁴ Dr. Murray's *Historical English Dictionary* thus defines an "amulet": "[perh. in 15th c., a. Fr. *amulette*; but apparently not in use regularly till after 1600, when adapted from Latin *amulētum* (Pliny), a word of unknown origin, which has been conjecturally compared with mod. Arab. *himālah*, -at, lit. 'a carrier, bearer,' now applied *inter alia* to a shoulder-belt, or cord frequently used to secure a small Koran or prayer-book on the breast, regarded as an 'amulet'; but the history of the world shows that the resemblance between it and L. *amulētum* is purely fortuitous, and there exists no ground for ascribing the latter

Whence the idea of the spirit of mischief proceeded, and why the possession or the wearing of a particular article should have the power of rendering him harmless, we know not—it is inherent in human nature; it is found among all savage or primitive races; it survives in full vigour among the Mahommedans; it exists in the mind of the Italian mother who ties a charm round the neck of her infant to ward off “the Evil Eye.”¹

We have now proved that certain ornaments are peculiar to the Neolithic Age; or, if they are found among later races, it is as a survival from Neolithic ancestors. We have proved that these ornaments often have the form of “charms” or “amulets” in themselves; and that articles inscribed with a particular kind of ornament, the lines, and cup-and-ring markings, are of ritual or religious significance. It remains to prove that slate weapons or tools are also in themselves an evidence that the people who made and used them belonged to the same age, and also an indication of the race to which those people belonged. For the sake of brevity, I cannot do better here than quote Dr. Montelius, whose authority no one will impugn, *in extenso* :—

“Besides the relics of the Stone Age already discussed, which are found almost entirely in the middle and south of Sweden, several antiquities of stone—*usually of slate*—have been found in the north part of the country, which do not seem to have belonged to the people who constructed the dolmens and the passage-graves. These antiquities, which are called *Arctic*, are chiefly met with in Lapland and Norrland, and bear a close resemblance to those which are found in Finland, and other northern countries inhabited by Lapps, Finns, or other people closely related to them.” (Two implements of slate—a *spear-head* and a knife, are figured in the

to an Arabic origin.] 1. Anything worn about the person as a charm or prevention against evil, mischief, disease, witchcraft, etc. (the 15th c. instances are doubtful). 2. *Med.* sometimes applied . . . to all medicines.—*Obs.* 3. *Fig.* A preservative or charm.”

The examples under 1 range from 1447 to the present day; under 2, only 18th c.; under 3, from the 17th c.

¹ See Appendix B: “The ‘Churinga’ of the Australians.”

book.)¹ "All this seems to prove that the Arctic stone implements are relics of the Lapps, and belong to the time when this people were still ignorant of the use of metal. At the same time, the comparatively large number of such stone implements met with in districts not now inhabited by Lapps, shows that they formerly dwelt much more to the south than at the present day" (*op. cit.*, pp. 38, 39).

A spike-shaped implement of dark slate was found in co. Galway in 1858. It is three-faced, and pointed at each end: one being round, the other triangular. It was suggested at the time that perhaps it had been a tool for forming the decorations on ancient pottery. Other tools or weapons of slate may possibly have been found in other parts of our islands; but, with the exception of the striking example to which I am about to refer, I cannot discover any.²

It is time now to draw the several threads of our argument together, that it may be clearly seen to what goal it tends when viewed in its entirety. We have already summed up our conclusions in respect to ornaments which undoubtedly belong to the Neolithic Age. Dr. Montelius tells us that slate weapons and tools, when found in Scandinavia, are to be reckoned as belonging to that age, are called Arctic, and are characteristic of a race of which the Lapps and Finns are the modern representatives.

What, then, is the natural conclusion, apart from all

¹ See figs. 7, 8, and cf. with figs. 13, 14.

² A letter from Mr. G. N. Kinahan, of H.M. Geological Survey, in the *Athenæum* for July 15th, mentions numerous implements of slate, along with those of all kinds of stone, found in Ireland; and I am glad it appeared in time for me to refer to it. Mr. Kinahan argues that people used the material that was *handiest* for weapons or implements, which corroborates what I have said with regard to ornaments. "The cave-dwellers of co. Waterford, who lived along the margin of the sea when it was 200 ft. higher than at present, used as 'hammer-stones' the hard sea-rolled grits and whins; and as 'scrapers' and 'skinners' *pieces of slate* or any other suitable flakes. These had to be either chipped or ground down for use; but the manipulators rapidly improved in their work, till they reached the highly-finished and polished instruments." "All the world over it is the same, so that at the present time you find slate implements identical in composition and shape in far-distant localities, as on Aran More, in Galway, and among the Esquimaux of Alaska." On the same page will be found a letter from the writer of this Paper on the same subject.—*Athenæum*, 3742, p. 102.

preconceived opinions and prejudices, when such articles are found all together, in a construction which is itself characteristic of the Stone Age, although undoubtedly such constructions are also found during the Bronze and Iron Ages, and even lingered down to the sixteenth century, being used at all times and places for defensive purposes?

Such is the case with the now well-known Dumbuck Crannog, discovered in 1898 by Mr. W. A. Donnelly, artist, on the shores of the Clyde, below high-water mark, off Dumbarton.¹ The crannog has been so fully described and illustrated in the *Journal* of the British Archæological Association, N.S., vol. iv, pp. 282-289 and 364-374; and by Mr. Donnelly in his admirable Paper read before the Society in March last, and has also given occasion to so much discussion in the pages of the *Athenæum* and other journals, that it is unnecessary for me to dwell upon it here; but I may, perhaps, be allowed briefly to recapitulate. The crannog itself consists of a circle of oak-piles, driven well down through several overlying strata of mud and silt and gravel into the blue-clay bed of the river. Upon these was laid a platform of hazel, birch, alder and other trees. An outer circle of oak piles, strengthened with huge boulders, completes its defences. To one side a well-constructed wet dock was formed, in which lay a large war-canoe, 35 ft. 7 ins. long, dug out of the solid trunk of an oak tree. A paved causeway leads to the shore. A refuse-bed, corresponding to a kitchen-midden, completes the remains. The wood of the piles and platform, etc., has become soft and pulpy, and sodden with long submergence; but so far there is nothing in the method of construction or condition of the remains to determine the date or age of the structure, though it has been demonstrated that the shaping of the piles, etc., could all have been accomplished with stone tools. It is when we come to the relics found in the refuse-bed and elsewhere, that a determining light seems to be thrown on the age to which it belongs, notwithstanding the great authority of Dr. Munro, who denies the existence in the British Islands of any crannogs earlier than the Iron—or possibly the Bronze—Age.

¹ See figs. 12-21 (except fig. 16).

For these remains are every one of them, singly and collectively, identical with those which in other localities have been pronounced to belong undoubtedly to the Stone Age; and there is an entire absence of pottery and articles of metal.

A spear-head of slate, inscribed with lines radiating from a common centre and terminating in small cup-and-ring markings, was found under the canoe; while others, similarly adorned, were found alongside a very primitive but effective "ladder," which latter is, I believe a unique find. Numerous bone arrow-heads and implements of staghorn were also found, and many other relics of the usual kind; but I am only concerned with those that bear specially upon my argument.

In the refuse-bed, along with the bones of various animals, were found shells, chiefly oyster, and small oblong stones, also inscribed with lines, and with cup-and-ring markings;¹ and, most remarkable of all, several ornaments, or amulets, of Cannel coal, fashioned into a grotesque resemblance to the human countenance, and pierced for suspension (in one case the mouth forms the orifice).² In conjunction with this, we must not forget to mention that the rocks in the neighbourhood of the hill-fort of Dumbaie, overlooking the crannog, have been found to be covered with ornamentation of lines and cup-and-ring markings.³

Here we have all the elements which, taken in conjunction, seem to prove conclusively that in this crannog we have an undoubted relic of the Stone Age; and, if so, its interest is enhanced by the fact that it is, so far as our present discoveries go, unique in our islands. We have the slate weapons, which we may call Arctic, and which proves that the people who fashioned them had affinities with the Lapps and Finns; and on other grounds, too numerous to mention, our Neolithic ancestors are agreed to have belonged to the Ugrian race. Whether those who were called Picts in Scotland in later times were of the same race is uncertain; but a mystery overhangs the

¹ See Appendix B, "The 'Churinga' of the Australians."

² See *Journal* of the British Archæological Association, N. S., vol. iv, p. 370, fig. 17.

³ See Appendix C, "Rock Markings."

origin of the Pictish race, which the suggestion that they were of the Ugrian stock may help to dispel.

We have the ornaments, not of the artistic but of the grotesque type, made of Cannel coal, which we may, without any error, adjudge to have been amulets or charms; and which, along with the cup-and-ring markings on the shells and small stones—to argue from the analogy of tribes now living in Central Australia—testify to the religious ideas of their possessors; while the similar markings on the spear-heads testify also to their ritual as well as warlike use. The fact that the amulets in this crannog are fashioned into grotesque likenesses to the human countenance, is an unique circumstance about it, and seems to me to testify to somewhat advanced religious conceptions: being not only intended to ward off the evil spirit, but also to represent, in a rude and primitive manner, the good spirit who could do this. We may see in these the first beginnings of idolatry, and may compare with them the *teraphim* spoken of in the Old Testament. These were long a mystery, but are now taken to have been rude representations of the household gods. Rachel, when she left her home, felt that she could not do so safely unless she had the protection of her father's *teraphim*. These were, in all probability, of wood, and considerably larger than our little amulets; but it seems to me that we have in them a survival of the ideas of the Stone Age. A somewhat similar idea may be seen surviving down to the Middle Ages, in the gargoyles with which churches, cathedrals, and ecclesiastical buildings were adorned (?); these being intended, no doubt, besides their practical use as water-spouts, to ward off the evil spirits from entering the building. One of the most notable examples of this may be seen in the gargoyles of Nôtre Dame, Paris.

What has Dr. Munro to set against the force of this accumulation of arguments? (1) That all the relics are forgeries. But Mr. A. Lang has disposed of this idea once for all (see *Athenæum*, Nos. 3735, 3738, pp. 660 and 758). And, moreover, the forger must have been more clever than even Mr. Lang supposes, to have known the significance of slate spear-heads, and the importance they

would lend to the arguments derived from the other relics.

(2) That a quern, or mill-stone, has been found among the relics, and that such an article was unknown in the Stone Age. But the crannog may have been inhabited during a lengthened period, even into the Bronze Age; though this is unlikely, from the absence of metal and pottery; or the quern may have come there by accident; or, most likely, it actually belongs to the same age as the rest of the relics, for the people of the Stone Age were well acquainted with agriculture, and may have used querns, as well as mortars and pestles, for crushing their grain. Indeed, Dr. Montelius figures a mill-stone, of somewhat different shape, from the Stone Age in Scandinavia, and compares it with some in use to-day among certain tribes in Africa, and this is the commonest type at Dumbuck.¹ Dr. Munro himself, moreover, in describing the huts of the Lake-dwellers in Switzerland of the Stone Age, quotes Mr. Messikommer (*Die Grösse der Pfahlhütten zu Robenhäusen, etc.*) as saying: "From a study of the peculiar grouping and distribution of the industrial remains over this area, we conclude that each cottage had its own special furniture, a hearth, weaving appliances, a mill-stone, sharpening-stones, etc." (*op. cit.*, p. 509).

If, therefore, a mill-stone is an article belonging to the Stone Age in Switzerland, why not in Scotland?

(3) That the upheaval of the western coast of Scotland, which formed the 25-ft. beach, precludes the possibility of a structure of the Stone Age being found at the present level in the Clyde. But, according to the learned Doctor's own statements, that upheaval took place "at some time subsequent to the coming of man to our islands, but prior to the Roman occupation." Consequently, there is nothing to prevent a structure or crannog from being erected by a Neolithic people at any time before the Roman occupation; and the Dumbuck crannog most probably belongs to a late period, for the tribes of

¹ See figs. 3 and 5; and cf. with fig. 19. By a comparison of these figures it will be seen that the Dumbuck, Scandinavian, ancient Egyptian, and modern African types exactly correspond. The "Quern" is a solitary specimen.

south-west Scotland seem hardly to have emerged from the Stone Age at the time of the Roman Invasion; provided only it is recognised to be the work of a non-Celtic race, and pre-Roman.

(4) That there are no crannogs of the Stone Age in the British Isles.¹ But this is simply the *ipse dixit* of Dr. Munro, and worthy only of a pre-Baconian philosophy. We have seen reason to think otherwise, from a reasonable induction from the facts recorded by this one crannog (and probably that also at Ballinderry).²

In conclusion, may I say that in this Paper I have not argued as an advocate, but as an enquirer and investigator of facts? For myself, I believe that, in the absence of any positive evidence to the contrary, and on the assumption of the good faith of the discoverer and his fellow-investigators, which I think may be considered a not-unwarrantable assumption, we have in the Dumbuck crannog a most interesting relic of the Stone Age, though in all probability not belonging to a time very far removed from the beginnings of the historic period.

And this being so, it is all the more interesting from the light it throws upon the manner of life and religious conceptions of Neolithic Man in Britain. Like his brother in Australia to-day, the man of the Later Stone Age in Europe was a savage, and, like him, he possessed rudimentary religious ideas; like him, he was superstitious, and trusted to the potent agency of charms and amulets to protect him from evil spirits, while he was beginning to have some faint notions of worship; and, although his amulets were hideous, he adorned the rocks amid which he dwelt, as well as his weapons and many of the ornaments of his daily life, with mysterious marks, which probably had some magical significance, and were at least designed with some artistic skill; but, unlike the Australian, he was not a wanderer. He lived in settled abodes, whether in stone huts in a hill-fort,³ or in a pile-dwelling

¹ *I.e.*, no pre-Celtic ones; his theory is that all those found in the British Islands are Celtic, and belong to the Bronze and Iron Ages downwards, being introduced by the Celtic tribes on their immigration to Britain, for defensive purposes, the idea being taken from those which they had seen in their passage over the Continent (*op. cit.*, pp. 494, 554).

² See Appendix D.

³ See fig. 22, "The Hill-fort at Dumbuck."

easily defensible in the river (or lake); and from this he could sally forth in his great canoes for war or fishing. Besides which, he understood something of agriculture, and was a good artificer, as far as the rudeness of his tools permitted. On the whole, I do not think that the modern Briton need be ashamed of his Neolithic ancestor.

APPENDIX A.

"THE NATIVE TRIBES OF CENTRAL AUSTRALIA."

The best description to be found of any people still in the Neolithic stage of culture is that contained in Messrs. Spencer and Gillen's *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, published since the Paper was written. These gentlemen deserve the greatest credit for their remarkably painstaking and laborious researches into the manners and customs of these most interesting people: the more so that there is no doubt that a few years hence such researches will become impossible, owing to the unfortunate but apparently inevitable fact that, like the Tasmanians, they will then be extinct.

Notwithstanding that the people who constructed the hill-fort at Dumbaie and the crannog at Dumbuck were in many respects more advanced in civilisation than the Australians of to-day, yet we find distinct evidence of a correspondence in art, which in Australia is, and in Scotland may have been, of a ritual kind. The rocks, decorated with radiating or simple straight lines, and with cup-and-ring marks, at Dumbaie, as elsewhere, are exactly reproduced in the cave drawings of Central Australia; and the similarly-marked shells and stones of Dumbuck are found to-day in the corresponding marks upon the sacred "churinga" of the Australians. This word "churinga" implies something sacred or secret: most frequently used to mean a sacred stone or stick.

As Mr. A. Lang truly remarks in a letter to the writer, in which he reaffirms his belief in the *genuineness* of the Dumbuck "finds," while refraining from any pronouncement as to the age or stage of culture to which they belong, "the analogy to the similarly-decorated small stones at Dumbuck favours the idea that these had a meaning similar to those in Australia." These latter are undoubtedly the work of a people still in the Stone Age, and are known to possess a ritual and magical significance; are we wrong, then, in arguing from analogy that all such, wherever found, and of whatever date, provided the conditions correspond, *i.e.*, absence of metals, etc., have a similar significance, and are the work of people in the Stone Age stage of culture? The proviso is inserted, because the *patterns* themselves persist through all stages of culture, and are no doubt, as we have said, survivals.

APPENDIX B.

THE "CHURINGA" OF THE AUSTRALIANS.

The description given by Messrs. Spencer and Gillen, *op. cit.*, of the beliefs and customs connected with the "Churinga" among the native tribes of Australia at the present time, lead to some modification of the remarks made in the text (*supra*, p. 174).

If, as is most probable, the small inscribed stones at Dumbuck point to the same beliefs as those current now among the Australians, there will be no reference in these to any actual spirit of evil or mischief, against whom they would act as a 'charm'. The Australian believes that in the "Alcheringa" times, the furthest to which his imagination or tradition leads him, "lived ancestors, who in the native mind, are so intimately associated with the animals or plants the name of which they bear, that an Alcheringa man of, say, the kangaroo totem may sometimes be spoken of as a man-kangaroo, or as a kangaroo-man. The identity of the human individual is often sunk in that of the animal or plant from which he is supposed to have originated. Going back to this far-away time, we find ourselves in the midst of semi-human creatures endowed with powers not possessed by their living descendants, inhabiting the same country, and divided into totem groups, according to the animal or plant with which they had affinity; and these totemistic groups are reproduced in the tribal arrangements to-day.

"Each of these Alcheringa ancestors is represented as carrying about with him, or her, one or more of the sacred stones, or 'churinga', and each of these 'churinga' is intimately associated with the idea of the spirit part of some individual. Where they originated, or stayed, or camped for a time, there were formed what the natives call *Oknanikilla*, each one of which is a local totem centre; the result being that the whole country is dotted over with *Oknanikilla*, each, of course, connected with one totem. At each of these spots a certain number of the Alcheringa ancestors went into the ground, each one carrying his 'churinga' with him. His body died, but some rock or tree arose to mark the spot, while his spirit-part remained in the 'churinga'; and from these have sprung, and continue to spring, actual men and women who of necessity bear the totem name of the 'churinga' from which they came. The tradition of the natives is that when the spirit-child goes inside a woman, the 'churinga' is dropped. When the child is born, the mother tells the father the position of the tree or rock near to which she supposes the child to have entered her, and he, with one or two of the older men, searches for the dropped 'churinga.' Sometimes it is found, sometimes not; but in either case the natives firmly believe that it is always dropped by the spirit-child." Those found are always of stone: but if lost, wooden ones are made instead. "We have evidently," continue our authors, "a modification of the idea which finds expression in the folk-lore of so many peoples; and

according to which primitive man, regarding his soul as a concrete object, imagines that he can place it in some secure spot apart, if needs be, from his body; and thus, if the latter be in any way destroyed, the spirit part of him still persists unharmed. The idea according to which the spirit can undergo reincarnation is peculiar to the Central tribes, so far as the Australians are concerned, though there are not wanting indications of it among other tribes. According to the ideas of the Arunta tribe (one of the largest tribes of Central Australia), the 'churinga' is the dwelling-place of the spirit of the Alcheringa ancestors. He does not regard it as the abode of his own spirit part. If anything happens to it—if it be stolen—he mourns over it deeply, but does not imagine that damage to the 'churinga' means of necessity destruction to himself. When the spirit part has gone into a woman, and a child has, as a result, been born, then that living child is the reincarnation of that particular spirit individual.¹

Each totem tribe has its *Ertnatulunga*, or place of safety, in which the "churinga" are deposited and kept. No woman is ever allowed to see them; for no woman, in the natural condition of the tribe, dare go near the gap in which is the sacred rock-painting, and near to which lies the *Ertnatulunga*. The youth approaching manhood only sees them after a long and painful

¹ Allied to this is the idea firmly held by the natives that the child is not the direct result of intercourse, that it may come without this, which merely, as it were, prepares the mother for the reception and birth also of an already-formed spirit child, who inhabits one of the local totem centres. So fixed is this idea, that it is held that the mere fact of a young woman passing one of these centres may lead to conception. For example, in the locality of the plum-tree totem, near Alice Springs, is a special rounded stone which projects from the ground about three feet. This stone is called *Erathipa*. The story is that in the Alcheringa time a plum-tree woman lost her *Nurtunja* (or sacred pole, emblematic of the totem animal or plant). Thinking it had been stolen, she put her baby boy, whom she had with her, into the hollow where the *Nurtunja* was broken off, and leaving with him a large number of "churinga," she went in pursuit of the thief. The boy went into the ground, taking with him the store of "churinga," and the *Erathipa* stone rose to mark the spot. The woman went straight up to the sky, and died of grief, because she could not find her *Nurtunja*.

To return to the *Erathipa* stone. There is on one side of it a round hole, through which the spirit-children are supposed to be on the look-out for women who may chance to pass near, and it is firmly believed that visiting the stone will result in conception.

If a young woman has to pass near to the stone, and does not wish to have a child, she will carefully disguise her youth, distorting her face and walking with the aid of a stick. She will bend herself double like a very old woman, the tones of whose voice she will imitate, saying, "Don't come to me, I am an old woman" (Spencer and Gillen, *op. cit.*, 265, 336, 337).

process of initiation—which constitutes him a fully-recognised adult member of the tribe.

The authors then give a full and exact description of the "churinga" in detail, illustrated with a large number of drawings, the most striking thing about which is their wonderful similarity to the small inscribed stones, etc., found at Dumbuck (Spencer and Gillen, *op. cit.*, pp. 128-166, 633). The conclusion to be drawn has already been advocated in Appendix A.

On the other hand, the people of Dumbuck would seem to have possessed more advanced religious ideas, as they undoubtedly possessed more skill in the mechanical arts, than the Australians have attained to, though essentially in the same stage of culture, *i.e.*, the Neolithic. This is evidenced by the amulets shaped to a rude resemblance to the human countenance which were found here, and also at "Skara" (*vide infra*, Appendix D). Amulets of a similar kind have also been found in Mexico among the Aztecs. These would appear to justify all that is said in the text (pp. 177, 8) as to some spirit of evil to be guarded against, and the beginnings of worship, both of which ideas seem to be indicated by the incipient idol, be it "fetish," "amulet," or "charm;" but the subject is obscure, and the *data* do not as yet admit of any dogmatic assertion.

APPENDIX C.

ROCK MARKINGS.

In further confirmation of the position maintained in the Paper, I would ask the reader, if he has the opportunity, to compare the rock paintings figured in Spencer and Gillen, *op. cit.*, pp. 631-633, with the groups of archaic rock markings discovered by Messrs. Bruce, F.S.A., Scot., and Donnelly in the same county of Dumbarton, at Cochno and Auchintorlie. These form one of the finest and most varied cup-and-ring groups in the country, and are figured in the former's admirable *History of the Parish of Old Kilmpatrick*. The resemblances are not only unmistakeable, they are startling; and extend not only to generalities, but even to details. There are the same cup-and-ring markings; the same series of concentric circles; the same ducts joining one to another; and, most striking of all, precisely similar representations of human feet in the same position in the picture at Cochno as in Australia.

Now, the Australian native can give a definite and lucid explanation of all these details—they all *mean* something—the rings, *e.g.*, of concentric circles, represent conventionally the various totems of the tribes; one a plum-tree, another a kangaroo, and so on; while the feet represent the tracks of Alcheringa ancestors.

Is it not, then, in the highest degree probable that the precisely similar, though perhaps somewhat more highly-finished, rock markings in Scotland, were intended to convey precisely similar ideas? And is it going too far to add further that they testify to

PALÆOLITHIC.



Fig. 1.

Engraving of a Mammoth, on a portion of a Tusk. Cave of La Madeleine, France.



Fig. 2. Naked Man between two Horses' Heads. The fish is probably an eel, or perhaps it is a serpent. From the cave of La Madeleine.

NEOLITHIC.

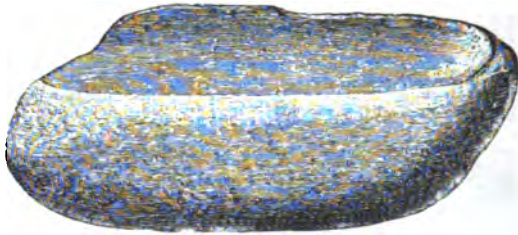


Fig. 3. Stone Handmill, $\frac{1}{2}$.

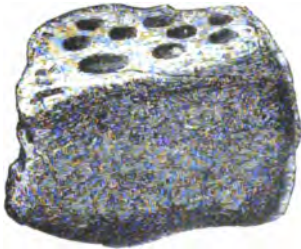


Fig. 4. Offering Stone, $\frac{1}{2}$.

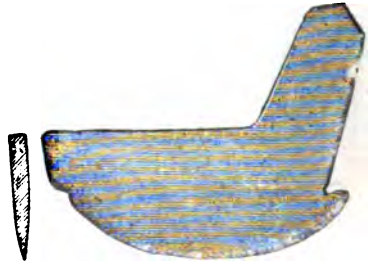


Fig. 7. Knife of Slate, $\frac{1}{2}$.



Fig. 5. South African Handmill in use.



Fig. 6. Animal Figure on a Horn Axe, $\frac{1}{2}$.



Fig. 8. Spear-head of Slate, $\frac{1}{2}$.



Fig. 9. Ballinderry, Stone Amulets.

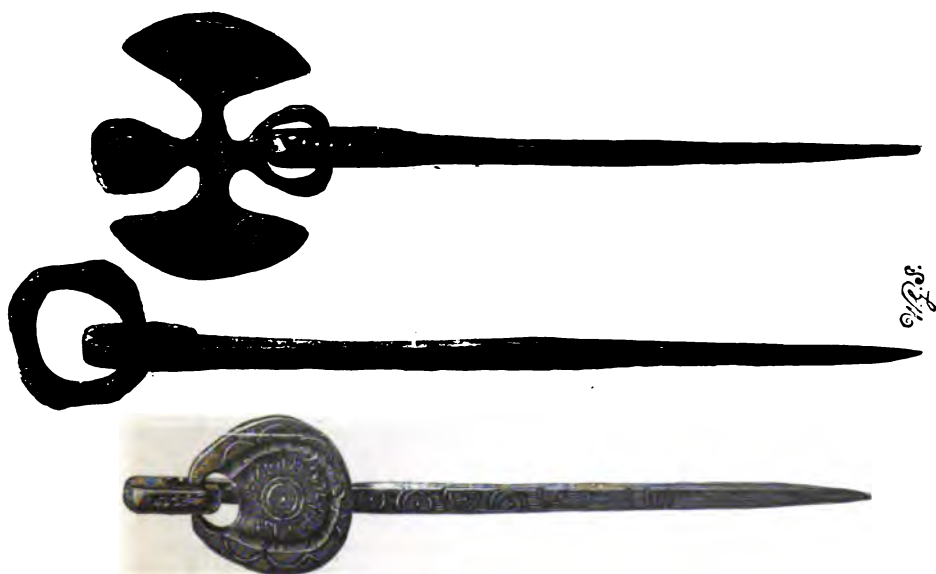


Fig. 10. Ballinderry, Inscribed Bone Pins, †.

SITE OF THE DUMBUCK CRANNOG.

AND THE COUNTRY AROUND
LOOKING NORTH.



Fig. 11.



Figs. 13 and 14. Dumbuck Slate Spear-heads.



Fig. 15. Dumbuck Figured Oyster-shell.



Fig. 16. Cup-marked Stone from Dullatur, near Stirling.

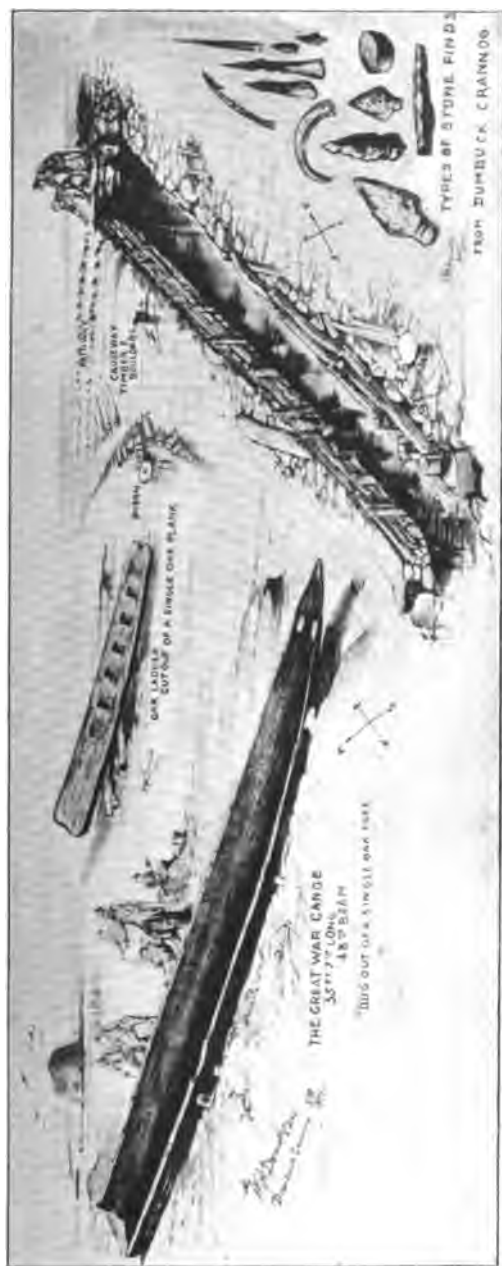


Fig. 17.

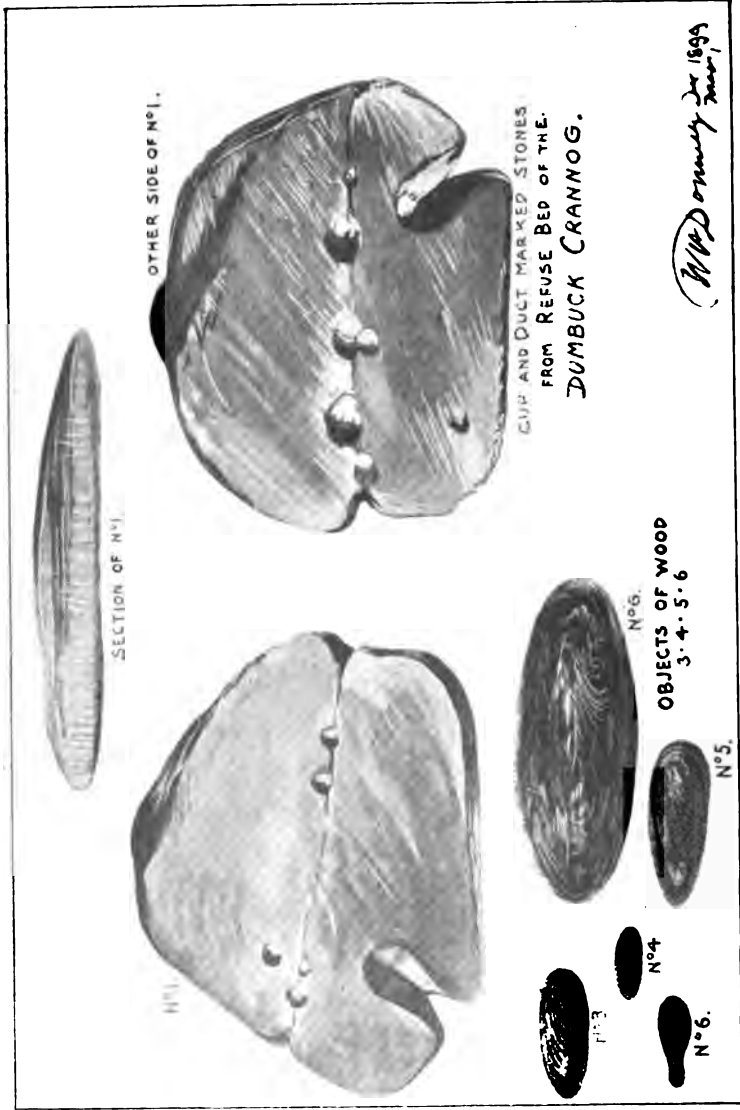


Fig. 18.

METHOD OF USING
SADDLE STONE
2300·B.C



SADDLE STONE
FOUND REFUSE BED
DUMBUCK
CRANNOG



Fig. 19.



Fig. 20.



Fig. 21.



JURBONE HILLFORT.

- A. DOORWAY
- B. LARGE HEARTH STONE
- C. DOUBLED CASTLE
- D. BARBICAN
- E. BARRIERS
- F. RIVER CLIFF



Wm. D. Dornady
1885

the fact that prehistoric man, more than two thousand years ago in Scotland, was passing through that very stage of culture in which the Australian native is found to-day ?

Every indication goes to show that the discoveries at Dumbaie, Auchintorlie, Cochno and Dumbuck, all belong to the same period, and are the work of the same people; and that can be, to judge by all the evidence available, in Scotland none other than a non-Celtic prehistoric race, ignorant of the use of metals. There is no need to specify further, as the Paper sufficiently indicates who these would be.

There can be no possible question of "forgery" in regard to the rock markings at Cochno and Auchintorlie, for, fortunately, the discoveries were made and Mr. Donnelly's drawings executed in the year 1895, while the Australian drawings were not published until 1899; consequently, neither the antiquary nor the artist could have the slightest inkling of the significance of the mysterious signs and symbols which they faithfully copied and did not invent. Besides, there are myriads of such designs, not only in Scotland but all over the world, as has been pointed out in the Paper (p. 172).

APPENDIX D.

OTHER EXAMPLES OF CRANNOGS OR PILE-DWELLINGS BELONGING TO THE STONE AGE IN THE BRITISH ISLES.

Since the above Paper was written, further research has shown me that Dr. Munro is undoubtedly wrong in asserting that there are no examples of crannogs or pile-dwellings of the Stone Age in the British Islands; and that the Dumbuck crannog, if adjudged to belong to that age, will not be by any means unique.

In the year 1866, Col. Lane-Fox (now Gen. Fox-Pitt-Rivers)¹ read a Paper before the Anthropological Society, entitled "A Description of certain Piles found near London Wall and Southwark, possibly the remains of Pile-buildings." The full account is quoted in "*Lake-Dwellings*, pp. 460-464; but the gist of it is that while Gen. Pitt-Rivers admits the general characteristics of the finds to be Celtic, *i.e.*, Romano-British, or Bronze Age, he claims two remarkable skates made of the metacarpal of the horse or ass, as belonging to the Stone Age, and evidencing construction and habitation at that time, from similar finds in a tumulus of the Stone Age in Friesland; but Dr. Munro rules this out entirely, and puts them down to the Anglo-Saxon invaders. However, it happens that in that same year the same or a similar discovery

¹ Since the above was penned, General Pitt-Rivers has passed away, covered with the renown his untiring work in the field of anthropological research has so well earned. It was a remark of his that "the modern savage presents us with a traditional portrait of primæval man rather than a photograph, and that the resemblance might well be compared to that existing between recent and extinct species of animals."

was described before our Association; and other relics of the Stone Age were noted, among them numerous bones split to obtain the marrow, hearthstones, a few burnt flints, and a fishing-rod made of the rib of some large animal, like to those in use by the Esquimaux to-day. Moreover, the piles seem clearly to have been fashioned with stone axes. These, and similar remains in Finsbury and Moorfields, seem to point to the fact that men of the Stone Age had their habitation in the estuary of the Thames. Our Vice-President, Mr. Syer Cuming, remarked on these: "It is perhaps noteworthy, as a further indication of the antiquity of the piles of our lacustrine houses and their associated relics, that not a fragment of metal has been detected in connection with them. In Moorfields some of the habitations were occupied at least as late as the Bronze Period."

In later years our Associate, Mr. Earle Way, has more than once exhibited relics of flint and bone which tell of the Stone Age habitation of the pile-dwellings in the Thames; among others, some which he even assigns to the Paleolithic period, though whether these latter could have had anything to do with the pile-dwellings seems at least doubtful. One of the most remarkable finds was that of a weapon made of staghorn, with the original wooden handle still attached; undoubtedly belonging to the later Stone Age (*Journal of the British Archæological Association*, xxii, 447; i, 70; New Ser., iii, 80).

To leave the Thames, let me give one final example from Ireland, as doubt has been thrown on the age of the remains from Ballin-derry. In the year 1880, a lake-village was discovered at Boho, co. Fermanagh. Two log-huts were uncovered, made of slabs and trunks of large oak-trees. . . . Four posts occupied the corners, in which large holes were hacked, and beams inserted. Oak planks were laid on them to form the floor, and the whole of the carpentry gives evidence of the stone axe and chisel. There was no clean cutting. In every case, the bulged sides tell of the blow of the stone instrument. No objects in metal were found, but stone implements, rudest unadorned pottery, and some decayed wooden vessels. The huts were built on an artificial island, 60 yds. long, and oval in form. All over this the piling extends, bearing transverses like railway sleepers, a bed of branches, stones, clay, and charcoal. (In all these respects the construction is similar to the Dumbuck crannog). It is then added: "These huts may probably be of a higher antiquity than either the Swiss or Scotch lake dwellings" (discovered up till then); "at any rate, a more primitive civilization is denoted by the absence of iron or bronze. Again, the peat has accumulated over them to the depth of 21 ft., of a dark, compact character. Peat accumulates about an inch in 15 years" (this, if continuous and un hastened in any way, would give a date about 1500 B.C.). "Again, gigantic tree-trunks lay in the

peat above the huts, their roots *in situ*; but none on the level of the huts. All this bespeaks a high antiquity" (*Journal of the British Archæological Association*, xxxvi, 272; and cf. *Lake Dwellings*, pp. 378, 489).

Thus it will be seen that pre-Celtic, *i.e.*, Stone Age crannogs, do exist in the British Islands, besides the Dumbuck crannog; and doubtless a diligent search might discover others.

In addition to the pile-dwellings of the Neolithic Age in Great Britain and Ireland already referred to, a most interesting discovery evidently belonging to the same Age was made some years ago in Orkney. This is known as "the buried dwellings of Skara." I take the account from a Paper by the Rev. S. M. Mayhew, F.S.A.Scot.

"Some years ago," says Mr. Mayhew, "the wild Atlantic swept away the drift-sand, exposing a vast kitchen-midden, from which shells, deers' antlers, and implements of bone and stone were taken. Behind the midden lay a mass of ruined building. By great labour Mr. Watt, F.S.A.Scot. (the discoverer), succeeded in laying bare a portion, and most interesting, of the ruin. The buildings may be generally described as a group of chambers or cells, lying on either side a zigzag passage running nearly parallel to the beach. These chambers have a diameter of about 11 ft. 6 in., a length of 21 ft., with rounded ends, and walls built of beach-stone set in rude mortar. Each chamber opens into the zigzag passage, and the floor of each is marked out into compartments of stone uprights, the hearth retaining marks of fire and burned bones. Other compartments appear to have been sleeping-berths. Shelves and 'loculi' are there, intended for articles in daily use, as stone lamps, querns for pounding fish-bone, etc., found *in situ*, as though a sudden invasion had driven away the dwellers, leaving their homes and household implements behind them. These dwellings were roof-ribbed with whalebone covered with turf. They have a small look-out seaward, and the tortuous passage at its every angle afforded the possibility of defence. Just within each habitation is a recess, in which a dog on guard may have been kept. Within one dwelling was found a rude, thick urn of clay." "From the implements and relics found within and without these dwellings," continues Mr. Mayhew, "*being formed exclusively of stone or bone*" (the italics are ours), "a high antiquity may be inferred. The bones are of animals long since extinct in Orkney, as deer, with the bones of *Bos primigenius*. Human remains were also found: one on its face near the fireplace, the other, with animal bones, in a corner of the dwelling. The skull is of low development, with receding forehead, resembling others found in old graves in Orkney. These, from amongst other relics, were exhumed: a celt of quartz; a 'fetish', the upper part of a human body, in whalebone, with no small approach to an Esquimaux type; a stone cup with red pigment, celts of bone, stone

lamps; a mortar or quern; large numbers of polished beads of teeth or bone; a large bone vessel made of the vertebræ of the whale, stone flakes and knives, a jasper celt, and others of red sandstone and serpentines from Shetland. These are a few; the time may come when antiquarian and intelligent zeal will uncover further this hurried settlement" (*Journal British Archæological Association*, vol. xlv, pp. 275-277).

It will be observed that every indication—the implements of stone and bone, the absence of metal, the "fetish" (or amulet), the quern, (and allowing for the difference of locality and material, leading to the use of stone instead of wood in the erection of the buildings)—points to the conclusion that this buried settlement belongs to the same Age as the Dumbuck crannog and the hill-fort and rock-markings at Dumbuie and Auchintorlie; and the natural presumption is in each case alike, that the period of their construction was the Neolithic or Later Stone Age.

Dr. Munro's most interesting and valuable book in the "County Histories of Scotland" series, published by Messrs. Blackwood & Sons—*Prehistoric Scotland, and its Place in European Civilization*—has also appeared since the Paper was written. The author's remarks on the Dumbuck crannog, on pages 437-441, are sufficiently answered in the Paper, and do not in any way lead me to modify the opinions therein expressed, subject, of course, to any facts inconsistent therewith which may hereafter be discovered; though it is with some hesitation, and, I hope he will believe, with nothing but a sincere desire for scientific truth, that I venture to measure myself against so weighty an authority.

It may be noticed that, on May 14th, 1900, a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland was held, at which Mr. John Bruce, F.S.A.Scot., read a Paper on "Dumbuck." Dr. Munro was not present; but the majority of those present spoke of some of the "finds" as "genuine"; of others as not so, without specifying those referred to in either case; while the crannog itself was assigned to quite a late date; some even calling it "Mediæval." This decision, even of so learned a body, has certainly not settled the question. The matter is, to say the least, still *sub judice*; and meanwhile, the arguments put forth in the foregoing Paper hold the field. The "finds" stand or fall together: either *all* are forgeries, or *all* are genuine. The Paper indicates which hypothesis is the more probable.

NOTE.—Thanks are due to Messrs. Kegan Paul and Co. for figs. 1 and 2 (from *Man Before Metals*, by N. Joly, per Messrs. D. Nutt and Co.); to Messrs. Macmillan and Co. for figs. 3 to 8 (from *Civilisation of Sweden*, by Dr. Montelius); to the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland for figs. 9 and 10; to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland for figs. 16 and 22; and to Mr. W. C. Donnelly, for figs. 11, 12, and 17 to 21, reproduced by permission from the *Transactions* of the Philosophical Society of Glasgow, 1899.



Proceedings of the Congress.

(Continued from p. 94.)

WEDNESDAY, JULY 19TH, 1899.

On Wednesday morning the members left before ten o'clock in carriages for Tideswell, the drive to which ancient town was greatly enjoyed. They were met by Canon Andrew, the vicar, and Rural Dean of Buxton,¹ in the North Chapel of the fine old church, and there was spread before the members documents, rubbings, sketches, old screenwork, parcloles, tracery, etc., which had been arranged and prepared at no little trouble.

Canon Andrew had prepared an address at considerable length, dealing not only with the church in which he takes such a deep interest and great personal pride, but also with the ancient Guild of Tideswell, a guild the history of which is inseparably mixed up with the history of the church of St. John the Baptist. But, in view of the short time which the programme allowed, Canon Andrew was asked to be as brief as possible; and he had therefore to abandon almost entirely his original intention of giving to the archæologists such an account of Tideswell's parochial antiquities as would have done fair justice to a subject so voluminous and so exhaustive. Instead, he contented himself with explaining some points of special interest in regard to the building, speaking first from the north transept, and afterwards accompanying the visitors in their tour of the building.

Tideswell Church is of such noble proportions that it is often spoken of as "the Cathedral of the Peak." Its fine tower, with the four spires surmounting it, remind one of that of Magdalen College, Oxford. But the Tideswell tower is less ornate. The interior of the church, with its handsome nave and north and south transepts, and finely-proportioned chancel, and high roof, and massive windows—

¹ Canon Andrew has since deceased, full of years and honour.

nearly all filled with white glass, by the way—and reredos standing forward from the base of the east window, is, viewed from the gallery and the tower, quite cathedral in type. The question which rose to the lips of many of the visitors yesterday was a very natural one—How came so imposing a church to be erected in so comparatively small a parish as that of Tideswell? Canon Andrew's answer is that the fact that the church is such an imposing building, goes to show that at the period when it was erected Tideswell was a place of very considerable importance, although never of considerable size. This conjecture is supported by the fact that Tideswell possessed a Guild established by Charter of Richard II. The constitution of this Guild, which must have been a really influential body, showed a remarkable democratic tendency even so long ago as the fourteenth century, for it was composed of the nobility and their wives, and the working classes and their wives, who associated themselves together for the advancement of mutual interests. The statutes of the Guild are, for all practical purposes, lost. Canon Andrew thinks they may be at Lichfield, but he can give no definite assurance on this point; and thus a very important factor in the life of Tideswell four or five centuries ago, is one in regard to which it is only possible to speculate. The Guild of Tideswell had a Guild Hall, of which nothing is left now but a few crumbling ruins. It is gone altogether beyond recall. Even its appearance can only be guessed at. Amongst the many exhibits Canon Andrew arranged for the visitors to inspect yesterday was a sketch, prepared by himself, which outlines the probable elevation of this Guild Hall.

The association of the Guild and the Church is suggested by the provisions made for seating the aldermen of the Guild in chancel stalls. Originally there were six-and-twenty of these, but when the restoration was carried out, some years ago, only five on each side remained. Those were removed to the north transept, and there they now stand—roomy seats of oak, which has a blackness of age almost amounting to ebony. To-day the chancel is filled with some beautifully-carved stalls, but they are modern, and command little attention in comparison with that bestowed upon the other stalls. The present structure of Tideswell Church dates back to about 1350. When the restoration was undertaken, some twenty years ago, it was found that the side walls of the chancel were being pushed out by the roof: an effect caused by an incompleteness of construction, which suggested that, owing to the dearth of labour and the shortness of money during the Black Plague, the roof had been put on very hastily.

Perhaps the most interesting item which Canon Andrew pointed

out to the visitors was that in regard to the chancel-screen. The original screen had been cut in two, and only the lower half now remains. Why this mutilation was effected has long been a question, and Canon Andrew has hit upon a very probable solution to the problem. Reading in Lewis's *History of the Reformation* he found that in 1575 there was an archiepiscopal order for the getting rid of all objectionable—i.e., Romish—ornaments on the top of the screens. The cutting of the Tideswell screen has been thought to be a vandal act of some irresponsible person; but Canon Andrew now suggests that very probably the top of the screen, on which were the usual ornaments, was cut off in dutiful obedience to the express orders of the archbishop, whose desire was that all ornaments in the shape of images should be removed. Canon Andrew's new theory as to the mutilation of the Tideswell screen is particularly interesting. The archiepiscopal orders in regard to the other portions of the church at the time of the Reformation were also faithfully carried out.

Canon Andrew was able to correct once more the erroneous impression that Tideswell Church was ever a monastic building. The title was always, he said, in the gift of the Dean and Chapter of Lichfield, and it is well known that at Lichfield something more than antipathy to monks always existed. In the walk round the church, the Canon drew attention to many items in the work of recent restoration, notably, that of the tomb of Sir Samson Meverill in the centre of the chancel. When he was preferred to Tideswell, he found this tomb covered with boards. He uncovered it, and to-day, through a restored tombstone of alabaster, with perforated sides, there is to be seen the unique design in stone of angels carrying the skeleton of the dead knight heavenwards. Amongst the newer beauties of the church, to which attention was directed, was the organ, which is slowly being most ornately decorated, under the Vicar's direction. The part of the work now under consideration is the covering of the north side of the organ. For this the Vicar has prepared a rich design, the visit of the Angels to the Shepherds being the principal subject. The Vicar hopes, too, to fill in the panels around the organ with carvings, illustrative of some of the notable miracles of the New Testament. The visit to Tideswell Church, though short, was one of absorbing interest; and in tendering Canon Andrew their thanks, many of the visitors begged him to favour them with copies of the address which he had prepared for them, but which time had not permitted him to deliver.

Mr. Blashill, as Treasurer of the Association, said they were very

greatly indebted to Canon Andrew for the interesting and full description he had given of the church. Though they did not criticise church restoration, everything Canon Andrew had said as to the conservative spirit in which he had carried it out met with the fullest confirmation at the hands of every member of that Association.

The party then made a close inspection of the church, inside and outside; and, but for the time at their disposal being all too short, would have liked to stay longer in Tideswell.

The party then went on to Eyam, where the Vicar, the Rev. H. J. Freeman, described the church, in which there is very little old work left, only one pillar at the west end. The story of the introduction of the Plague in 1666, and of the devotion shown by Mr. Mompesson (the Vicar), and his wife, is well known. An old carved oak chair is shown in the chancel of the church, as having belonged to Mr. Mompesson, and an ancient font found on the moor is said to have been the one used by him. The register containing the names of all who died in the Plague was exhibited, but it is evidently a copy by a later hand, not the original. The most interesting thing at Eyam for the archæologist is the pre-Norman cross in the churchyard, which was described by Mr. Lynam, F.S.A. This, like the old font, was found on the moor, and erected in its present position by Howard, the philanthropist. The shaft was originally longer by 2 ft. or 3 ft., as may be seen by noticing that the junction of the cross with the shaft leaves 2 ins. or 3 ins. margin on each side. The ornamentation is pure Saxon.

From Eyam the drive was continued to Stoney Middleton, where the Vicar, the Rev. J. Riddlesden, delivered a short address, and said all there was to say about the peculiar church there. The Romans had a bath near the church; and Dr. Cox (see *The Churches of Derbyshire*) states that in 1734 there were "three perpetual bubbling warm springs close by the west side of the churchyard." The Parliamentary Commissioners of 1650 describe Stoney Middleton as "a parochial chapel thought fitt to be made a parish church . . . Mr. Thorpe, present incumbent, scandalous for drinking." The shape of the church is octagonal, and the roof is supported by eight stone pillars.

Mr. Blashill said it was very evident that the architect had the idea of a Roman bath in his mind at the time. It was an experiment, and perhaps as good as they could expect of the architects of that day; but let him say a word for them, as they were much maligned.

The Vicar: "Why did he give us round windows?"

Mr. Blashill: "Very likely he was a man who had travelled in Italy."

The drive was continued to Bakewell, whence the party returned to Buxton by train, after another charming day's tour in uninterrupted sunshine in the land of the Peak.

At the evening meeting in the Town Hall, which was presided over by Mr. A. Cates, Dr. Brushfield, F.S.A., read a most interesting Paper on "Funeral Garlands," which has been published on pp. 54-74.

Mr. Charles Lynam, F.S.A., then read a Paper, beautifully illustrated with limelight slides from drawings and photographs taken by the lecturer, "On the pre-Norman Crosses of Bakewell, Eyam, and Hope;" and referred to the important work done on the subject by the Bishop of Bristol, Rev. Dr. Cox, and Mr. Romilly Allen. This Paper will be published.

THURSDAY, JULY 20TH, 1899.

Today the prehistoric stone circle at Arbor Low, and the churches at Hartington and Alstonfield were visited. The morning was breezy and bracing, but not so bright as previous days, and the party left Buxton by the 10.35 train for Parsley Hay. At that station carriages conveyed them to as near a point as possible to Arbor Low. On arrival, the members and friends disposed themselves in a circle among the ancient stones, and Dr. Brushfield, F.S.A., delivered the address which has been printed on pp. 127-139. At the conclusion, the Rev. W. Fydes, Vicar of Hartington, in proposing a vote of thanks to the lecturer, said he would like to say a word about the name of Arbor Low. He was one who very strongly believed that it came from the very same root that Avebury did. With regard to the dolmen in the middle, sometimes it was said that the earth might have been taken away, but he did not think that that could be, because they would first of all have attacked the vallum. He thought the dolmen had existed always in the centre, and he thought it had been where sacrifices had been offered. They could find the walls filled with calcined stones. They could not tell what age it was. He was very strongly of opinion that it existed a long time before the Romans came to this country, and that it belonged to the early part of the Neolithic Age. All the stones were very rude. With regard to the rampart, he thought they would find that it went very close to the Roman road. It was his private opinion that, in some way or other, that rampart may have formed a sort of approach from the Roman road to that temple. He believed that when the Romans came and made that road, they came

as near that place as they could without destroying it. They could not do that, without wishing to utilise that place in some way or other. He believed that the stones they saw lying on the ground had been in an upright position, and he thought they could see some of the stumps from which they had been broken. The ground all round was full of tumuli. In the plantation a little bit lower, Mr. Bateman found what he called "British settlements." He thought it was very much older indeed than Mr. Ferguson was inclined to admit. He should be sorry to think it was post-Roman. He could not understand such a business-like people coming to this country, and spending their time in erecting it. He thought it had been a place of sacrifice.

Mr. Charles Lynam, F.S.A., in seconding, said: "I for one should be sorry if it should appear that the British Archæological Association was committed in any degree to the opinion that this earthwork was created for the purposes of a temple. Having regard to its exposed situation and roofless character, what human beings constituted like ourselves could attend on this bleak moor for any reasonable time in the course of the year for the offices of devotion? The idea of such a purpose may be dismissed, one thinks, as unreasonable, and contrary to common sense. Avebury is of too great a scale to be compared with Arbor Low; but, if time permitted, particulars might be given of sundry similar works, as, for instance, 'Arthur's Round Table,' near Penrith, which Mr. Ferguson asserts to be a brother of Arbor Low, and that the two must have been erected by the same people, and for the same purpose. No doubt there are in these two works certain resemblances, but in other ways they differ entirely. 'The Table' is situated on low land adjoining a river; in its central area there is a raised circular platform, and there is no stone near it. This platform surely denotes an area for assembly, just as the Tynwald mounts in the Isle of Man are used at the present day for that purpose. What are the facts at Arbor Low? The work is situated on the highest land in its neighbourhood, from which a most extensive panorama is commanded. On the natural surface of the ground there are the remains of a dolmen; round this, at a considerable distance from it, a large circle of huge stones is erected; outside of these a ditch is dug, the contents of which are mounded up on its circumference, forming a fence round the central dolmen and its megalithic enclosure. A monument of the dead it surely declares itself to be, of a design which (for its dimensions) hardly could be exceeded for fitness and impressiveness.

"Near to Arthur's Seat there is a parallel work to Arbor Low,

excepting the circle of stones, and that the central object is not a dolmen but a menhir. Within a short drive of Belfast there is also a corresponding work, high up on the hill, of large area, surrounded by circular bank and ditch, and in its centre a perfect dolmen.

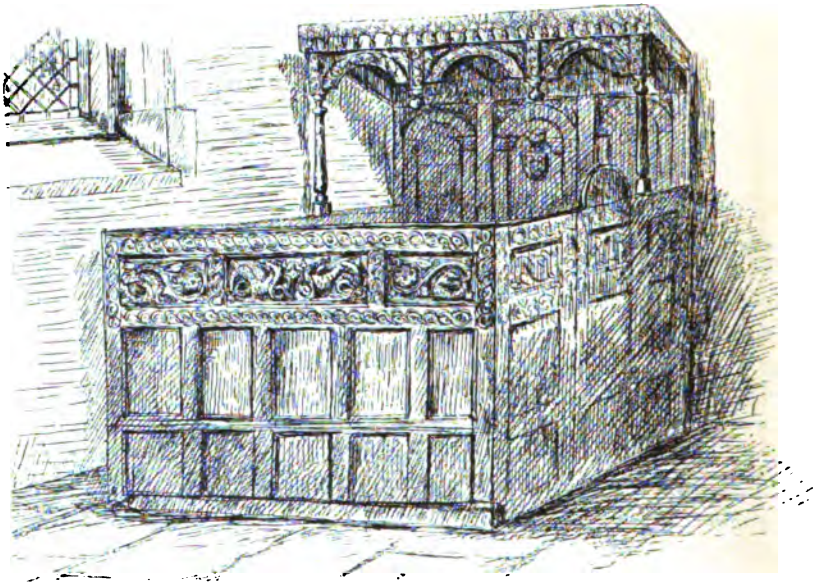
“Definite examples like these, which seem to speak plainly for themselves, should not be misconstrued as to their purpose, even at this remote date from the time of their erection. That assemblies might congregate from time to time within the enclosure no one could gainsay, but to regard these works as *temples* for worship does seem to be altogether unreasonable and unnatural.”

Hartington was the next place on the programme, and after lunch the fine church there was visited. The Vicar (Mr. Fyldes) described the church and related its history. The church is cruciform in plan, with western tower, like so many others in the county. There are no traces in the present building of an earlier church than of the date of the first half of the thirteenth century, according to Dr. Cox, excepting some fragments of incised slabs built into the walls. The church was presented to the minoreses of Aldgate, London, in 1291, by Edmund, Earl of Lancaster, who had married Blanche, Queen of Navarre, who founded the nunnery at Aldgate. There are remains of the Early English period in the chancel and transepts, but considerable alterations were made in the church during the latter part of the thirteenth century, probably due to the presentation to the nuns of Aldgate. The south porch had a chamber over it, approached by a turret stair in the west wall. One peculiarity of the church is that the floor of the nave rises to the chancel, there being no chancel step, and the arches of the arcade are “rampant” arches. There are several very interesting monuments in the church. The objects of most interest, which are not noticed by the ordinary visitor, are two little leaden crosses, let into the stones above the west window on each side; and, in the west window itself a representation of a missal, open, on one of the stones on the north side, and a chalice and paten on the corresponding stone on the south. These are remarkable from their position, and apparently unique.

Leaving the church and the picturesque village of Hartington, the drive was continued to Alstonfield, where the Vicar, the Rev. W. Purchas, described the church, which is celebrated as being the church of Charles Cotton, and probably often attended by Isaac Walton, his great friend. The chancel arch is a good example of late Norman date, as is also the south doorway, but the greater part of the church is of Perpendicular date. The chancel was rebuilt in 1590. The church is unusually rich in seventeenth-century pewing,

richly carved, and with the name of the workman thereon, "Edward Unsworth the workman, 1639." The pulpit and reading-desk, dated 1637. The Beresford or Cotton pew (of which we give an illustration from a drawing made by Miss Purchas, the block being kindly provided by Mr. I. C. Gould) is at the east end of the north aisle, and is carved in a similar style; but having been painted a lightish blue, and with remains of gilding about it, looks very tawdry. There are remains of early crosses in porch and tower.

The party then returned to Buxton.



The Beresford Pew, Alstonfield.

At the Evening Meeting in the Town Hall, at which Mr. T. Blashill, Hon. Treasurer, presided, an exhaustive Paper on "Defensive Earthworks," copiously illustrated, was read by Mr. I. C. Gould, and a Paper by Mr. J. Ward, F.S.A., Cardiff, on "The Archæology of Derbyshire," was read, in the author's absence, by Rev. H. D. Astley, Hon. Sec. The latter has been already printed in the *Journal*, pp. 1-26; the former, it is hoped, will be published shortly.

Mr. Lynam, in proposing a hearty vote of thanks to the authors of the Papers, hoped the people of Derbyshire who were interested in defensive earthworks and other matters brought before the Congress would carry investigation further.

(To be continued).



Proceedings of the Association.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 21ST, 1900.

C. LYNAM, ESQ., F.S.A., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

The Rev. H. J. Dukinfield Astley, Hon. Editorial Secretary, exhibited, gave an account of, and read some extracts from, two ancient registers of the parish of Syderstone, Norfolk. The more ancient one dates from 1585 to 1684. The first entries are in English, but from 1604 to 1606 they are in Latin. From 1628 to 1660 each page is attested by the rector, from 1653 as Parliamentary Registrar. There are several interesting features in these registers, one being page 62 in the older book, which is a palimpsest; and on turning the page upside down, two curious entries may be read with regard to the observance of the Lenten fast by two old ladies, one "aged fourscore yeare and sicke and weake of body, so y^t ye observance of Lent according to ye lawes and customes of this kingdome would be most prejudiciall and apparently hurtfull to her old and crazy body; she is permitted ye eating of flesh for ye space of eight dayes next ensuing, according to statute in ye case, by me, Edward Corbett, Rector."—Date, *circ.* 1630. The name of the lady is obliterated, but, in the other case, the wording of which is equally quaint, the lady is the wife of Sir Edward Peyton, Knight and Baronet, of Isleham, Cambs. The second register of Syderstone dates from 1689 to 1741, and contains many references to burials in woollen from 1679 to 1692; also a record of all briefs received and collections made thereupon from 1707 to 1720, and again from 1732 to 1746. There are also interesting entries in the oldest Register of Collections made in Syderstone Church in response to Briefs, *e.g.*, "May 16, 1658. Collected towards ye reliefe of ye distressed Protestants of Poland and Bohemia ye sume of foure shillings & sixpence—iiii^s. vid.

"October ye seaventh 1660. Collected towards ye reliefe of ye inhabitants of Fakenham ye sume of thirty shillinges sixpence, *l*. 10^s. 6^d.

"October ye 4th 1683. Collected in ye Parish of Syderston towards ye releife of ye Christian slaves in Turkey 10s. 0d."

A Paper was read by Mr. E. Lovett on "Title Records and Accounts by Wooden Tallies." The author showed the connection between modern customs and the ways of primitive man in the use of tallies, not only in Europe, but in all parts of the world. A full and interesting description of the hop tallies was given. The Paper was illustrated by many examples of "tallies"—lamb tallies, fish tallies, hop tallies, and some bakers' tallies, still used in France, which are notched on a hazel stick. These "tallies" are all split in such a way that no other than the counterpart can possibly fit the notches; therefore the record is absolutely true, and forgery is impossible.

In the discussion following the Paper, Dr. Winstone, Dr. W. de Gray Birch, Mr. Gould, Mr. Compton, Mr. Astley, and others took part.

Mrs. Day exhibited a little book in admirable preservation, entitled "Basilikon Doron, or His Majesties instruction to his dearest sonne Henry the Prince," at London, 1603.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 4TH, 1900.

DR. W. DE GRAY BIRCH, LL.D., F.S.A., IN THE CHAIR.

The following member was duly elected :—

R. H. Forster, Esq., Members' Mansions, 36, Victoria Street, S.W.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the donors of the following presents for the library :—

To the Société d'Archéologie de Bruxelles for "Annales," January 1900.

„ Royal Institute of British Architects for "Journals," vol. vii, Ser. 3, Nos. 6-10.

Dr. Winstone exhibited two copper medals, dated respectively 1794 and 1795. These medals were issued to commemorate the trial and acquittal on the charge of high treason of Thomas Hardy and Isaac Eaton, and they afford interesting evidence of the great political struggle existing at the period between the landed proprietors and the trading classes. Descriptive of these medals, Dr. Winstone read a valuable Paper on the political history of Parliamentary reform. An interesting discussion followed the Paper.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 2ND, 1900.

C. H. COMPTON, Esq., V.-P., IN THE CHAIR.

The following member was duly elected:—

Sir Richard Tangye, Coombe Ridge, Kingston-on-Thames, and
Glendorgal, New Quay, Cornwall.

The Ballot was declared open, and, after the usual interval, was
taken with the following result:—

President.

Vice-Presidents.

Ex officio—THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, K.G., E.M.; THE DUKE OF SUTHER-
LAND, K.G.; THE MARQUESS OF BUTE, K.T., LL.D.; THE MARQUESS
OF RIPON, K.G., G.C.S.I.; THE MARQUIS OF GRANBY; THE EARL
OF MOUNT-EDGUMBE; THE EARL NELSON; THE EARL OF NORTH-
BROOK, G.C.S.I.; THE LORD BISHOP OF ELY; SIR CHARLES H. ROUSE
BOUGHTON, BART.; THE LORD MOSTYN; THE LORD BISHOP OF PETER-
BOROUGH.

DR. WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, F.S.A.
THOMAS BLASHILL, Esq.
CECIL BRENT, Esq., F.S.A.
ARTHUR GATES, Esq.
C. H. COMPTON, Esq.
WILLIAM HENRY COPE, Esq., F.S.A.
H. SYER CUMING, Esq., F.S.A.
Scot.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., D.C.L.,
F.R.S., F.S.A.
COLONEL GEORGE LAMBERT, F.S.A.
CHARLES LYNAM, Esq., F.S.A.
J. S. PHENÉ, Esq., F.S.A., LL.D., etc.
BENJAMIN WINSTONE, Esq., M.D.
SIR ALBERT WOODS, F.S.A. (*Garter
King of Arms*)

Honorary Treasurer.

CHARLES LYNAM, Esq., F.S.A.

Sub-Treasurer.

SAMUEL RAYSON, Esq.

Honorary Secretaries.

GEORGE PATRICK, Esq., A.R.I.B.A.
THE REV. H. J. DUKINFIELD ASTLEY, M.A.

Council.

W. DERHAM, Esq.
I. CHALKLEY GOULD, Esq.
RICHARD HORSFALL, Esq.
ROBERT HOVENDEN, Esq., F.S.A.
W. E. HUGHES, Esq.
T. CANN HUGHES, Esq., M.A.
THE REV. W. S. LACH-SZYRMA,
M.A.

RICHARD DUPPA LLOYD, Esq.,
F.R.Hist.S.
W. J. NICHOLS, Esq.
A. OLIVER, Esq., F.R.I.B.A.
THOMAS PEACOCK, Esq., F.S.A.
LIEUT.-COLONEL CLIFFORD PROBYN
W. H. RYLANDS, Esq., F.S.A.
R. E. WAY, Esq.

C. J. WILLIAMS, Esq.

Auditors.

CECIL DAVIS, Esq.
T. CATO WORSFOLD, Esq., F.R.Hist.S.

Rev. H. J. Dukinfield Astley, *Hon. Sec.*, read the following
Secretaries' Report for the year ending December 31st, 1899.

"The Honorary Secretaries have the honour of laying before the Association, at the Annual Meeting held this day, their customary Report on the state of the Association during the year 1899.

"1. The number of members remain at about the present normal standard, the losses by death or from other causes being balanced by the accession of new members at and since the Congress at Buxton. The Hon. Secretaries, however, still feel it their duty to urge upon the Associates generally the necessity of doing all in their power to extend the influence of the Association.

"2. Obituary Notices of the members who have been removed by death have been, as far as possible, prepared from materials submitted to the Editor, and will be found in the *Journal*.

"3. The Library of the Association continues to increase, through the number of valuable presents received. The Hon. Secretaries have pleasure in announcing that, after a series of negotiations, in which Dr. Petrie was of the greatest assistance, the Library has been removed to University College; where it is hoped, after a short time, it will be of service to Associates for purposes of reference. A catalogue will be prepared as soon as the necessary arrangements can be made.

"4. Twenty-three of the more important Papers which were read at the Peterborough Congress, and during the Winter Session in London, have been printed in the *Journal* for 1899, which is illustrated with a number of interesting plates and other sketches. We have again to thank the authors of several Papers for their kindness in defraying the necessary expenses.

"The Hon. Secretaries have in hand a considerable number of Papers relating to the Buxton Congress, and others read during the present Session in London. These have been accepted for publication in the *Journal* as circumstances permit.

"5. The Hon. Secretaries would again thank the local members of Council and others, both Associates and non-members, who have transmitted to the Editor from time to time items of interest with regard to fresh discoveries or researches during 1899, which, during the Session have been laid before the meetings, and, out of Session, have been published directly in the *Journal*. The importance of maintaining in full activity this branch of the Association's operations cannot be too earnestly impressed on members.

"GEO. PATRICK
"H. J. DUKINFIELD ASTLEY } *Hon. Secs.*"

British Archaeological Association.

BALANCE SHEET FOR THE YEAR ENDING THE 31ST DECEMBER, 1899.

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.
To Subscriptions	206	18	0
" Books sold	22	16	9
" Interest from Savings Bank	1	7	10
" Buxton Congress	75	2	9
" Entrance fees	9	9	0
	315	14	4
Dec. 31. Printing bill unpaid	121	7	5
Less Balance at Bank £56 3 9			
" " at Savings Bank	55	5	11
Dec. 31. Debit Balance	110	9	8
			10 17 9

EXPENDITURE.

By Outstanding liability, Dec. 31, 1898, since paid off	147	8	4
" Cash in hand, Dec. 31, 1898	107	12	3
" Debit Balance, Dec. 31, 1898	39	16	1
" Printing and Editing <i>Journal</i>	146	19	11
" Illustrations to <i>Journal</i> . £46 7 9			
" Less Dr. Fryer . £2 0 0			
" " Mrs. Terrott 2 2 0			
" " Dr. Walker. 1 16 0			
	£5	18	0
" Delivery of <i>Journals</i>	40	9	9
" Miscellaneous Printing & Advertising	12	4	11
" Rent and Salaries	24	8	9
" Stationery, Postage, and Incidentals	47	8	0
" Stationery, Postage, and Incidentals	15	4	8
			286 16 0
			£326 12 1

Audited and found correct, 28 April, 1900.

(Signed) } Auditors.
 Cecil T. Davis
 T. CATO WORRIFOLD

Mr. S. Rayson, Sub-Treasurer, read the following remarks upon the foregoing Balance Sheet :—

“I am glad to say that the Balance Sheet now presented is more satisfactory than that of 1898, although not yet what could be wished. The receipts are £65 9s. 9d. more than those of the previous year, principally to be accounted for by the splendid profit on the Buxton Congress, which was £75 2s. 9d. as against £32 12s. 3d., the amount realised in 1898 at Peterborough.

“On the other side a reduction of £24 8s. 5d. has been made in the cost of the *Journal* as compared with the previous year. Notwithstanding this improvement, the Council had to close the year with a debit balance of £10 17s. 9d. It is to be hoped that by a further exercise of economy in the production of the *Journal*, and such an accession of new members as will more than compensate for the loss occasioned through deaths and withdrawals, the Council will be able in future to show a good working balance, which is absolutely necessary if the character and excellency of the *Journal* is to be maintained.”





Antiquarian Intelligence.

The Story Books of Little Gidding: being the religious dialogues recited in the Great Room, 1631-2. From the original MS. of Nicholas Ferrar. With an introduction by E. CRUWYS SHARLAND. (London: Seeley and Co., 6s.)—Miss Cruwys Sharland has done a good work in rescuing these Story Books of Little Gidding from the obscurity of a MS. lodging in the British Museum, where they now repose after many vicissitudes of 250 years, including a voyage to Australia and back.

No one who has read "John Inglesant" can fail to be interested in Nicholas Ferrar, and the saintly community which he established at Little Gidding. In an age of abounding worldliness, and in the midst of the troubles preceding the Great Rebellion, he endeavoured to frame his own life and that of those whom he gathered round him on the model of the saints of the Primitive Church. And the most remarkable thing about the attempt was its success.

In the introductory sketch, Miss Sharland has given an admirable account of Nicholas Ferrar's life (founded on the lives by Rev. J. C. B. Meyer, and by his brother John and Dr. Jebb), and of the community of Little Gidding. The picture of this family spending their days in acts of devotion and good works recalls the Golden Age.

These Story Books were compiled by Nicholas Ferrar for the purpose of weaning his family from the Christmas games and wilder sports of the day, and they prove the immense range and breadth of his reading. They are intended to exemplify various Christian virtues and graces, by instances drawn from the stories of martyrs and saints of the early and mediæval Church. They consist for the most part of dialogues, which were read or recited in turns by the younger members of the family at mealtimes, on the occasions of the great Festivals of the Church; and though they might not suit the taste of our generation, beneath the quaintness of the seventeenth-century style there breathes true devotion and an earnest spirit, which it would do our young people no harm to imbibe.

Three beautiful photographs of Nicholas Ferrar, Mrs. Ferrar (his mother), and Mrs. Collet and child, are reproduced from portraits, as well as a view of Little Gidding Church, the *Eikon Basilike*, bound

by Mary Collet, and a facsimile of a page of Nicholas Ferrar's MS. The exquisite work in the binding of the *Elkon* is specially noticeable.

The book is a publication worthy of the subject, and we congratulate the publishers and Miss Sharland alike on the result of their undertaking.

Among books of antiquarian interest recently published we have received the following, which we are only able to mention here through want of space, detailed notice being reserved for a future occasion.

From Messrs. Archibald Constable and Co., London, *The Commune of London*, by J. HORACE ROUND, 12s.

From Messrs. Blackwood and Co., Edinburgh, *Prehistoric Scotland*, by ROBT. MUNRO, M.D., F.R.S.E., 7s. 6d.

From Messrs. Geo. Bell and Co., London, *A History of Gothic Art in England*, by E. S. PRIOR, 31s. 6d.

From Elliot Stock, London, *The Unpublished Legends of Virgil*, by CHAS. GODFREY LELAND, 6s.

The Parish and Church of Godalming, by SAML. WELMAN, 10s. 6d.

Sweet Hampstead and its Associations, by MRS. CAROLINE A. WHITE, 15s.

Alfred in the Chroniclers, by the Rev. E. CONYBEARE, 7s. 6d. This last is particularly timely and appropriate, in view of the millenary celebration of the reign of the great and good Saxon king, the founder of England's navy and of England's greatness. Mr. Conybeare gives a very readable, and for the most part faithful, picture of Alfred as he is represented in the old Chroniclers, the translation being on the whole sufficiently accurate, though the author, through his confessed want of a thorough acquaintance with Anglo-Saxon, falls into more than one palpable mistake. We can, however, heartily recommend this presentation of a great subject, on which much pains has been spent, to all antiquaries who are content with a popular rather than a rigidly scholarly book. Others must go further afield, or—which is best—to the Chroniclers for themselves.

Cromwell's Scotch Campaigns, by W. S. DOUGLAS. Cheap ed., 5s. This book, which is a wonder of cheapness in its present dress, is an exact reprint of the previous edition, which was fully reviewed in this *Journal*, vol. iv, New Ser., pp. 295-298.

From David Nutt, London, we have received Nos. III-VI inclusive of the extremely interesting series which he is now publishing on

Folk-lore, etc., of which Nos. I and II were noticed in this *Journal*, vol. v, New Ser., pp. 362, 363.

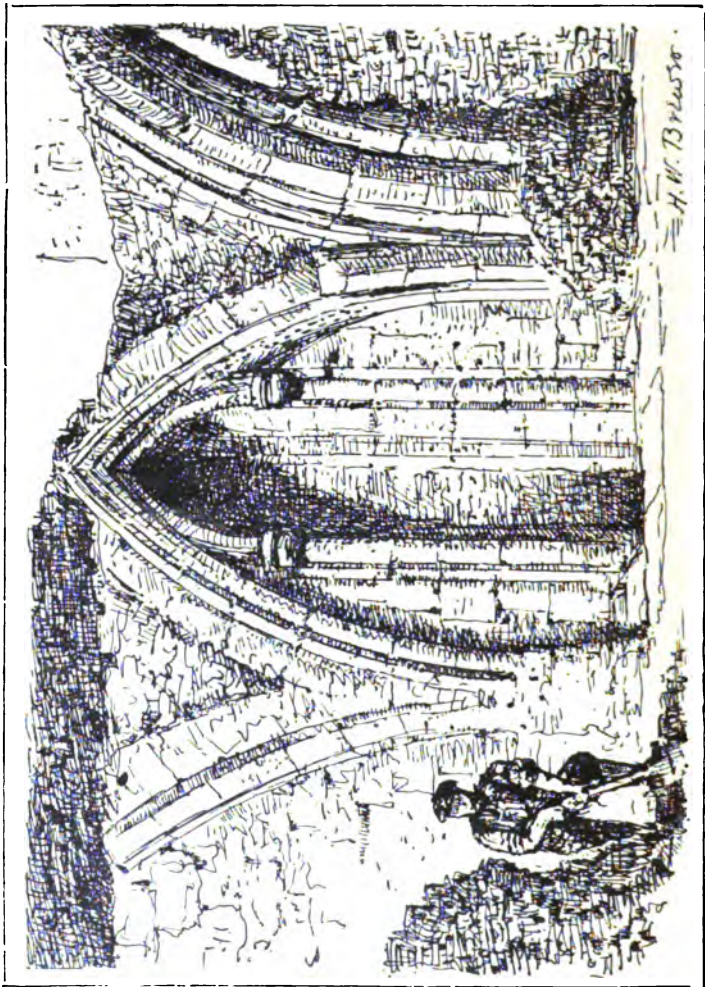
The series is entitled "Popular Studies in Mythology, Romance, and Folk-lore, 6d. each. No. 3, *Ossian and the Ossianic Literature*, by ALFRED NUTT; No. 4, *King Arthur and his Knights*, by JESSIE H. WESTON; No. 5, *The Popular Poetry of the Finns*, by CHAS. J. BILLSON, M.A.; No. 6, *The Fairy Mythology of Shakespeare*, by ALFRED NUTT. No student of antiquity and the realm of "faery" will regret the small sum which the purchase of these little volumes entails, and who buys one will buy all.

The publication of *The Churches of Norfolk*, by T. HUGH BRYANT, with an illustration of each church, is still being continued in the columns of the *Norwich Mercury*; and, as the churches of each Hundred are completed, they are issued in handsome booklets, price 3s. 6d. each. Mr. Bryant writes carefully and well, and the series, when complete, will form a very fine addition to the ecclesiastical literature of Norfolk. But the undertaking is a very onerous one, and we shall congratulate Mr. Bryant when his task is done. *The Hundred of Wayland* (the first completed) was noticed in this *Journal*, vol. iv, New Ser., pp. 299-302, and up to the present time four others have been issued: the Hundreds of North Greenhoe, East and West Flegg, Earsham, and North Erpingham. A sixth, containing the Hundred of Gallow, will be issued shortly. Among all the variety of types, including, fortunately, much earlier work, the parish church of the fifteenth century, where not spoilt by injudicious and ignorant restoration, is the most striking characteristic of Norfolk church architecture, and bespeaks the rise and prosperity of the mercantile classes, after the decline of the feudal aristocracy, and the depletion of the monasteries and castles through the Black Death and foreign and domestic wars.

We are indebted to the *Daily Graphic* of May 14th, 1900, for the following paragraph, which records a most interesting discovery; and we have to thank the proprietors of the same enterprising journal for the gift of the accompanying illustration:—

A Discovery at Blackfriars (from a CORRESPONDENT).—By the destruction of some modern buildings adjoining the long-disused burial-ground of St. Anne's, Blackfriars, an architectural fragment of very great interest has been brought to light. This is no less than a portion of the celebrated Dominican monastery which formerly stood there, and gave the name to the neighbourhood. The memories which cling to these ruined walls and broken arches are very im-

portant. The ancient monastery of the Dominicans—or “Black Friars”—was transferred to this site in the year 1276, previously to which the friars had a residence in Holborn. Walford says that this building was founded by Hubert de Berg, Earl of Kent; but Maitland



The portion of the Dominican Monastery at Blackfriars brought to light during building operations.

says that “Gregory Rocksley, Mayor, and the Barons of the City of London, granted to Robert Kelwarby, Archbishop of Canterbury, two ways or lanes next to the street of Baynard’s Castle, and also the Tower of Montfitchet to be destroyed, in place of which the said Robert built the new church of the Black Friars. This was a large

church, richly furnished with ornaments, to which Edward the First and his Queen, Eleanor, were very liberal benefactors." From this it would appear that although de Berg built the monastery, Kelwarby, with the assistance of the King and Queen, erected the church. Parliaments were frequently held in the building, and several of them have become historically important. In the year 1450, the Parliament which commenced its sittings at Westminster was adjourned to the Black Friars. In 1524, Henry VIII held a Parliament here for granting a subsidy of eight hundred thousand pounds. This was adjourned to Westminster, where it sat until nine o'clock in the evening, and was, from that circumstance, called "The Black Parliament." In 1529, the question of the King's marriage to Catharine of Aragon was tried here, and the divorce pronounced. In the same year a Parliament held here condemned Wolsey *in præmunire*. Charles V resided at the Blackfriars when on a visit to Henry VIII. Although the monastery was suppressed at the Reformation, the right of sanctuary was continued, which soon converted the place into an undesirable locality.

In 1578, Burbage erected a theatre upon part of the site of the Blackfriars house, and Shakespeare is supposed to have taken a share in the speculation. The arches brought to light evidently date from the thirteenth century, and are probably part of Kelwarby's work (1276). They are very good Early-English architecture, much resembling the arches of the choir of St. Saviour's, Southwark. The vaulting is very fine, and the whole fragment probably formed a portion of the north aisle of the church. It should, if possible, be preserved, as there are few remains of old London in this part of the City.





Obituary.

ALDERMAN CHARLES BROWN.

By the sudden death of Alderman Charles Brown, J.P., of the Folly, Chester, on April 12th, the Association has lost an Honorary Correspondent. Mr. Brown was deeply interested in the antiquities of his native city, and rendered valuable help to the Chester Antiquarian Society, of which he has been a member since 1850, and was on the Council. He hospitably received the Association when they visited Chester on August 22nd, 1887, during the Liverpool Congress. Mr. Brown was born in Chester eighty-three years ago, and during his early years devoted himself entirely to his work as a partner in the firm of Messrs. W. & C. Brown (later Messrs. Brown, Holmes and Co., when our member, Mr. J. Goodie Holmes, joined the concern); but in 1871 he entered the City Council, and was Sheriff (1875-6), and six times Mayor (1880-1, 1883-4, 1884-5, 1890-1, 1891-2, 1892-3), and an Alderman at the time of his death. With patriotic spirit, he recently purchased the famous Bishop Lloyd's house, which was judiciously restored under his direction. He held every public office of importance in connection with the city. He was a bachelor. At the Meeting of the Royal Archæological Institute at Chester, in 1886, he read a most interesting Paper on the fine series of Chester Charters. He exercised an affectionate care over objects of antiquity which came under the control of the City Council. In addition to hospitality, Mr. Brown made several contributions to our Meetings, *e.g.* :—

- (1) On November 19th, 1890, he exhibited photographs of a column found erect on his property in Watergate Street, Chester.
- (2) On March 1st, 1893, he read a Paper on Pemberton's Parlour Chester.

T. CANN HUGHES.





THE JOURNAL

OF THE

British Archaeological Association.

SEPTEMBER 1900.

ON MR. MICAH SALT'S DIGGINGS AROUND BUXTON.

BY JOHN WARD, ESQ., F.S.A., CARDIFF.



IT is with extreme pleasure I accede to the wish of your Honorary Secretaries that I should write about Mr. Micah Salt's diggings in the neighbourhood of Buxton. The pursuit of Derbyshire archæology brought Mr. Salt and myself together some nine years ago, and it has resulted in what, I trust, will be a lasting friendship. During these years he has constantly kept me informed of his doings, and I have frequently joined him in his expeditions. At his request, I have sent full accounts of his more important operations to the *Journals* of the Derbyshire Archæological and Natural History Society, the *Proceedings* of the Society of Antiquaries, and the *Reliquary*. Others have also engaged their pens in his behalf. The Rev. J. C. Cox, LL.D., contributed two papers on his discoveries in the Deep Dale cave to the first-mentioned journal; and, at the present time, Mr. William Turner, a Cardiff gentleman, who spends much of his time in Buxton, is having these papers reprinted, with additions from his own pen relating to such of

Mr. Salt's diggings as have not yet been put into print. Mr. Turner's book will be well illustrated, and it promises to be a valuable addition to the archæological literature of the county.

Mr. Salt is, before all things, a digger—careful, observant, patient. If I were asked to suggest him a motto, it should be: "I dig for facts; let others theorise." But because he has preferred the spade to the pen, it must not be thought that he is unmindful of the study of this branch of knowledge. He takes a keen interest in prehistoric archæology, and his comments on the drafts of my papers have always been worthy of careful consideration.

I must add that Mr. Salt's eldest son, W. H. Salt, has from the first been associated with the father in his archæological work, and takes as keen a delight in it.

THIRST HOUSE.

Mr. Salt's first and unquestionably chief work was the excavation of Thirst House. This cave is situated in Deep Dale, a wild and trackless ravine, about three miles south-west of Buxton. Its conspicuous portal is in the lower part of the bold escarpment of carboniferous limestone, which, with the grassy slope at its foot, forms the east-north-east side of the valley. The well-turned elliptical arch, of some 26 ft. span, of this portal has a singularly artificial look, an effect heightened by the wall-like character of the escarpment. Climbing the grassy slope, the visitor finds himself in the entrance of a tunnel-like cavity, about 90 ft. in length, with a tolerably level floor, and a roof varying from 6 ft. to 12 ft. in height. The sides have little stalagmite upon them, yet it exhibits several old and well-defined inscriptions. The most interesting of these is adated one—"T. E., 1661"—on the left-hand side.

At the end of this length, the roof and floor make a sudden descent into a lower chamber, which, unlike the former, has a very irregular floor, and is somewhat shorter, being about 72 ft. long. At the lowest point of this chamber was a small aperture, now blocked with

débris from the excavations, which led to a number of cavities below its floor. These cavities are the irregular interspaces of a jumbled accumulation of fallen rock and stalagmite, which, some 30 ft. below the chamber floor, contain slowly-moving water.

The physical history of the cave is of peculiar interest ; but I must confine myself here to those phases of it which especially bear upon the archæological history. The first chamber is drilled, so to speak, out of the solid limestone ; the second is an enlargement of a mineral vein denuded of its filling. This vein traverses the country for about a mile, and crosses the valley at this point. The fillings of these veins (which are locally termed "rakes"), having been deposited from solution in water, are very susceptible to re-solution ; hence we often find that lines of subterranean drainage coincide for considerable distances with veins. The limestone itself is similarly acted upon by natural water, although not so rapidly. It will, therefore, be easily understood that a watercourse which at first was confined to the limits of the fissure which contained the mineral deposits might eventually be enlarged, at the expense of the parent rock, into a cavern of goodly proportions.

Doubtless you are well aware that water-worn caverns present two diverse phases of existence. At first, a cave of this type is, and must necessarily be, a water-course. The water flowing through it acts as a liquid saw, slowly but surely widening and deepening the channel. But the time comes when the water finds a new course, probably at a lower level. The deserted cave is now the scene of a very different state of things. The limy drip gives rise to sheets of stalagmite ; and from a variety of causes, earths, sands, and shingles are deposited, while blocks of stone break from the roof and help to swell the accumulations below. The process may go on until the cave is completely choked ; and it may remain thus indefinitely. Or the history may repeat itself : water may again invade the cave ; the deposits be partly or wholly stripped away, to be followed, perchance, by another period of quiescence, when the work of accumulation will be resumed.

This is well illustrated in Thirst House. In the first

chamber, Mr. Salt's excavations have proved the existence of sundry deposits which appear to thin out towards the rocky threshold. Near the end of the chamber a recent excavation has yielded the following sequence, in descending order:—(a) dark soil, 18 ins. thick, containing bones of existing British animals, and Romano-British objects; (b) cave-earth with stones (many obviously fallen from the roof), 5 ft. thick, containing throughout animals' bones as above, a seam of charcoal indicating a hearth, and near the bottom pieces of rude hand-made pottery of pre-Roman character; (c) yellow clay, 10 ins. thick, which contained neither bones nor relics indicative of the presence of man; (d) several seams of stalagmite, with intervening bands of cave-earth; and (e) a rocky surface, but whether that of a huge fallen block or the bottom of the cave, was not certain.

In the second chamber, Mr. W. Millett, Junr., who did excellent work in this part of the cave about ten years ago, reported the following succession of beds resting upon the jumbled mass of stalagmite and fallen rock noted above:—(a) a blackish soil containing Romano-British remains; (b) layers of loose stones, gravel, and thin stalagmite; (c) clay and sand with stones, from 4 ft. to 6 ft. thick; (d) a thick seam of stalagmite; and (e) a breccia consisting of small stones cemented together with stalagmite. The two sets of beds fairly agree; but there is an important point to be noted about the second chamber. Its floor, as noticed above, irregularly sinks to a lower level than that of the first chamber; but on its right-hand side, near the roof, is the well-defined edge of an ancient sheet of stalagmité, indicating the former presence of a floor, which was approximately on a level with that of the latter chamber. It is clear that at some distant date, long anterior to the Roman occupation, the deposits of the second chamber were undermined and removed so far as their finer materials went, by water flowing through the mineral fissure below their level. The thick sheet of stalagmite, just referred to, may have remained suspended like a ceiling, as has been observed in Brixham Cave, near Torquay, but ultimately a fall of rock from the roof must have crashed it down; its larger fragments, together with

the larger masses of rock embedded in the ancient floor, forming the jumbled accumulation which underlies the existing beds. There is reason to think, then, that this ancient stalagmite was a continuation of that of the first chamber, and that the whole cave had a tolerably level floor.

Great as must have been the time required for the accumulation of these deposits and the changes just described, they are all comprised within the Recent period of the geologist, and nothing has been found as yet to encourage a belief that the cave contains Pleistocene beds. That it was resorted to by the pre-Roman Britons is beyond doubt, but their remains, so far, have been very scanty. The several seams of charcoal which have been discovered at low levels, certainly suggest cooking, and cooking a dwelling-place, permanent or temporary. This is about all we can say of Thirst House in pre-Roman times.

The Romano-British "finds," on the other hand, have been of unusual interest and number, certainly unsurpassed by those of any other English cave. These remains have been derived from the upper beds of both chambers, but the majority came from the slope below the entrance, outside. The superficial soil of this slope, varying from a few inches to 3 ft. in thickness, was dark and carbonaceous, charged with bones and potsherds. It was impossible to mistake its nature. It obviously consisted, in the main, of refuse thrown out of the cave by its Romano-British occupants. All the potsherds were of the type found on most sites of this period, and Mr. Salt estimates their number as about thirty to each square yard. The various objects of intrinsic value, as fibulæ, pins, coins, and the like, were tolerably evenly diffused throughout the dark soil, both within and without the cave, just as might be expected if casually dropped and lost.

At the foot of the slope, Mr. Salt discovered, in 1896, a human skeleton, extended on its back in an enclosure of rough stones, and near it were the indications of two burnt interments, one of which had been in a wheel-made cinerary urn, then fallen to pieces. Associated with these interments were various remains of Romano-British age,

the chief of which was an elegant armlet of looped bronze wire. Two years later, he uncovered another extended interment, in a cist a little higher up the slope. This skeleton was accompanied by a leaf-shaped iron spear-head and a ball of iron ore. There is no doubt at all that these were interments of the Roman era, and probably the interred had lived in or frequented the cave.

To attempt even a bare list of the "finds" would exceed my space, and would be unnecessary, as Mr. Salt has kindly consented to exhibit his things at the Congress. His collection is thoroughly representative, and contains the majority of the objects which have been found. Mr. Millett gave many of his to the Buxton Free Library, where they may be seen. There must be a considerable number in unknown hands, for at one time there was much unauthorised digging at the cave by all sorts and conditions of folk, and it is known that some interesting things were found. Many of the objects have been described in the journals of the Derbyshire Archæological and Natural History Society, and in the *Reliquary* for 1897; and a complete list of the residue, so far as Mr. Salt's collection is concerned, will be found in the book about to be issued.

Most varieties of Romano-British pottery, including Samian and imitation Samian, have been discovered at Deep Dale: beads of coloured glass; needles, borers, pins and dress-fasteners of bone; and rings, hooks, buckles, knives, staples, nails, and many other objects of iron. Of bronze, great wealth has been found—penannular, ring, and disc-shaped brooches; harp, cruciform, and dolphin-shaped fibulæ, some with traces of original gold and silver plating, or rich enamelling; an S-shaped dragonesque brooch of Late-Keltic design, still retaining its old settings of enamel, and other objects, notably a hinged ornament and a set of toilet accessories in the same style of decoration; the elegant armlet above referred to; tweezers, pins, and oddments of all sorts. Besides these, a number of coins ranging from Antoninus Pius to Claudius Gothicus; sundry flint arrow-heads, scrapers, and flakes, red ochre, and whetstones have been turned up. The bones have represented most of the animals

which have lived in Britain during the recent period, including the domestic breeds.

It is an interesting question, but one not easily answered: Why and to what purpose did these ancient folk frequent this cave? The thickness of the Romano-British deposits, and the large number of the objects they contained, show that it was in long use during that period; and the large amount of refuse thrown "out of doors" indicates that there was no need to observe secrecy with regard to this use. It was not a hiding-place. The coal and charcoal, the multitudes of broken pots, and the refuse generally point to habitation, which, as far as we can see, was peaceable and settled. To say more would be mere speculation.

In spite of all that Mr. Salt has accomplished, there is still excellent work to be done, especially in the first chamber; but to do it thoroughly and systematically would involve considerable expense. It is to be regretted that the Derbyshire Archæological and Natural History Society has not taken up so promising a task. I know that, in the hope that this Society would one day take it up, Mr. Salt has done as little digging as possible in this chamber, so that its deposits should remain intact.

OTHER CAVES AND ROCK-SHELTERS.

During the last four years, Messrs. Salt have dug into several small caves and rock-shelters in the vicinity of Buxton. The results, it is true, have not been striking or important, but the evidence has been sufficient to show that these cavities have been put to various uses by man from remote times to almost the present day. What these uses exactly were can only be guessed. The "finds," however, scarcely point to long-continued habitation. Doubtless these cavities have been a shelter from the storm and a rest by night, to wanderers of all ages. Children, too, must have been their frequenters, and not a few of the objects which have been found may have been dropped by them.

From a small cave on the north side of Ashwood Dale, just opposite the gas-works, our friends of the spade

obtained, in 1895, an iron buckle, part of a flint flake, and several fragments of corroded iron. These were in a superficial layer of dark earth, charged with flecks of charcoal and animals' bones, which was spread over the whole of the floor inside the cave and outside the entrance. The bones mostly related to the domesticated animals, among which the sheep or goat was conspicuous. Nearly opposite to this is the Lovers' Leap, in a cave-like hollow of which Mr. Salt's son recently exhumed two flint scrapers, one of the ordinary and the other of the elongated horse-shoe type, and sundry fragments of flint, which were associated with the bones of ox, sheep, or goat, pig, horse, and deer. Three years ago, Messrs. Salt dug into the floor of a small cave in Swallow Tor, near Chrome Hill, about four miles south of Buxton, finding therein charcoal and other traces of fire, a fragment of corroded iron, and the bones of various domesticated animals. The rubbish layer below the entrance outside yielded similar results. Less than two years ago they excavated a small cave, Churn Hole, near the entrance to Deep Dale, about three miles and a half east-south-east of Buxton. In front of this was the usual slope, with its veneer of rubbish and vegetable mould, in which, near the surface, were a pair of iron scissors of modern type, and a fragment of slip-decorated earthenware, such as was in vogue in the seventeenth century. At a lower level were a flint-trimmed flake, a thin tube of rolled-up sheet bronze, about $1\frac{1}{4}$ ins. long, and having the diameter of a piece of thick bell-wire, and some fragments of coarse wheel-made pottery. Throughout this trench, as also one that was made in a neighbouring "rock-shelter," were bones (some burnt) of ox, horse, sheep, goat, pig, deer and other Recent animals.

About the year 1891, Mr. Salt made a trial hole in a small cave in Deep Dale, on the opposite side of the valley to Thirst House. The surface soil was dark, like that of the latter cave, and it contained rude wheel-made potsherds and bones. Below this was a ruddy yellow cave-earth, which also contained bones and a fragment of black pottery. About three years ago, two gentlemen then staying at Buxton spent a week or more digging in

this cave, in process of which they seem to have found bones of the bear, stag, and other Recent animals, but their archaeological education must have been very rudimentary, for amongst the soil thrown out of their workings were some flint flakes; and upon Mr. Salt calling their attention to these, one of them admitted to having seen several others, but he did not know what they were!

BARROWS.

Since 1894, Mr. Salt and his son have opened eight or nine more grave-mounds in the vicinity of Buxton, all of which I have fully described in the *Proceedings* of the Society of Antiquaries, for 1896, 1897, and 1899. These barrows were all of pre-Roman British age, but several contained traces of Romano-British interments.

The first and most important of these mounds was one on the summit of Grinlow, a hill, three-quarters of a mile south-west of the town. Its site is now marked by a conspicuous prospect tower, which bears a tablet commemorating the discovery. This barrow was 60 ft. in diameter, and was constructed, like many others in the Peak, wholly of stones picked off the surface, which had originally been deposited in concentric rows around and leaning towards the primary interment. It contained seven or eight interments, burnt and unburnt, which had been introduced at different times. Three of the unburnt interments were sufficiently undisturbed to admit of their positions and other circumstances being made out. These skeletons were all in the usual flexed or contracted attitude observed in British interments. Two lay on their right sides and one on the left, the heads of the former two pointing to the south-east, and that of the latter, which appears to have been the primary interment, to the east. No attempt had been made to enclose them in cists, but the head of the last-mentioned interment was protected by a sort of demi-cist, consisting of two upright stones covered by a third; and the head of one of the others was between two upright stones. The skeleton, which presumably represented the primary interment, was that of a powerfully-built man, with a well-filled and

rugged brachycephalic skull, of a type which has frequently been found in these ancient interments in the Peak and the adjacent parts of Staffordshire. The lofty crowns and flattened occiputs of these skulls have suggested the cradle-board in infancy. No article of human manufacture was found with this interment. The other skeletons were more slender. With the one, presumably that of a woman, were some fragments of hand-made pottery, a cow's tooth, and a few burnt bones : with the other were a broken food-vase, elaborately decorated with the impressions of a twisted rush or thong, and a well-worked flint scraper.

Near the latter skeleton was a small cist containing the burnt remains of a young person, and a calcined serrated flint flake. It is not quite certain whether this cist represented an independent interment, or was an accompaniment of the foregoing. With many of the British unburnt interments have been found, deposited in the grave, a heap of burnt bones which is thought to pertain to a human sacrifice ; but the circumstance that this Grinlow deposit was in its own cist argues in favour of its being regarded as an independent interment. Further away in the barrow was another deposit of burnt human bones, which was originally contained in a large cinerary urn of the usual British form, with a highly decorated rim, but which was found to be too hopelessly crushed to admit of reconstruction.

Near the edge of the barrow was a large cist containing a slate whetstone, a flint flake, an ox's tooth, a few pigs' teeth, and an extremely decayed lower jaw of a dog, but no trace of human remains. One feels inclined to think that so large a cist must surely have once contained a human interment. Probably, from its exposed position near the edge of the barrow, the bones of the interment had dissolved away. Near the cist was a hard wheel-turned jar, resembling a Roman cinerary urn. No trace of burnt bones was found in its vicinity, and perhaps we may account for their disappearance as just stated.

Messrs. Salt next attacked a barrow on Thirkelow Frith, some miles south of Buxton. Most of this mound had been carted away about half a century ago for the

sake of its stone. Here was found a much-disturbed skeleton of a powerful man, lying on its right side, and simply buried in the mound. Near it were the scattered remains of a child, and associated with them were a blue glass bead and some fragments of a small hand-made food-vessel.

Then followed a barrow on Stoop High Edge, in the neighbourhood of the last. This was a ruined mound of similar dimensions and construction to that of Grinlow. Through it protruded in several places the rock on which it was erected; and the various interments had been made in recesses between these projections. They were all on the natural surface, and were simply covered with the stones of the cairn. The first skeleton discovered lay on its left side, in the usual contracted attitude, with the head to the south. Near the head was the bronze blade of a dagger-knife, which was held to the handle by three rivets. Another skeleton lay in a similar position, only with the head to the south-east. It belonged to a large individual, and the skull was brachycephalic, but of a different type from the Grinlow example, having a somewhat low and flattened vertex. The tibiæ of both these Stoop High Edge skeletons exhibited platycnemism to a marked degree. Elsewhere in this barrow some fragments of fine hand-made ware, which appeared to relate to a small food-vase, decorated with incised lines; a few burnt bones associated with a well-made flint flaker; and the remains of a scattered unburnt skeleton. In 1897, the Salts resumed their investigation of this barrow, finding near the south edge two contracted skeletons, the one over the other, both buried in clay and rubble and surrounded by large stones. The lower one appeared to belong to an aged individual: it lay on its right side with the head to the west. The upper related to a younger person, and it lay on its left side with the head to the north. In 1898, they again turned their attention to this barrow, finding on this occasion a deposit of burnt bones between two projecting rocks, and with them a piece of coal, several bones of sheep or goat, and the incisor apparently of a horse.

In 1896 and 1897, I joined the Salts in the explora-

tion of a barrow at Thirkelow, in the same district as the preceding two. This barrow was of great interest, for the details of its construction throughout were easy to determine. Where best preserved, we noticed that the stones towards the margin were, as a rule, on end and inclining inwards, while at the edge itself they were decidedly larger, forming a sort of podium. Within these defining stones, weathered limestones from the surrounding waste had been piled over the central interment, without any apparent order. At the time of our excavation, the surface, in spite of its many irregularities, presented a general slight convexity, which probably approximated to its original form and height—a shallow truncated cone with slightly domed top, the podium forming the shoulder.

The central, and undoubtedly primary, interment consisted of the remains of a strongly-built man, with the usual platycnemic tibiæ of ancient hills-men. The skeleton lay on its right side, pointing to the north-east, in the usual contracted attitude, on the old natural surface, within an oval space rudely fenced in by large stones. Previous to the burial, this enclosed space had been strewn with limestone rubble, evidently broken for the purpose. The corpse, having been deposited thereon, was covered up with more rubble, the whole being then covered with the cairn.

The curious thing about this skeleton was that it had no skull. We cleared away the stones for some distance around the place where the skull should have been, without finding a trace of one; and a few days afterwards Mr. Salt and his son continued the search, with the same result. We were quite certain that this portion of the mound had never been disturbed since the interment took place; and it was impossible to think that the skull had disintegrated into "mother earth," for the bones of the trunk were in excellent preservation. The burial of headless bodies has been noted in British barrows before. The late Mr. Bateman recorded four instances in this part of the country.

Close by the hands of this Thirkelow skeleton was a beautiful and well-preserved perforated stone axe, of some

fine-grained igneous rock. It was highly symmetrical, about $3\frac{3}{8}$ ins. long, and still retained traces of its original polish. Its small size, and the absence of signs of wear render it probable that it was made for funeral purposes only. No trace of charcoal was found in any part of the excavation.

Subsequent excavations in this barrow brought to light several secondary interments, all of which were much disturbed. Near one scattered skeleton, which was only 9 ins. below the summit, were some fragments of a hand-made vessel of food-vase type, decorated in the usual style with twisted thong impressions; a small jet bead; a fragment of flint; a chert scraper; and part of an ox-or horse-shoe. It was quite impossible to decide whether all of these were originally placed with the interment, as this portion of the mound had some time or other been much disturbed. Another skeleton had evidently been embedded in clay and rubble, and a third had associated with it a chipping of flint and a flat pebble that had been used as a whetstone; but, like the foregoing one, these were too much disturbed to allow of their original posture being made out.

In 1897 we made a further examination of this barrow, removing several square yards down to the original surface. The only object of interest met with was a small copper coin, which Dr. Grueber, of the British Museum, described as a British imitation of a half-follis of Constantius II, A.D. 337-361. The obverse has the diademed bust of the emperor, and the reverse, a soldier in the act of despatching a fallen foe, with the legend, FEL TEMP REPAR. It was found near the bottom of the barrow, adhering to the upper surface of one of the stones. It is probable that it related to a Romano-British interment near the surface, which has long since disappeared. At the time of our digging, most of the spaces between the stones were still open; and if a small object like a coin successfully passed through the vegetable mould which filled the upper spaces, it might easily slip down to the floor of the barrow.

In 1895 Messrs. Salt investigated one of two ruined barrows known as "Gospel Hillocks," $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles east-south-

east of Buxton, and near the village of King's Sterndale. The one which they opened was the smaller and more perfect of the two, but all its upper portion had been removed many years ago to supply materials for repairing the neighbouring roads. Immediately below the turf were the scattered human bones of several secondary interments, and associated with them were some fragments of burnt bones and a calcined flint flake. In the centre, and on a level with the old natural surface, was a ponderous stone, which could only be removed by breakage. It was found to cover an excavated grave, which contained a tenacious clay mixed with grass and leaves. These still retained their green colour, but they rapidly lost it upon exposure to the air, and as they dried they shrivelled up. All that remained of the interment were a few decayed bones; but the small size of the grave made it clear that the body must have been buried in the usual contracted attitude. A few bits of burnt bone were noticed, but it was not certain whether they were human or animal. The use of puddled clay is a common feature in Romano-British and post-Roman barrows in this district; but the similar use of clay and fine earth has also been observed in the earlier British interments. Mr. Bateman's books give about eight local instances in which the skeleton is described as *embedded* in stiff clay or earth. The presence of vegetable remains, as might be expected, has only rarely been noted in prehistoric interments. The most notable Derbyshire example was at Shuttlestone, near Parwich, in which the corpse had been shrouded in skin and laid upon a bed of fern leaves.

In the same year, Messrs. Salt opened the remains of a large barrow, known as Fairfield Low, $1\frac{1}{4}$ mile east-north-east of Buxton. It was originally about 60 ft. in diameter, but a large portion of it has been removed in the process of quarrying the limestone rock below. Near the centre they found the scattered remains of an unburnt interment, lying on the natural surface. With or near these were several teeth of, probably, the stag, some charred bones, and charcoal. North of these were found at a high level, several fragments of iron and of red wheel-made pottery; and below these, a piece of red ochre, a

flint flake, a fragment of coarse pottery, and several pieces of burnt sandstone. It was evident that most of the existing portion of this barrow had been upset, and its contents confused; but a little east of the centre, the explorers found an undisturbed skeleton lying upon the natural surface, contracted, on its left side, with the head towards the south-east. It had no further protection than that afforded by several large stones at its back. In the immediate vicinity were a few chippings of flint, coal, fragments of burnt bone (presumably animal), and two indeterminate pieces of iron. These fragments of iron were about one-sixteenth of an inch in thickness, and on one side could be plainly discerned some hairy substance adhering to the rust. Three feet from the knees of this skeleton were the fragmentary remains of a child, with which were associated a few more flint chippings, and a light blue glass bead-like object, drilled half-way through, as if intended for a pin's head. A little nearer the centre of the barrow than these interments, was a broken, kiln-fired, slate-coloured vessel, which can be described as an oviform jar with a wide mouth, 6 in. in diameter, and 7 in. or 8 in. in height, and apparently Romano-British. The skull of the above interment (which apparently was that of a man who died in middle life) was of decidedly brachycephalic configuration, of the same type as that of the Stoop High Edge barrow.

In 1896 Messrs. Salt opened a small barrow, only 12 ft. in diameter and 3 ft. in height, near Abney Low, about two miles south-west of Hathersage. The only indications of an interment were some charcoal, and a flint flake on the natural surface. A considerable number of the small barrows of this district—on Eyam, Abney, and Offerton Moors, and the Moors around Hathersage—have been opened during the past century, and they seem to have invariably contained cremated interments, many with results as meagre as in the above example, the calcined bones having disappeared.

In 1897, they examined the remnants of a small oval barrow at the foot of Hill-Head, a hill $2\frac{1}{4}$ miles south-east of Buxton.

FLINT AND FLINT IMPLEMENTS.

Recently Mr. Salt has turned his attention to a more homely phase of archaeological work, but one which assuredly promises some excellent results. Knowing that there are no flint-bearing rocks in the Peak, he naturally concluded that the fragments of flint he saw from time to time lying on the surface did not come to be where they were by natural means. Of late months he has carried out his observations in a very systematic manner, chiefly among ploughed fields, each field being thoroughly searched throughout. Throughout the Peak, flint implements undoubtedly have been lost in past times, and broken ones have been cast away. But what Mr. Salt has observed are of quite a different order. He has observed that here and there, within the small area of a portion of a field, for instance, a large number of fragments and splinters of flint, with an occasional trimmed flake, or more elaborate implement, may be seen; while in the ploughed fields around they are of the greatest rarity.

For instance, within an area of 60 ft. square in a ploughed field near Stoop-High Edge, he found about one hundred pieces, which included two leaf-shaped arrow points, one broken. In another field near Brierlow, about the same number were picked up within a space of 40 ft. square. These included six or seven cores, a horse-shoe shaped and several other rude scrapers, about a dozen ridge flakes, and the rest nondescript fragments and splinters. In the corner of another field, north of Hill Head, four hundred pieces of flint were picked up, of which only two showed definite signs of trimming, and about twenty were cores. Several of the pieces had the appearance of being unfinished arrow-heads. Fragments of rude wheel-turned pottery were also obtained from this site. In the immediate vicinity of a rough spot in a ploughed field at Stakor Hill, he has recently obtained nearly a hundred pieces, which included a worn horse-shoe scraper and seven trimmed flakes, the rest being mere fragments. In each of these cases the fields around the sites yielded few or no pieces of flint.

It is clear, I think, that these "finds" mark sites where flint implements were made, the fragments being the waste material, useless cores, and unfinished implements spoiled in the making. With the exception of the site near Hill-Head, the fragments were too few to indicate factories of any permanent character. They represent spots where the ancient huntsman might have halted awhile to make some necessary implements. But the large number of these fragments, and the potsherds of the site just referred to suggest a dwelling where flint-flaking was habitually carried on.

The flint itself varied considerably. Examination of the fragments lead me to think that it was not quarried, but was obtained in the form of rolled nodules, probably from the drift of Cheshire, Staffordshire, or South Derbyshire. It is an interesting point to be noticed, that while the amber-coloured and more translucent fragments have been almost unaffected by their long exposure on or near the surface, those of the dark and grey varieties are mostly whitened; in some cases being only superficially flecked, in others the alteration has extended to some depth. I am not sufficiently acquainted with the structure and chemistry of flint to explain this, but it is clear that the dark varieties have a constituent which is slowly dissolved out in the process of weathering, leaving a porous residue which preserves the exact form of the piece, but leaves it in a light and brittle condition.

PIT DWELLINGS.

Mr. Salt has in hand at present some puzzling depressions on Ravenslow, a hill overlooking the Goyte, about three miles west-south-west of Buxton. Passing up the hillside is an ancient trackway, which on the summit becomes a raised causeway about 4 ft. wide, formed of rude pitching. This is lost among the eighteen or twenty depressions just alluded to. These depressions are more or less circular, about 14 ft. in diameter, and 5 ft. in depth. Their exact nature is uncertain, and cannot well be determined without further excavation. Mr. Salt and Mr. Turner partly excavated several last April; and

Mr. Salt and myself more completely examined one recently. The surface around the depressions is irregularly raised by accumulations of small coal and coal ashes, which, like the causeway, must be of considerable antiquity, for they are thickly covered with heath. This coal bas-sets out at the hillside, about half a mile away, and can be obtained by the simple process of quarrying. The depressions themselves are partially choked with *débris* of soil, peat, stones, and more coal and its ash. This removed, a circular pit is revealed at the foot of the funnel-like depression. The pit that we attacked was cut through the condensed clayey shale, and showed on its sides the mark of a blunt pick. It was 6 ft. 5 ins. in diameter, and we excavated it to a depth of 6 ft. 6 ins. from the shoulder. Half-way down it contained *débris* as above, with several huge stones. Below this it contained regular beds of clean peat, with intervening thin seams of coal ash. We were unable to dig deeper, lest the large stones should give way. My observations of this and another of these pits leads me to think that they were originally bottle-shaped; that is, that they had a comparatively narrow mouth, of 5 ft. or 6 ft. in depth, below which the chamber expanded to the size above given. The ground above the chamber falling in, accounts for the *débris*; and it is highly probable that the layers of peat and ash were accumulated while the pits were in use. Large rough blocks of sandstone, which must have been conveyed from a distance, are to be seen peeping through the *débris* of most of the depressions; and it is reasonable to think that they were connected with the mouths. No potsherds or implements of any sort have been found in these pits; in fact, nothing to throw light upon their age or use. The most feasible explanation is that they were subterranean dwellings, inhabited by a people who burnt coal in consequence of the local scarcity of timber.¹

¹ Since Mr. Ward wrote this Paper, Mr. Turner's book on Mr. Salt's work has been published.—EDITOR.





REMARKS ON TWO MEDALS,

AND THE

POLITICAL STRUGGLE THAT OCCASIONED THEIR BEING ISSUED.

BY B. WINSTONE, ESQ., M.D.



THE two medals exhibited, one dated 1794 and the other 1795, although possessing no artistic value, are of interest as outcomes of the great political struggle, then existing, between the landed proprietors on one side, and the manufacturing and the trading classes, on the other. It gave occasion for the arrest and trial of many persons belonging to the commercial class for high treason. Prominent amongst the number were Thomas Hardy and Isaac Eaton,¹ whose trials and acquittals the medals commemorate. On one side of the medal celebrating the acquittal of Isaac Eaton is a cock, perched on the fence of a pigsty, in the act of crowing. It is connected with a story which brought Eaton into trouble: so it will be further mentioned when speaking of his trials for treason.

Many causes existed at the time for discontent with the organisation of the Government on the part of the large, wealthy, and intelligent middle class, which had arisen through the introduction of manufactories into the country, and the increase of trade, both domestic and foreign. This class contributed very largely to the revenue of the kingdom, and also to the prosperity of the landowners, by purchasing the produce of their

¹ Isaac Eaton's medal has been lent to me by Mr. John Pearson, a partner in the Epping Brewery. One of its collectors, without noticing it, had received it with other coins in settlement of accounts of the inns or beer shops supplied by the firm. Hardy's medal was purchased with some other coins.

farms. Manufacturers purchased the wool, which had at one time been exported and paid export duty; whilst the other products of the land were bought by the persons employed in their mills, and by the inhabitants of the towns—merchants and smaller tradespeople. Large towns, such as Manchester, Birmingham, Sheffield and Leeds, had come into existence; and mines, also, were rendered profitable through the industry of the middle classes. The increased population, moreover, found employment in the manufactures and other industries, which the land could not have supplied.



Although the prosperity of the country was admitted by the Government to be due to the industry and energy of the middle class and to the introduction of machinery, its members, unless they were freeholders, had no voice in the government of the country: neither in the imposition of taxes, through which they contributed so largely to the resources of the Government; nor in the expenditure of the large sums of money obtained through their labour. For the franchise (*i.e.*, the electors) was limited to one class of property-holders: viz., those whose property consisted of land—freeholders, as they are termed—and the few freemen of borough towns.

The government was virtually in the hands of the large landowners. They had fifty-six borough towns, whose representatives in Parliament were their nominees ; and, by patronage in the Church through the advowson attached to their manors, and by the control they could exercise over the many appointments vested in the Crown, they possessed great influence amongst the smaller freeholders in the counties in which their large estates were situated. The freeholders had, perhaps, some grounds for believing the government of the country belonged by right to them, as they were the owners of the country, including the minerals as well as the soil ; whilst leaseholders and other inhabitants lived in the country as their tenants, and on such terms and conditions as might be arranged by them. The governing classes, having absolute possession of the land in England, and the power through Parliament of imposing what taxes they pleased upon the nation, supposed they possessed similar power in the Colonies. But the Americans, Colonial subjects of the English throne, alleged that there should be no taxation without representation ; and, successfully maintaining their proposition, drew the attention of Europe to the unfairness of concentrating in one class the governing authority of a nation. The French Revolution was the outcome of ideas respecting the rights which belonged to a nation, through their being adopted by the military forces sent to assist the Revolutionists in America, and circulated, on their return from America, amongst their fellow-countrymen.

The proceedings in France were watched by the discontented portion of the English nation ; and the interest taken in them was shown at Birmingham in 1791, where a festival was organised under the presidency of Dr. Priestly, assisted by other eminent persons, to celebrate the success of the Revolutionists in France. A few days before it was held, hand-bills had been circulated holding out the French Revolution as a model, and calling upon Englishmen to rise against oppression. In Scotland, exultation was manifested at the success of the French in a battle in which English troops were opposed to them.

That it was not right to confine the Government of the

country to the owners of one class of property was admitted by some members of the privileged class, for Mr. Grey (subsequently Earl Grey) in 1792 asked permission to introduce a Bill for reforming the House of Commons. Pitt, the Prime Minister, with other members, opposed his application on the grounds that in the excited state of the country it would be dangerous to make any change in the Government. So strong, however, was the popular feeling on the subject of Parliamentary Reform, that clubs were formed throughout the country with the object of promoting it. The most important was the Society of the "Friends of the People." Amongst its members were Mr. Grey, who proposed Parliamentary Reform, Lord Russell, thirty-eight Members of Parliament, and other influential persons. Another important and active association or club was formed by Thomas Hardy, and a few other persons, called the "Corresponding Society." Thomas Hardy was appointed secretary and treasurer. The Society issued during the year many addresses in the form of hand-bills, signed by him; also a congratulatory address to the National Convention of France, which was the governing power of the French Revolution. It was, moreover, by the end of the year in correspondence with the numerous societies formed in many places with the object of procuring, they said, by legal and constitutional means, Parliamentary Reform. Thomas Hardy, the secretary, was a boot-and-shoe maker in Piccadilly, and he had no social position beyond that of a shopkeeper. It is therefore probable that he was put prominently forward to disseminate the views of a political party, whose members found the money necessary for its support, but were unwilling to appear as actors in the political struggle.

The societies, by means of their publications, were promulgating ideas which the Government considered seditious, so a proclamation was issued in 1792 against the publication and distribution of seditious writings. The proclamation, although considered by some persons to be unnecessary and hurtful, had the approbation of the citizens of London and other persons of property, who preferred a strong and settled Government to the possible

results of a revolutionary movement. They therefore took measure in opposition to the reformers, by organising clubs in support of "Liberty and Property against Levellers and Republicans." A declaration of attachment to the Constitution was drawn up and signed by the citizens, and in the counties similar declarations were drawn and obtained numerous signatures.

The Parliamentary reforms desired by Hardy and Eaton, as representatives of the party to which they belonged, were not unreasonable. They are stated in *Pearson's Political Dictionary*, published in 1792, as follows:—"Short Parliaments, as established at the Revolution 1688. Equal representation of the people according to property and population, by lopping rotten boroughs, and scattering those loppings throughout the counties, cities, and towns of all Great Britain, in such manner that property and population shall be our sole guide what districts are represented, and what not." It continues: "Why shall a copyholder, a great manufacturer, or a monied man, because they are not freeholders, be debarred the franchise of election, although worth many hundreds per annum, while a poor creature who has what is called a freehold shall enjoy, and very often dispose of his vote through poverty. Indeed, it many times happens that he has little else to live on." The member of Parliament, speaking, it is supposed, to Mr. Pearson, continues: "Our designs are truly constitutional. We shall never be frightened by a venal and interested aristocracy from restoring the Parliamentary purity to the Prince and to the people. The reform will not give more purity to the nation than to the King; as he will not be awed, nor thwarted in his virtuous designs, by an unconstitutional phalanx of borough salesmen."

The desire for Parliamentary reform was not confined to England. In Scotland there had been a society holding meetings in Edinburgh, which were attended by delegates from the "Corresponding Society" of which Hardy was secretary, (as delegates from London), Sheffield, York; Ireland and other places also sent delegates. The principles of the French Revolutionists were adopted. The members called each other "Citizen;" they had Liberty

Hall, and Liberty Stairs. Universal suffrage and annual parliaments were two of the measures advocated at its meetings. They were continued for some time; but were finally broken up by the deputy sheriffs, magistrates, and constables, who took several persons prisoners. Many of the prisoners were severely punished; some persons thought beyond what their crime justified.

In consequence of the activity of the officials in Scotland in suppressing the meetings in Edinburgh, it was arranged by Hardy, as secretary of the "Corresponding Society," that meetings should be held in London to which Scotland should send delegates. This the Government determined to prevent. The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended, and many of the prominent members of the clubs, and others, were arrested and sent to the Tower. Amongst the number was Thomas Hardy, of the "Corresponding Society, David Adams, secretary of the Society for Obtaining Constitutional Information; Horne Tooke, the author of *The Diversions of Purley* (he had been a friend of Wilkes, proprietor of the *North Briton* newspaper) and Thelwall, who was the author of a story called "King Chanticleer (the cock shown in the Medal), or the Fall of Tyranny." For publishing it Eaton was put on his trial: the story will be mentioned further on.

Thelwall, at a meeting at Chalk Farm, had struck off the froth from a pot of porter, saying, That is the way in which he would serve the King. The books and papers of the club were seized, and examined by a committee appointed for that purpose. The committee reported that, although the term Parliamentary Reform was employed to express the object of these meetings, it was obvious the intention of the members was to supersede the House of Commons by some other institution.

It is evident that the very disturbed state of the nation was such as to justify the Government in taking active measures to maintain its stability. By an Order in Council, a Commission was appointed to try the thirteen prisoners, who had been arrested on the charge of high treason, and sent to the Tower. The Commission consisted of the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, as president, Chief Baron Macdonald, and four judges. The trial took

place at the Sessions House, Clerkenwell, when the Grand Jury returned a true bill against all the prisoners. The trial was evidently one of great national importance. It was as if it were a test trial. It may here be mentioned that before 1792 the judges decided whether the publications or proceedings of prisoners were seditious; and the jury's verdict was limited as to whether the prisoner had circulated the publications, or participated in any so-defined treasonable proceedings. In that year Fox brought in a Bill, which became law, depriving the judges of the power of deciding whether an act or publication was treasonable, and conferred it on the jury. The authorities evidently considered the trial to be of sufficient importance to warrant them instructing the Attorney-General, afterwards Lord Eldon, to prosecute. His opening speech took nine hours to deliver, and the trial lasted eight days. In consequence of the alteration by Act of 1792, the counsel for the prosecution had to address the jury on the two points mentioned.

The prisoners elected to be tried separately; Thomas Hardy was the first placed at the Bar. The "Corresponding Society" had sent two of its members to the convention in Edinburgh, and Hardy, its secretary, had been active in endeavouring to organise the meeting in London, which Government had determined to prevent. He was arrested on the charge of high treason, his papers were seized; and, before his committal to the Tower, he was examined several times by the Privy Council, with the hopes, we may assume, of obtaining the names of the members of the "Corresponding Society"; also the objects of their meetings, and those of the societies with which they were affiliated. The examination could not have resulted in any information so favourable to the Government as to induce the Attorney-General (the prosecuting counsel) to indict the prisoners for any overt acts of treason; for he endeavoured to establish guilt on the charge of "constructive treason," which was a term used in connection with a law defining treasonable acts, and this even defined the words, "compassing and imagining them," as constituting treasonable acts. Hardy was ably defended by Erskine, the eminent barrister, who is called on the medal struck

in his honour, "A Friend to Freedom and the Rights of Man." He obtained for Hardy, his client, a verdict of "not guilty." At the trial, Sheridan was called as a witness for the defence. He said Hardy had given him permission to read the whole of the books and papers in his possession. Other witnesses spoke of his modesty, moderation, and good sense, and one of the witnesses, a member of the "Corresponding Society," in testifying to his peaceable disposition, mentions as a proof that when the meetings of the Society were removed from a public to a private house, he particularly requested the members not to bring sticks with them—which gives rise to the suspicion that free fights amongst them were not uncommon. Other prisoners were tried and acquitted, so the trial of the remaining persons was abandoned, as the Attorney-General found he could not convince the jury that "compassing and imagining" were treasonable acts. This was



a great triumph for the Parliamentary reforming party, in fact, a victory over their opponents. The excitement in London was very great. Hardy in his coach was drawn by the people through the principal streets; and in the following year a dinner, at which his health formed the principal toast, was held at the "Crown and Anchor" to celebrate his acquittal; the third Earl of Stanhope presided.

It was the prominent position held by Hardy, as secretary of the "Corresponding Society," in the political struggle, that brought him into public notice; but he must have been a man of ability and enterprise to have obtained such distinction. For he was a boot-and-shoemaker by trade, and came to London from Scotland, his native country, when twenty-two years of age, with

1s. 6d. in his pocket. In 1791 he set up business for himself at 74, Piccadilly. This was the year of the political riot in Birmingham. It probably drew his attention to the circumstances which gave rise to it; for in the following year he established the "Corresponding Society." His imprisonment in the Tower before his trial, and the expense of the trial, had ruined him; but, by the assistance of his friends, he was able to again enter into business. At first, many persons went to his shop to see him, and orders were plentiful; but trade rapidly declined, so he removed to Fleet Street. Trade, however, could not have been profitable, as he soon after retired from business. During the last nine years of his life, he was supported by Sir Francis Burdett and a few friends. There is an account of his life in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, in which it is said he died, aged eighty-one, in 1832, and was buried in Bunhill Fields burying-ground, and that his papers are preserved in the British Museum.

Daniel Isaac Eaton, the subject of the other medal, on which is a cock perched upon the fence of a pig-sty, was a Reformer who gave great trouble to the Government, for he was tried six separate times for circulating seditious publications. He was a publisher and bookseller, and he distributed them in the ordinary course of his trade. In 1793, he was tried for selling Paine's second part of the *Rights of Man*, and his letter "addressed to the addressor." Paine had been prosecuted the previous year, and obliged to fly to France to escape punishment. His trial was the first after passing the Act depriving the judge of the right to decide the question of treason. Eaton, therefore, knew his writings were admitted by a jury to be treasonable publications.

Tom Paine had been active in promoting the revolt of the American colonies, and his writings were directed against monarchical government, supported by a Parliamentary power vested solely in landowners. The following may be taken as an example of his writings. "Saul," he says, "gave the most convincing proof of his royal wisdom before he was made king; for he was sent to seek his father's asses, and he could not find them. The

President ought to be established by Act of Parliament ; every King, before he is crowned, should be sent to seek his father's asses ; and if he could not find them, be declared wise enough for a King."

The aristocracy and landowners levied the revenue of the country through taxes, which pressed lightly on their incomes, by imposing import duties on articles of consumption, and by Excise duties, from which they were really exempt. In support of his statement, he instances the tax on beer brewed for sale. For they and their tenants, the farmers, brewed on their premises the beer drank by their households ; whilst the inhabitants of towns, villages, and other places, not having conveniences for brewing, paid the whole of the sum it yielded, amounting to more than the Land Tax, which had decreased, although rents had risen ; and the land, therefore, increased in value. He also proposed old-age pension, and to obtain the money by reducing the cost of the Civil Service, as well as the number of useless offices about the Court (King), many of which had become obsolete.

The trial of Paine having resulted in a verdict of "guilty," the Government had every reason for supposing that the trial of Eaton would have for its result a verdict in its favour ; but in this it was disappointed, for the verdict was equivalent to an acquittal.

Eaton, thus emboldened, proceeded to issue other treasonable publications, one of them entitled *Politics for the People, or a Salmagundy for Swine* ("salmagundy" means medley). It contains a very transparent story by Thelwall who was one of the twelve prisoners tried at Clerkenwell, with Hardy. It is an attack upon royalty, and on the interference with public meetings. The pigsty on the medal represents the title of the publication, and the cock on the fence is the hero of the story.

The story is headed "King Chanticleere, or the Fall of Tyranny : an anecdote related by Citizen Thelwall at the Chapel Court Society, during the discussion of a question relative to the comparative influence of the love of life, love of liberty, and the love of the fair sex, had on the actions of men." He argues against the love of life, or fear

of death (which he considers the same) in influencing the actions of mankind, and thinks it restrains the action. For otherwise, he says, "they would, by becoming acquainted with the real nature of that principle I am supporting, learn to strike unanimously for liberty." He ridicules the reasons offered by the "tame advocates for life without liberty," and contends that movements which were mentioned in support of their argument in favour of the love of life, are only involuntary muscular movements. He says that "in order to set the question, Citizen President, before the meeting more clearly," he will tell them a story, of which the following is an abstract:—In his youth he was fond of animals, and had a game cock, a fine majestic bird, a haughty sanguinary tyrant, fond of foreign wars, and domestic rebellion, into which he would drive his subjects by his oppressive obstinacy, in hopes that he might increase his power and glory by their suppression. The haughty tyrant, the game cock, would not leave the other occupants of the farmyard in peace; "and not satisfied with his share of the food, he devoured the greater part of it, and scratching at every little treasure that the toil of more industrious birds might happen to scratch out of the bowels of the earth, so that they could never eat the scanty remnant which his inordinate taxation left them." He says he much admired the bird's plumage; "and above all that fine plumage on his head, his crown, or coxcomb, I believe you call it"—the distinction, he remarks, is not very important.

Thinking it to be the best thing he could do was to rid the world of tyrants, and as he had no guillotine, he cut off the head with a large knife; when he found that the cock with his head off continued muscular movement, flapping his wings, etc. By the loss of his head he was no longer capable of knowing what he was about. The account of the meeting continues: "This story was received with almost unanimous applause, as was, also, the whole speech, till Citizen Thelwall, who, alluding to the wonderful exertions which liberty was stimulating the French to make against the whole united force of Europe, was interrupted by the committee. The chairman declined to hear him, and, declaring the meeting

adjourned, quitted the chair. The speaker, however, continued his speech in spite of the disturbance. At the next debate, the following resolutions were unanimously agreed to:—

“First, that the free discussion of political opinions, in public assemblies, is a valuable and constitutional right to Britons, which must be defended with the most jealous caution, and transmitted inviolate to our posterity; second, that in every public debating society it is the undoubted right of every individual paying for his admission to deliver his sentiments freely, and that it is the duty of the chairman to support such speaker.”

There are three other propositions, and the story concludes: “There is no power in this country that can openly and legally interfere to prevent the freedom of political discussion, if individuals will have spirit enough to assert it.”

The story was so evidently aimed at Royalty and the rights of the Crown, that Eaton was arrested, and tried for circulating a treasonable publication. But the verdict, being in his favour, shows how strong were the feelings of the people in favour of the promoters of Parliamentary reform. His acquittal emboldened him to issue other publications of a similar objectionable character; amongst them is a *Political Dictionary* (printed for D. J. Eaton, No. 74, Newcastle Street, 1795). In it words are selected, having meanings attached, directed against Royalty and Government. One or two examples may be mentioned. “Half-seas over” is explained: “The most respectable state of sobriety amongst princes and ministers.” “Harlequin,” a buffoon, a particular favourite of George III. “A Court” is defined as “a den of well-fed and well-dressed beggars.” Royalty is described as “the curse of God Almighty; where the office exists the whole country is pale, sickly, and unfruitful. Government in monarchical states consist in taking as much money as possible from one class of citizens in order to bestow it on another class; and what ought to be very extraordinary, instead of taking it from the rich to improve the condition of the poor, it is extorted from the poor to pamper the luxuries of the rich!”

Eaton was acquitted by the jury who tried him for the publication of the story about the game cock. A special jury, however, tried him in 1795 for publishing Pigot's *Female Jockey Club*, and in the next year for Pigot's *Political Dictionary* and *Duties of Citizenship*. He went to America to avoid punishment, where he remained three years. On his return to England his property was seized, books for America, value £2,800, were burnt on his premises, and he underwent fifteen months' imprisonment. Paine's *Age of Reason* brought him into great trouble. On March 1812, he was tried before Lord Ellenborough and a special jury for issuing the third part. He was found guilty, sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment, and to stand in the pillory. Popular feeling must have run very high against the Government, for the people cheered him when in the pillory, and endeavoured to supply him with food. He died in a state of great poverty, in 1814, at his sister's house at Deptford (see *Biographical Dictionary*).

Before closing this paper, I should like to call your attention to the Reform Bill of 1832. It is headed an "Act to Amend the Representation of the People of England and Wales." And it sets forth, by its measures of reform, the injustice to which a very large portion of the Nation had had to submit; and also a cause for the political struggle which so long existed between the holders of real and the holders of personal property.

In its preamble the object is stated as follows:—

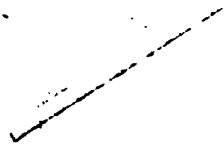
1. To deprive many inconsiderable places of the right of returning members.
2. To grant such privilege to large, populous, and wealthy towns.
3. To increase the number of knights of the shire.
4. To extend the election franchise to many of His Majesty's subjects who have not hitherto enjoyed the same.

By it, fifty-six small borough towns ceased to send members; twenty-two borough towns were created. Amongst others, the manufacturing towns of Birmingham, Manchester, Leeds, Sheffield; also the populous places: Tower Hamlets, Finsbury, Marylebone, Lambeth, Brighton

—before unrepresented. They were each to have two members. Thirty boroughs were to return one member only. Twenty new boroughs were to return one member.

Some boroughs were to have certain adjacent places annexed to them for electoral purposes; thirty-nine places in Wales to have a share in election for the shire towns. The number of members for the counties were, in some instances, to be raised—Yorkshire to have six in place of four members. Copyholders of property of the value of £10 and upwards; leaseholders for short terms of £50 rentals, and long terms of £10 annual rental in counties, and of £10 in borough towns, had conferred upon them the franchise, which they had not previously enjoyed.

The nobility and freeholders who had monopolised the Government were, in 1831, opposed to the Bill, and it was rejected by the House of Lords. The vastly increased number of members of Parliament, and the commercial interests they were to represent, would have greatly lessened the control the landowners had hitherto exercised over its proceedings. It is not, therefore, surprising that the Bill did not pass through the House of Lords. Absolute power was passing out of the hands of the governing class. The bishops saw by the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts, which removed the inability of dissenters to accept civil appointments, that a monopoly of churchmen had been destroyed. And now the power and influence of the people were so great that the House of Lords had to yield to their wishes; and, in the following year, 1832, allowed the Reform Bill to pass through their House, and become a law of the land. Earl Grey, who had been a member of the Constitutional Club, and in 1792 was desirous of permission to introduce a Bill to reform the House of Commons, had the pleasure of seeing the labours of the reforming clubs, of which Thomas Hardy and Isaac Eaton had been active members, crowned with success; and, to the great joy of the nation, the copyholders and leaseholders, representing many thousands of prosperous and wealthy holders of property, had conferred upon them equal rights with the landowners in the government of the country.





NORMAN TYMPANUM, CHURCH AT ASHFORD-IN-THE-WATER.

[Geo. S. Ramey, del.]



ON NORMAN TYMPANA,

WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO THOSE OF DERBYSHIRE

BY T. N. BRUSHFIELD, M.D., F.S.A.



VISIT to the church of Ashford-in-the-Water, during the Buxton Congress in 1899, for the purpose, *inter alia*, of inspecting the Norman tympanum preserved there, led to the suggestion that a Paper on the various tympana of that period still to be found in Derbyshire

churches, might be acceptable to the members of this Association.¹

It is known that many, perhaps the majority, of the principal doorways of the later Anglo-Saxon churches had semicircular heads, a feature continued into and to the end of the Norman period. It was, however, reserved for the architects of the twelfth century to fill up the space left between the arch and the square head of the door with a stone slab or tympanum. In many instances this was left quite plain, but the greater number were carved with devices extremely varied in character. Some bore patterns of geometric figures, chequers, etc.; but the number of these were comparatively few, the majority being sculptured with representations of the human subject; of animals, real or fabulous, with attendant scroll-work; of scenes from Scripture, symbolical and

¹ The following are the principal authorities consulted: *Churches of Derbyshire* (1875-9), by the Rev. Dr. Cox; *Christian Symbolism*, by J. Romilly Allen (1887); *Gothic Ecclesiastical Architecture* (1882), by M. Bloxam; *Archæologia*; Parker's *Glossary*; and the various volumes of the *Reliquary*.

literal, etc. It was usually surrounded by a border, generally of a simple kind, but occasionally much decorated.

Except in the case of a simple figure, like that of the Agnus Dei, few of the sculptures contain a repetition of the same subject, or bear evidence of being the work of the same designer; the representation of Christ in Glory forming one of the exceptions to the former, and the tympana preserved in the Derbyshire churches at Findern and Tissington to the latter (another example is cited by Bloxam, vol. i, p. 90).

The arches and pillars of the doorways of the Norman period contain, as a rule, much decorative sculpture, the carved work being, in many examples, of the most elaborate description; but the presence of this enrichment appears in no way to have influenced the presence or absence of a tympanum. For example, the stonework of the south entrance to Patricksbourne Church, Kent, is profusely covered with sculptured representations of various kinds, and also possesses a tympanum, containing an elaborate carving of Christ in Glory. On the other hand, no tympanum graces the highly-decorated doorway of Steetley Church in this county.

Again, a plain arch may possess a tympanum, as at Hault Hucknall, or be destitute of one, as in the case of Fritwell Church, Oxford.

Where the tympanum does not occupy the whole of the space between the arch and the doorhead, a separate lintel is fixed, and this is generally placed on a level with the capitals supporting the arches. For the most part, this is sculptured with a subject quite distinct from that on the upper stone, as at Little Langford, Wilts., and Dinton, Bucks.; but occasionally that of the tympanum proper is continued into it, of which there is a beautiful example above the prior's door at Ely Cathedral. In many doorways jambs have been added to limit the size of the door, and these are frequently quite plain; others are, however, beautifully sculptured as at Ely, where the upper part of each is expanded into brackets for the support of the lintel.

In some examples the stone partakes of the twofold

character of a tympanum and a lintel, being deeper in the centre than at the sides, and forming a kind of semi-tympanum, a plain stone filling the space above it, as at Normanton, Derbyshire, Down St. Mary, Devonshire, and Penselwood, Somersetshire.

Symbolic sculpture is occasionally found carved in the arch itself, as at Findern and Tissington, Derbyshire, St. Margaret's-at-Cliffe, Dover, and in several Berkshire churches.

In a few examples where the opening was of unusually large dimensions, or the sculpture was required to be in high relief, the semicircular space was filled in with several stones, as at Ely Cathedral, and at Bolsover Church in this county; but in the majority the tympanum consisted of one thin stone slab, containing rudely-executed sculpture in very low relief. It may, however, be at once remarked that rudeness of form and roughness of execution afford no indication of the actual or proximate date when the carving was executed. In many examples the figures were rudely indicated by simple incised lines, the stone beyond the outline remaining untouched. A curious variation occurs in a tympanum at Fordington Church, Dorsetshire, where the sculptures, representing St. George attacking the Pagans, "have evidently been cut after the door was built, and appear to have been drawn on the surface, and only so much of it cut away as would give relief to the figures" (Parker's *Glossary*, vol. ii, p. 29, and pl. 73). Sometimes the carving was contained in a sunk panel of irregular form, as in two instances at Egloskerry, Cornwall. The details of the carving were almost always meagre (that at Ely Cathedral forming a notable exception), and the grouping bad, with an entire absence of perspective, as well as a want of due proportion between the objects represented.

Prolonged exposure of the stone to the weather for several centuries (notwithstanding the partial protection of a porch), aided by the circumstance of its bedding face being the portion usually exposed, led to so much erosion and exfoliation as to render it difficult in many instances to ascertain the true character of the subject, and has not

unfrequently led to archæologists giving varied explanations of the same sculpture. Thus, according to Lysons', "on the north side of the nave in the church of St. Michael, Carhayes, is a small doorway with a plain semi-circular arch, with the figure of a man on horseback carved on the transom stone" (*Cornwall*, p. 228). On a later examination by A. G. Langdon, it proves to be an Agnus Dei of the ordinary type (*Reliquary*, vol. iv, New Ser., 1898, p. 92, with illustration). Again, the two fabulous animals carved on the stone preserved in Darley Church are described by Mr. Suckling, "as a wolf attacked by a 'pelican or some such bird of prey.'" (Quoted by Dr. Cox, vol. ii, p. 168).

Owing to decay of the surface, aided by the indifferent drawing and execution of the sculpture, it is not surprising that opinions frequently differ as to the species of many of the animals represented.

That some of the carved tympana have either been defaced intentionally, or have even been destroyed, is painfully certain. As late as 1863, one containing the figure of a dragon was known to occupy the north doorway of Tremaine Church, Cornwall, but was defaced at a later period; and not only are the marks of effacement still plainly visible, but a hole has been made through its centre for the passage of a flue pipe (*Reliquary*, vol. iv, New Ser. (1898), pp. 94-6). One at Swarkeston, Derbyshire, was swept away when the church was restored (?) in 1828. According to Hutchins (*Dorsetshire* (1861), vol. i, p. 700), one over the south door of North Matravers Church was mutilated, "probably during the war of the Puritans against superstitious emblems;" but there appears to be an equal probability that in this instance the cause was due to ordinary weathering.

Mr. Langdon is of opinion they are at the present date more frequently found over the north entrance to the church, and this appears to be the case in Cornwall; but from the notes of a large number throughout England, I have reason to believe the greater proportion to be connected with the south one, the north being the next in frequency. A few are found surmounting the west door (Mylor, Cornwall), as well as the chancel and belfry

doors (St. Clement's, Sandwich). Their preservation during a former period may, as at the present time, have depended on accident, chance, or caprice on the part of the architect. The Decorated period was apparently less fatal to them than was the Perpendicular. It is somewhat remarkable that so many have descended to us, seeing that in many instances they form almost the sole evidence of a Norman church having preceded the existing structure, of which the churches of Ashford-in-the-Water, Derbyshire, Down St. Mary, Devonshire, and Stoneleigh, Warwickshire, may be cited as examples. On this point Mr. Bloxam remarks: "There appears to have been a custom prevailing among the architects who succeeded the Normans, of preserving the doorways of those churches they rebuilt or altered, for doorways in the Anglo-Norman style," [or the tympana that adorned them] "still exist in many churches, the other portions of which were erected at a much later period." His explanation is that it "may have proceeded from a laudable wish to retain some visible remembrance of the piety of the founder by whom the original work was designed" (vol. i, p. 91). If this was the reason of their preservation by the architects and church officials of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, it is to be deplored that those of recent times have not thought fit to follow so praiseworthy an example. It is but fair to note one exception in the case of the modern church of St. Ebbe's, Oxfordshire, into the vestry wall of which the doorway and window of the former Norman church has been built (Parker, *Glossary*, vol. ii, p. 28, and Pl. 72).

One point remains to be noticed, viz., the marked difference in the character of the sculptures on the tympana of the south and north doors respectively. Although very few churches possess both at the present time, the following striking examples have happily descended to us, and will amply demonstrate the different kind of lesson each was intended to convey to the worshippers.

Churches.	Tympana.	
	South Door.	North Door.
Egloskerry, Cornwall ...	"Agnus Dei." ...	Dragon with tufted tail. ¹
Quenington, Gloucestershire .	"Crowning of the Virgin."	"Harrowing of Hell."
Beckford, " .	Large central cross, with animals on each side in adoration.	Ditto. ²

That the leading idea of the subjects carved on Norman tympana is borne out by the tradition that lingers in many churches, of their being placed over the "Devil's door," appears to be the probable one, associated as it was in many places with its being the entrance set apart for lepers, cagots, and other proscribed races. To the same cause may possibly be attributed the fact of so many of these doors being walled up at a later period. Akin to the same association was the prevailing feeling against burials on the north side of the church. Occasionally, similar subjects were found over the north door to those of the south one: thus an Agnus Dei is carved on the Norman tympanum of St. Michael Carhayes, Cornwall, and also on those of Preston and Uplesdon Churches, etc. (Bloxam, vol i, p. 90).

Although usually assigned to the Norman period, Dr. Dodds believes those sculptured with an Agnus Dei to belong to a much earlier date, basing his opinion on the decision of the Council of Constantinople in 692, "that the direct human representation of the Saviour was to be preferred to the symbolical, namely, to that of the Lamb hitherto adopted." As, therefore, the Parwich tympanum contains a figure of the Agnus Dei, he affirms it "must be more than a thousand years old" (*Reliquary*, vol. xxi, pp. 203-4). This opinion has been successfully traversed by several leading authorities; thus, Mr. Keyser remarks it to "be sufficiently refuted by many of the examples" of tympana with the Agnus Dei sculptured upon them, "which are not earlier than the twelfth century" (*Archæol.* vol. xlvii, p. 169). Mrs. Jameson notes "though the prohibition probably led to more direct representation of Christ, it certainly failed, even in the Eastern Church, and far more in the Latin,

¹ *Illustrated Archæologist*, June 1894, 11-2.

² *Archæol.*, vol. x, p. 129, Pls. vii, viii; Allen, pp. 278, 282.

to banish the favourite symbol of the Agnus Dei" (*History of Our Lord* ed. 1872, p. 337). Again, Didron, while recording the decree of the Council, "that in future the historic figure of Jesus Christ, the human countenance of the Son of God, should be substituted for the image of the Lamb," adds, that "notwithstanding this positive prohibition . . . the Divine Lamb was painted and sculptured quite as frequently as before" (*Christian Iconography*, Bohn's ed., vol. i, p. 332-3).

All the dated examples of Norman tympana recorded in Parker's *Glossary*, are comprised within the years 1120 and 1160, and this probably includes the period when the majority of churches were so decorated.

We now pass on to consider, and in alphabetical order, the various tympana and carved lintels belonging to the churches of Derbyshire, which are either preserved at the present date, or of which we possess any record.

Ashford-in-the-Water.—The church is dedicated to the Holy Trinity, and amongst the scanty remains of the first Norman edifice, and the sole one of importance, is a carved tympanum. This for many years had remained fixed on the exterior of the south wall; but in the alterations to the building in 1869-70, it was relegated to its original and present position over the south entrance door, where, as formerly, it is protected by a porch.

It consists of a semicircular slab of fine gritstone—a true semicircle, as the sculptured portion measures 5 ft. long by 2 ft. 6 ins. in height—and occupies the space between the arch and the square head of the door. The surface is rudely carved in shallow relief, and although much eroded by its long exposure to all vicissitudes of weather, the presence of a fracture, and the carving being only about half an inch in depth, the subjects represented are unmistakable as to their rendering.

The centre is occupied by a tree with a very straight stem, surmounted by large-leaved foliage, which "may fairly lay claim to the usually misapplied term of *Romanesque*" (Dr. Cox, vol. ii, p. 45). On either side of this, and facing each other, are two animals. The base of the stone is quite plain, but the semicircular portion has a shallow moulding formed of two flat curves. Inside

this is another, beaded in the centre, and projected inwards on either side above the backs of the animals, where they are confined by ligatures, passing which they expand into foliage of the same character as that on the tree. It has been suggested that birds are figured in the latter portion, but this is incorrect.

The animal on the left side is undoubtedly intended for a wild boar, but opinions vary as to the right-hand one. It has generally been regarded as a wolf, and is so recorded by Dr. Cox (vol. ii, p. 45), and also in Bateman's *Antiquities of Derbyshire*, p. 182. But Mr. Romilly Allen differs from this view, and appends the following explanation to a woodcut of the carved stone:—"Tree with wild boar on one side and a lion (?) on the other, on the tympanum at Ashford, in Derbyshire" (p. 377). Mr. Allen informs me it was made from a drawing and a rubbing. If, however, it be compared with the accompanying illustration, from a drawing by Mr. G. S. Ramsey, and verified by myself, an important difference will be observed in the animal's head; and whereas in the former the breadth is almost equal to the length, in the latter (as will be noticed) the length is much greater. A careful examination of the sculpture *in situ*, on several occasions, has led me to believe that the animal was intended for a wolf.

Prior to the last alterations in the church, there was a lintel over the chancel door, containing in the centre a carving much weathered. S. Lysons (in *Add. MSS.* 9463) figured it as a head; but in examining it, *circa* 1850, it appeared to me to be intended for a tree surrounded by a kind of garland. That it was Norman is fairly certain.

Bolsover Church, dedicated to St. Mary.—The chancel doorway is of the post-Reformation period, but above it is a tympanum, enclosed in its semicircular portion by an arch formed of several plain mouldings, apparently of a comparatively late date. The tympanum, like that of Ely, consists of stone blocks, and raised in relief is a figure of the Crucifixion, with a standing figure on either side. A beautiful woodcut of it will be found in the *Journal* of the Association, vol. vii, p. 318. On the

previous page is a suggestion that "it dates back to a very early period, probably anterior to the Conquest"; but, as remarked by Dr. Cox (vol. i, p. 100), "there seems no reason to assign it to an earlier date than that of the Norman period."

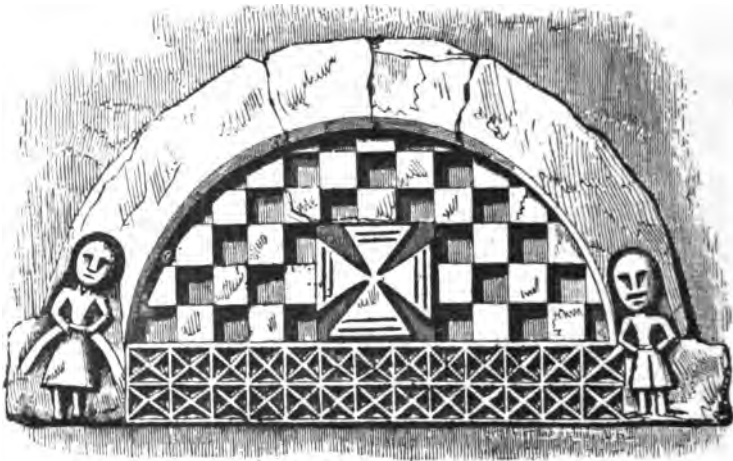
The representation is of especial interest, as, according to Mr. Keyser, "in sculpture there are very few representations of the Crucifixion earlier than the thirteenth century" (*Arch.*, vol. xlvii, p. 148), the symbol of the *Agnus Dei* being more generally employed.

Darley Church, dedicated to St. Helen.—Affixed to the west end of the tower (of the Perpendicular period) is a square stone carved with two fabulous animals: one, a winged wyvern. Another stone found in the churchyard contained portions of sculptured animals of a similar kind. They originally formed part of a tympanum or of a lintel (probably the latter, judging from the squareness of the stones). In the early part of the century, they were seen and sketched by the Rev. D. Lysons (vide *Add. MSS.*, 9463; cf. Dr. Cox, vol. ii, Pl. 7, facing p. 168).

Findern Church, dedicated to All Saints.—To make way for a new edifice, the old church was removed in 1862, and during the demolition a Norman tympanum, with the accompanying arch, was discovered in the north wall (so recorded by Mr. Jewitt, but Dr. Cox reports this to be a mistake, and to have been the *south* one: vol. iv., p. 314; and this is corroborated by the present vicar). The arch is formed of plain stones, excepting that on either side of its base a human figure, with arms akimbo, is rudely sculptured. The base of the tympanum is carved with two rows of a kind of fretwork (Mr. Jewitt likens them to "a variety of star ornament"). The semicircular space is filled with chequer-work, with sunken interspaces (it may have been intended for interlaced work), and bears in its centre a raised cross *patée* or *formée*: "of the same kind," remarks Mr. Jewitt, "as was borne by the De Fyndernes, with the difference of that in their arms being fitted at foot." This family "must have settled at this place at a very early date—probably from the time of the Conquest—and here they

continued until the family became extinct, in the middle of the sixteenth century" (*Reliquary*, vol. iii, p. 192). The stone is preserved in the present church.

Hault Hucknall Church, dedicated to St. John the Baptist (?).— Occupying an unusual position at the west end of the nave is a blocked-up doorway, with a semi-circular arch, formed of a single row of plain stones. Below this is a carved tympanum, supported by a large irregularly-shaped rectangular stone, also carved, and acting as a lintel; but whether it originally belonged to the present doorway is doubtful. The sculptures on the



Norman Tympanum, Findern Church.¹

stones have nothing in common with each other. Dr. Cox describes them thus: On the right of the tympanum "is a tall quadruped with a long tapering neck, somewhat resembling a giraffe; but the head terminates in a beak, and each of the legs in claws. The tail twists back between the legs and behind the back, above which it seems to terminate in a cross set in a circle. In the right-hand corner is another much smaller quadruped with ears. Down the centre of the stone is a Latin cross

¹ The author is indebted to Messrs. Bemrose and Sons, of Derby, for the loan of the illustrations of the Tympana at Findern, Normanton, and Parwich Churches.

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NORMAN TYMPANUM, HOCKLINTON CHURCH

with a long stem. On the left hand is a centaur, corresponding in size with the giraffe-like figure opposite; in one hand it holds a palm branch, with the other it grasps the cross." The "second oblong stone . . . is now in two pieces, but has evidently once formed a single block. To the right is a large winged dragon, with a protruding forked tongue. The tongue almost reaches an upright cross, on the other side of which is a man, bearing on his left arm a kite-shaped shield, and in his right hand an extended sword. Below his right arm is what appears to be another shield, resting on the ground" (vol. i, pp. 242-3).

Two points additional to the above account are worthy of attention. The first is that, according to Mr. Romilly Allen, the centaur has "a nimbus round the head" (p. 364; an excellent woodcut of the tympanum is given on p. 366). The second relates to the figure on the lintel. It is affirmed by the last-named writer (p. 274) in *Gentleman's Magazine* (1799, vol. i, p. 449), and in *Assoc. Arch. Soc. Reports*, vol. xii, p. 162, to be intended for St. Michael; but Dr. Cox makes no suggestion respecting it, possibly owing to the circumstance that the figure is destitute of wings, their absence serving to indicate the figure to be that of St. George.

Hognaston Church, dedicated to St. Bartholomew.—The Norman south doorway still retains its tympanum *in situ*. The latter is one of the most interesting in the county, owing to the number of figures it contains. Commencing from the west side, there is first a well-marked Agnus Dei with two birds above it. Then follows the full-length figure of a man, habited in a tunic reaching to the knees, and confined by a waist-belt; he holds a pastoral staff in his right hand, and a book in his left, which he presses close to his body. A tonsure is indicated by two projections above the line of the ears. Next in order are two animals, one above the other, the upper being certainly intended for a boar, while the lower is shaped something like a wolf, with a short tail, and apparently having the tongue projected towards the human figure. Behind these are two smaller animals, one above the other, whose identity is not very apparent.

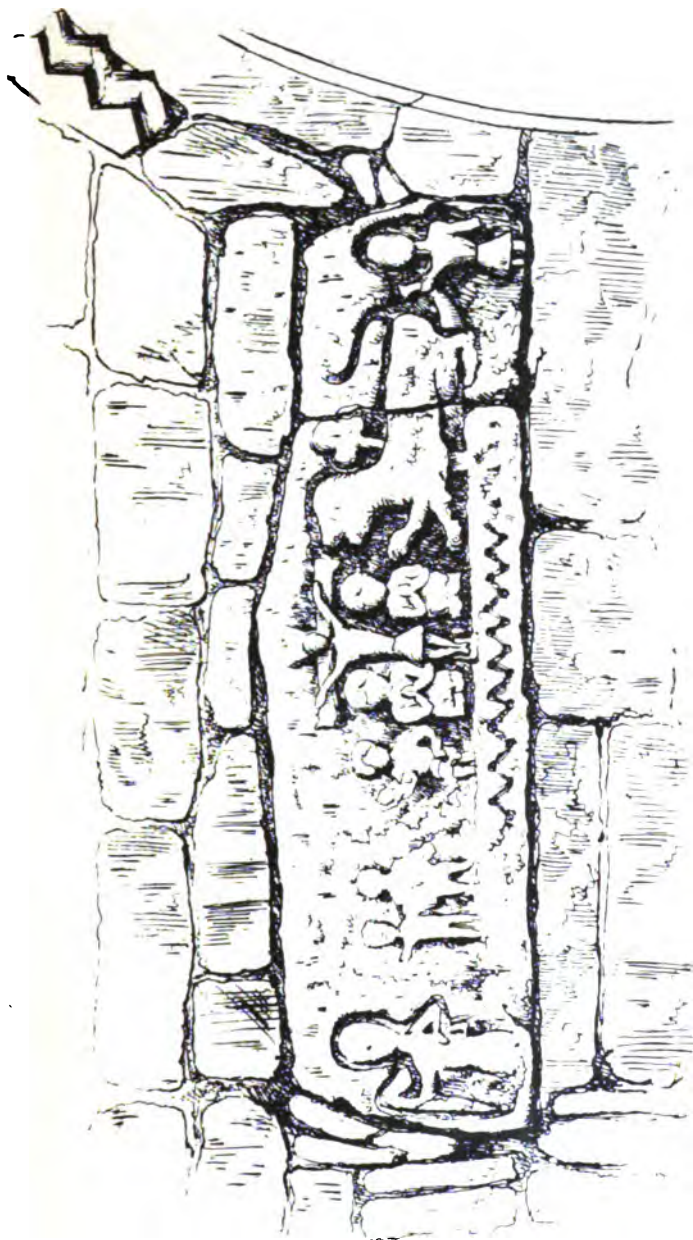
In the plate accompanying the description by Dr. Cox (vol. ii, p. 490), the birds are omitted, and only three animals are shown, the one below the boar being represented with a long, bushy tail, hence the reason for believing it to be a fox. (Of the two illustrations mentioned, the present Vicar of Hognaston informs me the one figured in Allen's work (254) is the correct one.

Mr. Keyser affirms the two figures above the *Agnus Dei* to be intended for "two mystic fishes;" but the accompanying photo-illustration shows them to be birds. The remainder he believes to consist of "a pig, two dogs, and a cow, calf, or other animal" (*Arch.*, vol. xlvii, p. 171.)

The only other remark to be made on this most interesting piece of Norman sculpture relates to the position of the crook on the pastoral staff held by the man (evidently an ecclesiastic). According to Dr. Lee (*Glossary*, sub 'Pastoral Staff'), the crook, being turned inwards in the Hognaston example, showed the figure to be intended for an Abbot, its direction being "to symbolize and indicate a confined and limited jurisdiction;" whereas in the case of a Bishop it was turned outwards, "to signify external jurisdiction." Now the figure believed to be that of St. Nicholas at South Ferriby holds the staff with the crook turned outwards; on the other hand, in that of St. Peter at Hoveringham, Notts, it is turned inwards (Allen, 314), so that its position cannot be relied on for determining the rank of the holder.

Kedleston Church, dedicated to All Saints.—Over the south door is a tympanum that "has at one time been covered with incised figures; but these have been worn away by the weather, and nothing can now be seen but the indistinct outline of a man on horseback blowing a horn" (Dr. Cox, vol. iii, p. 175). A sketch of this figure, by the Rev. D. Lysons, is in *Add. MSS.* 9463; and shows the left side of the sculpture to have disappeared. It also displays the peculiar and enriched classic ornamentation of the base.

Normanton Church, dedicated to St. Giles.—To make way for a new and larger building, the ancient church was taken down in 1861; and during the demolition a carved stone, that had evidently formed the lower



Norman Tympanum, Normanton Church.

portion of a tympanum (as indicated by the curved lines at each end, which showed that it could not have been

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Kedleston Church, dedicated to All Saints.—Over the south door is a tympanum that "has at one time been covered with incised figures; but these have been worn away by the weather, and nothing can now be seen but the indistinct outline of a man on horseback with a horn" (Dr. Cox, vol. iii, p. 175). A sketch of the figure by the Rev. D. Lysons, is in *Add. MSS.* 10.1.1. shows the left side of the sculpture to have been of the same height as the rest of the sculpture. It also displays the peculiar and enriched ornamentation of the base.

Normanton Church, dedicated to St. Giles.—The church was taken down in 1861; and during the process of rebuilding, carved stone, that had evidently

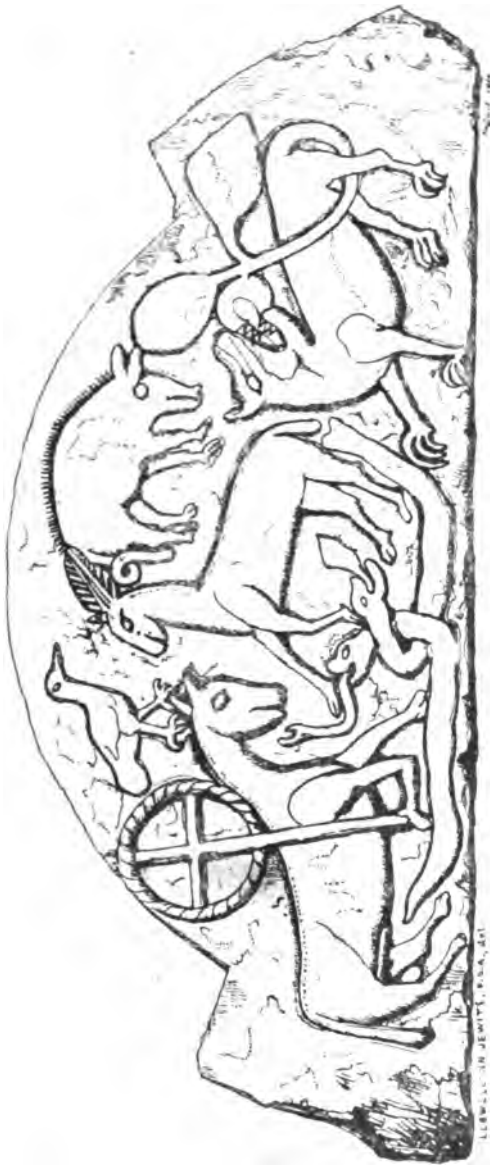


St. Paul's Church.

intended for a lintel), was found let into the wall adjacent to the south doorway. A full account of the destroyed fabric appeared in the *Reliquary*, vol. ii, pp. 1-10, with many illustrations, including a page one of the tympanum. In the centre is sculptured the Crucifixion, with a figure on each side, with several others to the left. On the extreme left is a rude figure holding a staff (pastoral?); while in a corresponding position on the opposite side is a similar one with a horn in the right hand. Between the latter and the central bas-relief is an animal of large size, with an article on its back, possibly intended for an Agnus Dei. At the base is a zigzag ornament. The two terminal figures resemble those on the tympana of Findern and Tissington (*cf.* Dr. Cox, vol. iv, p. 162; and *Arch.*, vol. xlvii, p. 168).

Parwich Church, dedicated to St. Peter.—When the original Norman church was removed in 1872, to be replaced by a larger building, a tympanum was found above the south doorway (at least, so it is stated by Ll. Jewitt; but Dr. Cox affirms it to have been the north one). It was sketched by the former in the same year; and was described by him in the *Reliquary*, vol. xxi, pp. 201-4, with a full-page illustration; and when discovered was “so coated with plaster and whitewash that it presented a plain surface.” The circumference has an irregular outline, owing to the projection of the end portions, which is apparently due to some of the upper semicircular part having been cut away.

The principal figure on the left side is an Agnus Dei, the cross being supported in the usual conventional manner. At first sight it might be mistaken for a horse, and, indeed, Dr. Cox so designates it; but notwithstanding its abnormal size when compared with the other animals, there can be little doubt it was meant to represent a lamb. Above, and resting upon it is a bird, and below, two serpents intertwined, and with projecting tongues. In the centre is a stag with antlers, above it a boar, and on the extreme right is “a wolf with a strangely foliating tail” (*cf.* Dr. Cox, vol. ii, p. 410; and R. Allen, p. 254). The boar is represented with its back to the Agnus Dei, whereas in the Hognaston sculpture it faces it.



Norman Tympanum, Parwich Church.

Scarcliffe Church, dedicated to St. Leonard.—The tympanum of the south doorway is “ornamented with a variety of geometrical patterns, arranged with much

caprice. The surface is divided into small squares, filled in with various devices, the intersection of diagonal lines, two intersecting triangles, etc. (Dr. Cox, vol. i, p. 322).

Shirley Church, dedicated to St. Matthew.—Dr. Cox records that “in the outside masonry” of the present north wall, “is a quaintly-carved stone bearing an incomplete representation of two quadrupeds and some foliage . . . no doubt . . . a portion of the Norman tympanum which was at one time over the principal entrance into the church” (vol. iii, p. 274). From a rubbing of the kindly supplied by the Vicar (Rev. W. R. Linton), it is square, about 2 ft. by 1 ft., much weathered, and is probably a portion of a lintel. It contains rudely-carved figures of one large bird and six quadrupeds, varying greatly in size.

Stanton-by-Bridge Chapel, dedicated to St. Bride (?).—The walls of a farmhouse in this parish, the site according to tradition of a former religious house, contain fragments of sculptured stone of the Norman period, and on one, which “has evidently been a tympanum . . . is the figure of an animal (probably a fox), but so rudely carved that it is impossible to ascertain precisely what the sculptor intended to represent” (*Journal of the Association*, vol. viii, p. 153). We have the authority of Dr. Cox that “this stone, which is only 30 ins. long, has undoubtedly been the upper stone of a small doorway, probably the priests’ door of the chapel” (vol. iii, p. 472).

Swarkeston Church, dedicated to St. James.—In Lysons’ *Derbyshire* (p. 220), published in 1817, this church is mentioned as containing a rude sculpture “in bas-relief within the circular arch” of its south doorway. This disappeared many years ago, and is believed to have been destroyed during the restoration (*sic*) of the church in 1828. The only known sketch of it that has been preserved is that of the Rev. D. Lysons, in *Add. MS.* 9463, where it is described as “two monstrous animals biting at a tree, under their feet a serpent,” and the diameter of the stone is shown to be 5 ft. The tree occupies a central position, and the animals, with wide open mouths, face each other on either side of it. The

lower half of the stone is filled with a simple arcade work of five plain arches, and the inner border of the semicircular arch is scalloped.

Tissington Church, dedicated to St. Mary.—The tympanum still remains in its original position over the south doorway. In its principal features it presents a striking resemblance to the one at Findern. The curious human figures at the base of the arch are similar, excepting that in the former the tunic in each case reaches to the heels. The arch has a carved moulding, somewhat indistinct as to pattern, but the inner part is apparently an oblique zigzag, and the base has a double fretwork. The main portion of the enclosed space is covered with chequerwork, five of the squares being crossed with diagonal lines, so as collectively to form a cross, a little to one side of the central line (*cf.* Dr. Cox, vol. ii, p. 449).

Whitwell Church, dedicated to St. Lawrence.—Over the chancel door is a rectangular lintel, about 3 ft. 6 in. long and 1 ft. wide, and sculptured with an animal of uncertain kind, having a tail of conventional form, and tufted: accompanying it are three circles inclosing six-rayed stars. An outline sketch is included in *Add. MS.* 9463.

Willington Church, dedicated to St. Michael.—Dr. Cox notes that over the south door is "a tympanum partly carved in squares, with intersecting lines" (vol. iv, p. 437). Judging from a photograph and drawing kindly furnished by the present Vicar (Rev. T. G. Strong), the stone is greatly exfoliated. The lower two-thirds are occupied by lozenge-shaped compartments, and as the centre is more eroded than the rest, it may have contained a small cross, similar to the Findern one. There are indications of some figures in the upper third, possibly of an Agnus Dei, as at St. Clement's Church, Sandwich (W. Boys, *History of Sandwich*, 1712, p. 287). Separating the two portions is a single line of fretwork, like that in the Findern example.

The most unsatisfactory part of this subject is soon discovered, when any attempt is made to explain the meaning of the various representations sculptured on the tympana. At the onset it would seem probable they might

frequently refer to the saint to whom the church was dedicated; for example, one containing the figure of an ecclesiastic occupying a central position on a tympanum at South Ferriby Church, Lincolnshire, is stated by C. E. Keyser to be intended for St. Nicholas, the patron saint of the church (*Arch.* vol. xlvii, p. 163), and one held "in special reverence by the Normans." He cites another at Little Langford, Wilts. (*Ibid.* 176). Again, Brinsop Church, Herefordshire, dedicated to St. George, has St. George and the Dragon on the tympanum. And at Fordington Church, Dorsetshire, dedicated to the same saint, the sculpture represents St. George fighting the Saracens. On the other hand, in many instances where the carving undoubtedly refers to St. George, the dedication is to some other saint, as in an example at Pitsford Church, Northampton, which is dedicated to St. Mary. None of the scenes represented on any of those contained in the Derbyshire churches enumerated, appear to bear any reference to the patron Saint.

Some religious symbols and scenes bear their own interpretation, one of the most simple being the figure of the Agnus Dei without adjunct of any kind, found in several Cornish churches; but more usually associated with other animals and objects. Again, the representation of Christ in Glory, where our Saviour occupies a central position, within a vesica-shaped aureole, supported by angels, etc., although absent from the carvings yet remaining in Derbyshire churches, was a very favourite subject, the most notable and beautiful example being that at Ely already noticed. As belonging to the same class, the representation of the Crucifixion discovered in taking down the old church at Normanton demands special mention.

All symbols of this character which served to remind the worshipper of the basis of his faith, were generally placed over the south entrance-door; on the other hand, subjects relating to evil usually occupied a position over the north door. The discontinuance of these carved representations after the latter part of the twelfth century, was probably owing to the increasing practice of decorating the interiors of churches with fresco

paintings of scenes from Scripture, figures of saints, etc.; that of St. Christopher being the most frequent.

Two of the Derbyshire tympana, viz., those of Findern and Tissington, present features of especial interest. Very similar to each other in the details of their carving, the essential part in each is the figure of a cross, placed centrally. After a careful examination of some other similar carvings, Mr. C. E. Keyser arrived at the conclusion as to their principal interpretation being probably "a direct memorial of the consecration of the church." In the case of one at South Ferriby, Lincolnshire, described by him, in which an ecclesiastic (St. Nicholas?) bearing a pastoral staff, appears to be represented in the act of blessing two large crosses, one on either side, he concluded the sculpture to convey two meanings: 1. "A special blessing by the patron Saint to the church dedicated to his honour;" and 2. "The adoration of the Cross" (*Arch.*, vol. xlvii, p. 178). Perhaps the largest representation of a cross of this character is that on a tympanum over the south door of Haltham Church, Lincolnshire (*Lincolnshire Notes and Queries*, vol. iv, p. 163). All crosses of this kind have equal limbs, and are frequently accompanied by cross- or star-like ornaments, as at South Ferriby, but the Findern and Tissington examples are destitute of any. That they relate to the consecration or the dedication of the church where they are found is the legitimate conclusion of the researches of Mr. Keyser. In the illustration of the Tissington example, the cross is shown to be placed on one side of the centre, and is due to the circumstance of there being an even number of squares in the horizontal row at the base, so that the centre is occupied by a vertical line dividing two contiguous rows of squares. This indicates the stone to have been fixed in its destined position prior to a cross being delineated on it, and appears to confirm the opinion of Mr. Keyser. When it was deemed necessary to contain the figure of a cross, diagonal lines were incised on five chequers (three vertical, and one on either side of the middle one) to the left of the median line. No similar difficulty was experi-

enced at Findern, as the cross, placed centrally, formed a portion of the original design.

Another peculiarity in these two Derbyshire tympana demands our attention, viz., the curious human figures that in each example occupy the lower portions of the arches. They differ but little from each other, excepting that in one females are apparently intended, as their skirts extend to their ankles; while in the other they may be meant for males, as they are wearing short tunics. They probably have some esoteric meaning, as in Findern Church there was found a corbel sculptured with two similar figures, the lower extremities of both being continued under the stone at right-angles to the rest of the body. A corbel discovered at Normanton Church contained two similar figures carved on the face of the stone.

In many of the sculptures a tree occupies a central position; the form of it is occasionally symmetrical, but more frequently the reverse. Sometimes it stands by itself, as at Siston, Gloucestershire, where it is shown to have five branches, each terminating in a trefoil head (*Reliquary*, vol. vi., New Ser., 1900, p. 54). In this and other instances it is termed the "Tree of Life." One is represented on the font at Callington Church, Cornwall (Rev. S. Baring-Gould, *Book of the West*, 1890, vol. ii, p. 102). In the majority of examples a four-footed animal is depicted on either side of, and looking towards, the tree, as at Ashford and Swarkeston; sometimes of a dissimilar but more frequently of a similar kind. Although at Dinton, Buckinghamshire, their heads are like those on the Swarkeston tympanum, they have wyverns' bodies; and are exhibited as eating the fruit as it hangs on the tree (Lysons' *Buckinghamshire*, Pl. 35, and p. 486). Ordinary quadrupeds with large round heads (as of the feline species) characterise the animals on either side of a symmetrical tree at Treneglos, Cornwall (*Ill. Arch.*, June, 1894, p. 13). In a singular carving at Stoke-sub-Hamdon, Somersetshire, a centaur ("Sagittarius") is on one side of the tree and a lion on the other, each with his back to it (a good illustration of it will be found in the volume of the *Somersetshire Archaeological Society*, for 1871). On some

fonts a tree of the same kind, with Adam and Eve standing on either side of it (the tree of knowledge), is displayed.

It is worthy of note that in none of the examples alluded to is there any indication of adoration or reverence, such as is shown where a cross occupies the centre of the field, as at Little Paxton, Huntingdonshire (*Arch.*, vol. xlvii, pp. 166-7), and Beckford, Gloucestershire (Allen, p. 261).

In relation to the tree at Treneglos, Mr. Allen remarks: "it has been suggested that the idea may have been taken from the tree of Nebuchadnezzar's dream (Daniel, iv, 12); or the vine brought out of Egypt (Psalms lxxix, 13) A tree with beasts placed symmetrically on each side of it, was a religious symbol amongst the Assyrians. This may have degenerated into meaningless ornament in classic times, and have been revived again with a new Christian significance attached to it in the Middle Ages (*Ill. Arch.*, vol. ii, p. 15).

As already pointed out, the Agnus Dei is often represented by itself, but at other times has "the most incongruous surroundings," as in the tympana of Parwich and Hognaston, where animals are seen in the act of adoring it.

Passing on to comment on the figures of ordinary animals, we may first allude to the boar, as it is more frequently represented than any other, and can always be recognised without difficulty. Of this the representation at Ashford may be cited as a good example. Whenever an assemblage of animals, whether in a hunting scene or not, is sculptured on a tympanum, the boar is almost certain to be one of the number. It is rarely exhibited alone, but an exception at St. Clement's Church, Ipswich, is well illustrated in the *Journal* of the Association (vol. i, 1846, p. 146). The curious difference in the position of the animal in the tympana of Parwich and Hognaston respectively, has been already noted.

According to Dr. Dodds, it "symbolises the Gentile or Heathen, etc."—*Ps.* iv, 2 (*Reliquary*, vol. xxi, p. 203); and this somewhat resembles the statement of Mrs. Jameson, that "the hog was the representative of

sensuality and gluttony" (*Sacred and Legendary Art*, 1876, vol. ii, p. 750).

The next to notice is the wolf; and at the onset it is remarkable that Mr. Allen does not include it amongst those "which can be identified on sculpture previous to the year 1200" (p. 386), and the sole allusion to it in his work is in a quotation from Northcote and Brownlow's *Roma Sotterranea*, in the account of the catacomb of St. Callixtus, "where Susannah and the Elders are shown as a lamb between two wolves" (p. 22). This demands a little enquiry, as it would be singular if such a well-known denizen of the great forests of England during the Norman period were unrepresented by sculptures, while the wild boar was a common subject with them.

The great midland forest of England, formed by the forest of Macclesfield, the Peak forest, and the high Derbyshire moors, was in early times much infested by them. They could not be killed under severe penalty, as they were reserved for sport, although when their number became excessive they were mercilessly slaughtered: lands being held by certain families for this special service. Moreover, kings and rulers were "proud of bearing the name of the animal, as an attribute of courage and ferocity." Hence such names as "Ethelwulf, the Noble Wolf," "Berthwulf, the Illustrious Wolf," etc. (Harting, *Extinct British Animals*, Introduction, and article "Wolf," pp. 115-205).

Reasons have already been mentioned for believing the animal on the right side of the Ashford carving to be intended for a wolf, and one of the animals figured on the font at Dearham, Cumberland, is very similar to it (Lysons' *Cumberland*, p. 194). Dr. Cox recognises the figure of a wolf on the tympana at Parwich and Hognaston; but in these instances Mr. Allen makes no suggestion as to their identity.

In many Norman carvings, animals, whether ordinary or fabulous, have their tails conventionally represented as passing between their hind legs and curving upwards above their body, of which some good examples are depicted in the *History of Adel*, by the Rev. H. T. Simpson. Much variation is exhibited in their mode of termination.

At Parwich, the wolf's tail ends in three leaf-like lobes : this is explained by Dr. Dodds as "biting one of the leaves of the Trifolium or Shamrock, which is an emblem of the triune Jehovah, and to be a very fit symbol of "the persecuting spirit of the Jew" (*Reliquary*, vol. xxi, p. 204).

The only figure of a fox mentioned by Mr. Allen as represented in any early sculpture, is that over the Norman doorway at Ane, Yorkshire (p. 386). It is absent from Derbyshire tympana, the one said to be carved at Hognaston being evidently due to a mistake in the drawing. Although the lion is not to be seen on any of the Norman doorways that yet exist in this county, the subject is a fairly common one in other places, especially in connection with Scriptural scenes. Daniel in the Den of Lions was a favourite one, the number of animals ranging from two at Shalfleet, Isle of Wight (Englefield's *Description of the Isle of Wight*, 1816, Pl. 14), to four on a cross at Meigle, Perthshire, and seven at Moone Abbey, Ireland (Allen, pp. 218, 220). Although apparently a simple illustration of a well-known incident in Scripture, yet, according to Mr. F. E. Hulme, "there was the recognition also of the general deliverance from the evil of those who trusted in the God of Daniel" (*Symbolism in Christian Art*, 1892, p. 176). Of the Shalfleet example, Bloxam suggests it may have been intended for "David combating the lion and the bear" (vol. i, p. 90).

The sculpture at Stoke-sub-Hamdon, Somerset, contains the unmistakable figure of a lion, as it is lettered "Leo" (page illustration in *Journal of Somersetshire Archæological Society*, vol. xvii), and is of importance, as pointed out by Mr. Allen, for showing "the way of representing the animal in the twelfth century. At this period the mane of the lion is very highly conventionalised, being drawn with a large number of small tufts curled up at the end" (p. 383). But these tufts were certainly not restricted to the lion, as they are shown on the neck of the left-hand animal in the sculpture at Down St. Mary, Devonshire, which has a dragon's head. Again, the two wyverns on the Dinton carving each possess these curled

appendages (Lysons' *Bucks.*, p 486). It is noteworthy that all ordinary quadrupeds sculptured on Derbyshire tympana represent those which formerly occupied the forests of the county during the historic period.

Of the various symbolical meanings of the lion in Norman sculptures there is an interesting account in Mr. Allen's work, derived from ancient bestiaries (pp. 242-3); also in Mrs. Jameson's *Sacred and Legendary Art*, vol. i, p. 27. Didron shows that the lion was, as the type of Judah, occasionally employed as the symbol of our Saviour instead of the Lamb (*Christ. Icon.*, ed. Bohn. vol. i, p. 341).

The stag, Mr. Allen remarks, "is of very frequent occurrence on Celtic crosses," but is less common in Norman sculpture, in which "the wild boar takes the place of the stag" (pp. 375-6); nevertheless, at Parwich, both of these animals are carved on the same slab.

Birds of doubtful species are often among the subjects carved, and are almost invariably associated with other animals. Their assigned symbolism seems to depend much on their number, which varies from one to three. At Parwich, one appears to rest upon the Agnus Dei, and looks in the same direction: possibly, in this case, it is intended for the Holy Spirit; and the same applies to one resting on the limb of a cross, which is being adored by two quadrupeds, carved on a stone over the south door of Beckford Church, Gloucester (Allen, pp. 144, 261). At Hognaston, two birds are looking towards the Agnus Dei, and bending their heads, as if in the act of adoration. At Stoke-sub-Hamdon, three birds are perched on a central tree; while at Little Langford, Wilts., a similar number are resting on a four-branched tree, which latter has been likened to an anchor; in the accompanying description it is alleged to be "evidently allegorical, and may perhaps represent the Trinity, as the anchor of Christian faith" (*Journal of the Association*, vol. vi, Pl. 9, p. 84).

Fish are occasionally represented, but are absent from the tympana of this county. That of Hognaston is said to contain the figures of two; but they are more probably intended for birds.

Hunting scenes (except where the wild boar is the subject of the chase) are uncommon. The lintel below the tympanum at Little Langford, just described, contains the representation of one being attacked by three dogs (*Ibid*, Pl. 9). Another, now so greatly defaced by time as to obscure the details, is thus alluded to by Mr. Baily in his account of the Priory Church, Tutbury: On "the stone tympanum . . . is a curious carving . . . representing a wild-boar hunt: a man upon horseback is attacking the huge monster with a spear, whilst one of the dogs has seized hold of the snout and another of the leg of the animal" (*Ibid*, vol. vii, pp. 393-4).

It is to be regretted that the equestrian figure of a man blowing a horn, sculptured on the tympanum at Kedleston Church, is not susceptible of a satisfactory explanation, as all the accessory parts which would have thrown some light upon it are obliterated. A horn of similar shape is held by the right-hand supporter on the Normanton sculpture. It is possible that the former is a portion of an ordinary hunting scene; but there is even a greater probability it relates to a hawking one, judging from the carving on one of the compartments of the font in Lostwithiel Church, Cornwall, which exhibits a man on horseback, blowing a horn held in his right hand, while a hooded hawk rests on his left one: in front of the horse is a dog. On the next compartment, the Crucifixion is delineated (*Lysons' Cornwall*, p. 234).

Animals of a fabulous or of a nondescript kind were favourite subjects with the early ecclesiastical sculptors. Of the former, the dragon was by far most frequently represented; and, as the Agnus Dei was the emblem of the good principle, so the dragon personified all that was evil. As stated by Parker, "the dragon and the devil have generally a synonymous meaning," the effigy of Satan being occasionally substituted for the former (*Calendar of the Anglican Church*, pp. 67, 112, 343; cf. *Symb. in Christ. Art.*, F. E. Hulme, p. 111).

The dragon receives frequent mention in the Bible; and (*sub* Job, xxv, 29) Dr. Kitto affirms it to be "the best that could be chosen to represent the Hebrew word," which is variously rendered by the terms: whales,

dragons, serpents, sea monsters, etc.; and "may be imagined not to denote any particular animal, but to be a general word for any strange or prodigious creature: answering, perhaps, to our word 'monster.'"

Several authors have remarked that the Normans probably took their idea of the dragon from the remains of extinct Saurians. Although the animal is almost invariably termed a dragon, it is usually depicted as having only two legs, and a long lizard-like tail, and should be designated a wyvern, "the dragon having four legs, the wyvern but two" (R. Holme, *Acad. of Armory*, Bk. II, p. 209).

In a large proportion of the sculptures the fabulous animal is shown in conflict, "and the dragon slain and vanquished by the power of the Cross is the perpetually-recurring myth, which, varied in a thousand ways, we find running through all the old Christian legends . . . but, as the clouds of ignorance darkened and deepened, the symbol was translated into a fact" (Mrs. Jameson, *Sacred and Legendary Art*, p. 26).

St. Michael battling with the dragon was a common subject with the early and mediæval painters; but prior to their era it had been carved by the Normans on their churches. It was probably based on one of the earliest legends, in which the Spirit of God was shown to overcome the Spirit of Evil; and Mrs. Jameson, among other illustrations of this contest, gives one of "a carving in white marble on the porch of the Cathedral of Cortona (about the seventh century)" (*Ibid.*, pp. 102-3). A very early representation of this encounter appears on a slab at St. Nicholas Church, Ipswich, and is remarkable for being inscribed in Saxon characters (translated): "Here Saint Michael fights against the dragon" (*Journal of the Association*, vol. i, p. 146). This is termed by Mr. Allen "the oldest and most interesting example in Norman sculpture" (p. 273). Similar scenes occur at Hoveringham, Notts (Allen, p. 163); Morton Valence, Gloucester (S. Lysons, *Gloucester Antiq.*, Pl. 10, p. 36), and on a lintel at Dinton, Bucks. (Lysons' *Bucks.*, Pl. 35). In all of these examples the saint is depicted with wings.

Although St. George was not acknowledged to be

the patron saint of England until after the synod of Oxford in 1220, his effigy was carved on Norman tympana long prior to that meeting. "His popularity . . . during the Middle Ages is well attested by a hundred and sixty-two churches being named in his honour alone" (*Cal. of Angl. Ch.*, p. 65), as well as being selected for so many public-house signs. Excepting in the example already noted, where the equestrian figure of this saint is represented as fighting the Pagans, he is almost invariably the subject of his legendary fight with the dragon. It appears to be frequently difficult to decide whether the figure is intended for St. Michael or for St. George: the presence of wings is a sufficient proof of the former, but their absence, in the opinion of some authorities, does not prove the latter. Mr. Allen remarks: "Sometimes the figure armed with sword and spear fighting the dragon, has no wings, so that it is doubtful whether he is intended for St. Michael or for St. George, but I think probably for the former, as St. George is generally on horseback" (pp. 273-4). This opinion is of interest with reference to the lintel at Hault Hucknall, which, according to Mr. Allen, is intended to delineate St. Michael, but in this the present writer ventures to differ, and for these reasons: 1. St. George is frequently represented on foot, as on a Normal capital at Bury St. Edmunds (*Journal*, of the Association, vol. i, p. 244), and another at St. Bees, Cumberland (*Reliquary*, New Ser., vol. vi, 1900, p. 130); on the chancel arch at Steetley, in this county (Dr. Cox, vol. i, p. 401); on a sepulchral monument at Coningsborough, Yorkshire (Allen, p. 270); and on the following fonts: Pitsford, Northants. (Bloxam, v. 8, p. 88); Alphington, Devon (Paley's *Baptismal Fonts*); Thorpe Arnold, Leicester (Simpson's *Baptismal Fonts*, where it is designated St. Michael and the Dragon); 2. the absence of wings; 3. the figure wearing a helmet; 4. the presence of a cross between the combatants, not being found in any of the scenes with St. Michael.

The Hault Hucknall tympanum exhibits a nondescript animal on the right side (the only Derbyshire example); and on the left a female centaur, apparently the only one yet recorded, the male being frequently sculptured

by the Normans, and in several instances is labelled "Sagittarius" (Allen, pp. 234, 255, 332, 362-7).

When we endeavour to attach any explanation to the various sculptures, many difficulties present themselves in the greater proportion of them. It is true that some bear their own interpretation, such as the figures of saints to whom the church is dedicated; crosses of dedication; typical emblems of the Saviour, either as seated in Glory, or under the form of the Agnus Dei; types of evil like the "harrowing of hell," etc. Also certain scenes from Scripture history, of which Daniel in the lions' den and the Crucifixion are the most frequent; and some generally accepted legends, as St. Michael and the Dragon, St. George and the Dragon, the Crowning of the Virgin, etc.

An attempt to give a Scriptural interpretation to the Ashford typanum was made by a former Vicar who, when it occupied a position on the exterior of the south wall, had a tablet fixed immediately below it, containing this inscription: "The Boar out of the wood doth waste it, and the wild Beast of the field doth devour it" (Ps. lxxx, v. 13). Akin to this was the suggestion of Major H. Rooke, that the one at Hault Hucknall probably referred to "some passage in Scripture" (*Gentleman's Magazine*, June, 1799, p. 449).

When discussing some of the Derbyshire examples, Dr. Cox essayed to cut the Gordian knot with the suggestion: "If these figures are intended to have any allegorical or other meaning, beyond the fact of being, perhaps, emblematical of the power of the cross, we must confess that we are completely puzzled. But comparing it with sculptured stones of a similar date, and in similar positions, which we have elsewhere seen, we imagine that the subjects merely arose in the caprice of the artist and the capabilities of the stone" (vol. i, p. 243). A less decided opinion was entertained by Mr. Keyser, when remarking that the symbolism of these Norman carvings "still remains a great puzzle to archæologists, from the absence of all evidence which could tend to explain the many curious subjects represented" (*Arch.*, xlvi, pp. 162-3).

Where such eminent antiquaries have failed to explain

the hidden mysteries of these stones, it might appear a hopeless task to pursue the subject further ; we, however, cannot resist the feeling that the object of the Normans cannot have been a meaningless one, although the rendering may not be apparent at the present day. In this Mr. Allen appears to coincide when stating : " All these uncouth creatures which the Norman sculpture delighted to portray have a sacred meaning, *if we only knew what it was*" (*Illust. Arch.*, vol. ii, 1894, p. 14).

Restricting our remarks to the tympana of this county, one cannot fail to notice the preponderance of ordinary animals compared with those of the fabulous kind represented elsewhere ; a fact thus emphasised by Mr. Allen : " The best group of animals with which I am acquainted are on the tympana at Hognaston and Parwich, Derbyshire, and on the font at Melbury Bubb, Dorsetshire " (374). Local circumstances and local legends may have contributed to this end ; and it is reasonable to believe that, situated as were so many of the churches within or on the borders of the great Midland forest of early times, which were occupied by beasts of the chase, like the wild boar and the wolf, animals much feared by the sparse inhabitants of the district for their ferocity, they were represented over the church doors, either as types of evil, or as showing by their adoration the power of the cross. In both cases they would appeal to the eyes of the ordinary worshippers, from the originals being well known and feared by them.

Two other explanations by modern writers cannot be passed over ; thus Mrs. Jameson remarks, ' When other wild beasts, as wolves and bears, are placed at the feet of a saint attired as abbot or bishop, it signifies that he cleared waste land, cut down forests, and substituted Christian culture and civilisation for paganism and the lawless hunter's life : such is the significance in pictures of St. Magnus, St. Florentius, and St. Germain of Auxerre (*Sacred and Legendary Art*, p. 28). This is equally applicable to tympana as to sepulchral monuments.

Again, the Rev. S. Baring-Gould records of St. Piran—the patron saint of the ' lost church ' of Perranzabuloe

—that he “established a monastery at Saighir, in the extreme north of Munster. The legend is that his first disciples were a boar, a fox, a badger, a wolf, and a doe. And in this we have an instance of the manner in which simple facts assume a fabulous character in the hands of late writers. The district was that of the clan of Hy Sinnach, *i.e.*, the foxes; an adjoining tribe was that of the Hy Broc, or the badgers; an Ossorian disciple was regarded as *Os*, *i.e.*, a doe, and his wolf was no other than one of the Hy Faeladh, which has a double meaning of ‘hospitable’ or ‘wolfish;’ another disciple was S. Torc, and the name means ‘boar’” (*Book of the West*, 1899, vol. ii, pp. 220-1).

Of these four different attempts to explain a single subject represented in the sculptures, one may be applicable to one place, and another to another. In any case, they will serve to show how much the whole subject is worthy the earnest consideration of antiquaries; and, though in the present state of our knowledge conjecture holds a chief place, yet probably many of the sculptured riddles of the Norman artificers may ultimately be unravelled. As leading to this accomplishment, there should be an investigation of all local legends, more especially of any relating to those saints to whom the church was originally dedicated; of legends and tales associated with the early history of the monastic orders; of the emblems of saints; and especially by following up the comparative examination of the older bestiaries, already pointed out by Mr. Allen in his admirable work on *Christian Symbolism*; who, in another place, has forcibly remarked, “the eternal conflict between the good and evil principle underlies a great deal of the symbolism of the Middle Ages” (*Ill. Arch.*, vol. ii, p. 15).¹

¹ See pp. 100, 101, for Dr. Birch’s remarks on the significance of the Signs of the Zodiac on the tympanum of the Church of Stoke-sub-Hamdon, Somerset





Proceedings of the Congress.

(Continued from p. 196.)

FRIDAY, JULY 21st, 1899.

THE members and visitors started about ten o'clock, in dull and hazy weather, for a long drive of thirteen miles to Castleton, which was reached about 11.45. In clear weather, the view across Hope Dale must be magnificent; but to-day there was much mist, and the head of old Mam Tor, the "shivering mountain," was wreathed in cloud. A stiff climb up the zigzag path brought the visitors to the top of the precipitous hill on which the Castle of the Peak is situated. Here, in the Castle yard, Mr. Blashill took his stand, and told the history of the Castle, and described its remains. The Castle is very simple in plan, and the little that is known of it has been gathered from various sources. Mr. St. John Hope has recently discovered information not known to Mr. Hartshorne when he described it. The earliest record of a castle here is in *Domesday*, but before that date the manor belonged to two Saxons, Gundeburn and Hundine. William the Conqueror conferred the manor, with about sixty miles of surrounding country, including Peak Forest, upon his favourite and natural son, William Peverel, who possessed in Derbyshire fifty-five lordships, called "the Honour of Peverel." There may have been some kind of building on this site before the Conquest, as "herring-bone" work may be noticed in several places in the surrounding walls, and built up in the walls of the present keep are fragments of mouldings from an earlier building, but of this there is no documentary evidence. The present castle is of the late Norman period, *temp.* Henry II. In the *Expense Rolls*, the building of the keep is mentioned under date 1176-7—above £49 was expended. The castle does not appear to have been much inhabited by the Peverels. In the *Pipe Rolls* is mentioned the payment, annually for many years, of £4 10s. for two watchmen and a porter. With the rest of his vast possessions

in Derbyshire and other counties, the castle was forfeited to the Crown by William Peverel the younger, grandson, not son, of the first Peverel, in the time of Henry II. Here that monarch received the homage of Malcolm, King of Scotland. A considerable portion of the outer wall of circumvallation remains, but the present late Norman keep stands at one corner instead of in the centre of the enclosure, which seems to point to the existence of an earlier Saxon fortress on the same spot. A very beautiful external nook-shaft, of slender proportions, with fine Norman caps and mouldings, remains on the south-east corner of the keep, and a corresponding shaft, the top of which is gone, on the south-west corner, and a corbelled-out *garderobe* overhanging the precipice. There is a circular staircase at the south-east angle. The interior of the keep is now open to the sky, but it does not appear to have had more than two floors. The entrance doorway, high up in the wall, with a double arch and the traces of the staircase by which it was approached from the exterior, are distinctly visible. The greater part of the ashlar facing has been removed, and is said to be embodied in Castleton Church. The keep itself is built upon the edge of a precipitous cliff over 250 ft. in depth, and is a quadrangle in plan. Almost the whole area of the summit of the hill is occupied by the castle yard or bailey, the entrance gateway being at the eastern end; very little remains of it. Mr. W. J. Andrew, of the Numismatic Society, and a keen local antiquary, asked by Mr. Blashill to make some remarks, said:—

“In supplementing Mr. Blashill’s address, I think it worth while to call attention to a passage in Henry of Huntingdon’s preface to his *Chronicle*, in which, speaking of the four wonders of early Britain, he says, ‘one is that the winds issue with such great violence from certain caverns in a mountain called the Peak that they eject matters thrown into them, and, whirling them about in the air, carry them to a great distance.’ This, though an exaggerated statement of fact, must clearly refer to the great cavern of the Peak, and to the pass in which it lies, viz., the Winnets. ‘The Winnets’ is a corruption of ‘Wind Gates,’ and in its name we see the corollary of the ancient legend. I agree with Mr. Blashill that there is no evidence of a castle having been here prior to the Conquest, and the ‘herring-bone’ masonry in the outer wall was probably the work of Saxon artificers employed by the first Peverel soon after that event. The true date of the foundation may be taken approximately as 1068, when, as Ordericus tells us, William ‘surveyed the most unaccessible points in the country, and, selecting suitable spots, fortified them against the enemy’s incursions.’ This was on his journey into Yorkshire, when he built the Norman castle

at Nottingham, and entrusted it to William Peverel. The Castle of the Peak and the Burg of Nottingham are mentioned in *Domesday* as being held by William Peverel, and seem to have been a joint *feu* forming part of 'the Honour of Peverel' from 1068 to 1154. Without wearying you with many details, I would venture one or two arguments against the commonly-accepted propositions that Peverel was the natural son of the Conqueror, and that his son was the famous William Peverel of Stephen's time, who fought at Northallerton and Lincoln, and was ultimately outlawed on a charge of poisoning Ranulf, Earl of Chester, in 1154. In 1068, when the King entrusted the important stronghold of Nottingham to the first Peverel, he was himself but forty years old, and therefore any son of his would be absurdly young for such a responsibility. No chronicler speaks of Peverel and his three brothers as being William's sons, and the supposition seems to rest entirely upon the charter to Lenton Priory, which Peverel dedicated to King William and Queen Matilda, to William II, to Henry I and Maud his consort, and William and Maud their children, and to Adeline, his own wife, and William his son, and all his other children. If he had been William's illegitimate son, he would hardly have included Queen Matilda. It is, however, possible that his wife Adeline may have been one of the numerous children of William and Matilda, as to whom there is much uncertainty in our chronicles: for, as she was certainly living in 1130, seventeen years after the death of her husband, she was presumably considerably the younger. This would account for the dedication to the royal family in preference to Peverel's own ancestors; but it does not necessarily follow that he was a relative of theirs at all, for he may have merely wished to remember them as his benefactors. The date of the Lenton charter must have been between 1104, the date of the birth of Prince William, and 1108, that of the death of Gerard, Archbishop of York, one of the witnesses, and it is usually accepted as 1105. But the true date must be 1108, for Simon de St. Liz, another of the witnesses, was absent at the Crusades from 1101 to that year. The first Peverel, who was Dapifer to both Rufus and Henry I, died in February 1114, and as William *and all his other children* are mentioned in the 1108 charter, it is unlikely that William Peverel II was then an infant. This Peverel was, however, living in 1130, for the *Pipe Roll* refers to and describes Adeline as the mother of William Peverel. But in the year 1138, Ordericus speaks of the then Peverel as 'the *young* William surnamed Peverel', which rather implies that he had but then recently succeeded to his father's honour; and it is certainly impossible to accept 'the young William' as the one mentioned in the 1108 charter, and the son of the Peverel who received

Nottingham Castle in 1068; for, as he was living in 1154, and probably for some years afterwards, it would assign nearly a century and a quarter to the lifetimes of the father and *eldest* son. Nor would the description, Young William, meet the case of one who had then been in possession of the Honour of Peverel for twenty-four years. Thus, he was probably son of William Peverel II, and I suggest had, in 1138, but recently succeeded to the family honours. The old tradition of the great tournament at the Castle of the Peak, in which Warine de Metz won the hand of Mellet Peveril and the Honour of Whittington, receives some corroboration in the fact that Whittington is mentioned by Orderic as one of the castles fortified against Stephen in Peverel's rising of 1139. The downfall of the family, in 1154, seems to have been complete, for, though six Peverels are mentioned in the 1130 *Roll*, not one appears in the 1156 accounts. In the latter year, "Frogerus," Archdeacon, returns the accounts for Eyam of the land formerly William Peverel's at £140 per annum; and when we remember that Froggart Edge is still the name of the range of hills overlooking and bounding Eyam, I think we have at least discovered the origin of that very puzzling word, Froggart or Froggatt."

In one of the rooms of the hotel at Castleton, where the members lunched, Mr. Stirling, of Chapel-en-le-Frith, had laid out for the inspection of the members a considerable collection of curiosities recently unearthed in the neighbourhood, consisting of some examples of Roman pottery, Samian ware, cinerary urns, and a large number of bones, both human and animal. With a hurried peep into the church, which possesses but little of interest beyond some fine old carved pews of the seventeenth century, the party left Castleton for Hope, where the church was described by Mr. Charles Lynam, F.S.A., in the following Paper.

HOPE CHURCH.

Dr. Cox's "*Churches of Derbyshire*" make ecclesiology easy in this county. Few items are to be found not noted by him; indeed, in some cases he has more to tell of than now exists, owing to restorations carried out subsequent to the date of his book. This occurs in the case of the church of Hope, which has been restored during the incumbency of the present Vicar, under whose influence the chancel was also rebuilt. The careful preservation of a number of early and late grave-slabs testifies to the desire to deal with these memorials in a conservative manner. It would be vain to repeat here what Dr. Cox has fully described; but there are one or two points of an architectural character which warrant notice. The prominent feature of the church is the tower and spire. At first sight this would be attributed to

Early English design, mainly on the ground of the broach spire, but excepting this feature the details are of the Decorated period. Here then is a local difference in respect of this important feature of the treatment of the junction of tower and spire. The only other church with tower and spire at the west end which the Congress will visit is at Taddington, and there again this local peculiarity of a broach spire of the Decorated period occurs. To a stranger in this district, another striking peculiarity is the great height of the nave arcades, and this exists both at Hope and Taddington. In the former church it came about in Early English times, as is indicated by the respond pier on the north side against the tower, and at Taddington in the Decorated period. The second story to the south porch, with its octagonal turret at the north-east corner and little niche over its south doorway, add effect to the west end of the church, particularly when seen grouped with the tower and spire. One of the charms of this little church is its perfect harmony with the surrounding landscape, which it not only graces, but to the beauty of which it greatly adds. This is one of the churches, too, which the squires were pleased to adorn, early in the seventeenth century, with framed oak pewing of excellent carpentry and quaint carving. Samples of it remain in the present wainscot to the chancel walls, and in the pulpit, on which an inscription styles the incumbent, Thomas Bocking, "Teacher," and gives the date 1652. One of the chairs in the chancel is dated 1664, and bears the lettering, "Ex torto ligno non fit Mercurius." On the north wall of the chancel is fixed a small brass of unusual workmanship, in that the enrichment upon it is not incised only, but has a figure in full length which is hammered so as to be in relief. It is to the memory of Henricus Balguy, and part of its inscription runs:—

"Wained from the world, upon it yet I peepe,
Disdaine it, weepe for sinne, and sweetly sleepe."

Leaving Hope, the party proceeded to Hathersage, stopping on the way for a few moments while the Rev. W. Fyldes pointed out the site of the Roman Camp at Brough, from which the Roman road known as the *Bathumgate* (*i.e.*, "Way to the baths," in good Anglo-Saxon) goes in a direct line to Buxton. Reaching Hathersage, the church was described by Mr. Blashill. It is a finely-proportioned church, mainly of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The caps of the columns of the south arcade are of the eleventh century. The Vicar, Rev. G. F. Cutter, B.A., gave some interesting particulars of the Eyre family, mentioning the tradition that the name is derived from the circumstance that the founder of the family loosened the Conqueror's visor

at Hastings, so giving him "air," when nearly suffocated on the field. This founder came over with William, and the name was originally Lufto, but was changed by the Conqueror to Eyre in memory of this service. Lufto was shot by an arrow through the thigh, and lost his leg; hence the leg and thigh were adopted as the armorial bearings of the Eyre family. The church bells are interesting, the oldest being a sanctus bell of the fifteenth century. The church is also rich in heraldic brasses, of which Mr. A. Oliver described the magnificent Eyre brass in the chancel. The visit to the church being concluded, Mr. I. C. Gould conducted the party over the ancient earthwork. This is circular, and consists of a high rampart with a moat outside. Unfortunately, the fragmentary condition of the work renders it impossible to speculate with any degree of plausibility as to the date or origin. In Hathersage churchyard, close to the earthwork, is shown the grave of "Little John," 10 ft. 6 in. long.

At the evening meeting, the three concluding papers of the Congress were read. The first paper was by Mr. John Ward, on "The Discoveries of Mr. Micah Salt, of Buxton," and was read, in his absence, by Mr. G. Patrick, Hon. Secretary. This Paper is published in this part of the Journal, pp. 209-226.

Mr. Andrew Oliver followed with a paper on "The Monumental Brasses of Derbyshire," in which a full description was given, and a rubbing shown, of every brass now existing in the county. These are 71 in number: 5 ecclesiastics, 21 figures in armour, 7 civilians, 32 ladies, and 6 miscellaneous.

The Rev. H. J. Dukinfield Astley, Hon. Editorial Secretary, read a paper on "Jet and Cannel Coal Ornaments and Slate Implements." This paper was abundantly illustrated by large drawings and plans of the Dumbuck Crannog, and by implements of stone and slate, and ornaments of cannel coal, etc., lent by Mr. Donnelly; and was published in the present volume, pp. 164-188.

SATURDAY, JULY 22ND.

The archæologists to-day divided into two parties, one party driving to Ashford and Taddington, the other visiting the ancient encampment at Black Edge and Coombs Moss. At Ashford Church, Dr. Brushfield, F.S.A., read the accompanying Paper descriptive of the building.

ASHFORD CHURCH.

The little village of Ashford, or, as it is now generally called, Ashford-in-the-Water—a comparatively recent term—must always

have been deemed of importance, owing to its situation in the first considerable expansion of the valley of the Wye, from the time of that river quitting the Buxton basin. Its name sufficiently betrays its Saxon origin—the ford of the Ash. Many places in England are named after this tree, and Derbyshire possesses a fair share of them. In the *Domesday Record* Ashford, under the designation of Aisseford, is included in the list of royal manors; and in its vicinity are the Berewites of Oneash (Aneise) and Monyash (Maneis).

The church—the special object of our visit to-day—consists of a tower, nave, chancel, north aisle, and south porch. At starting it is somewhat disappointing to learn that, owing to serious defects in the foundations, the outer walls, those of the tower excepted, were rebuilt on their original site about the year 1870; and yet much of interest remains for the consideration of the ecclesiastical antiquary.¹

No church is recorded here at the time of the Domesday Survey, but we must bear in mind the latter was not intended to contain a catalogue of churches, but only to note those “which the Crown had to look to for payment of some kind, either in services, rents, or produce, . . . notwithstanding the vast quantity of land held by the Church at the period;” and although Bakewell is noted to have had two priests and a church, there is fair evidence of the existence of many at the time the volume was compiled that are not mentioned in it.

Long previous to the Norman Conquest, Ashford formed an important centre for the wants of the mining district situated in its immediate vicinity, and in the *Domesday Book* it is recorded to have one lead work (“*i plumbaria*”). Other places in the neighbourhood, Bakewell, Darley, Taddington, and Monyash to wit, had Norman churches, and from this alone we might fairly conjecture that one existed at Ashford during the same period. But we possess direct evidence in its favour: the first and principal is a semicircular stone tympanum, carved with rude figures, and evidently of Norman work, now occupying its original position over the south door, where it was refixed in 1870, after an absence of many years.² Next there is a corbel, sculptured with a grotesque head supported by two hands, apparently of late Norman work, now utilised to support one of the

¹ This paper is based mainly on a ground plan and series of elevations of each face of the church, made by Mr. Medland Taylor, architect, of Manchester, in 1867, prior to its reconstruction, which, together with a photo-illustration, were kindly lent by him for the present purpose; supplemented by information supplied by the Vicar, the Rev. J. R. Luxmoore and his son Mr. J. S. Luxmoore, together with the writer's own knowledge of the church during the last sixty years.

² A full description of this tympanum is contained in the Paper printed in the present volume, pp. 241-271.

principals of the chancel roof ; but prior to the late alterations, served as a bracket, not many feet from the ground, at the end of the north aisle, on its north wall. Also five small square stone blocks with grotesque heads carved on them, which were found embedded in the old walls at the time of their being taken down : now placed over the tympanum of the south entrance. Lastly, over the chancel door was a gritstone lintel bearing a rude sculpture in its centre, and belonging to the same period. (This has not been preserved.) To this we may add the authoritative opinion of Dr. Cox, "that one existed here in the twelfth century" (*Churches of Derbyshire*, vol. ii, p. 45).

The dimensions of the church, before the alterations, were briefly : Nave, 37 ft. 6 in. by 20 ft. ; north aisle, 37 ft. 6 in. by 14 ft. ; north chantry 16 ft. by 14 ft. ; chancel, 30 ft. by 17 ft. ; vestry, 15 ft. by 14 ft. 6 in. ; and the tower, 9 ft. square. Thickness of the walls : Nave, 3 ft. to 3 ft. 6 in. ; aisle, 2 ft. 6 in. ; chantry (south and east), 1 ft. 6 in. ; chancel (east end), 4 ft. ; the remainder, 3 ft. ; vestry, 3 ft. ; and the tower, 3 ft. to 3 ft. 6 in. The aisle pillars have each a diameter of 2 ft., excepting the eastern one, which is 3 ft. by 2 ft. All the walls that were taken down were formed of rubble limestone, with dressed quoins. Excepting in the greater length of the chancel, these dimensions bear a close approximation to those of the present church at Hognaston, and the former ones at Normanton and Parwich, all three of the Norman period.

The present structure probably represents the main features of the original Norman edifice, which we may accept to have consisted of a nave, extending from the tower at its western end to the existing chancel, which then would be much shorter than now. There would also be a south and a north door of entrance, each having a sculptured tympanum.

In the middle of the fourteenth century, increased accommodation was obtained by the erection of a north aisle, and the substitution of an arcade of three pointed arches for the original north wall. These arches, with the pillars (three entire and a half one) supporting them, all of fine gritstone, possess the main characteristics belonging to small churches altered or erected during the Decorated period of English architecture, of which Derbyshire affords many examples. They have apparently been undisturbed from the time of their erection. The pillars are plain octagons, each alternate face terminating in a simple curved-stop chamfer above the plain square base ; while their slightly-expanded capitals have plain round mouldings. The arches springing from the latter are slightly obtuse, are double-faced, double-recessed, and have chamfered edges.

The tower is situated at the west end of the nave; and "is of a style which makes it difficult to ascribe it to any particular period" (Dr. Cox). It is a very plain, massive structure, with walls from 3 ft. to 3 ft. 6 in. thick, built of random courses of limestone, with very large gritstone quoins. It is 40 ft. high, and has two string-courses; the upper one is about 37 ft. above the ground level, and is of debased form. Immediately surmounting it is a battlemented portion, formed of large blocks of coarse gritstone, with a debased pinnacle at each corner—all of a late period. The west front is pierced at its lower part by a small two-light window, with rudely-pointed double head cut out of one stone; what kind of inner splay it had originally is doubtful, as it was altered at the time when the window was filled with stained glass. On each face of the upper part is a small two-light window, giving light to the belfry. They are circular-headed, the heads formed in one irregularly-shaped stone: their inner splay is very trifling. The lower string-course, situated immediately over the west window, is chamfered above and below almost to a point.

The tower opens into the nave by an arch supported by demi-pillars of the Decorated period, similar in mouldings and general character to those of the north aisle, excepting that the arch is formed of a single ring of chamfered stone and is equilateral. This portion is only 1 ft. 3½ ins. in depth, and is placed in front of the main support of this side of the tower, which consists of a plain Pointed arch, formed of large undecorated blocks of stone about 2 ft. thick, and set 4 ins. behind the former. This is the sole entrance to the tower, and there is no access to the bell-chamber except by an ordinary ladder. Standing beneath it, the arch is seen to be out of the perpendicular, and to lean considerably to the west; and this, no doubt, was the occasion of a dwarf buttress being erected in the centre of the west face of the tower, just below the west window. It is built of large blocks of gritstone, and is of comparatively late date. The general absence of buttresses, with the single exception just noticed, taken in connection with the particulars above described, led Dr. Cox to assign the construction of the tower to the latter end of the twelfth or the commencement of the thirteenth century. Another fact favours this view: the west wall of the nave is 1 ft. wider on the north side, evidently due to the circumstance of the arches separating the nave from the aisle being 1 ft. less in width than the original wall, which was thrown into the nave space.

The nave terminated at the third pillar to the east, which is considerably larger than either of the others, and is strengthened by a piece of walling on its southern aspect, 3 ft. wide, which acted as a

buttress. A similar projection corresponded to this on the inside of the south wall, the inner face of each being continuous with that of the contracted chancel. In the same line with these projections a buttress was planted against the south wall. There can be little doubt as to the explanation of all this extra strength. We learn from the testimony of observers, that in the angle behind the present pulpit, that is to say, at the junction of the wide part of the nave with the chancel, where the wall was originally much thicker than the rest on the south side (on the plan made in 1867 it is about 8 ins.), several steps leading to the rood-loft were found *in situ*. From this it is evident the original chancel commenced at this spot, that an arch probably separated it from the nave, and that a screen, with its upper structure of a rood-loft supporting the rood and attendant figures, formed the line of demarcation between the two portions of the building. This is further corroborated by the chancel floor being elevated 6 ins. above that of the nave, commencing at this spot.

The general appearance of the rood-loft, chancel arch, and aisle pillars at this period would probably be similar to that of All Saints' Church, Sherringham, Norfolk, of which an illustration is given in *Illustrations of Monumental Brasses* (Camb. Camd. Soc.), 1846, facing p. 6.

The north aisle appears originally to have ended in a line with the chancel arch and step, but was subsequently extended eastward for about 13 ft., the intervening wall between it and the aisle being removed. This must have taken place some time after the erection of the latter, but during the same period (Decorated), as without any manifest reason, its northern boundary was 1 ft. less in thickness than the rest of the wall. Moreover, a wide opening was made into the chancel, and a skew arch thrown over it, which rested on the east pillar of the arcade and a demi-pillar on the chancel wall, the latter following the line of the arch. This was owing to the chancel being 2 ft. less than the nave on that side, and the skew acted as a kind of flying buttress to the thrust of the aisle arches. The mouldings of the skew-arch, etc., were of the same general character as those of the aisle, although they varied much in their details. A porclose screen no doubt separated it from the chancel.

In his *Churches of Derbyshire*, Dr. Cox has related at length the history of the manor of Ashford, and that a chantry was founded in this church in the year 1357, by the son of the Welsh chieftain, to whom King John had granted the manor in 1200. This must refer to a chantry that existed in the century prior to the construction of the north aisle; but whether the one just described was founded on the

same or on some other endowment history is silent, nor do we possess any additional particulars respecting it. Possibly the erection or re-erection may have been one of the results of the Great Pestilence known as the "Black Death," which ravaged England in 1348-9. Of those who escaped, some appear to have given themselves up to profligacy; while, on the other hand, it stimulated the religious enthusiasm of many, of which a marked example is cited by Dr. Cox (vol. iv, pp. 35-9); and the formation of the second chantry, soon after the addition of the north aisle, may have been one of its outcomes.

The original Norman chancel was probably only about half the length of the present one, and was extended simultaneously with the erection of the chantry: this appears to be shown by the early buttress situated close to the chancel door, marking the extent of the first Norman structure. A further extension was evidently made at a much later period, as a break existed in the masonry 6 ft. 6 ins. from its eastern termination, the wall for that extent being 9 ins. less in thickness than the adjacent part. Moreover, the supporting buttresses, one at the south east angle and two on the east wall, consisted of large stone blocks similar to that of the tower, instead of limestone, rubble, and gritstone quoins, as in the older portions of the buildings. The floor of the chancel was, and still remains, 6 ins. above that of the nave and chantry; and the entrance door, square-headed and of late construction, had a carved lintel of early date already alluded to. No trace of piscina or of sedilia were discovered when the former walls were taken down.

The windows, removed during the restorations of 1869-70, afforded no clue to the period of their construction. On the south side of the nave there were two of three lights each, set in square frames, and with hood mouldings. Three of a similar character, but without the latter moulding, were in the north wall. Some early windows had been built up, while others, of a plain churchwarden kind—one of large size near the east end of the nave—were inserted in several parts. Of those that yet remain from the former building, the two small ones in the west wall of the tower poorly represent the beautiful kind of a later date. The large east window was inserted in the middle of this century, and was probably a replica of the original one.

We may fairly assume the early roof to have been an open and high-pitched one, and to have been lowered very considerably during the Mediæval period.

A gallery was erected across the west end of the church in 1755, as we learn from an inscription on a panel recording the names of the donors towards its construction, where it is termed a "loft." It

extended to the first pillar in the nave, and was occupied on the south side by the singers; by the instrumentalists (subsequently by an organ) in the centre, while the north part was open to any of the congregation. Access to it was obtained by a staircase, leading from a doorway left in the built-up opening into the nave from the tower, and which occupied a portion of the base of the latter. The ringers were then accommodated with a separate entrance to the ringing chamber through a doorway made in the south face of the tower.

Judging from the style of the external work, the old south porch was removed about the time when the gallery was erected, but its square-flagged floor remained for many years afterwards. A new entrance doorway, fitted with large doors, was substituted for the porch, and the Norman tympanum was transferred to the exterior face of the adjacent wall. According to a local tradition, one of the villagers having, from some cause unknown been offended, left the place, and swore he would never return until the porch was removed to the Hill Cross Top. Singularly enough, the old materials were taken there, and were utilised in the construction of some farm buildings: this bears a close resemblance to those idle tales that originate after the occurrence.

In 1837 a vestry was built at the end of the chantry and alongside the chancel, into which a door of access was made. There is no history, or even tradition, of an earlier one; and yet there must have been a sacristy for the officiating priest, and probably on the site of the modern one.

Some remains of fresco work were found on the wall above the aisle arches during the building alterations. In the early part of the last century, some coats-of-arms in stained glass were recorded to have been seen in one of the windows; they were thought to belong to the Ferrers family, but Dr. Cox assigns them to the Nevilles (vol. ii, pp. 49-50).

A period of about 550 years—a very long one in the history of a church—intervened between those portions of the edifice assigned to the Decorated period and the year 1869, when the reconstruction commenced. Of the progressive changes that took place we know but little, and even that is of a fragmentary character.

There is a local tradition of the stones required for the repairs or for the enlargement of the church during the fourteenth century having been obtained from the demolition of the castle or structure that stood formerly in a field (now usually known as the Hall orchard), adjoining the north boundary of the churchyard. It is further asserted that the Norman tympanum already described was removed

to the church from this building, an assertion that scarcely needs refutation. According to the Rev. R. R. Rawlins (*MS. Coll.*, quoted by Dr. Cox), the castle was the residence of the Nevilles, and "was demolished to build the chapel where it now stands;" but this must be an anachronism, inasmuch as the Nevilles did not possess the property until 1408, when it passed from them to the Cavendish family in 1550. There is no reason to believe the demolition of this structure took place earlier than the sixteenth century, and whatever stone was needed for the alteration or repairs of the church after that time may have been supplied from this source. That repairs to the main walls were frequently made, their extremely patched condition afforded ample evidence.

Local historians affirm the "castle" to have been surrounded by a moat; but, judging from the earthwork still remaining, the residence was a small one—it may have served as a kind of hunting box—and the so-called moat was simply the site of the old foundations, which had been taken away for the sake of the stone, the excavations not having been filled up again. In fact, while any portion of the building remained, it served as a quarry to the neighbourhood; and Greatbach Hall, a large house erected in the early part of the seventeenth century and still remaining in the village, is said, with much probability, to have drawn much of its building material from this old house of the Nevilles.

In addition to the main walls being rebuilt in 1869-70, the following alterations were effected: the church was re-pewed; the roof raised to about its former pitch; the gallery was taken away, and the arch between the nave and tower was fully exposed to view; a new organ was placed in the north chantry; the doorway in the south face of the tower was walled up; a new porch was erected, and the tympanum was relegated to its original position; and in front of the skew-arch of the chantry another was built in the same plane as the chancel wall, and thereby the latter was able to be made in a continuous straight line. Stained glass was fitted into the east window, and in 1878 a beautiful one, from a design by the late Sir E. Burne-Jones, was placed in the west window of the north aisle to the memory of Mr. J. G. Cottingham.

The font (probably of the Decorated period) is of octagonal shape, with a plain shield in each alternate panel. Its shaft, also octagonal, is enlarged in the centre, like the knop of a chalice; the lower part is modern; the upper is remarkable for having carved upon one face the head of a dead animal, of a dragon or lizard shape, and on the opposite one a curved tail of the same animal: apparently symbolical of the

influence of baptism over sin. Although dragons are occasionally sculptured on fonts, as at Youlgreave, this is the only instance yet recorded where the animal is represented as imbedded in the stone-work. Like many other fonts in the county, of which Dr. Cox has recorded several similar examples, this one has had its vicissitudes. In the latter part of the last century it was sold by the churchwardens to a gentleman residing a few miles distant, as an ornament for his garden, its place being supplied by a small one of alabaster. At a later date, the owner was asked to restore it to the church; to which he generously acceded, and on its return it was fitted with a new lower part of the shaft. It is figured in Plate 12 of the *Journal* of this Association, vol. xii (1856).

One of the special features of the church consists in the presence of five funeral garlands suspended from the roof-timbers of the north aisle; but a description of these will be found in the paper on the subject, printed in the present volume of the *Journal* (pp. 54-75), so that further notice of them here is unnecessary.

The pulpit is of oak, and contains much carving of the Jacobean period. Of the bells there are three ordinary, and a small Sanctus one: the latter is quite plain; of the others, two are of the early part of the seventeenth, and the third of the eighteenth century. (They are fully described by Ll. Jewitt, in the *Reliquary*, vol. xii, p. 242.) Some of the bell customs are worth noting: the curfew is tolled at 8 p.m. from November 5th to Shrove Tuesday. As the congregation were leaving the church on Sundays, the bell was rung once or twice, "to tell them to get the puddings out of the oven." The "pancake bell" is still rung (on the Sanctus bell) on Shrove Tuesdays at 11 a.m., and has been from time immemorial. The Passing bell is also used.

As in a large number of English churches, the path to the south door passes between an old yew tree on the west, and the old cross, or what remains of it, on the east side; of the latter, the lower part of the shaft and the remnants of three tiers of steps are all that have been preserved. The only memorials in the churchyard that require notice here are (1) of the Rev. John Ashe, a well-known Nonconformist minister, who died in 1735; and (2) of Henry Watson, who established the celebrated marble works in the parish in 1748.

The earliest register that has been preserved is dated 1688.

TADDINGTON CHURCH.

This church, dedicated to St. Michael, was next visited, and was described by Mr. A. Scrivener, of Hanley. He said: "Taddington

Church consists of western tower, with simple broach spire, nave, with north and south aisles, forming almost a square in plan ; a recently-built south porch, and a chancel, with modern vestry and heating chamber, on the north side. Dr. Cox, in his *Churches of Derbyshire*, says of it that "no part of the present edifice appears to be earlier than the fourteenth century, and was probably built by the Cotteril family, holders of the manor in that century." Since Dr. Cox wrote this, the church has undergone restoration, which has brought to light, by the removal of plaster and whitewash from the inner face of the walls, and by the lowering of the floor, clear indications of an earlier structure. The east wall of the tower has a plinth on its eastern face for a portion of its length, and over the tower arch is clearly seen the old line of the earlier nave-roof, which sprung from a much lower level than the present roof, and was high-pitched ; and, further, the west respond of the south arcade has an earlier base, and the lower part of the jamb is middle thirteenth-century work, as are also the stones of the arch springing from it, and of the west arch also. In the south wall of the chapel, at the east end of the south aisle, is a piscina of the same date, and the jambs and the sill of the window in the north wall of the chancel, together with a small opening seen only on the inside of the same wall, high up above the floor ; and the walls surrounding these are of the same date probably. It would seem, therefore, that when the rebuilding took place in the fourteenth century, the thirteenth-century west end was retained, with the respond above mentioned, and part of the north wall of the chancel ; and the small window was that of an anchorite's chamber, but it must have fallen into disuse then, as outside the walling is all of the fourteenth century.

"The church is an interesting one, and is a rich example of fourteenth-century work, having fine, square-headed, two-light windows in the north and south walls, with bold, simple, moulded jambs both inside and out, and a fine five-light east window, with rich three-light eastern windows to the aisles, that of the north aisle having had later Perpendicular tracery inserted and the form of arch altered ; and similarly the windows next to these in the north and south walls were altered in Perpendicular times by the insertion of Perpendicular tracery. The caps and bases to the arcade piers are well moulded.

"The floor levels are curious, owing to the fall of the site, and are no doubt as originally arranged ; the nave floor falls to the east 7 ins. in its length, and the chancel floor is level with it. The tower floor is two steps up, and the north doorway is four steps up.

"The eastern ends of the north and south aisles were respectively the

Priestcliff and Blackwall chapels, and corbels for statues are built in the walls, as also in the chancel walls.

"Traces of the mortice-holes of the rood-loft timbers are seen in the chancel-arch jambs.

"There is a late stone book-rest in the north wall of the chancel, and Dr. Cox mentions similar ones at Crick and Spondon in the same county.

"Built in the south wall of the chancel are three projecting slabs of stone, quite plain, under an ogee-shaped moulding, the object of which is obscure.

"At the east end of the south aisle is a brass to Richard and Agnes Blackwall and family, which Dr. Cox describes as follows: 'He is wearing civilian costume of the commencement of the sixteenth century, and from his mouth proceeds a scroll bearing the words, *Fili Dei miserere mei.*' The costume of the lady is interesting, as it represents her in conventual dress. This brass was put up when she lived, but was a widow. It was not uncommon for a widow to take 'religion', and become a mourning widow.'

"The remains of a post-Reformation wall painting have again been brought to light on the west wall of the nave, which was mentioned by one who saw it in 1827, but since that time has been lost to sight under whitewash, until the restoration of the church a few years back.

"The tower and spire were taken down, but rebuilt with the old stones in 1872.

"The registers date from 1640; and there are three bells, one bearing an inscription in very fine lettering as follows: ✠ CVSTOSS ✠ ÑEARÜ ✠ MICHAEL ✠ IT ✠ DVX ✠ ÆIARÛ. Which Dr. Cox amplifies into 'Custos Sanctus nostrarum Michael it dux animarum.'

"A part of what was probably an early thirteenth-century holy-water stoup has been placed in the porch, after being rescued from the Inn near the churchyard, where it was used as a washing-up sink.

"In the churchyard is an interesting shaft of a cross of probably very late Norman work."

The weather was very wet, but notwithstanding that drawback, the second party, which formed a goodly number, under the guidance of Mr. Bryden and Mr. I. C. Gould, journeyed to Dove Holes, and visited what is locally known as the Bullring. Mr. Gould said there could be little doubt that this circle was of exceedingly early date. It was not used for the purposes of defence, as the fosse was within the ramparts. It was similar to that at Arbor Lowe, and appeared to be of about the same area, but had been robbed of its circle of stones, if it had possessed one, as was probably the case. This relic was of

great value, though known by the misnomer of the Bullring. Mr. Gould impressed upon those he was addressing the great desirability of the circle being preserved from threatened destruction.

Notwithstanding the heavy rain and the mist which enveloped the hills, the ladies and gentlemen of the party then proceeded to view the ancient British fortification on Coomb Moss. The ascent of Coomb Moss, which is 1670 ft. above sea level, was fairly well made, considering the weather conditions; but in some places, towards the summit, the approach is rather treacherous. The length of the fosse and ramparts is 547 ft. It was suggested by Mr. Gould that this curious work was of the Celtic period, and that the Celts threw a double rampart across the one weak side, nature having provided a precipice on all other approaches. On the weaker side there were two great ramparts of earth, thrown across with fosses. The original entrance appeared to have been at a precipitous corner at the east side. The difficulty of deciding upon a date for this work was increased by the fact that, at some subsequent period, a trench had been cut straight through both ramparts, and might have been the work of the Romans, or of recent users of the summit for purposes of drainage. The features of interest were pointed out, as well as could be, to the party, under distinctly unfavourable weather conditions; and then the return journey was undertaken.

The concluding meeting was held in the Town Hall at 3 p.m., when the usual votes of thanks were unanimously passed to all the officials and others, to whose cordial co-operation the success of the Congress was due: special mention being made of Mr. W. R. Bryden, F.R.I.B.A., the indefatigable local secretary, by whose untiring efforts and genial *bonhomie* the pleasure of a most delightful gathering had been greatly enhanced; and the members dispersed with mutual congratulations upon a most pleasant and successful Congress.





Proceedings of the Association.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 16TH, 1900.

DR. W. DE GRAY BIRCH, LL.D., F.S.A., IN THE CHAIR.

The following Member was duly elected :—

Joseph Fox Sharpe, Esq., The Park, Hull.

The thanks of the Council were ordered to be returned to the donors of the following presents for the library :—

- To the Cambrian Archæological Association, for "Archæologia Cambrensis," April, 1900.*
- „ Society of Antiquaries, London, for "Proceedings," vol. xvii, No. 2, 2nd Ser. ; and "Archæologia," vol. lvi, Part II.
- „ Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-on-Tyne, for "Archæologia Aeliana," Part LIV.
- „ Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, for "Journal," March, 1900.
- „ Stockholm Society of Antiquaries and Artists, for "Journal," Part I, 1899.
- „ Société des Antiquaires de la Morinie, for "Les Chartes de Saint-Bertin," vol. iv, 1899.

Mr. Patrick, Hon. Secretary, announced that the Congress would be held at Leicester, under the Presidency of the Marquis of Granby, commencing on July 30th and concluding on August 4th.

Mrs. Day exhibited some old engravings, mostly relating to Gloucestershire, and some photographs of Coxford Priory, illustrative of the Paper by the Rev. H. J. D. Astley, on "Two Norfolk Villages," read by him at a previous meeting.

Mr. Andrew Oliver exhibited a miscellaneous collection of antiquities, recently found by him in an old bag.

Mr. Bamford brought, to illustrate the Paper of the evening, some very charming pen-and-ink drawings of Barking and the neighbourhood.

The Rev. W. S. Iach-Szyrma then read his Paper upon "The Site of London beyond the Border a Thousand years Ago."

An interesting discussion followed the Paper, which will be published. Archdeacon Stevens, Dr. Winstone, Mr. Gould, and others took part. Referring to the well-known lines of Chaucer, quoted in the Paper—

“ And Frensch sche spak ful faire and fetysly
After the scole of Stratford atte Bowe,
For French of Parys was to hire unknowe”—

the Chairman said there was probably a colony of French from Paris settled at Stratford, engaged in some handicraft, like the Spitalfields weavers, who would speak the French of Paris, which would contrast either favourably or otherwise with the French as spoken by the prioress; but the Rev. H. D. Astley thought the poet was rather



Marie Antoinette, Queen of France.

referring to the Norman-French spoken by the prioress, which by that time was already degenerating into a mere *patois*, like the modern Jersey-French; and it was at this that Chaucer and some of his contemporaries sneered. The author of *Piers Plowman* speaks of “Frensch of Norfolk.”

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 6TH, 1900.

THOS. BLASHILL, ESQ., V.-P., IN THE CHAIR.

The following member was duly elected:—

Rev. Cæsar Caine, Garrigill Parsonage, Carlisle.

A rare collection of miniatures of historical interest was exhibited by Mr. B. Nathan, who gave particulars of many of them, including a superb miniature of the unfortunate Marie Antoinette, by V. Costa

The portrait is encircled by a ring of old rose diamonds. Of this we are enabled, by the kindness of Mr. Nathan, to give an illustration. Another of Lady William Russell, wife of Lord William Russell, who was murdered by Courvoisier, and one of Lady Mary Duff, both by Engelhart; a portrait of the fourth Earl Powerscourt, by Horace Hone, 1793; and a very fine enamel of a lady with blue drapery, and with jewels and pearls in her hair, by Petitot, attracted much attention. There were examples of the art of Samuel Cooper, Andrew Plymer, W. Wood, 1770; Guiche, 1769; H. Bone, A.R.A., 1804; and others, amongst the collection. Mr. Nathan also submitted for inspection some richly-chased gold and enamelled presentation snuff and other boxes, including one given to Lord Howe, commemorating the naval victory off Brest in 1794; and a tortoise-shell silver-mounted box, with painting in the lid by Jan van Goyen, 1656.

Mr. Essington Hughes exhibited some fine miniatures of family interest, representing Admiral Sir Wm. Essington, K.C.B., who commanded the *Triumph* at the battle of Camperdown, in 1797; Lieut. W. R. Hughes, R.N., who was with Capt. Ayscough when he destroyed two of the enemy's gunboats and thirty-four troop vessels off the coast of Naples, in 1811; and T. J. Hughes, who was drowned in early life in Montego Bay, Jamaica, in 1805.

Mr. A. Oliver brought for exhibition a *Book of Hours*, French, of the fifteenth century, richly embellished with illuminations and miniatures.

Mr. C. Lynam, Hon. Treasurer, gave a short address on the island of Iona, and illustrated it with drawing by Mrs. Lynam, and plans and sketches by himself; also by numerous photographs taken by Mr. A. Meigh. He briefly described the origin of the universal fame of this little western island of Scotland—a Christian mission station of the sixth century, founded and worked by St. Columba, with results still abiding throughout Christendom. The fact that no vestige of the early buildings now remain was noted; but the suggestion that possibly the great earthworks to the west of the present cathedral were part of St. Columba's work, was thrown out. The fact that the present remains are entirely distinct from those of the early establishment was emphasised, and a description was given in detail of what now exists—the cathedral, St. Oran's Chapel, the nunnery, and the two upright crosses of I. Maclean and St. Martin; all of which were fully illustrated.





Antiquarian Intelligence.

Prehistoric Times. By the Right Honble. LORD AVEBURY (London : Williams and Norgate, 18s.).—We have received from the publishers a copy of the “sixth edition, revised,” of this well-known work by Lord Avebury (who will always be better known as Sir John Lubbock), of which the first edition was issued in the year 1865. During the course of these thirty-five years, not only has the learned author changed his title, but vast changes, or rather a giant stride in the cosmic process of evolution, has taken place in the realms of science. For example, the science of anthropology, then in its infancy, is now an accredited branch of knowledge. The study of folk-lore, then hardly commenced, and only carried on by a few “faddists,” is now recognised as of the greatest value, not only in the study of the present ideas of primitive peoples, but also as a means of arriving at some notion of the habits of life and manner of thinking of the early races of mankind; while the study of comparative craniology, then unknown, has thrown a flood of light upon the questions of race.

On all these subjects Sir John Lubbock was a pioneer, and the recognised results at present attained are due, in large measure, to his researches. Criticism of such a work as “Prehistoric Times” in its up-to-date dress, would be superfluous, but it must be gratifying to the author to realise how few of his earlier conclusions have had to be modified in the light of further observation. The process has been, in fact, an advance along a line already marked out, rather than one with any abrupt turns or backward steps. For example, Sir John Lubbock, following in the wake of the Swedish archæologists, who had already devised the terms and marked out the boundaries of the three great stages in man’s progression from savagery to civilisation, viz., the Stone, Bronze, and Iron Ages, was the first to suggest the use of the terms “palæolithic” and “neolithic” to designate the two great divisions of the Stone Age, and these were universally accepted, and are now everywhere employed.

To anyone who wishes to obtain a succinct conspectus in a popular form of the present state of knowledge on the subject of early man, we recommend the perusal of this comprehensive volume. He will find in it a complete picture of the gradual emergence of mankind from

a state but little removed from the condition of the wild creatures among whom the life of Palæolithic man was cast, to the time when the discovery and use of the most serviceable of the metals made him the conqueror of Nature, and put him on the road which has already brought him so far forward in the pathway of progress. Whether Sir William Turner was right in saying, as he did at the recent meeting of the British Association, that "man's intellect is still in process of evolution," may be a moot point; but nothing is surer than that what man has already won is nothing to what he shall win in the future, and what he is is nothing to what he shall be.

On the subject of the "Antiquity of Man," the author may be said to hold moderate views when compared with those of some workers in the same field; but he clearly demonstrates that the space that separates us from the time when the Palæolithic hunters roamed over Northern France must be immense. The river Somme, for example, then flowed at a level 100 ft. above its present bed, and along its banks ranged a savage race of hunters and fishermen; while in the forests wandered the mammoth, the two-horned woolly rhinoceros, a species of lion, the musk-ox, the reindeer, and the urus. Well may he add: "No one can properly appreciate the lapse of time indicated who has not stood on one of the points overlooking the valley of the Somme, or on the summit of one of our English chalk hills; nor could any geologist return from such a visit without an overwhelming sense of the changes which have taken place, and the length of time which must have elapsed since the first appearance of man in Western Europe."

The chapters dealing with modern savages, and their analogies with the men of the Later Stone Age, are striking and convincing; but the researches of recent travellers, such as those of Messrs. Spencer and Gillen in Australia, the late Miss Mary Kingsley in West Africa, and many others, show that these analogies may be carried even further than is done by the author in this latest revised edition of his work.

The book is handsomely got-up, and is adorned with forty plates and nearly 250 figures of weapons, tools, implements, etc., found in recent years. There is, moreover, a good index.

Prehistoric Scotland. By ROBT. MUNRO, M.D., F.R.S.E. (Edinburgh: Wm. Blackwood and Sons, 7s. 6d.).—Dr. Munro has written this book, as the title-page informs us, to serve as the Introduction to the series of *County Histories of Scotland*, which Messrs. Blackwood are now engaged in bringing out; and, needless to say, he has performed the task, for which none was more qualified than he, right well.

As he himself says, the work was not so easy nor so simple as it might appear, for, though Scotland is but a small country in itself, the attempt to write upon Scotland in prehistoric times at once introduces the larger question of the races who inhabited the country from the first arrival of man therein, up to the time when history begins with the Roman occupation, and the relationship in which they stood to the contemporary races of Europe.

The author simplifies matters by at once ruling out Palæolithic man ; in his opinion Scotland at that time was still buried beneath the ice of the Glacial Period ; but he has a formidable opponent in the person of the Rev. F. Smith, who contends that he has found plenty of Palæolithic implements, not of flint, which is rare in Scotland, but of other rocks, in many localities. Again, coming to Neolithic days, another bone of contention is found in the author's opinion as to the so-called "25 or 30 ft. raised beach," which he contends points to an elevation in the land-surface, and a consequent receding of the sea to that extent, "at some time subsequent to the appearance of man, but prior to the Roman occupation ;" and he points to the MacArthur Cave at Oban, and to other indications in support of this. But here, again, Prof. Geikie disagrees with him, so far as to this having been caused by any local "earth-movement" at any such period.

If, as Dr. Munro holds, the Carse of Stirling was sea in the days of Neolithic man, as the implements of deer-horn found beside the carcasses of whales seem to show, and if in Roman times the sea had withdrawn, and forests grown up where the waves used to roll, then, in any case, on his own showing, prehistoric man in Scotland must be thrown back to a dim and shadowy past, whether the first arrivals were of the Neolithic or Palæolithic races.

At any rate, by the time the Romans arrived, Scotland, as Tacitus proves, had for the most part reached a fairly advanced stage in the higher or middle barbarism : for she could raise a united army as large as that which Bruce commanded at Bannockburn, and one, moreover, provided with horses, chariots, and weapons of iron. At the same time, in many secluded and out-of-the-way districts, the people had hardly even then emerged from the Stone Age, as may be reasonably inferred from recent discoveries.

The author describes with his usual learning the relics of the Stone, Bronze and Iron Ages, and educes from an examination of the remains discovered in the "memorials of the dead" and the "abodes of the living," an accurate account of what may be supposed to have been the manner and customs of the people at these different epochs.

As to Dr. Munro's remarks on the undoubtedly puzzling discoveries at

Dumbuck and Dumbaie, the reader need not be reminded that there are a variety of opinions upon the subject, and the learned author's almost contemptuous remarks are hardly worthy of his position. There is ample evidence, in our opinion, to prove that the "finds," and the rock-drawings are alike genuine (if they are not genuine they must be "forgeries"), and if genuine they must be explained, and fitted into their true place in Scottish archæology, not on any *à priori* notions of their "unlikeness to any known phase of Scottish civilisation," but on the principle of a broad outlook upon comparative anthropology. This has been attempted in the paper on "Jet and Cannel Coal Ornaments" in the present volume of this *Journal*, pp. 164-188, to which we would refer the reader.

The author seems, again, to extend the term "mediæval" in a somewhat illegitimate manner, when he speaks of "crannogs, lake dwellings, and other 'mediæval' remains." There is no doubt that, both in Scotland and Ireland, their use survived down to mediæval times, but, apart from the Dumbuck crannog altogether, there is undoubted evidence of these abodes in England, Scotland, and Ireland, as in Switzerland, during the Neolithic Age, and from that time downwards.

As regards the "Caledonians," Dr. Munro does not decide whether these were "earlier Celts" or "Teutons;" and as to the "Picts," he seems to agree with Professor Rhys in considering them to be the descendants of the Neolithic Iberian or Euskarian people, whose modern representatives are the Basques. He will not allow that the Pictish language spoken of by Adamnan in the sixth century A.D., was "pre-Celtic," i.e., Euskarian, but holds rather that it was a mere dialectical variety of Gaelic. In this we think him mistaken; it may have been a very mixed and debased speech, but that its foundation was Iberian may, we think, be taken as highly probable.

All attempts, however, to establish any affinity between the remains of the Pictish language and the Basque having entirely failed, a more modern theory still endeavours to trace a parallelism between the former and the Berber languages of North Africa, and the ancient Egyptian; in which case the aborigines of Britain may have been a branch of the Berber, or white race, of North Africa. But the Berbers themselves are very probably a branch of the great Iberian race. The evidence as to racial affinities derived from language is always a precarious one; to take one kind of example only, viz., that in which a conquered people has adopted the speech of the conquerors.

In conclusion, let us say that if the book does not enhance, it fully maintains the author's reputation; it is ably written, as was to be

expected, well and abundantly illustrated, and is in every way a worthy addition to the literature of Scottish archaeology.

Scottish Market Crosses. By JOHN SMALE, F.S.A.Scot., Architect, Stirling; with an Introductory Chapter by ALEXANDER HUTCHESON, F.S.A.Scot. (Stirling: E. Mackay, Murray Place).—This finely-produced book is one of the latest additions to the antiquarian literature of Scotland, and will occupy a deservedly prominent place among the works devoted to illustrating Scottish archaeology, of which we have frequently taken notice in past times. Mr. Smale draws with a free, bold stroke, and has succeeded well in reproducing, as far as can be on paper, the principal features of a difficult, unconventional class of relics, the market crosses of North Britain. It is a varied collection that he has been enabled to gather up, on 118 large plates, from the plain upright shaft to the elaborately-carved pillar set on pedestals or steps, and of an age reaching from prehistoric times to almost the present day. The author takes very little notice of date, material, or dimensions, but this is not a great fault in a book intended primarily to be pictorial rather than technical. The delineations are faithful, and those who know the original relics will easily recognise the views given in the series. Mr. Hutcheson prefixes a very interesting introduction, dealing with the historical and social aspects which cling around the market cross. He shows that these objects have been long neglected in literature, the late James Drummond being the first to deal with the subject comprehensively in 1861. Numerous notices of the crosses in records and mediæval documents have been gathered together, and the historical events which have occurred in connection with such crosses, and punishments which were carried out at the cross have been carefully noted. The whole, therefore, forms a monograph of considerable value to the archæologist; and we do not doubt that the book will be in demand with the antiquary who studies Scottish manners and customs. Its size may perhaps prevent its universal acquisition, but it would bear reprinting in a smaller form, with corresponding reduction of the plates. The publisher deserves a word of praise for the charming manner in which he has executed his share of the task.

The Parish and Church of Godalming. By S. WELMAN (London Elliot Stock, 10s.).—This is a capital book, and supplies a good illustration of the advantage which would accrue to every town such as Godalming, consisting of an ancient parish, and possessing a church whose very walls tell of its growth through long centuries before it

became what it is to-day, if it had resided in it an architect like Mr. Welman, with eyes to see, and sufficient interest in antiquity to investigate, things hidden from the ordinary passer-by.

The author begins with a description of the parish, and argues with much probability that its size (it is one of the largest in Surrey) and peculiar shape preclude the idea that it was deliberately set out by St. Dunstan for ecclesiastical purposes, and must be due to the fact that the boundaries of the manor had been fixed in this, and doubtless in numberless other cases, before the introduction of Christianity. After that event, the boundaries of the parish would then naturally follow those of the manor. The present site of the church is not the original one. Mr. Welman finds that site in the outlying hamlet of Tuesley, where there was in all probability an altar and *temenos* sacred to Tiu, the Saxon Mars, or god of war, from whom we derive the name Tuesday (*Mardi*) for the third day of the week. In the year 1220, when Dean Wanda made his Visitation of Godalming, the existence of an ancient chapelry here is mentioned, but after that time it became neglected and forgotten.

The present church consists of nave, central tower, transepts, nave aisles north and south, and chancel aisles or chantries; and it is the architectural history of this church, or rather the story of its growth that Mr. Welman describes in the larger half of his book. This he does in a most careful and painstaking way, and he provides more or less conjectural plans and drawings of the building, to illustrate its probable appearance at each stage of its history.

Starting with the discovery—after long observation and study—of two small Saxon eye-holes, or circular windows, in the wall above the present western arch of the tower, he traces the development of the building from an original Saxon church, consisting of an aisleless oblong nave, and a chancel almost square, which he thinks became the towered crossing of the later building. This would be an unusual method of enlarging a chancel, but Mr. Welman marshals his arguments forcibly, and clearly illustrates the evidences he has discovered, while he distinguishes carefully between the facts and the conclusions to which he considers they point.

The history of the church, as developed by Mr. Welman, shows that it is one upon which every period of architecture has left its mark; and it is a most fascinating study to follow the author as he unfolds its growth from the first probable Saxon building down to the last restoration of the nineteenth century. The remaining chapters are somewhat sketchy, and an index is needed to make the book of real value to the student. The illustrations are good, but, considering that the book is the work

of an architect, we might have expected a scale to be attached to the plan, and to the geometrical drawings.

The Unpublished Legends of Virgil. By CHARLES GODFREY LELAND (London: Elliot Stock, 6s.).—Mr. Leland is already well known to archæologists and students of folk-lore, by his works on *Etruscan Roman Remains*, and *The Legends of Florence*; and the present volume will add to his reputation as a careful worker in hitherto untrodden fields.

The life and works of Virgil, as the poet-laureate of the Court of Augustus, and the singer of the glories of Imperial Rome, are known to every schoolboy; students of Dante know how the great mediæval poet takes his greater predecessor for his guide through the regions of the Inferno, Purgatorio, and Paradiso, but it remained for Mr. Leland to show to English readers the curious place which Virgil holds in the legends of the Italian peasantry.

Professor Domenico Comparetti has already set forth in his work on *Virgil in the Middle Ages*, how it came to pass that the poet, who had always retained his fame as such, and had been looked upon as almost a Christian, from a supposed pious prophesy in his works, underwent the process of being made romantic, and turned into a magician. Inspired with this idea, Mr. Leland went to work, chiefly among the peasants and witches and fortune-tellers in the neighbourhood of Florence and other parts of northern Italy, and soon found that a great number of post-Virgilian legends were actually extant among the people. It is these that he has collected, and a most singular gathering of fairy tales and popular folk-lore is the result. In them all we seem to be moving in a realm of "faerie," in which all is topsy-turvy; a sort of Italian "Alice in Wonderland," in which Virgil appears as a great magician, or beneficent genius, or awful necromancer; while the ideas of the Stone Age are shown to be still living in the minds of the people, combined with mediæval romance and sorcery.

To most of the legends here narrated the author has indicated in a commentary their signification, or affinities with other traditions; and he has prefixed an interesting introduction to the whole.

These tales are all the more valuable to the student because, in the natural progress of education, they must inevitably have been lost, had they not been thus collected and preserved for posterity; and even the most general reader will enjoy the genial and ever-lively style of the author. We heartily recommend this book to everyone who is interested in the subject, as an enduring monument of some of the root-ideas of our race. A future edition would be improved by the addition of an index, without which no book can be considered complete.

The Eastern Counties Magazine and Suffolk Note-Book: a Quarterly. Vol. i, No. 1 (Jarrold and Sons, 1s. 6d. net).—We have received the first number of this new quarterly magazine, edited by the Hon. Mary Henniker; and we have no hesitation in saying that if it continues in the future to maintain the level reached in this initial issue, it will be a worthy addition to the rôle of East Anglian literature. Its object is to deal in a popular way with matters of interest to dwellers in the Eastern Counties; and, in doing so, it touches neither on the ground of the "East Anglian," nor on that of the Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society, but enters upon a field hitherto unoccupied.

A summary of the contents will give the best idea of the aims of this latest candidate for public appreciation. In a paper entitled "A Town with a Past," Mr. J. Denny Gedge chats pleasantly upon Bury St. Edmunds, its antiquities, history, social life, and trade; its now abolished fair, and the charms of its situation and scenery. Mr. C. G. De Betham tell a "True West Suffolk Ghost Story," and Miss Lois Fison describes in the Suffolk dialect, "A Wise Woman of Olden Time."

The Suffolk note-book contains a miscellaneous assortment of items, ranging from notes on "Suffolk Punches" and the "Decrease of Rural Population," to "Ancient Mounds at Great Ashfield and Firmingham," "Armed Ipswich in the Fifteenth Century," "Military Drill in Churchyards," etc. Poetry is also included, but this lies outside the province of the antiquary.

In the note on "Silly Suffolk," we not only agree that no reproach is intended to the county by the term, but we think there is a good deal in the suggestion, not referred to by the writer, that the word "silly" (from Anglo-Saxon "sælig"), means "blessed," or "holy," and was originally applied to the county on account of the number of its churches and religious establishments, of which, it is said, there are none more than a mile apart the whole county through; and this is more or less true of East Anglia as a whole.

Altogether, we would commend this little Quarterly to our readers, more particularly to those of them who belong to the ancient kingdom of East Anglia.

Our Borough: Our Churches: with an Afterwork on the Art of the Renaissance, King's Lynn. By EDWARD MILLIGEN BELOE, F.S.A. The edition is limited to 200 copies 4to cloth, 21s. net; 100 of *Our Churches*, large hand-made paper, small folio, 25s. net (Cambridge: Macmillan and Bowes. Supplied and printed by Agas H. Goose, Norwich).—The first part of this work, *Our Borough*, a short historical sketch, was printed twenty-nine years ago, but it has only now been possible

for the author to complete the second and larger part of the work devoted to the churches. The borough and the churches in their early history are almost inseparable, and many facts illustrative of borough life in the Middle Ages are dealt with in the second portion of the work.

The town of Lynn belonged to the Bishops of Norwich till the reign of Henry VIII. Its port made it one of the great commercial centres of the kingdom during the Middle Ages, and it remained wealthy and prosperous in the later centuries. Few boroughs can be so rich in contemporary MSS. From its connection with the See of Norwich there are valuable records in the possession of the Dean and Chapter, and the records of the Corporation are singularly perfect, so that for a period of upwards of 800 years there is abundant contemporary material for its history. On this material, as well as on everything else that can throw light on the local history, Mr. Beloe has worked for many years, and he has added a supplementary chapter on the "Art of the Renaissance in Lynn," especially with regard to the native architect, Henry Bell, 1653-1717.

The work is illustrated with fifty full-page processed sketches, prints, and photographs, besides maps, plans, and facsimilies of charters.

The Cromlechs of Anglesey and Carnarvonshire.—Among the few relics of the remote past still remaining, and undestroyed by the ravages of time or the hand of man, there are none that appeal more strongly to the imagination than those known as "Cromlechs." Their massive bulk and primitive aspects form unique features in the landscapes—their great age links us to a past full of dark and silent mystery—their preservation through long periods of change and turmoil, and their association with events and characters long forgotten, lend to these rude records an interest bordering on veneration.

Such objects are in themselves sufficiently interesting to deserve pictorial representation. At present, however, there is another and more urgent reason why a permanent and a collective artistic record of these records should be secured. In past years there have been instances of landowners and others taking a laudable interest in the preservation of such antiquities; but the vandalism of the present age, and, in some instances, the breaking up of large estates, will in the near future cause the destruction of many of these ancient monuments. It is to be regretted that some have already been converted into gate-posts and macadam; and, unless their forms and situations are preserved in some way, the future archæologists and

historians will be deprived of important records in the annals of our country.

The author has photographed all the known cromlechs of Anglesey and Carnarvon—thirty-six in number. Some are represented by two views, thus making in all forty-three photographs. At first he had no object in view beyond the personal satisfaction of possessing a complete representation of these interesting remains. But having shown the results to some friends, he decided to publish a portfolio of reproductions, by the colotype process, of the whole series. The portfolio contains forty-three colotype views, 10 ins. by 8 ins. It also contains a general Introduction, summarising our knowledge of cromlechs in the light of the latest researches; and each view is accompanied by a short description of the cromlech represented, giving exact measurements of the different parts, its situation, and remarks on its present condition.

Neither labour nor expense has been spared to make the collection a work of art, and an absolutely accurate representation of the cromlechs in these two counties at the commencement of the twentieth century.

The volume is issued to subscribers at 10s. 6d., and any copies not taken up will be sold to non-subscribers at 12s. 6d. each.

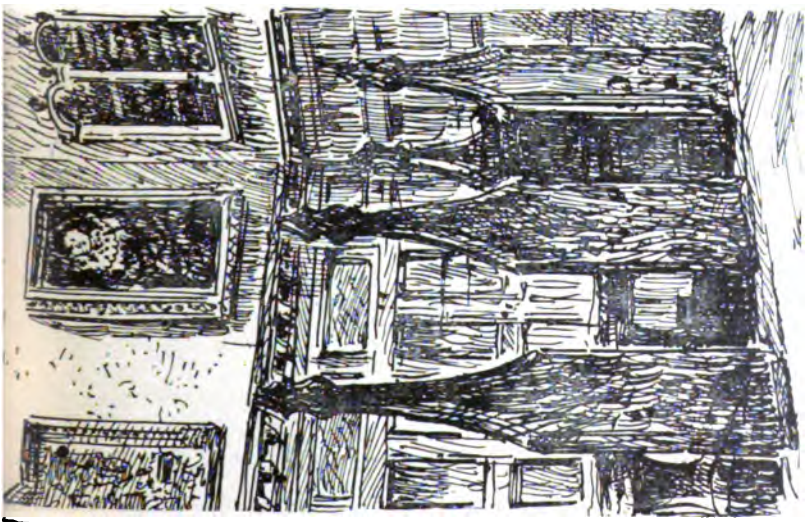
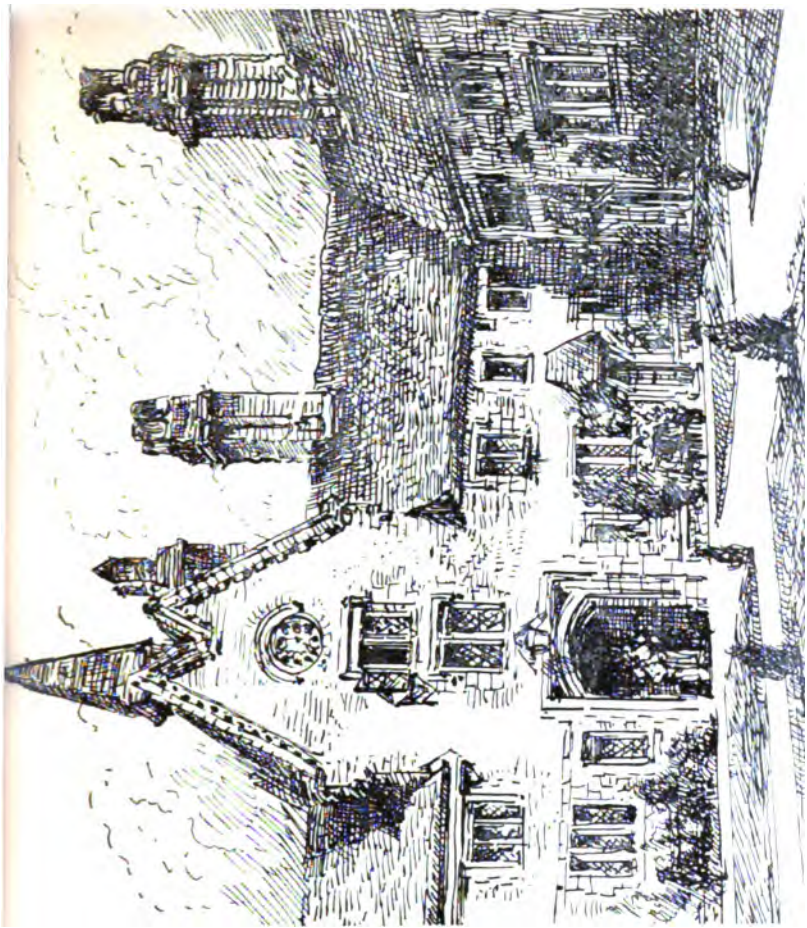
Persons desirous of subscribing are requested to apply to Mr. J. E. Griffith, F.L.S., F.R.A.S., Bryn Dinas, Upper Bangor, North Wales.

We have much pleasure in calling the attention of our members to the above work, which we trust will prove as successful financially as it is important from an archæological point of view.

Whitgift's Hospital in Danger.—We are indebted to the *Daily Graphic* of August 22nd, 1900, for the following account of "Whitgift's Hospital, Croydon," which, it appears, is again in danger of being demolished, notwithstanding the protest addressed to the authorities some months ago by our own and other archæological societies. We have also to thank the proprietors of that enterprising journal for the gift of the drawing illustrating this notice:—

"It appears that an attempt is again about to be made by some of the inhabitants of Croydon to remove Whitgift's Hospital: the excuse being that the site is very valuable, and that it is advisable to widen the road which bounds the western side, in order to enlarge the space where the tramcars turn round.

"The building is interesting, as it is a genuine Elizabethan work, and is pretty much in the condition it was left by its founder, Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury. The hospital was commenced in the year



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1596, and completed on the 29th of September, 1599. The building is rather what we should call an alms-house than an hospital, and was so from the first, but in olden times the word "hospital" had not its present signification. The building is picturesque, though not architecturally remarkable. The chapel is certainly curious. It retains its ancient benches; the "standards" are about 6 ft. high, but there are no backs to the seats, so what was the object of very tall bench-ends is difficult to conjecture. There is no altar or communion-table, but there are several curious pictures. A portrait of Whitgift is at the west end, and one, representing a lady in a ruff, on the north side, though it is not certain whether it represents Whitgift's daughter or his niece. The courtyard is very pleasant, and the hall is a fine old room. It is to be hoped that some way will be found of saving this venerable building from destruction, notwithstanding that its site is the very centre of the town."

The Editor received the following account of a most reprehensible piece of vandalism from Frederick Challoner, Esq., Northumberland and Northern Counties Club, London, S.W., just as the *Journal* was going to press; and he desires to draw the attention of members, especially those who belong to Yorkshire, to it, that action may be taken, with a view to preserving the ruins, if possible, before it is too late:—

Vandalism at Byland Abbey.—Mr. W. A. Russell writes from 17, Marlborough Road, Bradford:

"I desire to call public attention to an act of vandalism. Quarrying in the ruins of our abbeys is not, as might have been supposed, a thing of the past. On Monday I visited Byland Abbey, near Coxwold, in the North Riding of Yorkshire (once the home of Tristram Shandy). Byland, which is the largest original Cistercian house in England, is in a very neglected condition; the outside walls, which show some beautiful features of design, are still standing, but the interior is filled with mounds of ruins. These mounds have quite recently been opened, but not for purposes of research. A mason's shed has been erected against the wall of the north transept for the 'dressing' of the stones, which—if any other testimony than the mason's shed were necessary—are, on the authority of the nearest neighbour to the abbey, to be used for building purposes. The excavations have disclosed beautiful and very complete sections of shafts, as well as carved capitals and pillar bases, etc. The idea of these being reduced from beautiful examples of early English carving to mere blocks of building stone is too dreadful to contemplate; and it is to be hoped that all societies and others who take an interest in the preservation of our ancient buildings will raise an emphatic protest against the spoliation of a fine old ruin."





Obituary.

GEO. ROBERT NICOL WRIGHT, F.S.A.

BORN February 29th, 1821; died April 2nd, 1900. Mr. Wright was educated at University College, London; and when the writer of this notice first knew him he was connected with the publishing world, which brought him into connection with many celebrated men of letters now passed away. Mr. Wright possessed considerable literary ability, and was a contributor to the press for many years; so recently as last year, an article from his pen upon "Wireless Telegraphy" was published in the *Times*. In his younger days he wrote several dramatic pieces of considerable merit, which were performed privately. - He also wrote *Local Lays and Legends* in 1885, and *Historic Fragments* in 1887. Each work on publication commanded attention, and was perused with interest. Possessing a genial temperament and a fund of wit and humour, Mr. Wright was always a welcome and popular member of society, and numbered among his large circle of friends and acquaintances such familiar names as J. R. Planché, George Godwin, J. O. Halliwell Phillipps, Albert Way, George Cruikshank, Crofton Croker, T. J. Pettigrew, Thomas Wright, Chas. Roach Smith, Lord Albert Conyngham, the first President of the British Archæological Association, Lord Houghton, Lord Carnarvon, and many others, all of whom have predeceased him. In 1864 Mr. Wright was mainly instrumental in founding the Junior Athenæum Club in Piccadilly, of which he was for some time secretary and became a life-member. That wandering body of archæologists known as the "Leland Club" was the outcome of his fertile brain, and under his guidance and direction the members enjoyed for a long period annually several weeks of most agreeable touring to places of historical and archæological interest in the United Kingdom, and occasionally upon the Continent. It is, however, in connection with the British Archæological Association that Mr. Wright will probably be best remembered. He was a member of the Association from its foundation in 1843, and was until quite recent years, when failing powers caused his withdrawal from active

interest in its proceedings, always an enthusiastic and most warm supporter of the objects and work of the Association. He was rarely absent from any of the meetings, either of the Council or of the public evening meetings in Sackville Street, at which he made many interesting exhibitions. Mr. Wright was appointed Curator and Librarian in 1855, upon the decease of Mr. Alfred White; and in May, 1857, he was elected a F.S.A.; and in 1887 became a Vice-President of the Association he had done so much to foster and encourage. By those associates who have been accustomed, year after year, to attend the Congresses in different parts of the Kingdom, Mr. Wright will be greatly missed, and will always be gratefully remembered. For many years he undertook and most efficiently carried out the very arduous duties of Congress Secretary, including all the arrangements for the comfort and convenience of the visitors and their travelling facilities. It will be within the recollection of many with what tact, energy, and never-failing good humour he conducted the business of the Congresses, and how genially he overcame any unexpected *contretemps* when it arose, and succeeded in maintaining harmony and good fellowship. Mr. Wright possessed in an uncommon degree the ability to discern individual character, and during the Congresses always sought opportunities of bringing together those whose tastes and studies were similar, or whose knowledge could be made available to further the objects of the meeting. His contributions to the *Journal* of the Association as well as his exhibits were very numerous; and from 1853 to 1890 scarcely a year passed without one or more papers from his pen, the extent of which may be seen in the Indices to the various volumes. His last years were spent in the quiet retirement of his home at Kew, in the society of his devoted wife and his numerous friends; and there he passed away on April 2nd, in his eightieth year, greatly regretted by all who knew him.

ANTHONY BUCKLE.

THOSE who were privileged to attend the York Congress will remember the very interesting account delivered on August 17, 1891, at the *Conversazione* in the Fine Art and Industrial Institution by this gentleman, entitled, "A Century in the King's Manor at York," which is printed with illustrations from Mr. Buckle's pencil on pp. 7-14 of vol. *xlvi* of our *Journal*, and will hear with regret of his death.

Mr. Buckle was superintendent of the Yorkshire School for the

Blind at York, perhaps better known as the Wilberforce School, which occupies a building rendered historic by its connection with Kings Henry VIII, James I, and Charles I, and the latter's ill-fated servant, the Earl of Strafford.

Mr. Buckle was a native of Barden, in the parish of Hauxwell, where he was born in 1838, and was educated at the Corporation Schools, Richmond, Yorkshire. He then became an Assistant Master at the York Training College, and graduated B.A. of London University in 1865, and was appointed in 1869 to the Wilberforce Head-mastership. He was a well-known authority on all matters affecting the education of the Blind. He was also a poet of considerable power.

Mr. Buckle died on May 27th, and was interred, with the deep respect of all who knew him, at the York Cemetery.

THE REV. SIR TALBOT HASTINGS BENDALL BAKER.

THIS gentleman gave his best services as an antiquary to the Royal Archæological Institute, of which he was a Vice-President; but as he was also a member of our Association, a few words respecting him are not out of place in our *Journal*.

He was the third baronet, and was born on September 9th, 1820. He graduated at Christ Church, Oxford, in 1843, and was ordained by the Bishop of Lichfield (Dr. Lonsdale) in 1844 to the curacy of Brewood, near Stafford. In 1848, the then Bishop of Salisbury (Bishop Denison) nominated him to the vicarage of Preston with Sutton-Poyntz, which he held for 29 years, being, during part of the time, (1870-77), Rural Dean of Dorchester.

He took part in the Weymouth Congress in 1871, when he was a Vice-President and a member of the Local Committee. He conducted the Association on August 21st, 1871, to inspect the Roman pavement then recently uncovered at Preston, and the church. He was elected a member of the Association on November 22nd following, and subsequently contributed antiquarian exhibits on several occasions. He was also present at the London Congress in 1896, and at the Peterborough Congress in 1898.

The late Baronet died suddenly, in his sleep, at Ranston House, Blandford, Dorset, on April 6th last.



THE
PUB. L.



CROSS AT BAKEWELL, FROM THE SOUTH-EAST.



CROSS IN CHURCHYARD, EYAM, FROM THE SOUTH-EAST.



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THE JOURNAL

OF THE

British Archaeological Association.

DECEMBER 1900.

SOME PRE-NORMAN CROSSES IN DERBYSHIRE. ✓

BY CHARLES LYNAM, ESQ., F.S.A., HON. TREASURER.

(Read at the Buxton Congress, 1899.)



ACCORDING to the text of our programme, my Paper is to be on the "Pre-Norman Crosses of Bakewell, Eyam, and Hope." The two former this Congress has already visited, and the last we are to see on Friday next. To deal only with these three examples of this class of early memorials would be, as it were, to pick out a single syllable of a long word, and to attempt to explain the meaning of such word by a disjointed syllable; but loyal to the assigned text one is bound to be, in the first instance at all events, but finally craving indulgence to be allowed to widen out the theme, so as to include the relative positions of these three chosen examples, towards the vast field of which they undoubtedly form a part. The crosses of Bakewell, Eyam, and Hope have been dwelt upon at large by long-practised observers, by masters in the study of ancient MSS., and by learned historians of ecclesiological detail. Authors, therefore, are too numerous to be given; but it would be remiss to omit mention of the names of Dr. G. F. Browne, Bishop

of Bristol, formerly Professor of Archæology at Cambridge; Dr. Cox, the careful and painstaking historian of the churches of Derbyshire; and Mr. Romilly Allen, who has devoted much labour and research in the development of knowledge on this particular class of subject. For myself, it is perhaps only fair to you to be told that from my boyhood the subject has attracted my sincere interest; and amongst my sketches, dated 1847, may still be found my first attempt to delineate with the point of a pencil the intricate interlacing of patterns on one of the early carved stones in the churchyard of Kirk-Braddon, in the Isle of Man.

In the year 1877, this Association published in their *Journal*, with illustrations, an attempt I made to classify the various types of these structures, then and now to be seen in the churchyards and elsewhere in the county of Stafford. Since that time, no opportunity has escaped me of giving attention to this class of early work.

BAKEWELL CROSS.

This cross is now fixed just to the east of the south transept of the church, a position which it would be hardly likely to have occupied unless erected there, either before the existence of the church itself, or afterwards at a time when there was an indifference as to its situation and its value as a treasure of antiquity. It is commonly said to have been brought from elsewhere, but no precise place is assigned for its former whereabouts. At present, at all events, it is within the enclosure of the churchyard of the parish church. This is of some significance in relation to its original purpose. Assuming it to have been a sepulchral monument, either of some unknown individual or family, or of the numerous dead who lie around it, otherwise without memorial beyond the little grassy mounds which mark their grave space, its position will be accepted as perfectly appropriate; contrasting in this respect with the rude unhewn stones marked with a simple cross or short inscription, to be seen on the wild moors of this country, of Ireland and elsewhere, and more strikingly still with the place of other sculptured

crosses, such as those now in the market-place at Sandbach, in Cheshire.

This *Bakewell Cross* is erected on an irregular, strange-looking, unsymmetrical base, shaped here and there, but on the whole having the appearance only of a large mass of unhewn rock, not inappropriate to the present mystery which envelopes the origin, the purpose, the period and the workmanship of this extraordinary work of art. Does a smile steal over the countenance of some at the suggestion that this weatherworn, unshapely stone offers to any eye evidence of the work of an artist? If we have learnt to read it—Yes: not only art, but also an earnest, innocent devotion of spirit, which does not often show itself even in the finest works of carving or sculpture of to-day.

The shaft, as we see it, is but a mutilated portion of its original proportions. It was longer at its base and higher in the head; indeed, its actual head is missing. The present projection at the top is but a shoulder to the actual cross which surmounted it. In this respect it follows the example of the cross at Carew, in Pembrokeshire; and the Bishop of Bristol has suggested that one of the fragments of a cross, now in the church, completed this portion of the cross itself.

On the point of design, take, first of all, the general outline, which is pyramidal in form, capped by projections on the tapered sides, forming a break for the base of the actual cross which surmounted the shaft. This is equal almost to a classical treatment of the general conception of such a monument.

Then mark the method of dealing with the angles of the general form. They are rounded off, and are accompanied by a hollow on each side, producing a bold effect of light and shade, such as the early Gothic designers delighted in. Next, study the general decorative effect of the ornamentation which covers almost every inch of the whole surface of the shaft. Mark the grace and force, and variety of form in the scroll-work, and in its floral terminations. Also, the variety in the proportion of the parts according to the dimensions and shapes of the spaces they have to fill. Will anyone venture to say there is

not strong artistic feeling for true art decoration in the handling of this craftsmanship? What about art in the figures? some may ask. Well, it must be admitted that the skill displayed in the foliage does not appear to be altogether carried out in the details of the figure work; but do not let us forget the centuries of exposure to all kinds of weather: from the blazing sunshine, through damp and wet, and snow and storm, to biting frost, from which this work has suffered. If there is any portion that would be first deprived of its merit, surely it would be in the delicacy of expression in the figure subjects; and no doubt this accounts in a great degree for the apparent rudeness of the figures.

But may we not also remember the roughness of the material, and the consciousness of the workman of the risks his work would be subjected to, and his consequent right judgment to give *force*, and not refinement of finish and drawing to his work. That such force does even still exist is perfectly clear in such features as remain approximately intact. Take, for instance, the energy given to the form of the Roman soldier pressing his spear to the side of the Crucified, on the west side of the shaft. Or, again, if deep expression of motionless death-like form be wanted, look at the nether limbs of the Saviour, as they hang on the cross. But before being led to mention these details, the general treatment of the figure subjects should have been given. First of all, let it be noticed that each figure has its niched-like canopy, produced by an arch over the head, springing from the architectural feature of projecting cappings. This is remarkable, having regard to the generally-accepted early character of the work.

It will be seen that the figure-subjects principally occur on what is now the western face of the shaft. They have been distinguished by the Bishop of Bristol as follows:—

Beginning at the top on the *west side*, there is as plainly as possible a rendering of the Crucifixion, with the Roman soldier on either side the Cross, the one actively thrusting the cruel spear to the body's side, the other (judged mostly by analogy) offering the sponge of

vinegar. The body of the Crucified seems to have been draped down to just above the level of the knees, the legs alone being bare. The rendering of Mount Calvary is very pronounced and quaint. Next, below the Crucifixion are two standing figures facing one another, which the Bishop of Bristol assigns to the Salutation of the Blessed Mary by Elizabeth.

Then comes a figure of St. Peter, clearly distinguished by the emblem of the Keys, which are held in the hand.

Next is the representation of Our Lord in glory, the figure seated and majestic in form.

Lastly is the portion of a figure, which the Bishop interprets (also mainly from analogy) as being that of some great man or prince, carrying on his hand a hawk in indication of his favourite pastime. The north end of the shouldered projection is formed into a panel, filled with interlaced work, the only part marked by this feature; whilst the south corresponding end has a figure in its panel.

The figure-carving on the *east face* remains to be mentioned. It is unfortunate that the whole of the panel at the top is not entire: from what remains it is apparent that it represents a man mounted on a horse or ass, with the branches of a tree beneath and running up each side of the central subject. The Bishop of Bristol attributes this to the representation of Christ's entry into Jerusalem.

The foliage of the east face ends beneath the top panel, with the figure of an animal nibbling at a bunch of fruit, and this animal the Bishop puts down as a squirrel.

The question of the date of this monument will best come for notice with the general treatment of this point, later on. But to quit the subject without one further observation must not be. Amidst all the uncertainties surrounding this work, you will have observed that one fact stands out perfectly free from doubt, namely, that to all intents and purposes it is a Christian monument. Its very shape is an indication of that, and its details, already reviewed, prove it beyond question. Would that we knew the exact time of its erection, and the men, whether cleric or lay, who executed it. But, at all events, we

may conclude with admiration for the hand and eye, chisel and mallet, which produced it; and shall we not also express our gratitude for the feeling of reverence which has preserved for us through the centuries this still existing memorial of the dead of ages long passed away?

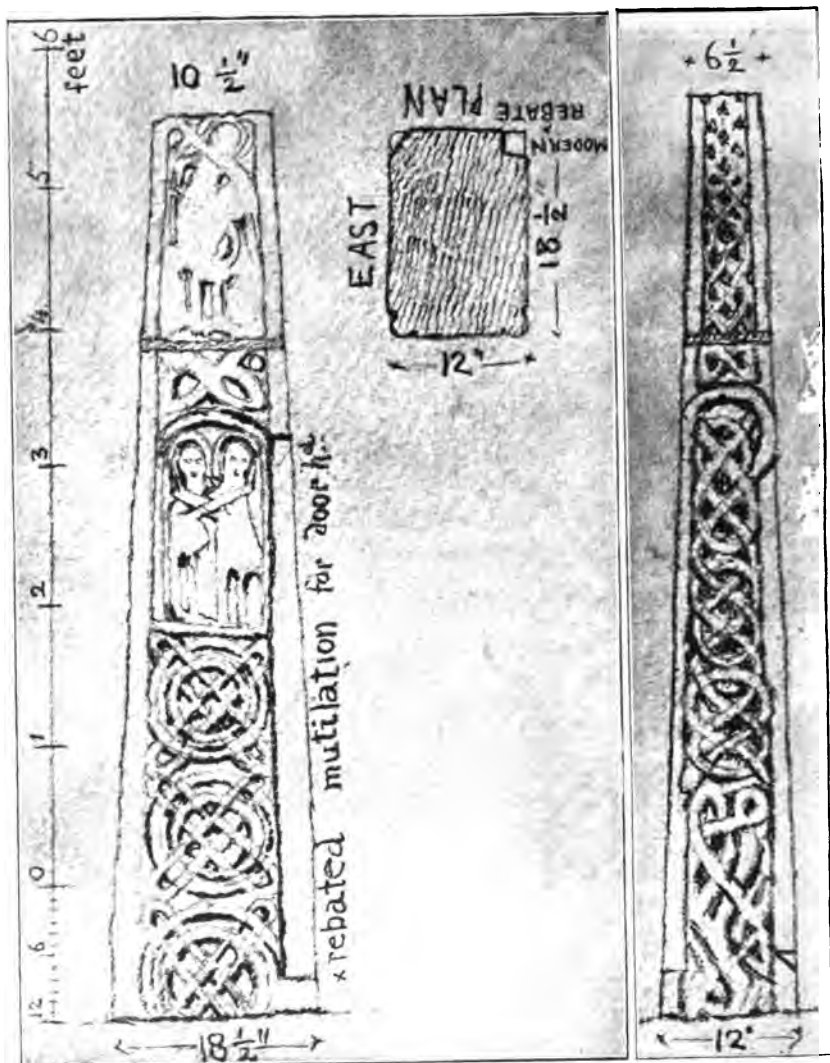
CROSS AT EYAM.

The cross at Eyam, like that at Bakewell, stands within the enclosure of the parish churchyard; but at Eyam its situation is better than at Bakewell, being in the midst of open ground, and fully seen from every point of view. At first sight it has the appearance of a perfect design, but slight examination soon discloses that the shaft itself is not of its full original height, the patterns of carving being abruptly broken through, whilst the limbs of the actual cross do not fit to the top of the present shaft. What additional height the shaft formerly possessed it is not easy to calculate, as much would depend on the treatment of the junction between shaft and cross. If the tapering of the sides be produced upwards, and the bed of the cross fitted to them, the shaft itself would require to be at least as high as the top of the present cross, which would give an additional height of nearly 2 ft. 6 ins.; besides this, the shaft where it is socketted into the base has been lowered at least some 4 ins., so that it may be safely said that the total height of the cross above the base was at least 3 ft. higher than at present, making it 11 ft. instead of 8 ft.

The proportion of the width of the sides to the faces at Eyam is greater than at Bakewell, the latter being as $14\frac{1}{2}$ ins. to $22\frac{1}{2}$ ins., and the former as $15\frac{1}{2}$ ins. to $20\frac{1}{2}$ ins. This gives greater massiveness of effect to the Eyam cross, particularly as here the proportion of the base face to the height of shaft is also greater at Eyam. The plinth stone is regular in shape and well proportioned to the shaft; and if not entirely of recent date has certainly been re-tooled and probably re-shaped.

In general outline the two crosses at Eyam and Bakewell may be said to agree: their section of plan and the tapering of the sides from base to summit of shaft

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WEST.

SOUTH.

CROSS IN THE VICARAGE GARDEN, HOPE, DERBYSHIRE, FROM THE WEST.

are alike, but the shouldering at the top of the shaft at Bakewell is absent at Eyam. To the immense advantage of the Eyam cross, it has the arms of the actual cross quite perfect.

The decoration of the *east* face of the shaft is of scroll-work, alternating in the direction of the curves, and having floriated leaf-work filling up the spaces left between the scrolls and the outside edges, as at Bakewell.

The lower part of the *west* face has two circles and part of another, connected by bands and filled in with interlacings of a remarkable character. Above are two niches with a figure in each; the spring of the arch of the niche, in both cases, is marked by the same architectural capping to the jambs as at Bakewell, but the arch in the upper panel has been broken off. The lower figure is seated, and bears a horn-shaped scroll across the body, the feet quaintly showing on the sill of the niche above the interlacing circle. The upper figure is also seated, and would seem to bear another instrument of music; the feet again show as in the lower figure.

In the centre of the cross is a bold circle in relief, containing a winged figure with hands seemingly meeting across the breast. The subject of the upper arm of the cross is too much worn to be distinguishable, those of the north and south arms are winged party-figures, each bearing either a sceptre or a cross.

Within the centre circle of the head, on the east side, is the carving of what appears to be the figure of the Blessed Virgin bearing the body of Our Lord. The three limbs of the cross are carved with winged figures in the act of blowing trumpets; the north one is not very plainly to be discerned.

Viewing this monument as a whole, and in its details, it may be said of it, as of that of Bakewell, that it is at once a great antiquarian treasure and a surprising work of art.

CROSS AT HOPE.

The third local cross which claims our attention is that at Hope, a very extensive parish which formerly embraced part of Buxton itself, thus accounting for the absence of

any large mediæval church or other structure in that town, which is now of so much importance. The quaint little structure of St. Anne's Church bears date 1625, and is said to have been a Chapel-of-Ease belonging to Bakewell. These circumstances form a striking instance of the uncertainty of ecclesiastical developments which time brings about.

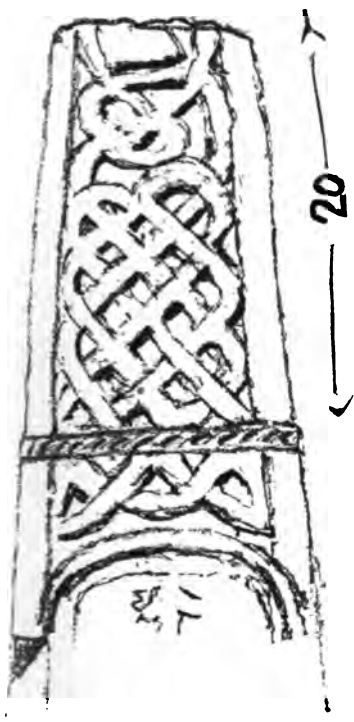
The cross at Hope, now fixed in the garden of the Vicarage, differs materially in its general character and details from those at Bakewell and Eyam, though it is commonly accepted as belonging to the same class of work.

By the kindness of the Rev. Mr. Buckstone, the Vicar of Hope, a study of this cross has been allowed, and photographs of it specially taken. At this luxuriant time of year, when the garden foliage by which it is surrounded is full, it is not easy to examine it on all sides, but pains have been taken to produce as good general views as possible in the two photographs now produced. The general form of this shaft differs from the other two, in that its lower part, from the foot to the level of the head of the figure panel, is not so much sloped on the face, and the main tapering of the shaft begins at that level, and continues to the present top; and there is also a marked change in the decoration at this point.

On the *east* face there is only one figure subject, at about the middle of the height of the shaft. For this subject a panel is margined out with straight sides, rounded corners, and slightly curved at the head and sill. The subject consists of two figures draped to the knees, with the stem of a staff, having cross-arms at the top; each figure has one hand placed across the staff, which stands between them. The shaft of this staff (if it be one) is not straight but of a crooked form, and it is possible it may represent the trunk of a tree, and that the cross-limbs are branches which are carried down at the back of the figures. The carving of these figures is worn away so much that a venture as to their personation would be risky. The corresponding pair of figures on the west face at Bakewell will be in our recollection.

Below this panel is the form of two concentric circles,

EAST FACE.



FOOT EAST.

CROSS AT HOPE, DERBYSHIRE.

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interlaced by two diagonal bands, terminating by looped junctions beyond the circumference of the outer circle; making altogether a remarkably beautiful pattern, worthy of its place in a separate compartment in the design.

At the foot there is a panel, semicircular in the head and containing foliated leafage, and from this panel springs another of irregular form, also containing foliage.

Within a few inches above the central figure-panel, it will be seen that there is a mortar-joint running across the shaft, and that the small fragment of interlaced work immediately below the cross joint has no connection with the interlaced work above it. This seems to suggest that the lower fragment was something like a repetition of the circular work below the figure-panel, and that the shaft has, therefore, been somewhat lowered at the cross-joint. The upper part is of interlaced work, changing in its form as it reaches the summit.

The *west* face of the shaft has also a panelled-figure subject, again a pair, and seemingly embracing one another; and it may be they are a repetition of the pair of figures at Bakewell, suggested as representing the Salutation. Below this panel the double circles, with their intersections, described on the east face, are twice, and almost a third time, repeated. Immediately above the figure panel, a slight fragment of knot-work occurs in one of the void spaces, in which a pellet or disc is to be seen, a feature often met with but not understood. Then comes the mortar-joint already alluded to, and above this a large single figure, bearing a Calvary Cross over the shoulder. The head is crowned by a nimbus, and Christ bearing the Cross is probably the subject.

The *south side* in its lower part is filled between the edge-moulding with the stem of a tree, rising from the the base, with intertwining branches. Above this appears to be two interlacing serpents, the heads and tails of each being fairly indicated; and at their summit there is the striking peculiarity of the edge-mould of the shaft being turned into a sort of canopy to the scroll work. Immediately above this is again a fragment of knot-work, reaching to the mortar-joint. The remainder of the

shaft is covered with a very simple yet effective treatment of knot-work.

The north side is also covered with knot-work. The most striking variation in the detail of these three crosses is the absence, in that at Hope, of the elaborate scrolled and foliated work which covers one face and a side at Bakewell, and one face at Eyam; and at Eyam the cross-head is perfect, and there are indications of it at Bakewell, but none at Hope. The height of the present structure is 6 ft. 6 ins., the plan at the base 1 ft. 6½ ins. by 12 ins., and at the top 10½ ins. by 6½ ins.

The shaft of each of the three crosses appears to have been a monolith of mill-stone grit, and the process of working to have been first by drilling out the patterns and afterwards finishing with the chisel.

Looking at the cross at Hope, it will generally be agreed that it is in no way inferior in design or workmanship to those at Bakewell or Eyam; and the locality which possesses the three in so close proximity may indeed be reckoned a favoured one.

My concluding words must be on the point of date, and they will be brief. Mr. Romilly Allen has said, in effect: "There is no clear proof that the ornament used on these crosses was employed prior to the year 821."

If the accepted term "Pre-Norman" be correct, none of it was executed after 1066. This leaves some 245 years for the time of the erection of these monuments, with which, perhaps, we may be content. If my own observation is to be trusted, it would incline towards the later rather than the earlier part of the allotted period.





THE ANCIENT UNIVERSITY OF BRITAIN. ✓

BY THE REV. W. S. LACH-SZYRMA, M.A.



THE question, "Which is the oldest university of Britain?" is one of considerable interest to us all. Some may suggest that Oxford is the oldest, and derives its origin from the age of Alfred the Great. Modern criticism rather tends to throw doubts on this old-fashioned theory, and to post-date the foundation of that university. Many Cambridge men claim that their university is the elder. Be this as it may, before the reign of Alfred the Great, and indeed before his birth, there was a university in Britain some four hundred years old, which, in the age of Alfred, after a long period of usefulness, and after having been a centre of light to Celtic Britain, had already passed its acmé, and from political causes was verging to decay. I refer to the university of Llaniltyd Fawr, or rather Llantwit Major, as it is now called, which was founded in the age of Theodosius II, and reached almost its acmé under the great St. Iltud, or Iltutus, its chancellor, before the landing of St. Augustine in Kent, *i.e.*, about 520 A.D.

We are here brought into contact with the question, "Where did the more enlightened and upper-class Britons go to be educated during the latter part of the Roman occupation?" Probably to the cities of Gaul. We have, I think, no records of a place of higher education in Britain, until the foundation of Llaniltyd Fawr. Probably there was none, and if the sons of British chieftains sought education they were sent to Gaul or Italy to obtain it. Facts point that way; for when the invasion of the barbarians burst on the Roman Empire, when Attila and the Huns devastated Continental Europe,

then, in the reign of Theodosius II, it is said that, close to the coast of Glamorgan, in a fair vale among the Cymrian mountains, was established the university or colleges of Llantwit.

But troublous times came. In 446 the Irish pirates are said to have burnt the first college to the ground. A generation passed away, and then the great St. Iltyd (knight, hermit, and teacher) restored it, and established it as a seat of light at a time pre-eminently belonging to the "Dark Ages." Here it is said "youths of various nations came, among whom were the sons of British nobles, foreign princes, besides numerous others, amounting at one time to more than 2,000 students, and one tradition even roughly computes the number at 3,000" (Fryer's *Llantwit Major*, p. 18). This probably was an exaggeration, but the story about foreigners coming is not quite so improbable as it may seem at first sight. The age after Attila and Alaric was not one suited to quiet study in Gaul or Armorica; and it is quite possible that some strangers may have come for rest and safety to the mountain district of Glamorgan, then less disturbed by barbarians and heathen invaders than most parts of western Europe. There is little doubt that here St. Pol de Leon, the famous Armorican bishop, St. Padarn, "the Blessed Visitor of Britain," St. Samson, bishop of Dôl, and other famed prelates of the early part of the sixth century were educated. The discipline was monastic (as indeed that of most mediæval universities, including Oxford and Cambridge, was originally). Even to this day something of this monastic tradition, modernised and modified, lingers around the colleges on the Isis and the Cam. So we must not grudge Llantwit its university title because it was rather monastic in tone, for nearly all the universities of the Middle Ages were such at first.

Among the students here was the British historian Gildas, who, however, seems to have studied here as a man, not a lad. I always regard him as an aggravating historian. He could have told us so much we want to know, and always gets to sermonising on the wickedness of the age. Taliesin, the Bard, was another of the alumni.

Everyone who is imbued with love for the past of his country and the memory of his ancestors, should (if he gets the chance) visit the site of that ancient university—the Oxford of the Ancient Britons—where the great and good men whose names are so often on Welshmen's and Cornishmen's lips (as patrons and founders of their parishes), were educated. Llantwit is not so hard to get at now. It lies on the Glamorganshire coast, just a mile inland, almost in sight of the hills of North Devon and North Cornwall; and this year the Barry Railway makes it an easy and cheap journey from either Swansea or Cardiff. As the Rev. E. J. Newell, in his *History of the Welsh Church*, truly says: "Llantwit is even now, despite some recent improvements, one of the most delightful places in our delightful isle. Its quaint old cottages, with small windows and low, broad doorways; its ruined castle and plain town-hall, with St. Iltyd's bell in the belfry; its grassy heights, that look out over the silver-bright waters of the Severn Sea . . . and its narrow valley stretching seaward between sides of strangely regular slope; its British camp and its monastic ruins, and, more than all, its church, which is not one but three churches—a monastic church at the east end, a parish church in the middle, and a Galilee at the west end—and the old monuments that stand therein and among the flowers of the churchyard, with their precious memories of the ancient saints: these all unite to produce an impression that is quite unique. Usually, elsewhere, the old is blended with the new, but here, until quite recently, the nineteenth century had scarce dared to intrude; and it seemed that here, at least, one might find a haven from its commonplace mediocrity, as Iltyd found in his time a haven for his spirit to rest in. Even the simplicity of the people, which is proverbial in Glamorganshire, was not lacking to complete the spell.

"The monk who tells us the story of St. Iltyd's life felt the strange, subtle charm of the spot in his day. When Iltyd came there, he says, it pleased him well, for it was a delightful place; there was a fertile plain, with no ruggedness of mountain or of hill; a thick wood with trees of various kinds, the dwelling-place of many crea-

tures ; and a river flowing between pleasant banks. It was, in truth, the most beautiful of all spots."

Such was the university where many of the most eminent Welsh, Cornish, and Breton saints were educated—a little city by the Bristol Channel, in one of the fairest vales of Glamorgan: with its embankment towards the sea raised by St. Iltyd, its seven churches and seven colleges, the centre of light, when all Europe was in the gloom of the Dark Ages.

This is no mere dream. The remains even to-day of Llantwit Major testify to there being something in it. The town is a town of ruins, and reminded me, when I visited it, of a suburb of Rome, where the present and the remote past seem to mingle together. Wherever one went there were relics of Romano-British works of more than a thousand years ago. The hill over the churchyard was furrowed with remains of the foundations of buildings said to be one of the colleges of St. Iltyd ; in the churchyard, the pillar reared by King Howell in the ninth century, the menhir of St. Samson, the mysterious pillar with the groove carved over with curious Celtic designs, the ancient crosses in and out of the churchyard, all witness the truth of the statement that here was a great centre of the Ancient British Church.

Centuries before Oxford or Cambridge were founded, a generation before St. Gregory the Great saw the Saxon slave-boys in the Roman market, in the age of the fall of the Western Empire, when Europe was lapsing into barbarism, this university of Llaniltyd Fawr was spreading light and Christianity, and such civilisation as the age retained, into Wales, Cornwall, Armorica, and it may be (until the Pagan Saxons stopped the work) into the towns and villages of South Britain, or at least of that which we now call the West of England, *i.e.*, Devon, Somerset, and Dorset. It was the chief university of Britain, and from here the light spread through West Wales or Cornwall into Armorica.

But what was the culture that it diffused ? An attempt has been made by Dr. Fryer, in his charming book, *Llantwit Major ; a Fifth-century University*, in his chapter on " Students and Teachers," to give an idea of the cur-

riculum. It was probably the learning of the Later Empire, *i.e.*, the age that the writings of St. Augustine of Hippo, and St. John Chrysostom of Constantinople, have made so familiar to us, and which Dean Farrar has lately so picturesquely described in his novel, *Gathering Clouds*. It was the decaying culture of the Old World of Athens, Alexandria and Rome, mingled with Christian elements. In the age of Augustine of Hippo and Ambrose of Milan, and in the later age of Justinian, the old culture of what used to be called "classical times" was mingled with the beginning of the Middle Ages. But this was not all, else Llantwit Fawr would be a rude provincial replica of Milan or Ravenna. But its interest to Englishmen is something more. Here there may be—I hardly venture to say there is—a record of the Druidic lore, the mystic symbolism of the ancient Druids and Bards of Britain. This symbolism and philosophy probably formed a part of the training of the old Cornu-British bishops and missionaries. They were Christians and civilised men (in the sense in which the Later Empire understood civilisation); but they were Britons also, and the memory of what was harmless, pure, and philosophical in the teachings of the Druids was probably theirs. The buildings, the ornaments of the menhirs, the traditions of the place, all support this view. Thus the curriculum probably was: (1) the Holy Scripture and theology; (2) some of the classic lore of Rome; (3) the Druidic traditions and philosophy, or such of it as could be reconciled with Christianity.

Thus, I think, we can answer our queries:—

1. The upper class Britons of the Romano-British epoch were educated at Llantwit Fawr.
2. Their curriculum was partly theology and partly Druidic philosophy.
3. The period in which they lived was mainly the sixth century, when Llantwit was one of the greatest centres of learning in Western Europe.

The question, however, which is most interesting to our Association is, "What archæological remains exist of this oldest British university? Is it a mere record of the past derived from Welsh or Latin books, not above the

destructive criticism of the age?" No. The witness of the monuments for Llantwit is almost stronger and more striking than that of the mediæval records, for Llantwit contains one of the most wonderful groups of British monuments from the age of, it may be Theodosius II, or even earlier, to that of Victoria in Great Britain. It is an almost complete record of British archæological remains for the last thousand years; a museum of edifices or monuments *in situ*. I do not say that the monuments are quite as ancient as those one meets at every corner in Rome, and their finish and beauty is of course inferior; but the general mingling of the ages quite reminds me, as I have said above, of the Eternal City, on a small scale.

The Victorian edifices are not very striking, except an excellent new railway station, fortunately on the outskirts of the town. Nor did I notice much striking work of the last century. But the seventeenth, the Stuart age, as in so many old-fashioned Welsh and English towns, is well represented by fine old houses, and the Tudor period is a good deal in evidence, especially the town hall of the reign of Henry VIII. There is a grand old manor house in ruins, which adds to the seeming antiquity of the place, though I expect the house is not really very ancient.

As Professor Freeman truly said: "The whole series of buildings at Llantwit Major is one of the most striking in the kingdom. Through a succession of civil and domestic structures of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the traveller gradually approaches the grand group composed of the church and the buildings attached to it." This gives a very fair idea of Llantwit.

The central group, the valuable antiquities of the place, gather around the church. Above the churchyard, in a field, are a series of foundations rendering the ground uneven, where, tradition says, one of the seven colleges of St. Iltyd's University stood. The others probably were on the sites of the houses and gardens around. A curious columbarium is near.

On the other side of the churchyard is an ancient cross (reminding me of the old Cornish or Manx crosses). On the west side of the church is a fragment of the gate-

house of the monastery. The tithebarn stood near here, and existed till 1858.

The desecration of ancient monuments has been going on at Llantwit, as elsewhere. Probably not a tenth exists of those which, if fairly treated, might have endured the storm of centuries. Under the gardens and houses of Llantwit there still may be buried many relics of the past ; but far more have been destroyed. It is in the sacred precincts of the churchyard, however, that the archæologist will find his real treasures, and his overwhelming evidence that a thousand years ago Llantwit really was a place of importance, and that the story of the Welsh writers represents facts. The story of the monuments tallies somewhat with the story of the books.

There, with Celtic carving of scrolls and symbols, stands the menhir of St. Sampson and its inscription : *In Nomine Di (not Dei) Summis Incipit Crux Solvatoris Quae Preparavit Samsoni Apati Pro Anima Sua et pro Anima Iuthahelo Rex et Artmati Tecani.*

The characteristics of a Romano-British inscription are here :

1. The grammar is not very good, and the author certainly could not have passed in Latin prose at Oxford.
2. The stone is a Celtic menhir, inscribed and carved (not unlike the Manx crosses ; indeed, the monument looks more like Manx than Cornish work, although all three belong to the same school).

Juthael, King of Gwent, was killed in battle in 848.

On a carved wheel-cross in the church is the inscription :

In Nomine Patris et Speretus Sancti Ane : Crucem Hoelts Pro Anima Res Patres eus.

"In the name of God the Father and the Holy Spirit, Howel prepared this cross for the soul of his Father Rhys."

King Howel of Glamorgan died in 885. Probably he put up this monument just over 1000 years ago.

On another monument in the churchyard is the inscription :

Iltet Samson Regis : Samson posuit hanc Crucem pro Anima ejus.

But the most wonderful monument is that on the north

of the church : a pillar grooved and marked over with curious Celtic symbols. It may be connected with Druidic times, and some Welsh antiquaries have suggested that it was a pagan British altar-pillar, and the groove meant for the blood of the sacrifices. This theory seems fantastic unless supported by other evidence. Still, about this and other monuments, there are these curious Celtic symbols of considerable interest. Are they connected with Druidic or bardic symbolism? The whorls seem to me very like the Irish tracery. One symbol again and again reproduced, **TIT**, looks like a sort of compromise between the Christian cross in the **T** form, and the Druidic three-fold symbolism. Is it common elsewhere on Celtic monuments? To me I own it was novel, though the whorls and scrolls, after seeing Manx work, were familiar enough.

The general tone of the carving on the menhirs was very like Cornish, only more refined and careful. It seemed as if the same line of thought permeated the artists at Llantwit as moved the rudest Cornu-British workmen, only that the Llantwit work was more complex, varied, and refined. However, I may excuse the ruder Cornish work by the reminder that it is in granite, and granite-carving (even in our Victorian age) is not easy work. The Welsh Cambrian stone, although still enduring, is more suited for carving.

I cannot dismiss this branch of my subject, *i.e.*, the rich carving on the menhirs, without one practical reflection. Why do we not see it revived in church and monumental work in England and Wales? Our architects are evidently willing to express in stone the ancient taste and ornaments of Rome, Corinth, Athens, Egypt, India. Why not revive the rich and elaborate carving indigenous to our own island—the Celtic ornamentation of Ancient Britain? It may look quaint and eccentric, but it is beautiful, and grows on the mind, and suits the climate and scenery of England. I can testify to the way in which it wins upon one when one gets accustomed to it—"mystic, wonderful," as the fabled sword Excalibur, carved, doubtless (if Excalibur ever existed), with these strange symbols. Can any ornament be more suitable or

national than this old Celtic ornamentation of Ancient Britain? I must own, I ever feel a thrill when I find it inscribed on our old monuments, and it would be pleasing on new ones. Occasionally one sees some of it on modern tombs and crosses; but I believe, if the stores of vast variety of Celtic or Runic ornaments were more known, they would be more used in ecclesiastical and even domestic architecture.

Taken as a whole, Llantwit is a place of beauty and sacred memories, and a joy for ever. I wonder why the Welsh, when they talked of a Welsh university, never thought of restoring the grand old university of Llantwit—one of the oldest in Europe. It has many advantages even now, *i.e.*, easy railway approach, a pretty and healthy site (prettier and more attractive naturally than either Oxford or Cambridge), proximity to the sea, a fairly central position, and grand traditions. But utilitarianism dominates. To their credit, however, the Welsh, are jealous of their national institutions, *e.g.*, the Eisteddfodd, and revere the past of their nation. I only wish they would show this love of old British traditions in reviving the university of Llantwit.

One thing, I think, we may learn from it. The old Druidic lore did not die out with the Roman Conquest; but still lingered, mingled with Christianity for many ages, and probably was a part of the study of Llantwit, and even yet, in fragments, survives in the thoughts and institutions of Wales.





THE COMMERCIAL IMPORTANCE OF PETERBOROUGH IN PRE-ROMAN TIMES.

BY DR. PHENÉ, LL.D., F.S.A., V.-P. R.S.LIT²

(Read at the Peterborough Congress, 1898.)



It is difficult in treating of pre-Roman matters to describe those of any county in particular, the subdivision of England into counties being recent.

In the present case, the difficulty is lessened by the very broad area of which Northamptonshire forms a part.

But with regard to the special locality, a fresh difficulty arises from its lying between the boundaries of adjoining counties, several of which have already been described, as to their pre-Roman features, in my articles in the *Journal* read at the congresses at Oxford, Winchester, Manchester, Stoke-upon-Trent, London and Conway.

The object in contributing a paper on this special locality is to interest those in the neighbourhood in the preservation of the evident proofs of prehistoric commerce in this country, not less than in the Association and its *Journal*, by recalling the common political and commercial features of the vast district in ancient Britain in which Northamptonshire is now placed.

For the reasons just given, the paper must necessarily be brief; as some of the main details have been already given in the previous papers referred to, for example:

The Iceni, or Ic-eni, apparently Graeco-Italian settlers, were described as carriers of commerce on *the* (*i.e.*, the great) highway from *ἔχνος*, a way or road. The Trinobantes, as merchants on the *three* highways, which ways intersected in the capital of those people, and which is now known as London, the Ermine Street, Ic-nield Way,

and Watling Street. The Ic-nield Way was, from its term, probably the earlier. The Vennonese, Senones, and Veronese, all Italian Colonists in Britain, were clearly shown to be metal merchants and dealers in the gold from Ireland.

Notwithstanding this, the district in which Peterborough lies has some peculiarities which make its early relationships particularly interesting; and while the absence of similar features to those of other localities is marked as distinctive, the appearance of new and, hitherto, almost untouched points of interest showing commercial relationships is apparent.

It must be borne in mind that when Caesar wrote his *Commentaries*, there was no name for what is now called England, to distinguish it from the rest of Britain. Consequently, when he describes the south-eastern portion of Britain as altogether maritime, *quæ regio est maritima omnes*, he refers, not to the south-east of England (Kent and Sussex) only, but to the district as far north as the Wash, into which subject I entered in my papers at Wisbeach, and my paper on Brittany, read to the Association in the great hall of the Royal Institute of British Architects, which was lent to me as a Fellow of the Institute, for the purpose of reading that paper. We are at once, therefore, brought face to face with that great historian with regard to this district, which—setting aside counties—had its maritime seaboard enriched with the commerce of the Yare, the Ouse, and—taking into account the great water area now called the Bedford Level—many other outlets, by the Broads, the Stour, etc., between the Thames and the Wash.

Cantium, now Kent, is named by Caesar, but is the only place-name he gives. It appears a Continental word, differing very slightly in local languages. It means a projecting part or corner; and as the whole projects up to the Wash, it would in those days have included the whole projection, as there is geological proof that formerly the great indentation of the land north of the Thames did not exist. The advanced civilisation of the Ic-eni, even to having a gold coinage, shows that they could not have been excepted from the civilised states above named.

Of Peterborough there appears little direct information before the Saxon period ; but the founding a monastery, and its dedication to St. Peter, indicate a place of at least some importance. The chief town, Caer Dorm, now Dornford (Durobrovae), appears from its name and position on the Ermine Street to have been pre-Roman.

The great pre-Roman road, Ermine Street, and the great north-western road, to use a modern expression—Watling Street, appear to have carried the commerce of the Trinobantes through the area in which Peterborough is placed ; but tributary tracks and ways would convey merchandise to and from these roads and their junctions and the places of consumption, and the rivers would have conveyed the light craft of those days far inland.

In this and the county on the north are also the "Salt Ways," of which so little is now known. It has been suggested that the Romans used them for the conveyance of salt, but no reason for the suggestion has apparently been given. Nor does there appear ground for supposing that the Romans required salt in such great quantities as the making special roads for its conveyance implies. If a sufficient reason could be found, it would be superior to a mere suggestion.

The "Salt Ways" appear, from my own personal surveys, to have intersected Ermine Street and the Foss Way, by which north and south, and east and west, the salt could have been then conveyed. They are peculiar to this part of England, and must have had a special purpose.

In my paper, at Stoke-upon-Trent, I showed that the enormous area occupied by the Coritani embraced the pre-Roman lead works of Derbyshire ; this alone would have created a great traffic with the roads and rivers supplying the ports in trading with the Baltic, and would also in itself have explained Caesar's statement of their maritime importance. But the Coritani appear from their name, which is clearly also Italian, to have been Ligurian hunters for skins (*corium*), and no doubt also dealers in hides and skins of cattle, etc. These hides were valuable, in no ordinary degree, for attire, roofing, the covering of slight boats for the river traffic ; but above all, as described by Caesar, for the sails of merchant

fleets, such as those of the Veneti. The Veneti being the most important of all the maritime fleets of Gaul, it follows that the large commercial navies described in the *Commentaries*, as in the Rhine, Seine, Liger, etc., were so equipped as to their sails. Hides were also in great demand in the naval warfare of the Mediterranean, for guard-screens and breast-works attached to the bulwarks of ships, known as *Παρα-ρρυματα*, being frames covered with hides, so that the men could fight behind them in security.

There is a grand reason, on this point alone, for the roving Ligurians or Coritani coming to Britain for skins. The route was already laid out for them when, trading from Massilia, they established colonies at *Corunna*, and near the Veneti, as the *Corisopiti* (leather-workers); while from their settlement in the West (*Cori-ni-um*) they appear to have entered Britain by the traffic route of the Veneti, and to have spread widely as hunters would do; as shown from the various place-names in Britain in which *Corium* is a component part, and from the various old Italian words incorporated into our language, as *cord-wainer*, a worker in *cordewan*, the leather of *Cordova*: cord formed of tough entrails of animals; *corbell*, Italian *corbello* and *corbella*, a leathern pannier, basket, or saddle-bag.

But given the trade in skins with Britain, such skins must, as the name *corium* implies, have been *cured*, from the old Italian *coira*. The most ready and available material to effect this was *SALT*; so that the Coritani were not only traders in skins, but curers or makers of the *corium*, or, as we call it, leather.

It is interesting to note that close to the district occupied by the Veneti are very extensive salt works of great antiquity, reputed to date back to the time of the Veneti. They are to this day in full use, and have been from time immemorial worked by people who do not amalgamate with the natives, and who claim to be descendants of ancestors from Britain.

Guided by the name it may be assumed that such works were also in operation at *Salinae*, in Bedfordshire—corrupted to “Sandy.” Salt was the one thing the

eastern side of Britain was deficient in for curing skins—the salt of Cheshire would have supplied the west.

Bedfordshire was occupied by a distinct class of colonists, the early Iberians, who probably cured the skins, as was the case in Brittany; this strengthens the matter, as hunters would have no time for such occupation.

The Greek salt works were called *ἀλαί*, to which the old Italians gave an initial s, thus making Salai or Salinae, the ZAAHNAI of Ptolemy. In Ravenna and various *iters* there are places called Salinae, but always not far from one or other of the great pre-Roman roads of traffic; an example is Salinae, near Corinium, another colony of the skin-traders, the Coritani.

So far as recorded, the articles exhumed in this district are classed as Roman; and this is probable, with the exception of some amber beads, probably Baltic, and what is described as blue glass, *i.e.*, enamelled work at Hun's Hill. It is curious that all articles of gold work, bronze, and enamelled jewellery, or of Phoenician or of Baltic merchandise, have been found on the great east and west roads, trending from Wales both to the north-east and south-east from the Forth to Kent. This very distinction indicates that, though the rarer class of articles apparently for use, even in Oriental commerce, went direct to the great ports trafficking with the Baltic, the important trade in skins was adopted and monopolised by the people of Gaul in particular: as the Greeks may have used, but are not described as using, leather sails, though there is nothing to show the contrary. *ιστός* means the mast with the sail attached, and is applied to the bar of a loom with the web also attached. The ancient loom was upright, as still used in the manufacture of Gobelin tapestry, and when the vertical web was attached to the horizontal bar it was very like an old mainsail, as shown in ancient monuments. At the same time, the Latin *vĕlum* for a sail may have indicated a sail of skin. *Vĕllum*, meaning a fleece of wool, a skin, etc., may easily have become in the mouths of the shipmen *vĕlum*, a veil, sail, curtain, etc., as all these were probably in the first instance made of wool; and the two words may have meant: one, the woven wool sail, the other

the natural wool on the skin, as both could have been equally in use.

The ancients used ships having one, two, and even three masts ; this is shown by various examples, the most graphic being carefully-built inverted ships of stone in Minorca, in the interiors of which the bases or truncated portions of masts, three in number, from the deck to the keel, as described by me at the Congress at Devizes, are in good preservation. Pliny describes ships as carrying one, two, and three masts ; and it is therefore probable that for special sails, sheets made of corium or leather, being in common use for protecting naval bulwarks, were also adapted to the masts for speed : the more so as the Veneti were Oriental Gauls, always coast settlers and maritime traders, and their leather sails were probably *antique*, and belonging to an age of Greek or Phoenician commerce, prior to and unknown to the Romans.

The name, Wellund, brings forward interesting associations. First, it takes us to Wellan or Wellund, the smith referred to by Sir Walter Scott under the name of "Wayland:" a name perhaps acquired from his operations being carried out on the great or Ic-nield Way. Hence "Wayland Smith's Cave," clearly one of those forges, still existing in fact as well as in tradition, which may be traced from the extreme west coast of Ireland, through North Wales to Wiltshire, and thence to Sussex ; the two most notable being that in Armagh, the Irish Smith's Palace, or Fairy Mansion, called from his name Sidh Cuilinn, and Wayland Smith's cave in Wiltshire. The smith's craft was an occult art, and the workers were looked on as dealers in magic by the superstitious ; in short, as having the power of transmuting metals.

This point becomes emphasised when, among the rather sparse remains in this county, the banks of the Wellund and the course of Watling Street have produced heaps of accumulated cinders ; as at Castle Dikes in Farthingston, and at Round Hill, near Lilborn. But further, in those heaps, which I venture to call Smith's middens, are found in proximity with such cinders, broken pottery.

The days of excavation in which those heaps were

opened were not days of *careful* research, and pottery was pottery and nothing more.

With careful examination of exhumed relics for some years along the trade routes in and from Britain to Italy, I have succeeded in classing much of such pottery, as funeral, domestic, religious, and technical; and the latter may be divided into common or trade uses, and superior or scientific, that is to say: the smith's melting-pot, and the vessels used by the analyst; the latter comprise crucibles of various forms and sizes. Waylund or Wellund Smith, probably acquired this name through coming from amongst a people so-called; and although there is no account of colonists bearing that name, yet the Verones, well-known traders in *metal* from northern Italy to Spain, had a settlement north of the Wellund, Verometum, near a settlement of the Vennonae, and both were traders here. The *v*, as a double letter *w* is common; and the change in Attic Greek of the ρ (*r*) into λ (*l*) is almost as common. Professor Donaldson, formerly Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, has shown such changes in the ancient languages of Italy, and some affinities in Russian, or rather Russo-Tauranian; so that the Verones might be read Welones, or Wellonese, and their district Welland. This actually occurs, as Verometum is now Willoughby; and by the Graeco-Iberic mutation, Veronese became Beronese. This takes us straight to the old Iberian fort, Berigonium in Argyllshire, which was captured by the Irish Gaels; the vitrified fort on which brings us back to the Smith's middens on the Wellund. The association of our word "well," though suitable to a river-fount or welling up of water, can hardly have been the source of the word, or many rivers would have been so named, instead of the usual "eis" or "es," as in Isis, Thames, or Avon, etc. The word applies more to "weld," to unite metal, which appears to be a shortened form of "wellund," and would in that sense explain the cinder-heaps in itself. Weld is Scandinavian, and the Scandinavian metal traders, though the name was then unknown, clearly trafficked with Italy in pre-Roman times, as described in my paper at Stoke-upon-Trent, and that to the British Association at Leeds.

There is so much interest connected with the districts around Northamptonshire in which were the several States that surrendered to Caesar after his crossing the Thames, that time would not permit even a reference to now, tempting as it is. But it must be borne in mind that the Trinobantes were not fighting men, but merchants from Greece, Italy, and the Baltic, and their case was not one of military surrender, but a claim for protection; there could be no stronger proof of their being merchants. We even get a sight of their religion in huge forms of serpents, and traces of Thargelia, a ceremony exclusively Greek; while the traditions worked out by the Rev. W. Cobb, Head Master of the Grammar School at Great Berkhamstead, are as graphic as to serpent worship as those of St. Patrick in Ireland.





THE EOLITHIC STONE AGE, OR NOTES ON EOLITHS FROM KENT.

BY R. QUICK, ESQ., M.J.S., CURATOR OF THE HORNIMAN MUSEUM.



PAPER has been recently read before the Anthropological Institute on the caves and stone implements of South Africa ("Eoliths from Pretoria"), in which the writer, or author, Mr. Geo. Leith, gives a very graphic account of these very primitive stone implements. He says: "The Eoliths are all traceable to the high-level gravels; they are water- and weather-worn, with a peculiar brown patina;" and, in another part: "that it is marvellous the correspondence between the implements of the plateau gravels in the Transvaal and those that have been found on the chalk of Kent." It is this passage in his article which has prompted me to bring the subject (with illustration of specimens from the Kentish plateau) before this Association.

The Stone Age is now divided by most scientific men into three epochs:

- 1st. The Eolithic, or Dawn of the Stone Age (Wilson).
- 2nd. The Palæolithic, or Early Stone Age (Sir John Lubbock).
- 3rd. The Neolithic, or Later Stone Age (" ").

I will commence with the Palæolithic Age, as, until quite recently, it was considered by most archæologists to be the most ancient period yielding any decisive proofs of the existence of man. That was the opinion of many, some eighteen or twenty years ago. Since then great discoveries have been made, which are believed to prove

the existence of man many thousands of years previous to the Palæolithic Age.

We will first consider briefly the Palæolithic Age and then the Eolithic period, which has recently come to light in various parts of the world; and I have here some specimens which were obtained from the North Downs of Kent, which we will examine and compare with objects of the later periods.

Sir John Lubbock, in describing the Palæolithic Age, says: "The antiquities are usually found in beds of gravel and loam, extending along our valleys, and reaching sometimes to the height of 200 ft. above the present water-levels at the same places; and that these beds were deposited by the existing rivers, which then ran in the same direction as at present, and drained nearly the same areas. The rude stone implements found in these deposits were simply chipped into form, and never ground or polished. Some of the types are quite different from what are met with in the subsequent age. The climate varied at different periods, as we find the bones of the mammoth, the musk ox, the woolly-haired rhinoceros, and other Arctic species, while the hippopotamus, and other Southern species denoted that a warm period intervened. The extinction of these large mammalia must have been a work of time. These valley beds are found from 100 ft. to 200 ft. above the present water-level, and the bottom of the valley is occupied by a (great) bed of peat, which, in some cases, is as much as 30 ft. thick.

"It is quite evident that for the excavation of the valley by the river to a depth of more than 200 ft., and then for the formation of so thick a bed of peat, much time must have been required. If we consider the alteration which has taken place in the climate, as well as in the fauna, and remember also that the last 1900 or 2000 years have produced scarcely any perceptible change; we cannot but come to the conclusion that *very many centuries*, or more like millions of years, have elapsed since these rivers ran at levels so much higher than the present ones. That man lived at this time we know, as already said, by the discovery of stone implements of undoubted human workmanship. Human bones have also been

found in cave deposits, which are said to belong to this period. But the works of man are quite as convincing as his bones."

Now, the implements of the Palæolithic Age may be roughly summed up as follows: Long-pointed and spatula-shaped implements. These palæoliths (or "pals" as some call them) are worked flints. They have been found in the river drift and in gravel pits at various depths, and in different parts of England, such as the valley of the Thames, Medway, Cam, Lark, Ouse, Axe, etc.; also in other parts of the world.

They are nearly all of a similar shape, and although many are very rude and rough, they are all unmistakeably the work of some intelligent being, and have been chipped intentionally. The two principal types or forms met with may be termed: (1) the tongue-shaped; and (2) the flat ovoid (or disc-like) axes, having an edge all round. The former kind was undoubtedly used in the hand, although some were probably hafted, just as some savages handle their stone axes to day (A few specimens are before you now). It is well to add that these palæolithic implements were never polished nor ground (as we find with the neolithic examples), but are always left rough. The colour of these river-drift implements is generally of an ochreous yellow, and the flaking is bold and strong. As, I have just said, mammalian remains, such as those of the mammoth, ox, horse, stag, etc., have been found in the same gravels, it may be safely said that primitive man was contemporary with these animals (example from Kent Cavern, etc.).

There is one other point. What were the uses of these rude, ancient, and formidable objects? The answer is that they, like the assegais of the Zulus, were used for all cutting purposes (just as we use a knife to-day), such as for felling down small timber (like the Carib implements, used as a wedge), for digging or scooping out the inside of trees to form canoes, for grubbing up roots, for cutting up food; and finally for killing enemies or any wild animals wished to be possessed. These river-drift or valley implements which seem to have formed axes, spear-heads, and rude knives of flint, were certainly made by

racés of men who were the first hunters of whom we have any record, but I cannot say that these flints furnish the oldest works of man, as I shall endeavour to explain presently. These implements, and the bones of their carvers (or makers) have been found together, along with the bones of the animals they probably slew, and on which they no doubt fed.

Sir Charles Lyell, the famous geologist, was of opinion that the palæolithic flints are at least 100,000 years old, while other scientists believe them to be more than 250,000 years old ; anyhow, it is quite certain that it is several thousand years since the time when these ancient men hunted such animals as I have named, and these implements, with the bones of the animals, are all that remain to tell the tale.

I now purpose to take you back to a period far more ancient, and to prove, if I can, that the cradle of human life is situated, as far as this country is concerned, on the plateaux of Kent.

EOLITHIC STONE AGE.

The late Professor Prestwich first brought these Eolithic or plateau implements before the public in an article on "The Greater Antiquity of Man" in the *Nineteenth Century* (1895) ; but previous to that he had read an admirable paper before the Anthropological Institute in 1892, which caused a sensation in the scientific world. In October, 1894, Professor Robert Jones wrote an article (in *Natural Science*) on "The Geology of the Plateau Implements of Kent." The subject cropped up again in November, 1897, when my friend, Mr. W. Cunnington, F.G.S., wrote a learned article (to *Natural Science*) on "The Non-Authenticity of Plateau Man." So, being particularly interested in the subject, I paid a visit to Mr. Harrison, the enthusiastic collector, at Ightham, and went over with him a part of the ground where these implements were found. He has collected upwards of four thousand plateau specimens ; that is, they were taken from heights varying from 400 ft. to 800 ft. above the level of the sea.

Every specimen has received a number, the date when found, under what conditions, and any other detail, all entered in Mr. Harrison's catalogue against each number. Now, I consider this an important point with regard to all specimens. And I must say that, after having carefully gone over every point that has been said on the subject by our leading scientists *for and against* the theory (as whether these implements or stones are the work of man or of Nature), I have come to the conclusion that, without any doubt (as I hope to show), they are the work of man.

I have examined a number of specimens from the plateau gravel. Of course, it is one thing to handle and inspect them, and another to judge them from photographs or engravings, however good the latter may be.

I must certainly say that I seem to see a purpose in the manner in which they were chipped, and they display a certain amount of *intelligence*, either of early man, or possibly (I don't say probably) of some very high form of anthropoid ape. This, perhaps, is a theory which Darwin might have held. Some students believe that these implements are accidental forms of flint, or are formed under certain conditions of nature. But when one sees and handles a great number of the specimens, some chipped for the left as well as for the right-hand use, I think this natural or accidental form theory must fall to the ground.

For instance, the plateau scrapers very much resemble those formerly used by the North American Indians for dressing skins. In some cases it will be seen that the chipping of the flints is very slight, in fact, scarcely apparent; but this is no doubt because primitive man found that the accidental form of the stone pretty nearly answered his requirements; while again, other specimens show a distinct design and object to be attained.

There are striated marks on some of the specimens, which closely resemble those produced by glacial action. This certainly shows that the flints belong to a pre-glacial period.

Some stones are quite of a drawshave, or hollow scraper shape, and were, no doubt, used for scraping the bark off a natural branch or stick. Mr. Harrison tells me this

is a very common form, and that he has found specimens in every quarter. Some specimens, it is true, at first have an unpromising appearance; but when carefully examined with others of the same form, but better worked, show that they are real specimens of man's handicraft; and I think the "Eolithic" (or "Dawn of the Stone Age") an appropriate title for them.

I consider they form the "A" in the alphabet of the historical school of man.

And now I will quote a few remarks that have been made by different scientific men on this subject. (1) The late Professor Prestwich said (*Nineteenth Century*, 1894): "That there should be hesitation in accepting the artificial character of some of the work, we are not surprised; and were it not that definite design is shown in the frequent repetition of the same form, we could well understand that there should be scepticism.

"The same scepticism was shown by a former generation with respect to the implements from the valley drifts, viz., the Palæolithic.

"One strong point of difference between the valley and the plateau forms is that the former (the Palæoliths) are commonly larger and more massive, and not adapted for use in the hand (although there are exceptions), but would appear to have been fixed at the end of a stick for use as weapons of offence or defence.

"On the other hand, the plateau implements are mostly of small size, and fitted for use without a haft. This is further to be seen in the fact that these heads are generally worked round all the edges, so that they could be used in different positions and on all sides. This absence of the large massive implements is a noticeable feature" (Prestwich, *l. c.*).

Many of the large mammalia existed, so that weapons of defence would appear to have been as much needed as in the subsequent Palæolithic period; perhaps these primitive men, for want of skill or intelligence, lived more or less in the trees of the forest.

What little is known of Palæolithic man leads us to suppose that he resembled the savage of to-day, and that he lived in caves and rock-shelters (much as the Veddahs

of Ceylon, or the Dyaks of Borneo, or the Bushmen of South Africa).

Mr. Leith, in his article referred to at the beginning of this paper, describes a scene he witnessed of some primitive (Bushmen) cave men at home (p. 262); he says: "As a picture of pre-historic man at home it was complete."¹ They are the last remnants of a Palæolithic race in South Africa.

All traces of Eolithic man have disappeared in the long roll of the ages. You will again say, of what use were these Eolithic implements? They could obviously be used for hammering, for breaking bones, for scraping skins, bones and sticks, and for chipping and trimming other stones for use; and also may have been used as a body-scraper, as in Patagonia. All this, of course, points to a very primitive type of man, whose wants were few, and who probably lived largely on fruit and roots.

What their epoch may be we cannot say, but probably they preceded or were contemporaneous with some part of the Glacial period; that is, supposing the great valley of the Medway was excavated by the rains and ice of that period.

Of the greater antiquity of the plateau men I think there can be no doubt, when we consider the position and age of Palæolithic man. It is now forty years ago since the discoveries in the valley of the Somme, and in Brixham Cave, were made.

The late Dr. Coll concluded that the insetting of the Glacial period took place 240,000 years ago, and the end of the post-Glacial period 80,000 years ago. These figures are, I believe, thought by most scientific men to-day to be a little overdrawn. The time of the Palæolithic man or the man of the valley drifts, probably does not extend beyond 20,000 to 30,000 years ago, and his disappearance at from 10,000 to 12,000 years from our own times is equally likely.

Palæolithic man is admittedly post-Glacial, and between him and Eolithic man is the wide gulf of the period of the extreme Glacial Age, when this land of

¹ See note, p. 342.

ours was either under ice and snow, or under an ice-covered ocean; in other words, England was then very much what Greenland or North Siberia is now, and this probably lasted from 15,000 to 25,000 years (Dr. Colls thought 150,000). But it does not very much matter whether the 15,000 or the 150,000 figure be adopted.

The important question is to understand that, anyhow, the time needed for the advance and retreat of the great ice streams must have been *very* long. And it is this which gives the gap, so to speak, or interval between the Eolithic or Plateau, and the Palæolithic or Valley, races of man. And now the important point comes.

A considerable time must have elapsed for the evolution of the symmetrical forms of the Palæolithic implements from the rude Eolithic types: a transition greater than that which separates the work of the Valley or Palæolithic from that of the Neolithic or polished stone Period (see Illustration on p. 340).

The subject may be looked at from two points of view, viz., the *archæological* and the *geological*. In the former, the work of man is the starting-point; in the latter, the work of Nature was.

Archæology deals with all that men in ancient times have made and left behind, and these rude implements and tools are the oldest we know of; so I think you will all admit the subject is worthy of the consideration of this Association.

It seems most probable that a ruder form of implement must be looked for than the more specialized Palæolithic forms of the river drifts, to form the beginning of the chapter of the history of early man, and here on the Kentish plateau I think Mr. Harrison has found it, as far as this country is concerned. These implements, taken generally, are peculiar, and seem to be confined to a distinct area, being found on the plateau gravel at from 400 ft. to 800 ft. above the sea-level, and within twenty-four miles of Piccadilly; so we undoubtedly have here what may be termed the cradle of Early Man. The Eolithic implements may be termed the prototypes of the later implements.

Early man did not consider form of any importance: two

objects alone presented themselves to his simple intelligence, a hand-grip and a usable edged tool. He worked with both hands, as we know by the left-handed forms being almost or quite as numerous as the right. No



A, Eolith. B, Paleolith. C, Neolith.¹

doubt some of these flints are three parts the work of Nature, and one part the work of art or man. Nature

¹ A. is from near Ightham; B. from North Fleet; C. from Denmark.

probably suggested the form to man. Some examples show much less working than others, but will nevertheless be found to have their place in the series.

We cannot expect to prove the regular evolution, but merely to show the relation of one form to the other. But study of the specimens clearly demonstrates that we have an unbroken sequence of development.

These Eolithic implements being inferior in shape and working to the majority of the Palæolithic specimens, are, therefore, from an evolutionist's point of view, to be considered the older. The tools or implements are divided into groups of Archæan character, the same form recurring in great numbers.

The repetition of the same form in the different types is very remarkable, and is, I consider, a strong point in favour of their being the work of man. What were the uses of some of these "tools," or "weapons," or implements—the terms are synonymous, as they were used at first as much for purposes of construction as for those of destruction—will always remain a mystery.

And now the question is this, and a very simple one. It matters not if nearly all, or at least half of the specimens found by Mr. Harrison are the work of Nature (very probably some are), and even if only half a dozen out of the four or five thousand collected can be shown to be the work of man, and the stratigraphical position established, then Eolithic or plateau man becomes a real being, to whom the modern world was first introduced by Mr. Harrison, of Ightham, the small village near Seven-oaks. Many of these eoliths are naturally split flints, worked from one side only; the trimming or chipping is generally of a character such as could not have been produced by accident or natural causes, and these are much worn. The colour is a characteristic dark brown, the cutting edges being rounded off or blunted; the chipping appearing always on the opposite side to a good hand-grip, which fact was an important consideration with primitive man.

In conclusion, Mr. Abbott (in *Natural Science*) says: "Careful searching over the surface of slight excavations not only showed the existence of old brown flints, quartz-

ites, chert, etc., but revealed the remarkable fact that the former had been picked up and worked perhaps on one edge, used—sharp edges being abraded in the using—then thrown down again; and further that all this had taken place before the flint entered into the remarkable deposit which so altered the surface of the object, and changed its colour to the aforesaid rich dark brown. There are sometimes found Eocene pebble flints, split by frost and worked from one side only; at others, there are discovered nearly whole flints, picked promiscuously, the working appearing always on the opposite side to a good hand-grip. There are here no oval hammer-stones, such as were used in Palæolithic times, and consequently bulbs of percussion on flakes are very rare.”

NOTE.—The following is the quotation from Mr. Leith’s Paper on “Eoliths from Pretoria,” referred to on pp. 332 and 338:—

“I found the entrance to the cave about 15 ft. above sea-level, in a cliff about 200 ft. high. The cave is reached from the top by climbing down a very steep and rocky path, at the foot of which a 30-ft. ladder takes one to the entrance. As this could not possibly have been the pathway used by its prehistoric occupants, I looked about for another. I looked in vain. Nothing resembling a path was to be seen, but I noticed that by a circuitous route over bare rocks, inclined at some places at an angle of 45°, a baboon, a Bushman, or possibly a barefooted boy, at the risk of his life, might reach the cave. It must have been a perfect haven of refuge for those who knew the devious and dangerous path. It is a cave in the true sense of the word. The opening is not large; but inside the roof is high, and the far end is lost in cavernous darkness. It is not given to every anthropologist to see ‘cave dwellers’ at home, but such was my good fortune on that occasion. Stepping off the ladder, I clambered up the slope to the entrance. The scene that met my eyes I shall never forget. In the middle of the dark space a fire of driftwood was burning, and in the light of it were sitting three Hottentots, naked to the waist, one tearing the meat of a bone with his teeth, the others busy helping themselves from a pot standing between them. As a picture of prehistoric man at home it was complete, and it was not an illusion.”



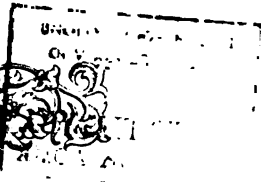
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** Engraved from an Original Picture in the College of Hereford.*

ROBERT **HOLGATE**
BISHOP OF *LLANDAFF,*
March 29. *D. 1537.*
ARCHBISHOP **OF YORK,**
Jan. 10. *1514.*
AND LORD PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL
in the North.
Deprived of the See of York by
QUEEN MARY, 1554.
Born at Kemsorth in Yorkshire.
1481.
Died at the Master of Sempringham's Head House in London.
Nov. 15th 1555



“NOTES ON THE LIFE AND PORTRAIT OF
ROBERT HOLGATE, ✓

FIFTY-NINTH ARCHBISHOP OF YORK.”

BY MRS. DAY.



HE Council of the British Archæological Association have done me the honour of allowing me to read a paper on the life of the man whose portrait I have laid upon the table to-night : Robert Holgate, fifty-ninth Archbishop of York.

The engraving I present is taken from the portrait in oils of the Archbishop, still to be seen in the Governor's room of the Hospital which he founded at Hemsworth.

A bundle of MSS. and papers bearing on the life and doings of this man, a person of considerable wealth and eminence, came into my hands during the past summer ; and finding them interesting, it occurred to me they might be interesting to others ; hence I have made a short summary of their contents. For, I take it, the true object of archæology is to re-construct (in imagination, at any rate) the life and habits of that wonderful enigma man, from the relics of the past : whether the Scarabæus of an Egyptian monarch, the engraved bodies and wings of the great Assyrian figures, the broken hypocausts of a buried Roman villa, or inscrutable Stonehenge itself. It is the *men* of olden time we want to know, their ways, their thoughts, their speech ; and instead of wandering “in fields and pastures new” with Col. Younghusband or Mrs. Bishop, even so humble an archæologist as I may with care and pleasure pick my way amongst the old “footprints on the sands of time.”

Robert Holgate, Archbishop (fifty-ninth) of York, was born at Hemsworth, near Pontefract, West Riding of Yorks., in 1481, being third son of Thomas Holgate, of Stapleton, by Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Champernowne; he was bred a Gilbertine, and became Master of the Order of Sempringham, in the county of Lincoln, and Prior of Watton, in the county of York (a branch of the Gilbertine house). He was Vicar of Cadney, where was also a branch of the Order, in the county of Lincoln; and was appointed Preacher to the University of Cambridge in 1524.

Subsequently, he was appointed King's Chaplain; and on March 29th, 1537, Bishop of Llandaff. He proceeded D.D. at Cambridge, by special grace, in the same year, 1537; and was nominated by the King (Henry VIII) President of the Council in the North, in July, 1537 (*State Papers*, vol. v, p. 333). He held the Presidency for twelve years, resigning on account of the displeasure of the Duke of Northumberland, at his not "forbearing the order of Justice, which he might not doo, in causes of divers light parsons offenders," as stated in his appeal to Queen Mary (*Domestic State Papers*, vol. vi, p. 84; this State paper is backed "Touching the late Archbishop of York). In this appeal to the Queen, Holgate also speaks of his work as President in the following words: "there was never any man that had cause to comlesne for lacke of justice or for corrupcion in the same, of his behalfe." The house of the Lord Abbot of St. Mary's, in York, was converted into a palatial residence for the Lord President.

A special grant of Arms was made to him, June 29th, 1541, on his appointment to Llandaff, viz.: *Or*, a bend between two bulls' head's couped *sable*, on a chief *argent*, two bars *gules*, surmounted of a crutch staff in bend *azure*, the crutch marking his Gilbertine status; the original Arms of his family being three bulls' heads erased *sable*. A fair carving of Archbishop Holgate's Arms, now in possession of the Rector of Hemsworth, was formerly over a door of the hospital, but taken down some years ago, viz.: the cross keys and crown of the See of York, impaling three bulls' heads erased—this latter being the

coat of Holgate of Stapleton, of which family the Archbishop was a member. The name is also spelt Houlgate, Holdegate and Halgate.

Robert Holgate was translated from Llandaff to the Archbishopric of York, January 10th, 1544. He married, January 15th, 1549, Barbara, daughter of Roger Wentworth, Esq., of Elmsal, after the publication of their banns at Bishopthorp and at Arithwick-in-the-Street, near Doncaster. In his subsequent appeal to Queen Mary, mentioned above, he "beseeches her excellent grace most humblye, to forgyve him that faulte; & notwithstanding he was counceled to marrye by the Duke of Somerset & others, & the greate feare of the Duke of Northumberlande as declaryed hereafter, he thinketh himselfe very moche worthye punyshment for that offence, being in the vocac'on that he was in being the secounde prelaite of this realme." He goes on: "Whereas he hath thus offended as is aforesaid he doithe promise to Almightye God, and to her highness by the speciall helpe of Almightye God, to keipe God's most blessyd lawes, and her grace's lawes and proceedinges to the uttermost of his power all the daies of his lyffe according to suche vocac'on as he shall bee in, & to use himselfe soo as the same shall be preynd & provyd from tyme to tyme."

He was committed to the Tower by Queen Mary, because of his marriage, October 4th, 1553, and was deprived of the Archbishopric, March 16th, 1554; he was afterwards released from the Tower, January 18th, 1555, through the intercession of Philip. Doubtless the Spanish king's need of money for his soldiers in the Low Countries may have inclined him to mercy: for the astute Prelate, at the end of his appeal to the Queen, prays "the Quene's most excellent & Royall Majestie to graunte me my lybertie & that I may be restored to celebra'con from which I have bene suspended a great tyme to my greate discomfort, and I will offer to her Majestie most humblye a thousande poundes sterlinge most enterlye beseeching Her Highness to accept that as a Remembrance as parte of my dewtye with my contynuall praiers and service during my lyffe."

The Archbishop died at the Master of Sempringham's

Head House in Cow Lane, Smithfield, in the parish of St. Sepulchre (he was himself Master of the Order), November 15th, 1555 ; and was probably buried (wrapped in the white habit of the Gilbertines, they having adopted the customs of St. Benedict) in that church, but the registers do not go back so far ; they begin in 1562. There is a tradition that his body was brought to Hemsworth, and there buried by the monks of St. Mary Magdalen's Priory, at Monk Bretton ; and a large marble slab, without inscription, under the altar at Hemsworth, is thought to be his tomb. His will is dated April 27th, 1555, and was proved December 4th, 1556. In the Inquisition Post-Mortem, taken at the Guildhall, London, May 11th, 1556, "Magistri Roberti Holgate, *alias* Halgate, clerici nuper Arch. Ebor. def'." *Thomas* Holgate is declared his next heir, being his cousin, to wit, son and heir of Henry Holgate, late of Clayton, senior deceased brother of the said Robert, Archbishop, and was at the time of his (R. H.) death aged forty. This clearly proves that the statement put forward by some authorities that the Archbishop left two sons by his wife, Barbara, is incorrect.

The Archbishop, as a true Gilbertine (for St. Gilbert¹ commenced his career as a schoolmaster, although a rich man, and Lord of the Manor of Sempringham), founded and endowed three free schools during his life, viz., York, Old Malton, and Hemsworth, all in the county of York. As one slows now into York station by Great Northern Railway from the south, one may see a notice-board above the city roofs, "Archbishop Holgate's School." By his will he left all his lands for the erection and endowment of a hospital at Hemsworth, for a master and twenty brethren and sisters of the age of sixty, or blind or lame, belonging to Hemsworth and three adjacent parishes. This bequest was duly executed by his surviving executors. At an Inquisition Post-Mortem, taken at the Castle of York, September 14th, 1556, by John Kay, Escheator, it was found that three of his seven executors were already dead. The four remaining executors obtained Letters

See Appendix.

Patent from the King and Queen, March 17th, 1557, for carrying into effect the munificent intentions of the late Archbishop.

Thoresby, writing in 1724, says the brethren and sisters then received £10 18s. each per annum, and the master £50. When, in 1786, the Rev. John Simpson was made master, he found that the estates were generally let below their real value; and after a tedious suit with the tenants (see *Vesey's Reports*), the right of the master, brethren and sisters to the full value of their lands was established. The Rev. Joseph Hunter, in *South Yorkshire*, vol. ii, p. 430 (sub-parish of Hemsworth, 1831), says: "the Reserved Rents were then said to exceed £2,000, affording a revenue to each brother and sister of about £90 per annum. A new scheme of management was sanctioned by the Court of Chancery in 1857, reducing the stipend of the brethren and sisters to £40 a year; and with the surplus funds accruing through this change, a new and commodious hospital was erected at a cost of about £8,000, which was to be further enlarged as funds accumulated, with a view to the benefits being extended to a greater number of poor persons.

And so nearly four hundred years are passed, but this man is not forgotten, and his influence not gone: "The good men do lives after them, their evil deeds are buried with their bones."—*pace* Mark Antony.

The authorities consulted for this Paper are: For the pedigree, the *Harl. MS.* 4630; *Plut.* lviii, F., p. 285; and *Harl. MS.* 1487, f. 468b (Brit. Museum): it is further duly recorded in the Heralds' College.

For the arms: The College of Arms, London.

For the life: *Biography of Archbishop Holgate*, by Rev. William Hunt; and a yet better account by Joseph Wilkinson in *Worthies, Families, etc., of Barnsley and District*; and researches made by Wyndham Holgate, of Ardingly, Sussex. And further, Drake's *Ebor.*, p. 452; Hunter's *South Yorks.*, ii, 430; Browne Willis' *Cathedrals*, i, 44; Collier's *Eccl. History*; Strype's *Memoirs*; Cranmer, pp. 77, 440; Ormsby's *York*; Dugdale's *Monasticon*, vi, 954; Machyn's *Diary* (Camden Society); *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1800, Pt. I (untrustworthy sketch of life);

Bishop Stubbs on *Investiture with the Pall*, 1860, Pt. II, p. 522; *State Papers Henry VIII*, v, Nos. 340, 345; *MS. State Papers Mary*, Dom. vi., f. 84, on Holgate's marriage; MS. extract of Arms from Records of the College of Arms, by Bluemantle, Pursuivant, January 30th, 1888.

For Holgate's works on Council of the North (1540-4), see British Museum *Additional MSS.*; Transactions between England and Scotland, 32646-55 *passim*, containing numerous letters signed by him, with others, on public affairs.

For his foundations: Carlisle's *Endowed Schools*, Report 11, pp. 817, 821, 858: 919; and for suit before the Privy Council relating to removal of Hemsworth Grammar School, *Times*, March 7th, 1887, p. 3.

I have one or two further remarks to make. The oath taken by Robert Holgate on his translation to the See of York, 1544-5, at Lambeth, was a new form, in future to be taken by all bishops, and Holgate was the first who took it. The significant passage occurs: "I, Robert Archbishop of York elect, having now the veil of darkness of the usurped power, authority and jurisdiction of the See and Bishop of Rome clearly taken away from mine eyes, do utterly testify and declare in my conscience, that neither the See nor the Bishop of Rome, nor any foreign potentate, hath, nor ought to have, any jurisdiction, power or authority within this realm, neither by God's laws nor by any just law or means" The Archbishop appears to have had strong leanings towards Church reform, and to have been somewhat of a Progressive, as we should say nowadays, *vide* his Injunctions in date 1552, extracted from the Statutes, etc., of the Cathedral of York, too long to enter upon here.

His appeal from the Tower to the Queen's mercy is addressed to the Right Honorable Sir Richard Southwell, one of the Queen's Privy Council, saying: "These premisses being tendrelye considered I entyrely desire youe good Mr. Southwell for Christe seike to be a meane for me to the Queene's most excellent & Royall Majestie."

An inventory was taken of his goods on his deprivation of the See of York, when his property was looted and

seized, and his houses raided. His property in money and precious stones and ornaments was considerable; his beds and hangings rich, his carpets good—he specially mentions two Turkey carpets—and of his five houses says that “3 were very well furnished, and two meetly well.” Also of household stores a considerable quantity; wheat, malt, oats, salt-fish, and five or six tuns of wine. More than 2,500 sheep were taken, more than four or five score of horses, and “good harneys & artillery sufficient for 7 score men.” The Archbishop laid this Inventory and his complaint for the loss of all his goods in a Bill of Complaint before the House of Lords (*C. C. Coll., Cam., MS.*, No. cv, fol. 33. *Gent.'s Mag.*, vol. 95, pt. I, p. 595, 1825).

By what we are pleased to call a curious coincidence, though a coincidence of very ordinary occurrence, the day I finished, in Sussex, reading the MSS. relating to Archbishop Holgate, my copy of the *Athenæum* was sent on to me from London, in date June 17th; it contained an article on “Chaucer’s *Court of Venus*,” with a bantering comment on the *indiscretions* of Sempringham Priory. Within the same week came, in the daily papers, an announcement that the Bishop of Lincoln would shortly consecrate and open a new porch in the Priory church at Sempringham: that Priory church which was founded by St. Gilbert; the porch is in use now.

For the description of the Prior’s head house in London, see Strype’s *Stow* (1720), book iii, p. 238; and Maitland’s *London* (1739), p. 503. In the latter work (p. 503), a passage runs: “In Smithfield was that spacious and lofty wooden edifice denominated High Hall still standing in St. John’s Court. This ancient structure of wood and stone was the city residence of the Prior of Sempringham in Lincolnshire, as is evident from the writings thereunto belonging in the custody of Sir Harry Featherstone, wherein the said house is denominated Sempringham Head-house.”

In the *York Diocesan Magazine* for November, 1898, mention is made of the new “provincial Seal of York: Chancery and Vicar-General,” which is stated to “follow the old Holgate devise”; this is incorrect, the seal

Bishop Stubbs on *Incestiture with the Pall*, 1860, Pt. II, p. 522; *State Papers Henry VIII*, v, Nos. 340, 345; *MS. State Papers Mary*, Dom. vi., f. 84, on Holgate's marriage; *MS. extract of Arms from Records of the College of Arms*, by Bluemantle, Pursuivant, January 30th, 1555.

For Holgate's works on Council of the North (1540-4), see British Museum *Additional MSS.*; Transactions between England and Scotland, 32646-55 *passim*, containing numerous letters signed by him, with others, on public affairs.

For his foundations: Carlisle's *Endowed Schools*, Report II, pp. 817, 821, 858: 919; and for suit before the Privy Council relating to removal of Hemsworth Grammar School, *Times*, March 7th, 1887, p. 3.

I have one or two further remarks to make. The oath taken by Robert Holgate on his translation to the See of York, 1544-5, at Lambeth, was a new form, in future to be taken by all bishops, and Holgate was the first who took it. The significant passage occurs: "I, Robert Archbishop of York elect, having now the veil of darkness of the usurped power, authority and jurisdiction of the See and Bishop of Rome clearly taken away from mine eyes, do utterly testify and declare in my conscience, that neither the See nor the Bishop of Rome, nor any foreign potentate, hath, nor ought to have, any jurisdiction, power or authority within this realm, neither by God's laws nor by any just law or means The Archbishop appears to have had strong leanings towards Church reform, and to have been somewhat of a Progressive, as we should say nowadays, *vide* his *Instructions* in date 1552, extracted from the Statutes of the Cathedral of York, too long to enter upon here. His appeal from the Pope to the Queen, addressed to the Right Honourable Sir P. of the Queen's Privy Council, the premises being tendrely were good Mr. Southwell for me to the Queene's most
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referred to is that of Robert Waldby, Archbishop of York from 1396-1398, which is now in the Museum at York. It is in perfect condition, and very beautiful. The British Museum has a copy of this seal, and oddly enough, also refers to it as Robert Holgate's seal (*vide* "Heralds' College Records").

The charming picture of mother and child (painted by Romney) I also exhibit to-night, is the portrait of Ann Holgate, born 1752, died 1817, heiress of Earl's Colne Priory, Essex; only child of C. W. Holgate, of Saffron Walden. She married Rev. Thomas Carwardine, vicar of Earl's Colne. The child is their eldest son, who died unmarried during his father's life. A branch of the old Yorkshire family of Holgate of Stapleton, of which the Archbishop was a member, settled at Saffron Walden; many are buried there. Another branch settled in Lincolnshire, but there are few of the name now living.

There are some memorials of the Archbishop at Hemsworth:—

1.—Over the doorway of the disused buildings of the Hospital:

"The Hospital of
ROBERT HOLGATE, Archbishop of York,
A native of this town,
Consisting of a Master, 10 Brethren & 10 Sisters;
Endowed by him with divers lands
Of a considerable value in this county.
Founded, according to his directions, 1555.
By the following gentlemen, Trustees of his Will—
Sir Thomas Gargrave } Knts. John Broxholm } Esqrs.
Sir William Peter } Thomas Spencer }
Erected Anno Dom. 1770, by Robert Strange."

2.—Over the entrance arch of the new buildings:

"Hospital of ROBERT HOLGATE, Archbishop.
Founded 1555."

3.—Small panel on south chancel wall: Arms—"See of York, imp. *or*, 3 bulls' heads erased *sa*."

"To ROBERT HOLGATE, Fifty-ninth Archbishop of York. Born 1481; died 1555, who founded in this his native place the Holgate Grammar School, 1546: and the Holgate Hospital 1555: this Arch is erected by the Trustees of his foundations & the Parishioners of Hemsworth, in grateful commemoration of the benefactions, A.D. 1887"

4.—Shields in the Board Room. Arms: “See of York, imp. with Arms of *Archbishop Waldby*.”

“Hospital of ROBERT HOLGATE. Founded 1555.
Rebuilt 1860.”

5.—A silver flagon, modern; also engraved with *Waldby's* Arms.

6.—Inscription on silver badges:

“Ex dono ROB'TUS HOLGATE,
Archiebisc'up Ebor. Anno 1555.
Fact. R. W.¹ 1687.”

7.—A carving of the Archbishop's Arms, formerly over a door in the Hospital, to which I have before referred.

8.—In front of the Chapel, in a niche under a canopy, is a full-length stone statue, stated to be that of the founder by Joseph Wilkinson, in his *Worthies of Barnsley and District*.

9.—An oil-painting—a portrait of the Archbishop—is in the Governor's room of the Hospital. This was engraved by James Stow at the end of last century.

A copperplate engraving of this picture, from which is taken the impression I present, is in the possession of Wyndham Holgate, of Ardingly, Sussex, who represents the Essex branch of the family, and whose coat-of-arms, as borne by his father and grandfather, I lay upon the table. The coat differs somewhat from that of the Archbishop, as was not unusual in distinguishing various members of a dispersed family.

APPENDIX.

St. Gilbert, 1085-1189: extracts from Newman's *Lives of the English Saints*.

Dugdale's *Monasticon*, MS. British Museum; and MS. Life of St. Gilbert, lent to Cardinal Newman by William Lockhart, now a Brother of Institute of Charity at Loughborough.

Gilbert, son of Sir Josceline, a Norman knight, was born at the

¹ Robert Wrighton, a lawyer of Hemsworth, who regained much property for the Hospital, and may be called the second founder. He died 1708, and was buried at Hemsworth.

end of the reign of William the Conqueror; the exact date is not known, but it was probably about 1085.

Sir Josceline held gifts of land from William in Lincolnshire, notably the manor and lordship of Sempringham.

Gilbert's mother was a Saxon lady, and they "dwelt in the midst of their people."

A reform of monastic abuses was at this date taking place in England, and St. Albans became a school of holy discipline under Paul, its first Norman abbot.

Gilbert, a puny, plain, shy child, was destined from his earliest years to be a clerk. He was sent to be educated in Paris, but his master is unknown. After a time he returned to England, and opened a school in his own old home of Sempringham. Neglected in his childhood, now that he was a scholar he was much respected, and as a schoolmaster was greatly honoured. His parents favoured him, and Pope Alexander III supported the school, to which both girls and boys flocked, and Gilbert found himself the "happy guide of youths and maidens who praised the Lord."

His father appointed him rector of two parishes which were in his gift; and Gilbert being a clerk, but not yet a priest, employed chaplains to do the ecclesiastical duties.

Robert Bloet, Bishop of Lincoln, sent for him to the Palace, and kept him some time, liking his simple unselfish ways and his knowledge; he seems to have been quite unspoiled by the luxury and brilliant Court life. After long hesitation, he yielded to the Bishop's wishes, and was ordained priest, leaving the Palace in 1130.

He was now, after his father's death, a rich man, Lord of the Manor of Sempringham, and, being anxious for the honour of God and the welfare of his parishioners, he founded, at the earnest request of seven maidens, a nunnery. He built a cloister for their residence, which was consecrated by Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln. Lay sisters as well as professed nuns became its inmates.

Gilbert was much attracted by the Cistercian rule of St. Benedict, and went to Cîteaux to consult St. Bernard how to govern his rapidly-increasing flocks, and what rules to draw up for their guidance. He met St. Malachi, who had come over from Ireland to Cîteaux, and both the Fathers made him a present of a staff when he left.

He had established a monastery also before he went to France, and on his return thence a perfect enthusiasm for the Gilbertine Order commenced: in spite—perhaps because—of the more than ordinarily austere rule.

Now was built the first Priory at Sempringham, upon land given by Gilbert of Ghent, who was the overlord of the district.

The peculiarity of this Order consisted in the institution of a certain number of canons to be the spiritual guides and confessors

of the nuns, who were the first religious instituted: the "White Gilbertines"—they used a white habit—an austere Order.

The canons were necessarily clerks and students. The rule of St. Augustine became partially grafted into their own.

Unmurmuring obedience was the first requirement; then purity of life and poverty; there were two separate churches, and canons and nuns never saw each other, save at the hour of death.

Gilbert finally took the habit, and the Pope appointed him First Prior of the Order.

In the quarrels between the King and Thomas a' Becket, Gilbert embraced the cause of the Archbishop; a poor brother of Sempringham stood by his side, and guided him at his fall and flight across fen and marsh to Sempringham Priory, where he rested secretly for three days.

Gilbert was sent for to London to give an account of himself and his Order, and to answer charges against his monks: lay brothers being, as usual, always a great trouble and causing scandal. Reproofs and reproaches were borne with patience, but Gilbert remained staunch to the Archbishop and to his Order. King Henry greatly admired his courage, and went to his lodgings to beg his blessing.

Queen Eleanor also brought her sons to see him. William, Bishop of Norwich, wrote a letter to Pope Alexander, praising Gilbert and his Order.

After long detention in London, he was permitted to return to his beloved Priory and his simple, self-denying life.

There were several offshoots from Sempringham: one in London, one in Yorkshire (Watton, in lonely marsh-lands), one at Cadney, a lonely island monastery in Lincolnshire Fens, where Gilbert lay ill to death when he was somewhat over a hundred years old; but his monks and chaplains carried him from those wretched and inhospitable surroundings to Sempringham, where he was buried in his Priory church, February 4th, 1189.

The Order did not spread much after the death of its founder, and never out of the country of its birth. The religious houses were suppressed by Henry VIII, but the Gilbertine priors seem to have still had a house in London, for Robert Holgate, Archbishop of York in Mary's reign, himself a Gilbertine, died there. And the Priory church of Sempringham still exists, the Bishop of Lincoln having lately (September, 1899,) opened a new porch, towards the erection of which the Queen was a subscriber.





Proceedings of the Association.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 7TH, 1900.

W. DE GRAY BIRCH, ESQ., V.-P., LL.D., F.S.A., IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents for the Library:—

- To the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, for "Journal," Parts II and III, vol. x, 1900.
- „ Royal Archæological Institute for "Journal," 2nd Ser., vol. vii, Parts I and II.
- „ Cambrian Archæological Association, for "Archæologia Cambrensis," July, October, 1900.
- „ Sussex Archæological Society, for "Collections," vol. xliii.
- „ Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, for "Proceedings," 3rd Ser., vol. ix.
- „ Powysland Club, for "Collections," Part xli, June, 1900.
- „ Wiltshire Archæological Society, for "Magazine," No. 93.
- „ Essex Archæological Society, for "Transactions," vol. viii, Part I; and for "Feet of Fines for Essex."
- „ Putman Memorial Fund, for "Proceedings of the Davenport Academy," vol. vii, 1897-9.
- „ Royal Institute of British Architects, for "Journal," 3rd Ser., vol. vii, Parts III and IV.
- „ Augustana Library, for Publications No. 2, "An Old Indian Village," by J. A. Viddler.
- „ Royal Dublin Society, for "Scientific Transactions," January, April, October, 1900; for "Economic Proceedings," vol. i, Parts I and II.
- „ Société d'Archéologie de Bruxelles, for "Transactions," July, April, 1900.

The following Members were duly elected :—

Rev. C. H. Evelyn-White, F.S.A., Rampton Rectory, Cambridge.

Hon. Mary Henniker, 4, Berkeley Street, W.

Fredk. C. Frost, Esq., 5, Regent Street, Teignmouth, Devon.

Major Frere, V.D., 10, New Street, Leicester.

Chas. E. Keyser, Esq., F.S.A., Aldermaster Court, Reading.

Hony. Correspondent : F. Haverfield, Esq., F.S.A., Christ Church, Oxford.

At the Council Meeting in the afternoon, Mr. Patrick, Hon. Sec., had brought up the question of Whitgift's Hospital at Croydon, which, it appears, is still threatened with demolition at the hands of the Town Council of that borough. He now reported that the Council, at his suggestion, had appointed three delegates, Mr. Hovenden, F.S.A., Mr. Kershaw, F.S.A. (if they would agree to act), and himself to meet the members of the Croydon Antiquities Protection Committee, with the delegates of other Societies interested, to discuss measures to avert the threatened disaster.

A most interesting lecture was given by Mr. Newstead, the Curator of the Grosvenor Museum at Chester, upon the Roman remains recently discovered in that city. The lecture was abundantly illustrated by over sixty photographs of the various objects found and the sites of the several discoveries, which were capially displayed by the limelight lantern. Within the past two years extensive alterations have been carried on within the boundaries of the city of Chester, which have yielded very many relics of the Roman occupation. One of the most important architectural relics of ancient Deva was discovered in the summer of 1898, and consisted of a semicircular structure composed of brickwork and masonry, resting upon a floor of thick concrete and large tiles. The inner surface was covered with three grades of plaster, the first being finely-powdered brick, the second chiefly of coarse sand, and the third a finishing coat of finely-ground quartz. The site of the building is in Godstall's Lane (off Eastgate Street North), and the depth at which the remains were found is 8 ft. 11 ins. Mr. Newstead considers the structure was probably a Lararium. Close alongside was found a wooden spade, similar to those used by the Romans in their mining operations. East of this structure, but at a higher level, was a rough concrete floor made of fragments of Roman roofing tiles faced with cement, and upon this floor were quantities of fine charcoal and many slips of waste sheet bronze, two bronze fibulæ of the harp-shaped type, and a curious implement somewhat resembling a "bit" used by a modern joiner. One of the most interesting things here

discovered was a slip of bronze, with a buckle-shaped attachment, bearing the motto, in green and red enamelled letters, *VTEBE FELIX*. During the last three months extensive excavations have been made in the rear of premises in Eastgate Street, a few paces west of God-stall's Lane, which brought to light considerable traces of Roman work in a series of drains having a base of flat, broad roofing tiles, with the sides and top of roughly-dressed masonry. On October 9th, about 15 ft. of lead water-pipes in differing lengths were dug out, portions of which bear inscriptions to Agricola. One of these inscriptions is on a raised band 3 ft. 10½ ins. long by 2 ins. broad, the letters practically filling the whole space, and is as follows:—

IMP. VESP. VIII. T. IMP. VII. COS. CN. IVLIO AGRICOLA LEG. AUG.
PR. PR.

The inscription was submitted to Mr. Haverfield, who considers the date to be A.D. 79, as Agricola governed Britain from A.D. 78 to A.D. 85; but the occurrence of Agricola's name on the pipes does not imply any special action or presence of his at Chester, but is due to the common method of dating. It is satisfactory to know that these most interesting relics of the Roman city have been preserved by Mr. Newstead's efforts, and have been presented by the owners of the property and the contractor for the works to the Chester Archaeological Society. The various distances and depths, and the exact nature of the several localities at which all the relics were discovered, together with their relative positions, are all accurately recorded by Mr. Newstead.

This Paper will, we hope, be printed in full, with illustrations, in a future number of the *Journal*.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 21ST, 1900.

C. H. COMPTON, Esq., V.-P., IN THE CHAIR.

The following Member was duly elected:—

Hubert R. H. Southam, Esq., F.S.A., Innellan, Shrewsbury.

Mr. Patrick, Hon. Sec., reported as to "WHITGIFT HOSPITAL":—

On November 17th, Mr. Kershaw, M.A., F.S.A., Mr. Hovenden, F.S.A., and G. Patrick, Hon. Sec., the delegates appointed by the Council, attended at Whitgift Hospital, Croydon, and met the members of the Croydon Antiquities Protection Committee. Delegates from other Societies were also present; and after considerable discussion as to

the proposed demolition of these ancient and interesting buildings, it was decided to send a deputation to the Governors of the Hospital, to endeavour to avert the threatened destruction, and afterwards to interview the Charity Commissioners upon the matter, with the view to their preservation, if possible.

The selection of the members of the deputation to be left in the hands of the Croydon Committee, who would appoint them from the delegates of the different Societies. It was also decided to work up interest in the town of Croydon itself, and to make application for support from other Societies not already applied to.

Rev. H. D. Astley, Hon. Editorial Secretary, read the following :—

NOTES ON THE LEICESTER CONGRESS.

During the months of July and August everybody is holiday-making, and the members of learned Societies form no exception to the rule. Nature is—or ought to be—at her best; and all who can do so make haste to escape from the environment of bricks and mortar, to that of green fields, leafy shades, cooling breezes, and rippling streams.

So felt the members of the Association when they met, in considerable numbers, during the first week of August, for their fifty-seventh Annual Congress. It was to be a week of sight-seeing, and the country round Leicester, as well as the town itself, had much to show that was of great archæological interest; while, as usual, at the close of each day's outing, two or more Papers were read, and discussions engaged in, on the antiquities of the town and neighbourhood, by specialists in their several subjects.

The first day was devoted to Belvoir Castle, perched on its lofty height, the view from which rivals royal Windsor in its extent and beauty. The present Castle is quite modern, but some remains of the original Norman structure, built by Robert de Todeni in 1068, exist in the foundations.

At the foot of the hill, a few ruins and foundations mark the spot where once stood the Priory of Belvoir, founded by the same Robert de Todeni, in 1077, after he had completed his Castle. The Priory was for four Black Monks; and, later on, became a cell of the great Monastery of St. Albans.

A Paper on the Castle and Priory, by Mr. W. A. Carrington, Archivist of Belvoir, was read, in the author's absence, by the Rev. H. D. Astley, Hon. Sec. The Charters of Belvoir are very interesting and numerous. Some are to be seen in the Library, including one of King John, a fine example.

On the second day, Bradgate House was visited; this was the home

of Lady Jane Grey, whom her tutor, Roger Ascham, was amazed to find studying Greek, when all her young companions were tilting in the yard. Of this once lordly mansion nothing now remains but a few ruins, for it was burnt down early in the last century, by the then Countess of Stamford, wife of the owner. The house is situated in the heart of Charnwood Forest, and even now the place is lonely and desolate; so that we can sympathise with the feelings of the young bride who, describing it in a letter to a sister as "the house tolerable, but the country a forest, and the people all brutes," was advised by her to set it on fire and run away by the light of it, and is said to have done so.

Not far off is Ulverscroft Priory, also situated in the heart of Charnwood Forest, and defended by a wall and moat, founded by Robert Bossu, second Earl of Leicester, in 1134; and for four hundred years the home, first of Friars Eremites, afterwards changed to Augustinian Canons. The remaining buildings belong mostly to the fifteenth century, but there are some beautiful bits of Early English work still to be seen in the church. This seat of mediæval piety and learning is now a farm; the nave is filled with stacks and ricks, and the choir, once sacred to the celebration of holy rites, now only resounds with the cackle of the barn-door fowl.

These, with Kirby Muxloe Castle, a fine specimen of a moated defensive dwelling of the fifteenth century, and Groby Castle and Manorhouse—the former dating back to the troubles between Saxons and Danes in the tenth century, and destroyed in 1173, the latter a patchwork building of brick and stone, chiefly noted for its connection with the beautiful Elizabeth Woodville, who married first, Sir John Grey, son of the first Lord Ferrers of Groby, who was killed at St. Albans in 1461, and after his death became the wife of Edward IV—made up a good day's work.

Another day was given up to an examination of the antiquities of Leicester itself; and these are most interesting, for the history and progress of the town from Roman times may be read in its remains. The fine Roman tessellated pavements (of which some are in the Museum, while one is now preserved under the Great Central Station, and another, discovered in 1898—with beautiful geometrical pattern, guilloche border, and spirited figure of a peacock with expanded tail—is under the care of the Corporation) the number and the variety of the fragments of choice Samian ware turned up in all parts of the Roman city, of which a large quantity are to be seen in the Museum—some containing, in the leaden rivets by which they had been mended in Roman days, evidences of the value attached to them by their

whilom possessors—the old Jewry Wall, with its undoubted Roman masonry, whether it formed part of the boundary wall of the city, or of some important building, basilica or bath, all these bear witness to the wealth and importance of *Ratae* during the Roman occupation. In the Museum may also be seen a fine example of a Roman *miliare*, found in 1771, on the line of the Foss Way. This is of the time of Hadrian, *circ.* 120 A.D., and marks “2 miles from *Ratae*.”

Of Saxon times little remains beyond the Castle mound, erected in all probability, as Mr. Gould suggests, by the Danes during their occupation of this and other “*burhs*” in the Midlands; and, according to the *Saxon Chronicle*, acquired by treaty, in the year 918, by Ethelfleda, the Lady of the Mercians. On this, Robert de Beaumont afterwards built the Norman Keep, of which nothing now remains. A church stood on the site of the present Church of St. Margaret in the eighth century; but the only bit of undoubted pre-Norman work is to be seen in the north wall of the nave arcade of the Church of St. Nicholas. This church stands immediately to the east of the Jewry Wall; the nave and tower are Norman, the chancel Early English; but just above the two Norman arches of the north arcade are two semicircular windows in the oldest part of the wall, with Roman bricks embedded, similar to those that may be seen at Brixworth, and these go back to Saxon days.

There is some very fine Norman work in the Church of St. Mary de Castro, particularly a triple sedilia, which is magnificent, and probably unique.

St. Martin's Church tells of the corporate history of the town; while St. Margaret's, approached from *Sanvy Gate*, the old *Sancta Via* of the Processions of Guilds and Pilgrims, is the most interesting ecclesiastically.

In the old Town Hall, a good example of a half-timbered building of the sixteenth century, Shakspeare is said to have given a performance of “Richard III,” with Burbage in the principal part, but there is no direct evidence of this.

Bosworth, in whose Grammar School Dr. Johnson was once an usher, Bosworth Field, the site of the historic battle which finished the Wars of the Roses, on August 22nd, 1485, and set the Tudors, in the person of Henry of Richmond, on the throne, were visited; as was also Lutterworth, the quiet country living to which John Wiclif retired in his old age, and where he died in 1384, a faithful priest, and in full communion with the Church to the last.

Having thus given a general outline of the proceedings of a very

interesting and successful gathering, it remains to deal with some of the Papers that were read on the occasion.

In the absence of the President, the Marquis of Granby, the Inaugural Address was delivered by Mr. R. Smith-Carrington, F.S.A., High Sheriff of Leicestershire. In this the history and antiquities of the town and county were treated of in a racy, and at the same time, sympathetic manner. Papers dealing with the various places visited were read by Mr. Chas. Lynam, F.S.A., Hon. Treasurer, on "St. Nicholas Church," a most learned, painstaking, and important contribution, which will, we hope, appear in its entirety, and with some of the author's beautiful drawings, in a future number of this *Journal*; by Mr. Geo. Patrick, Hon. Sec., on "Ulverscroft Priory" and "Lutterworth Church;" by Mr. Alfred Gotch, F.S.A., on "Kirby Muxloe Castle;" by Mr. I. C. Gould on "Groby Castle and Manor-house;" by Mr. Harrold, on "Bosworth Field;" by Col. Bellairs, on "The Antiquities of Leicester," etc.

At the evening meetings a variety of Papers were read. Dr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., gave a description and account of "The Charters of Leicester." This was a subject with which the author is well qualified to deal, having devoted a large part of his life to the study of such documents. Dr. Birch described a "Charter" as originally meaning simply a "writing;" then a writing given by someone in authority, granting certain privileges to those who were previously without them. *E.g.*, in the Middle Ages no man could leave the town of his birth unless specially permitted. Accordingly, one of the earliest Charters granted to the "burgesses" of Leicester by King John, expressly gives to all citizens of the town permission to go freely wherever business or inclination called. This became an inalienable right—only the authority that gave could take away. The importance, therefore, of carefully preserving all charters may be understood, for they stand above all law, and on them all civic rights depend. The Charters of Leicester are, for the most part, well preserved, and Miss Bateman is now editing them for the Corporation.

Mr. C. H. Compton's Paper on "Leicester Abbey," was a careful and painstaking piece of work. The Abbey, of which nothing is now left but a few remains of Tudor buildings, and the Gateway, through which Cardinal Wolsey is said to have passed on the last sad occasion when he entered the Abbey to die there, was founded by Robert Bossu, second Earl of Leicester, under the name of St. Mary de Pratis, in the year 1143, and to it the founder assigned the church of St. Mary de Castro, founded by his father, Robert de Beaumont, and all its endowments. Robert Bossu, or Hunchback, became a

great church builder and founder of monastic establishments ; besides being a benefactor to the citizens of Leicester, granting them charters of exemption from Gabel-pence and Briggesilver. He became himself a Canon Regular, and died in the Abbey in 1167-9.

His son, Robert Blanchmains, with his wife, Petronilla, were also great benefactors to the Abbey : the latter is said to have built the nave of the church, and to have woven a rope for the hanging of the choir-lamp of her own hair.

Among Abbots of note may be mentioned Gilbert Ffolliott, who supported Henry II against Thomas-à-Becket ; Henry de Knighton, who entertained Richard II and his Queen, on the occasion of their visit to Leicester ; and John Penny, Abbot, and successively Bishop of Bangor and Carlisle, at the close of the fifteenth century. He died at Leicester in 1520, and his monument is in St. Margaret's Church : a life-size recumbent figure in alabaster, the face stern, but kindly, probably a portrait. The last Abbot was John Bouchier, who handed over the Abbey, with all its endowments, appurtenances, and rights, to the King's Commissioners in 1539.

Another branch of archæological research was dealt with by Col. Bellairs in his Paper on "The Roman Roads of Leicestershire," and by Mr. I. C. Gould in a noteworthy contribution on "Early Fortifications."

The former described *Ratæ* as a most important military centre during the Roman occupation, because it lay so near to the Watling Street which led from Camelodunum (then the capital of the Province of Britain) and London to Deva, and on the direct line of the Foss Way between Eboracum and Lindum to Aquae Solis, these two roads crossing not far from *Ratæ* at High Cross, the Roman Station of Venones. It was on the Foss Way that the Roman milestone, above spoken of, was discovered.

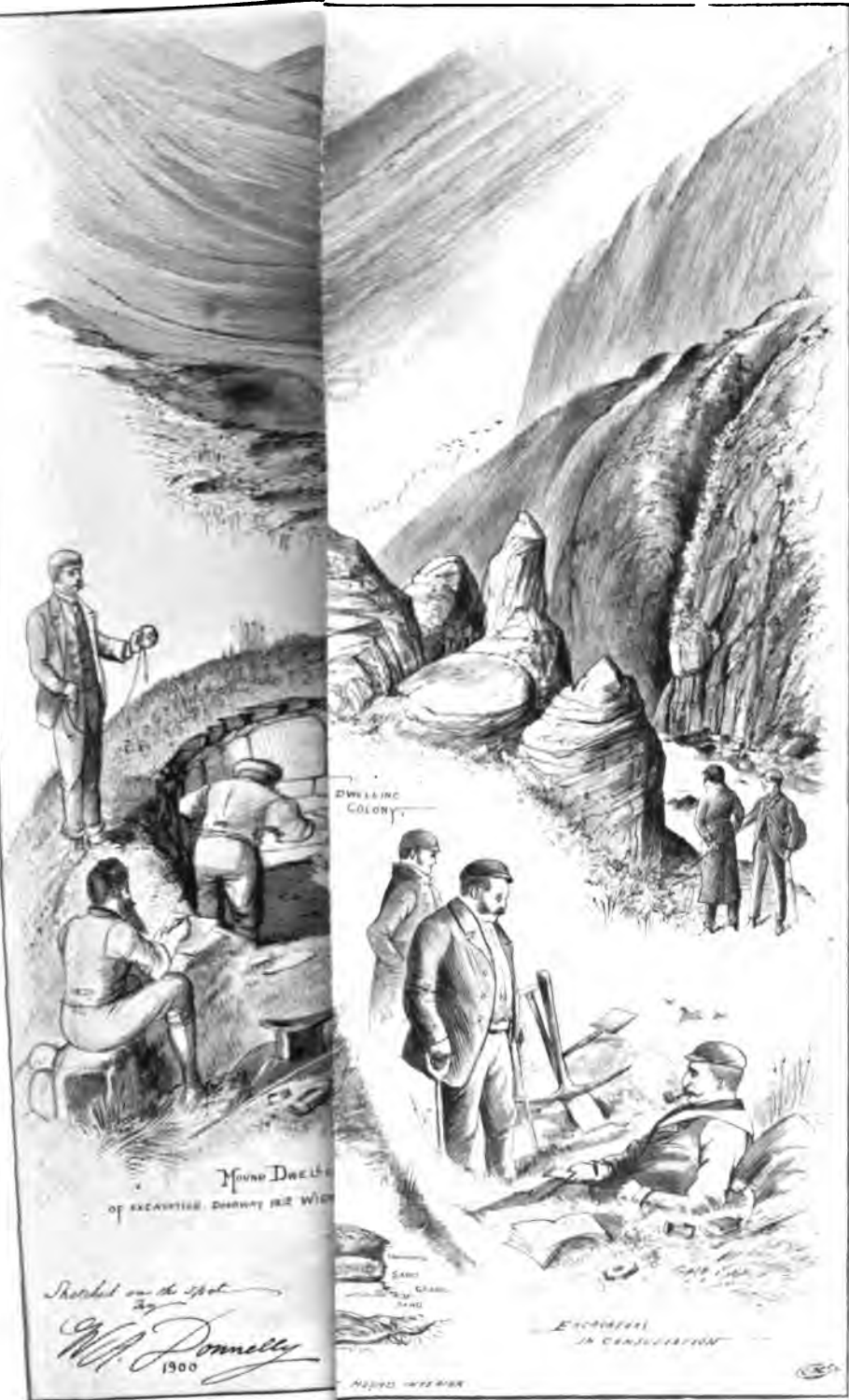
It was along the straight line of another Roman road that Richard III. marched to Bosworth Field, on the fatal day of his last fight.

Mr. Gould's Paper was an able and graphic study of the hitherto somewhat neglected subject of Early Fortifications ; and in the course of it the author took the opportunity of impressing upon students the necessity of a thorough and exhaustive examination and record of all these relics of antiquity, on account of the increasing rapidity of their disappearance through the unavoidable wear-and-tear of time, and the ravages of man, whether as a cultivator of the soil, or in the course of so-called improvement. Going back behind the investigations of Mr. Geo. T. Clark, the great authority on Norman fortifications, and of Mr. J. Horace Round and others, who have

corrected Mr. Clark's conclusions in certain particulars, Mr. Gould dealt first with the earliest form of fortifications, that in which a rocky eminence was selected, defended on all sides but one, across which undefended side a rampart and fosse were drawn, as at Coombe Moss, near Buxton; and secondly, with a later form in which we have mighty works crowning and surrounding some great hill-top, and defended by a double and triple line of ramparts, as at Mam Tor, near Castleton, also in Derbyshire. These were both prehistoric, the first going back probably to Neolithic times, the second, Celtic. There is a third form, an example of which may be seen at Maiden Castle, where a bank is drawn across the great enclosure, dividing the camp into two unequal halves. This is late Celtic—it may be pre-Roman; but probably dates from the time of the first Saxon incursions. The fourth form is that of the Roman rectangular camp, no longer constructed merely for defence, like the former ones, but distinctly offensive and belligerent in its nature. The fifth form brings us to the moated mound and court, the earliest examples of which may date from the time of the troubles between Saxon and Dane in the tenth century, though the majority are most probably Norman. At any rate, they cover the period between the tenth and twelfth centuries. In these the court was surrounded with an earthen rampart and ditch, while the mound, usually at one corner of the enclosure, was surmounted by a wooden stockade or palisading. Of these we have an example at Towcester, built in 921. Later on an outer court was added, forming an outer and inner bailey, and the mound carried the Norman stone keep. At Windsor, Arundel, and Ongar, in Essex, we have examples of forts with courts on both sides of the mighty mound. The last form brings us to the simple moated enclosures very common in lowland districts from the fourteenth to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

An interesting discussion followed the reading of this Paper, which was heartily received by all who heard it.

Passing by several Papers of more local interest, such as Dr. Brushfield's on "A Leicester Church-Brief of 1640," we come to a very valuable and interesting Paper by the Rev. W. S. Lach-Szyrma, on "Wiclif and his Times." In this, Wiclif was described rather as a social and political philosopher than as a religious reformer; and a highly instructive parallel was drawn between the great fourteenth-century thinker and the late Professor Jowett, both Masters of Balliol. The writer strongly urged the study of Chaucer and Piers Plowman, and of Wiclif himself, if a true idea would be obtained of the condition of England in that most fascinating period of her history—the age



DWELLING COLONY

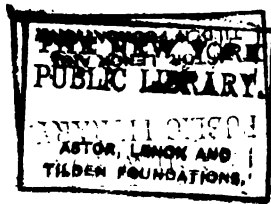
FOUND DWELLING
OF ANCIENTS. DENNY 182 WICH

Worked on the spot
by
W. P. Donnelly
1900

Excavated
in connection

Maples - 182 WICH





between Crecy and Agincourt : the reigns of Edward III, Richard II, Henry IV, and Henry V.

Here we bring our short *résumé* of the doings of a most delightful week, in spite of some bad weather, to a conclusion. These remarks are only intended, like the *hors-d'œuvre* before dinner, to whet the appetite, and set our members, like a celebrated character in fiction, "asking for more." This will be given in due course, and in our next volume we shall look not only for the full report of the Congress, but shall hope that the majority, if not all, of the Papers read will appear in our pages. Meanwhile, we must not end without once again recording our warm appreciation of the efforts of the High Sheriff, the Mayor and Mayoress of Leicester, and of the two able Secretaries, Col. Bellairs, V.D., and Major Frere, V.D., to further in every possible way the object of the Association in visiting Leicester.

In the absence of the author, the Rev. H. D. Astley next read the Paper of the evening, written by W. A. Donnelly, Esq., on

"THE MOUND DWELLINGS OF AUCHINGAICH."

"The kindly interest and sympathetic action shown by your Society in my efforts in the antiquarian field, prompts me to lay before them the facts connected with my latest investigation. Although the active work on the Dumbuck Crannog is not yet quite exhausted, still it has been so far and so completely explored and excavated that I felt warranted in diverting some of my research further afield, but still in the old 'Colquhoun county,' a district which has yielded such a rich archaic harvest, and still promises more.

"My latest researches are still with early man; neither more nor less than what may be described, for want of a better name, as a 'mound-dwellers' colony.'

"It is situated in the north-west corner of Dumbartonshire, on that picturesque and mountainous belt which runs between Loch Lomond and the Gareloch. The site is on the Auchingaich, one of the highest tributaries of the Fruin Water. Access can be had to it either from the Gareloch or Loch Lomond; but those deciding to walk all the way had best start from Shandon Station, on the West Highland Railway, and strike the Glenfruin Road, following up till the bridge at Strone Hill is reached, then strike the left bank of the Auchingaich, keeping almost due north for a mile and three-quarters, when, amidst a scene of beauty hard to equal, we find the ruined homes of this early race. Conical mountains rise on each side of the glen, pasture-clad to their rounded crowns, 2,000 feet above the level of the sea. The reposeful

and impressive solitude is unbroken by any sound suggestive of an immediate civilisation ; no shrub, nor tree, nor even a fence, breaks the curving contour of the receding mountain sides ; the bleating of black-faced sheep, and the whirr of the blackcock's wing, or the startled cry of the red grouse, alone break the stillness of this sanctuary from the turmoil and din of the busy haunts of men.

"The mounds first catch the eye, from their colour as well as from their configurations ; the turf on their hillock surface being in general of a deeper green, and their outline suggesting a more monotonous repetition of contour than we find in any natural configuration of landscape. Careful and closer inspection reveals positive evidence of their artificial structure.

"The mounds are grouped together in clusters of three, four, or half a dozen, almost touching each other. As a matter of fact, many of them do touch each other. They form a border to a quadrangular space, about 100 yards square, to the number of over forty. They are all more or less circular mounds, standing about 5 ft. at their highest, but more often not more than $3\frac{1}{2}$ ft. above the level of the natural hillside. In some cases the dome of the mound was nearly perfect, in others a hollow or depression was invariably found in the centre : a hollow which in some cases was so deep and extensive as to reveal the rude stone structure of the building.

"To my eye, the mounds conveyed the impression of magnified molehills. They also forcibly recalled to my mind drawings which I made from Nature when visiting and studying the life and habits of 'The Beaver at Home,' the present mounds possessing a most remarkable similarity, both in size, structure, and contour, to the dome-like homes of these wonderful animal architects and builders.

"The segment of a circle presented to the eye by the home of the beaver is much greater than that in evidence in the mound dwellings.

"These are the impressions conveyed to my mind while recording the features on the spot, by pen and pencil, in an extended search. I was fortunate in discovering another group of some sixteen mounds ; and still further afield, across the Auchingaich on its right bank, and about one hundred yards up the mountain side, another group of some seventeen or twenty more were added, making the colony, as enumerated so far, comprise between seventy and eighty mounds, all possessing the same features and characteristics in general, but differing in many minor details of disposition and internal structure and form. I was also satisfied that evidence was not wanting in boulder or table-like slabs of cup-and-ring carvings ; or, to be quite correct, the presence of cup marks without rings.

"No time has been lost in making more minute examination and excavation of some of the mounds ; the first sod was cut on one having an almost perfectly domed-like appearance.

"With the exception of a small 'dent' in the apex, the turf was that of the more luxuriant parts of the hillside, with the addition of tufts of rushes and patches of velvety moss.

"The sod once removed revealed the presence of an earthy deposit of sand and vegetable mould, which was encountered to a depth of 2 ft. 6 ins. near the circumference of the mound, showing a thickness at the top of from 18 ins. to 2 ft.; the boulder-built wall of the structure was rude and strong, and well suited to give effect to the intention of the builders. The mounds have each a narrow doorway, seldom more than 12 ins. wide, and never more than 15 ins. The jambs are invariably in their original position, but the lintels have been displaced, and in two instances the excavations revealed the presence of such a stone lying on the doorstep, or threshold ; on being replaced on the jambs by the excavator, the stones seemed to be those originally used. The weather has, unfortunately (even for this climate), been of an exceptionally stormy character, and the rainfall a record ; however, with such working weather as some of our sunny, frosty days afford, I expect to be able to add to our knowledge. One of the mounds has been completely excavated, but no relics, bones, or implements have been discovered ; a flooring of heather, brackens, and turf mould firmly kneaded into a cake about 3 ins. thick, was encountered at a depth of 2 ft. 6 ins. from the doorstep, below a deposit of gravel and sand, about 6 ins. deep, and then the natural surface of the mountain side. No cavity had been made ; the structure was entirely above and on the natural sloping surface of the glen side. The heather and bracken floor was laid on a bedding of small birch branches, very much decayed, the largest about 2 ins. in diameter.

"The mounds have locally been called 'the shielings', but the uses for which shielings are required put any serious consideration of such a suggestion at once out of court, and more strongly impress on the mind the idea of their being the possible homes of an early pigmy race—a race (which upon study and examination of possible revelations even here) may have suggested many of those weird and romantic tales of our folk-lore, more particularly those associated with the ways and wonders of our friends of childhood, the fairies—which, so far from being entirely creatures of our imagination, may, with the revelations possible to the pick and shovel on the romantic hillside of Auchingaich, turn to a reality in the persons of a primitive pigmy race, seeking shelter and protection in this picturesque and lonely Highland

glen. An idea of the beauty of the scene may be gathered from a glance at the glen, when viewed looking downwards and towards the sea. On the day on which the view here given was sketched, beneath a sky of cloudless blue, the distant horizon was broken by the conical mountain, Goatfell, piercing the sunlit sea, which shimmered in silvery belts between the islands studding the noble Firth of Clyde. Various promontories and headlands lead up to the emboldened middle distance, where we catch a glimpse of the Strath of Glen Fruin, with the tributary Auchingaich leading right up to the foreground; a little beyond which, on both sides, we have the sites of the mound-dwellings, more or less defined, according to the light and state of the weather. At no time are they so pronounced as just before sunset, when their outlines are lit up by the last lingering rays of the setting sun, and their shadows increased and intensified, giving added beauty to the fairy scene, as well as emphasising the features from an objective point of view.

"The drawing to the left of the picture represents the first single chamber excavated, and gives a very fair idea of what the first day's excavation revealed. That in the centre shows a three-chambered mound in course of excavation. The structure is in the same style as the single chamber. The measurements of each of the apartments gives a diameter of 6 ft., and the boulder-built walls rise to a height of about 3 ft.; the doorway is 15 ins. wide. Immediately outside, and touching the jambs of the doorway, a flat slab was unearthed, 2 ft. 3 ins. long, by 2 ft. wide, and 4 ins. thick, which had evidently been the lintel, as, when again so placed, it fitted admirably. Near the centre, on one of the sides, the stone was decidedly rounded, and had that peculiar feel as if it had been much rubbed or handled. This feature could readily be accounted for on the supposition that the occupants, when crawling in and out, constantly rubbed the surface, and with long and continued use the stone would be so affected. The other drawing shows the excavators in consultation, and above we have an up-glen view of the Auchingaich, in which the geological characteristics of the locality may be seen, with the rushing stream rolling onward to the sea in many a silvery pool over its rocky bed of schist, while at this point its volume is increased by the two tiny little burns which bound the mound-colony on the northern and southern frontier. A solitary rowan tree or mountain-ash stands sentinel on the brink of the burn, its as yet emerald-green leaves in strong and pleasing contrast to the clusters of shining vermilion berries which bend its fruitful boughs, and afford food and a roosting-place to the thrushes and ring-ouzels which still linger in the sheltered nooks of

the glen, down which we now bend our steps ; gratified with the results of our earliest efforts to read this new page in the unrevealed history of early man in the ancient Colquhoun county, and with the firm conviction and intention to toil on until every feature has been revealed by spade and pick, of what may in future fitly be called a 'Pictish Pompeii.' "

An interesting discussion followed, in which the Chairman, Mr. Rayson, Mr. Folkard, Rev. H. D. Astley, and others, took part. Various opinions were expressed as to the probable value of the discovery ; but it was agreed that with the data at present furnished, it is impossible to say by whom, for what purpose, or at what period, the mounds were constructed. The Rev. H. D. Astley remarked that a Paper on the subject, by Mr. D. McRitchie, F.S.A.Scot., is to be found in *The Antiquary* for December, 1900, in which the author states that he saw no "lintels." In other respects his account agrees with Mr. Donnelly's.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 5TH, 1900.

C. H. COMPTON, Esq., V.-P., in the Chair.

S. W. Kershaw, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., was unanimously elected to a seat on the Council.

A Paper entitled "Notes on a Ramble in South Devon," by T. Cann Hughes, Esq., M.A., was read, in the author's absence, by Mr. S. Rayson, Sub-Treasurer. In the course of his Paper, Mr. Hughes said :—

"A curious feature of the church at Totnes is a large buttress at the south-east angle of the chancel, which formerly had a way through it, now blocked up. From time to time considerable discussion has taken place as to the object of this curious passage (see *Notes and Queries*, First Ser., vols. ii and iii), but it is still an unsolved problem. One suggestion made is, that it formed a place of deposit for the bodies of persons seized for debt. The church, which is dedicated to St. Mary, possesses, according to Mr. Harry Hems, one of the finest examples of a stone rood-screen to be met with in any of our parish churches. The screen is 60 ft. in length, with parcloses of rather unusual design. It is full of light tracery, and rich with niches and tabernacle work. The screen is groined only on the west side, all the tracery in the face groining being pierced through. It was erected to the order of the Corporation of Totnes in 1460." The chief features of Dartmouth, Ashburton (one of the old Stannary towns created by Edward I in 1285), Berry Pomeroy, Kingsbridge, Abbots Kerswell, Ipplepen, and other places, were also described.



Antiquarian Intelligence.

Recent Discoveries in Rome.—In connection with our Hon. Correspondent Dr. Russell Forbes's account of the discoveries in the Forum, up to the spring of 1899, which will be found below, we print the following *résumé* of the more recent finds which have rewarded the patience of those who have been engaged in the work of excavation during the present year—while awaiting a further and more detailed account from Dr. Forbes himself :—

„ The excavations in the Forum and on the Palatine Hill, at Rome, yield almost daily interesting vestiges of the ancient city. By the discoveries already made, not only has the topography of many of the buildings and monuments been corrected, but it has been established that the Forum, such as it now is, is really the Imperial Forum, erected upon that of Republican times, which itself displaced the Forum of the Early Kings. Up to the time when Signor Baccelli began the excavations, almost nothing was known as to the Forum of the Republic and that of the Kings, but to-day may be seen many monuments of the periods preceding the Empire, and some even of the pre-historic period. But even the monuments and remains of Imperial times, and others of later date, have been buried for many centuries, and these also are now brought to light. The following notes upon the more important of the recent discoveries will be interesting to those who have watched the gradual bringing to light of the remains of the Eternal City.

“ Up to quite a recent date the Rostra, which many years ago were discovered near the Arch of Septimius Severus, were believed to be the sole monument of the sort existing in the Forum. It was from them that the orators addressed the people assembled in the Comitium ; they were ornamented with the bronze prows (rostra) of the ships captured from the enemies of Rome. Upon them were statues of the Roman Ambassadors who had been slain by the Fidenati, the equestrian statue of Sylla, a statue of Pompey, and two statues of Cæsar. It was Cæsar who had these rostra moved to the site they now occupy. They consisted of a rectangular platform, which was elevated to a height of nearly 10 ft. above the level of the Forum, and they had

a front of about 80 ft. Along the front were the bronze ship-beaks from which the platform derived its name. Quite recently the director of the excavations has discovered the rostra of the last days of the Republic. They consist of five small vaulted chambers, which supported the level of the platform, and they are shown in this form on a coin of Palikanus. It seems certain, therefore, that the rostra hitherto believed to be those of the Republican period are in fact of Imperial times, and that the true Republican rostra are those which have just been brought to light under the Temple of Saturn.

“The recently-uncovered remains of the ancient basilica, founded in B.C. 179 by M. Fulvius Nobilior, and restored a hundred years later by M. Æmilius Lepidus during his Consulship, and known as the Basilica Fulvia-Emilia, are very important and interesting. Having been injured by fire, the basilica was restored by Augustus and by members of the gens Æmilia. The fine Phrygian columns which Valentinian and Theodosius gave to the Basilica of St. Paul in A.D. 386 belonged to the basilica Æmilia as restored by Augustus. In the fifth century the basilica Æmilia was no longer in existence; on its site was constructed a portico which was probably begun by Petronius Maximus, Prefect of Rome, and completed by Theodoric. To the edifice of Theodoric belongs the pavement, composed of small blocks of different-coloured marble arranged in geometrical patterns. The basilica Æmilia contributed to the new portico some of its walls of large blocks of tufa, and some of its columns. To it also belong a pavement of African marble, and two fragments of architrave on which are traces of an inscription referring to the reconstruction by Æmilius, as also some fragments of frieze decorated with sculptured ox-skulls and large pateræ.

“Among the most important of the recent discoveries is that of the Christian basilica of the Palatine. The origin of this splendid church is still uncertain. The paintings which decorated its internal walls are of extreme interest. In accordance with the rules of ancient Christian architecture, the church has a large portico, three aisles divided by columns of grey marble, and an apse at the east end. The paintings are evidence of its antiquity; some of them are of the purest Byzantine style, possibly of the time of Justinian. The fine proportions of this church, its ancient paintings, and its situation in the Imperial Palace, seem to point to the conclusion that it is the actual Santa Maria Antica, the first cathedral of the Popes. We know that Pope John VII adorned this church, in 705-707, with new paintings and a rich marble pulpit. The *Liber Pontificalis* states that John added to it a residence for the Bishop of Rome, and paintings

of the eighth century have actually been discovered beside the church which may safely be assigned to this building, which was erected by John VII between the Temple of Vesta and the Palatine. Plato, the father of John VII, made many additions to this part of the Imperial Palace, and especially a great stairway, as mentioned by John in the epitaph on his tomb in the Church of St. Anastasia. The Pontifical Court resided in this part of the Palatine, overlooking the Forum, until the tenth century, and this explains the beauty and the size of the church recently discovered. In it is to be recognised the Pontifical Chapel dedicated to the Virgin. On the wall at the end is represented Christ surrounded by a halo of cherubim and angels in attitudes of adoration, and in the apse is the figure of the Saviour, the symbols of the Evangelists, and scenes from the life of Joseph in Egypt. These paintings of the early ages of Christianity are of extraordinary interest, and are a notable addition to the astonishing series of historical antiquities by which the history of Rome can be traced from the earliest period down to modern times."—*Daily Graphic*.

Discoveries in Crete.—Our members have, doubtless, remarked the various accounts of exploration in Crete which have appeared from time to time, with none the less interest that they lie outside the province of British archaeology; for it has always been the prerogative of this Association to pay lively regard to everything that helps forward the knowledge of antiquity. The following letter, which was sent to the Press some little time ago, gives the fullest account that has yet been published of these interesting and startling discoveries:—

The preoccupation of the public mind caused by the war in South Africa made it impossible last year to press the claims of Cretan exploration. Sympathy, indeed, was not wanting. A representative committee was formed, and we were able to initiate a fund, to which the patronage of the High Commissioner of the Powers in Crete, Prince George of Greece, was graciously accorded. Thanks to the good offices of his Royal Highness, a number of important sites were set apart for British excavation. But of the £5,000 required for the adequate realisation of our scheme, barely a tenth part was collected by private subscriptions. Meanwhile, Italian and French missions, supported by Government aid, had already been in the field for several months. Even to hold their own, it was absolutely imperative that British representatives should make a beginning. We had no choice but to embark, last spring, on an enterprise which, once begun, for the honour of British science must be carried through.

The sum of less than £500 that had been privately collected was

devoted to the assistance of two separate enterprises. Half of the amount went to assist one of the undersigned in the excavation of a site already acquired by him at Kephala, on the site of Knossos, which proved to contain the remains of a prehistoric palace. How inadequate was this contribution may be judged from the fact that five-sixths of the cost of the work—still far from completion—have fallen on the explorer's shoulders. The other half of the sum collected was allocated to the Director of the British School at Athens for the exploration of the prehistoric town and tombs of Knossos, and of the great Cave of Zeus on Mount Dicta. This was supplemented by £200, spared with difficulty from the annual income of the school, and by the payment of an architect from the same source. The extraordinary results which rewarded both these undertakings have attracted such wide attention that a very brief statement will suffice here. The discoveries made at Knossos throw into the shade all the other exploratory campaigns of last season in the Eastern Mediterranean, by whatever nationality conducted. It is not too much to say that the materials already gathered have revolutionised our knowledge of prehistoric Greece; and that to find even an approach to the results obtained, we must go back to Schliemann's great discovery of the Royal tombs at Mycenae.

The prehistoric site, of which some two acres have now been uncovered at Knossos, proves to contain a palace beside which those of Tiryns and Mycenae sink into insignificance. By an unhopèd-for piece of good fortune the site, though in the immediate neighbourhood of the greatest civic centres of the island in ancient, mediæval, and modern times, had remained practically untouched for over three thousand years. At but a very slight depth below the surface of the ground, the spade has uncovered great courts and corridors, propylæa, a long succession of magazines, containing gigantic store jars that might have hidden the Forty Thieves, and a multiplicity of chambers, pre-eminent among which is the actual throne room and council chamber of Homeric kings. The throne itself, on which (if so much faith be permitted to us) Minos may have declared the law, is carved out of alabaster, once brilliant with coloured designs, and relieved with curious tracery and crocketed arcading, which is wholly unique in ancient art, and exhibits a strange anticipation of thirteenth-century Gothic.

In the throne room, the western entrance gallery, and elsewhere, partly still adhering to the walls, partly in detached pieces on the floors, was a series of fresco paintings, excelling any known examples of the art in Mycenaean Greece. A beautiful life-size painting of a

youth, with an European and almost classically Greek profile, gives us the first real knowledge of the race who produced this mysterious early civilisation. Other frescoes introduce us to a lively and hitherto unknown miniature style, representing, among other subjects, groups of women engaged in animated conversation in the courts and on the balconies of the palace. The monuments of the sculptor's art are equally striking. It may be sufficient to mention here a marble fountain in the shape of a lioness's head, with enamelled eyes, fragments of a frieze, with beautifully-cut rosettes, superior in its kind to anything known from Mycenæ; an alabaster vase naturalistically copied from a triton shell; a porphyry lamp, with graceful foliation, supported on an Egyptianising lotus column. The head and parts of the body of a magnificently-painted relief of a bull, in *gesso duro*, are unsurpassed for vitality and strength.

It is impossible here to refer more than incidentally to the new evidence of intercourse between Crete and Egypt at a very remote period supplied by the palace finds of Knossos. It may be mentioned, however, as showing the extreme antiquity of the earlier elements of the building, that in the great Eastern Court was found an Egyptian seated figure of diorite, broken above, which can be approximately dated about 2000 B.C. Below this, again, extends a vast Stone Age settlement, which forms a deposit in some places 24 ft. in thickness. Neither is it possible here to dwell on the new indications supplied by some of the discoveries in the "House of Minos" as to the cult and religious beliefs of its occupants. It must be sufficient to observe that one of the miniature frescoes found represents the façade of a Mycenaean shrine, and that the palace itself seems to have been a sanctuary of the Cretan God of the Double Axe, as well as a dwelling-place of prehistoric kings.

There can be little remaining doubt that this huge building, with its maze of corridors and tortuous passages, its medley of small chambers, its long succession of magazines with their blind endings, was in fact the Labyrinth of later tradition, which supplied a local habitation for the Minotaur of grisly fame. The great figures of bulls in fresco and relief that adorned the walls, the harem scenes of some of the frescoes, the corner stones and pillars marked with the "labrys," or double axe—the emblem of the Cretan Zeus, explaining the derivation of the name "Labyrinth" itself—are so many details which all conspire to bear out this identification. In the Palace-Shrine of Knossos there stands at last revealed to us the spacious structure which the skill of Daedalus is said to have imitated from the great Egyptian building on the shore of Lake Moeris, and with it some part at least of his fabled masterpieces still clinging to the walls.

But brilliant as are the illustrations thus recovered of the high early civilisation of the city of Minos, and of the substantial truth of early tradition, they are almost thrown into the shade by a discovery which carries back the existence of written documents in the Hellenic lands some seven centuries beyond the first-known monuments of the historic Greek writing. In the chambers and magazines of the palace there came to light a series of deposits of clay tablets, in form somewhat analogous to the Babylonian, but inscribed with characters in two distinct types of indigenous prehistoric script: one hieroglyphic or quasi-pictorial, the other linear. The existence of a hieroglyphic script in the island had already been the theme of some earlier researches by the explorer of the palace, based on the more limited material supplied by groups of signs on a class of Cretan seal-stones, and the ample corroboration of the conclusions arrived at was, therefore, the more satisfactory. These Cretan hieroglyphs will be found to have a special importance in their bearing on the origin of the Phœnician alphabet.

But the great bulk of the tablets belonged to the linear class, exhibiting an elegant and much more highly-developed form of script, with letters of an upright and singularly European aspect. The inscriptions, over a thousand of which were collected, were originally contained in coffers of clay, wood, and gypsum, which had been in turn secured by clay seals impressed with finely-engraved signets, and countermarked and countersigned in the same script, while the clay was still wet, by controlling officials. The clay documents themselves are, beyond doubt, the palace archives. Many relate to accounts concerning the royal arsenal, stores, and treasures. Others, perhaps, like the contemporary cuneiform tablets, refer to contracts or correspondence. The problems attaching to the decipherment of these clay records are of enthralling interest; and we have here locked up for us materials which may some day enlarge the bounds of history.

The work of excavation in the palace of Knossos is barely half completed, and yet whichever way we turn the relics already obtained from within its walls supply new and unhopèd-for data for the reconstruction of early *Ægean* civilisation. Nor is this all. Exploratory digging to the south and west of the palace revealed a veritable Pompeii of houses of the same early period, which yielded, among other things, by far the finest series yet found of vases of the singular primitive Cretan polychrome style, unrepresented in European museums. One remarkably well-preserved block of buildings appears to be a group of shrines devoted to a Pillar worship, such as is known on the

Phœnician and Palestinian coasts, and of which the palace itself supplies an example connected with the cult of the Cretan Zeus.

Finally, in the early heats, the clearing of the Cave of Psychro, notorious some years since for its rich votive deposits, was carried out. This cave is no other than the Holy Dictæan Cavern, in which Hesiod and Virgil state that the Supreme God was cradled. There took place the legendary union of Zeus with Europa, and therefrom, as from another Sinai, Minos brought down the Law after communion with God. The blasting away of the fallen rocks in the upper half of the Grotto revealed a rude altar of burnt sacrifice, and a sacred enclosure or Temenos, cumbered with votive deposits from 5 ft. to 7 ft. deep, full of vases, libation tables, weapons and implements in bronze, bone and ivory statuettes in terra cotta, and models of every other object dedicated to the God. In the lower part opens a profound abyss, where a gloomy subterranean pool, out of which rises a forest of stalactitic pillars, continues into the heart of the mountain. Here a great surprise was in store. For not only was the bottom mud full of bronze statuettes, gems, and articles of male and female use, but the vertical slits in the pillars were found to have been used as niches, and to contain an immense number of votive double axes, weapons, and trinkets. This vast cavern was undoubtedly the mysterious Holy of Holies into which Minos descended alone, and on emerging, as Dionysius says, showed the Law to the people as a gift from Zeus himself. The discoveries made in this cave cover the whole primitive period of Cretan history back to the pre-Mycenæan epoch.

The clouds of war are at last lifting, and it is with confidence that we now appeal for help to carry on the work already set in hand. The Palace of Knossos is still but half uncovered, and the large expenditure entailed by excavation of this vast building, which its explorer hopes to take up again in February next, is a severe strain on individual resources. Among the other sites included in the British Concession are two Votive Caves, the citadels of more than one Mycenæan city of Eastern Crete, and Præsos, the ancient capital of that region, within whose walls the language of the old indigenous stock—the Eteokretes of the Odyssey—survived to historic times. Here, if anywhere, should be found the key to the undeciphered hieroglyphic script of Crete; and it is to be hoped that sufficient funds may be forthcoming to begin excavations at this spot during the coming season, under the auspices of the British School at Athens.

The exploration that we have taken in hand is not one confined to the back-waters of antiquarian research. It lies about the fountain-head of our own civilisation. Inadequately supported as it has been,

it has already produced results which throw an entirely new light on the first development of high art, the origin of letters, the early religion and ethnography of the Greek lands, the most ancient connections between Europe and Egypt. To ensure the execution of the still extensive programme before us, the "Cretan Exploration Fund" needs contributions to the amount of at least £3,000. So much impressed was the British Association with the scientific importance of the undertaking, that at its recent meeting, after hearing reports of the results of the late excavations, it made the exceptional grant of £145 towards the furtherance of our scheme. In this field, at least, British Archæological enterprise has been fortunate enough to obtain a strong lead, and it rests with the public to see that it is maintained.

Subscriptions may be paid either to Mr. George Macmillan (as hon. treasurer), at St. Martin's Street, London, W.C., or into the account of "The Cretan Exploration Fund," at Messrs. Roberts, Lubbock, and Co.'s, Lombard Street, E.C.

A. J. EVANS,

D. G. HOGARTH.

DISCOVERIES IN THE FORUM ROMANUM.

The Archaic Inscription.—The archaic inscription (see pp. 376 and 377) found in the Forum under the *Niger Lapis*, upon a cippus of tufa 3 ft. high, is boustrophidon, or written from right to left, then left to right. The upper part of the inscription was unfortunately knocked off by the Gauls, in 390 B.C. It tapers off slightly from the base, and so had the appearance of an obelisk. It is not exactly square, and the edges are bevelled, the south-west corner being inscribed, as though there was not room on the face of the cippus for the law. The inscription commences at the lower right-hand corner of the west side, and reads up perpendicularly, so it was and is necessary to stoop and twist about in order to read it.

The inscription has nothing whatever to do with the other memorials found, neither with the *Niger Lapis*, nor with Romulus. It is part of a sacrificial law of Numa's, and has reference to the institution of the Suovetaurilia. It is the oldest Latin inscription existing, and its interest is paleographical rather than topographical. The letters are deeply and well cut, averaging 3 in. high.

Historical Pedestals.—Further explorations made during May show that the black marble pavement, found January 10th, in the Forum, rests on dumping 5 ft. above a platform of tufa 1 ft. high, but at a

		Read	Width at base.	Thus	
West side, 1 ft. 11 ins. high.	{	10E10VQ	R. to L.	} 1 ft. 6½ ins. { Quoi hor	
		SAKPOSES	L. to R.		sakros es
		MD306M	R. to L.		ed sorm
North side, 1 ft. 10 ins. high.	{	EIASIAS	L. to R.	} 1 ft. 7 ins. { e iasias	
		BECEILO	R. to L.		regei lo
		MAVAM	L. to R.		devam
		QYOSBE	R. to L.		quos re
East side, 2 ft. high.	{	OTAVAM	R. to L.	} 1 ft. 6 ins. { otavato m	
		PMEMAP	L. to R.		pmem hap
		GIODIOYX	L. to R.		giodyx men-
		VATODAITANAT	R. to L.		ta kapia dota v
South side, 2 ft. 1 in. high.	{	MITERIK	R. to L.	} 1 ft. 6½ ins. { m ite rik	
		ABIOYQ	L. to R.		m quoi ha-
		VQFLQLEDA	R. to L.		velvd nequ
		ODIOVASTOD	L. to R.		od jove stod
South-west corner, 1 ft. 10 ½ ins. high.	{	VOVONIA	R. to L.	} 2½ ins. { potiaoa poa	

different plane. Remains of two blocks of tufa with mouldings exist on the east end, forming part of a pedestal 9 ft. long, 4 ft. 3 in. wide, and 1 ft. 7½ in. high. A similar base exists at the west end, there being a space of 3 ft. 3 in. between the two. Close by, at a different angle, is a square base of tufa, upon which is a truncated column of tufa, 2 ft. 8¼ in. high. These pedestals were, we believe, occupied by the Lion of Faustus, Dionysius, i, 87; the Lion of Quintilius, Festus and Acron quoting Varro; the column of Hostus Hostilius, Livy, i, 12, 22; Dionysius 3, 2, erected before the union of the Palatine and Capitoline hills into one city, 748 B.C. Thus we have another extraordinary proof of the truth of the written history of Rome.

In the dumping between the black marble pavement and the tufa platform, six bronze statuettes were found, one of them being that of an Augur, the others Lares; a terra-cotta statuette, and numerous small

<i>Prof. Luigi Ceci reads it :</i>	<i>Interpretation by Prof. Luigi Ceci, of the Rome University.</i>
hordas ueigead.	Qui fordas consecret, consecrato
Etod sakros sesed	Sacellum versus (oc. ad sacellum).
aa, sakros sed	sordas (sc. qui sordas consecret, consecrato) seorsum a sacello.
iasias	Idiariis (= Idibus)
aloba adferad	regi liba adferat
em devam	ad rem divinam (= ad sacrificium).
rex per mentorem	quos rex per Augurem
lorem	calatorem
ad eudo	induhapeat (= consecratum admittat)
god joux menta	adagio (= carmine) (oc. in sacro loco.) (is)
al. dota vouead	precibus auspicia capiat, dona votiva voueat.
ite ri koised nounasias im.	Itemque rei (sc. rei divinae) curet nonariis (= nonis) ibi.
havelod	qui auspicio
am sied dolod	nequam sit dolo
xl diove estod	malo Jovi esto
voviod, sacer diove estod	qui volo (sc. qui volo nequam sit dolo malo), sacer Jovi esto.

terra-cotta vases and bronze fragments have been extracted, but the removal of the dumping is not yet completed: this is done by underpinning the black marble above so as to preserve it.

Bones of ox, sheep, and boar have been found here. This points to the site of the sacrifice of the Suovetaurilia, as represented on the reliefs of Marcus Aurelius close by, performed by Camillus when he purified the city after he had delivered it from the Gauls ("Next, Camillus sacrificed to the Gods and purified the city, in a form dictated by the Pontiffs."—Plutarch, in *Camillus*), instituted by Servius Tullius, Livy, i, 44, and performed by Constantine in 316 A.D., as recorded in relief on his pedestal in front of the Rostra Vetera.

The Rostra Vetera.—Recent explorations have brought to light some remains in the Forum, which we have demonstrated to have been the substructures of the original Rostra.

Livy, viii, 14, tells us that in 338 B.C. : “a *suggestum* (pulpit) was erected in the Forum, and propitiously adorned with the prows of the captured fleet of the Antiates ; the same was called a Temple and Rostra.” This seems to have been the rebuilding, or an addition to an earlier *suggestum*, for he uses the word Rostra in anticipation, when he speaks of the statues of the four murdered ambassadors being placed in the Rostra in 438 B.C. Varro, *L.L.*, 4, says : “The Rostra was in front of the Curia” (St. Adriano). Cicero, *pro L. Flaccus*, 24, says : “The senate-house commands and surveys the Rostra.” Ascanius, *Cicero pro Milone*, says : “There indeed the Rostra was not in that place where they are (it is) now (the Rostra Julia was an innovation), but on the Comitium, almost adjoining the Curia.” Dion Cassius, 43, 49, also says the same thing, referring to another change ; the Rostra of his day was the new one (Rostra ad Palmam), erected by Severus on the south side of his arch. Ascanius, *pro Milone*, says : “that when the body of Clodius was cremated and the senate-house burnt down, that the tribunes M. Plancus and P. Rufus had to flee from the Rostra on account of the heat.” This also shows that the Rostra could not have been far from the Curia, or senate-house.

The marble slabs on the south side of the *Niger Lapis* have been found to stand on a hemicycle wall of travertine stone, 6 ft. wide, as revealed by the excavations made towards the end of April, the curve of which is 86 ft. long. The upper part of this construction is composed of blocks of travertine, the lower part of the west half of tufa, and 23 ft. of the eastern half is of *opus incertum* ; 3 ft. in front of this is another curved wall of *opus incertum*. Both these walls show traces of having been coated with stucco. This construction is a work peculiar to the second century B.C. In the front centre of this curved wall, and 2 ft. below the top of it, are the remains of an irregular platform of tufa stone, so constructed that it has the appearance of a triangle jutting out from the curved wall, the south point of this platform being 12½ ft. from the centre of the hemicycle wall. The west side of this platform also shows construction of *opus incertum*—repairs. The north side of this platform has been traced under the *Niger Lapis*. We believe that this tufa platform is the original *suggestum*, and that the hemicycle wall is the substructure of the Rostra. It answers topographically to all the passages above cited, as being on the Comitium and in front of the Senate-house. Frontinius, *Ep.* 1, 2, says : “The top of the Rostra is but little superior to the Forum and Comitium, rather lower (down) even are the prows of the ships of the Antiates.”

This lower platform is spoken of by Livy, 8, 33, in B.C. 323, as where private citizens had liberty of speech. “Papirius ordered Fabius to

be taken down from the Rostra to the lower part." "Cæsar, when Prætor, had ordered Q. Catulus to speak from the lower place; he now brought Vettus on to the Rostra" (Cicero, *Ad. Alt.* ii, 24, 3). "Whether it speaks from a lower, or an equal, or a superior place" (Cicero, *De Oratore*, 3, 6). This lower place in the Rostra Julia is an exedra, recently cleared out; there Cæsar's body was cremated. Upon this lower platform, close up to the curved wall, are three blocks of peperino (Alban) stone, upon which are two circular indentations, 2 ft. in diameter, $1\frac{1}{2}$ ft. apart. The first is 1 ft. to the east of the meridian line; this is probably the site of the sun-dial of Marcus Philippus, 163 B.C.; and the more easterly marks that of M. Valerius Messala, of 262 B.C., which Pliny (7, 60) says was brought from Catania, in Sicily, but was not exact. This was owing to the fact that Catania is about 4 degrees south of Rome. The south point of the tufa platform in front of the curve is south-south-west, $4\frac{1}{2}$ ft. west of due south, as proved by an observation made by the authorities on May 2nd. Pliny's description (7, 60) of how "the *Accensus* (cryer) of the consuls proclaimed the hour of noon, as soon as from the Senate-house he caught sight of the sun between the Rostra and the Græcostans" (which was to the right of the Curia) exactly tallies with this spot, as we have often demonstrated. This discovery finally does away with the erroneous opinion held by so many, that the Rostra ad Palmam, on the south side of the Arch of Severus, was the Rostra Vetera; and which we have always maintained was made by Septimius Severus when he laid out the Forum anew after the earthquake and fire of A.D. 192. The last historical notice of this Rostra is by Spartianus, when he tells us that Didius Julianus addressed the people in A.D. 193 from the Rostra in front of the Curia.

A denarius of M. Palikanus, of the Lollia gens, represents this Rostra; he was an orator (Cicero, *Brutus*, 62), and tribune of the people, B.C. 69, when Pompey restored the Tribunitial power; hence the head of Liberty on the obverse of the coin. Five arches are represented as springing from columns, supporting a curved parapet, on which is a square desk or table. The prows of three vessels are shown obtruding from the base of the columns outwards, the concave of the curve being towards the spectator, giving the idea that a person could see through the arches from the Senate side towards the Forum.

From this Rostra, Cicero made many of his famous orations, and upon it his head and hands were exposed after his murder, which more people came to see than went to listen to his voice.

A History of Gothic Art in England. By EDWARD S. PRIOR, M.A. (London : George Bell and Sons, 31s. 6d. nett).—A history of Gothic art in England, up-to-date, and free from the speculations of the schools of Pugin, Ruskin, and William Morris, as to the connection between art and social progress, or the endeavour to correlate art to social law, has long been a desideratum, and this Mr. Prior supplies with marked success, abandoning theories, and leaving the facts to speak for themselves. In this he shows himself abundantly endowed with that "historic sense" which Mr. John Morley has lately told us has been attained only in our own day.

Commencing with the heritage of Romanesque art bequeathed to the Continent from the days of the Roman empire, which took such grand and massive shape in the work of the Norman architects in England in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Mr. Prior gives, first, a masterly sketch of the rise and progress of Gothic art in England and France respectively, the aim of his argument being to prove that English Gothic was "no daughter of the French" but its twin sister, and but a moment younger. French Gothic had its origin in the Ile de France, then but a restricted district, outside of which stood Normandy, Anjou, Maine, Burgundy, and many another later province; and under the fostering care of Philip Augustus and his successors it soon sprang into a vigorous but comparatively short life. Senlis, Sens, Laon, Chartres, Paris, and, a little later, Bourges, Reims, Amiens, Le Mans, and Beauvais are its characteristic examples, and no other similar area in Europe has such a mass of splendid Gothic work to show. But in its advance we may see both the reason of its supreme excellence and of its decay. The *science* of vault construction appealed to the logical faculty of the Parisian, until his vaults rose higher and higher, and his cathedrals became at length—in the author's striking expression—"chain-works of articulated stone pegged to the ground by pinnacles!" Further, in France the great cathedrals were built in symbol of the confederation of the king and the communes against the abbots. French Gothic was "laic," and the "laic" school, superseding the "monastic," produced those acknowledged masters of the craft who built all over Europe on the French model; but, with the exception of Westminster Abbey, which was due to the French tastes of Henry III, not in England.

Very different was the course of English Gothic. In art, as in politics and religion, the completeness of a logical conclusion had no charm for the English race; its genius is for compromise. The vigour of the Norman building had given the Englishman a grand art, and in treatment of mass and wall surface he retained to the end

the ideals of this Romanesque design, and with these the freshness of experiment. So English art never lost its heart, and in it there appears, throughout its course from the twelfth to the sixteenth century, spontaneity as well as steadfastness. English Gothic took its first inspiration from Burgundy, and to a certain extent from the infiltration of the Gothic spirit from the Ile de France to Anjou, Maine, and Normandy, then under the English Crown; but it soon gave to its development a national bent which it never lost. As French Gothic soared ever higher and higher, so the English genius was for low, broad effects, "for lengthened sweetness long drawn out;" where the French Gothic massed its effects, the English spread them. These differences may be seen by comparing the ground plan of Nôtre Dame with that of Canterbury, and the elevation of Chartres or Beauvais with that of Lincoln and Lichfield. Further, English Gothic remained "cleric" or monastic continuously; just as at the beginning this had been Benedictine and then Cistercian, so the vigour of that reformed monasticism carried it onward, but always with an increasing leaven of its native Saxon heritage, which had come to it through the Celtic memories of the first British Church. Thus, while the story of French Gothic is to be read like a Greek drama, with the unities of a tragedy in three acts—the rise, the summit, the fall—clear to the eye, the English tale develops itself like a series of romances, threaded to a common idea, but each having its own subsidiary drama, its mounting effort, its apex of achievement, and its turning to a new enthusiasm. Thus the author combats the idea of the last generation that English Gothic is a derivation from the French, and not a native growth; and it is to the development and the proof of this position that he devotes his pages.

The author retains the names of "Early English," "Decorated," and "Perpendicular" as being convenient for ordinary use, and as indicating the course of Gothic art in England; but he marks seven distinct periods corresponding to the seven half-centuries of its existence. From 1150 to 1200 the rapid growth of the first Pointed style; from 1200 to 1250 its establishment, during which little change is seen. From 1250 to 1300 the rise of the Decorated or second Pointed style, and from 1300 to 1348 (the date of the Black Death) the infinite variety of the "geometric" style, in which Gothic art in England attained the summit of its powers, and whence it afterwards gradually but surely declined. By 1400 the "Perpendicular" style was established, and from 1450 to 1525 this latter may be said to have become Tudor. But what the author specially insists upon is this: that the transitions were all gradual, melting as softly one into the other as the colours

of the spectrum. The whole story is one of continuous change, but the Gothic idea rules from first to last, though its manifestation shows certain colourings peculiar to each century.

The various distinctions that appear are traced by Mr. Prior to the social forces that were in evidence in each successive century. All Gothic architecture was, as he says, church building, whether cathedral, monastic fane, or simple parish sanctuary; and it was successively the priest, the noble, and the burghess whose faiths were expressed. Into the details of this long and splendid story space forbids us to follow our author, but we may say that the theme is worked out with a wealth of illustration, and a rich and imaginative diction, which leave nothing to be desired. Even those who may not altogether agree with the positions maintained will admit that Mr. Prior has opened up a new era in the investigation of his subject, in which it is reviewed solely for the sake of its history, and with no ulterior purpose whether of religious, moral, or artistic elevation.

The beginnings of the Early English style in what is known as the "Transition" period, during the second half of the twelfth century, are marked by the coming in of the Pointed arch, constructive lightness and elegance, and a naturalistic awakening in the decorative motives. The first, which is the clear sign-manual of Gothic art, is traced by the author without any lingering doubt, from a ninth-century use in the East, and an eleventh-century introduction into the South of France, to the influence of the Crusaders; but he shows that it was the sweep of advancing art that seized upon it as its plaything, and compelled its use for the efficient expression of the Gothic ideal. Shortly afterwards came the introduction of the beautiful Lancet window, and this was followed by the junction of the Lancets and the filling of the head of the now enlarged light with all the successive varieties of Decorative tracery. Along with this may be noted the continuous advance in the adornment of column, and arcade, and roof, and wall-space, until such glorious creations as Wells and Exeter, Lichfield and Lincoln, Fountains, Rivaulx, Tintern, and a score of others, are complete.

The first symptoms of decline are noted in the differentiation of workmanship. At first each *artifex*, unknown and unnamed, is the embodiment of the national genius, and capable of doing his part in any portion of the work: now as mason, now as carpenter, now as sculptor, and so on. With the specialization of the *architector*, the *ingeniator*, the *cementarius*, who was *rector* of the work, the *sculptor*, the *pictor*, and the *imaginator*, and the handing down of the names of individual artists which commenced even in the thirteenth century,

decay had begun, notwithstanding the florid perfection of later days, for with individuality is sown inequality, and whim takes the place of character.

Even here, however, the sobriety and judgment of the English race may be observed, for whereas French Gothic passed in its decline to the extravagance of the Flamboyant school, English Gothic passed—when the enthusiasm of the priest and the pomp of the noble had done their work—to the stately lines of the Perpendicular style, which may be seen in the abundant examples of the parish churches of the fifteenth century, the fruit of the piety of the wealthy burgess and commoner.

With the author's account of the period from 1300 down to the time of the Black Death, as the summit of English Gothic art, and his plea in which he follows Professor Freeman, for the name of "Geometric" to be applied to the period, we are wholly satisfied.

With his remarks as to the terrible results of the so-called "restorations," which marked especially the middle decades of the nineteenth century, and which we fear we have not yet seen the last of—as witness the west front of Peterborough Cathedral—we are in entire agreement. As he says, we have multiplied examples of "restoration" building, with "restoration" sculpture, with "restoration" painted glass and Gothic furniture of screens and stalls, but the tinsel of nineteenth-century ecclesiology must be thrust aside before we can get the real quality of mediæval art. Yet by most people these neo-Gothic forgeries are taken as representative, and no wonder that the credit of the real inspiration has declined, genuine work has been continually effaced, and the real article smoothed away and doctored to imitate the false.

For the next generation to ours, any direct acquaintance with the great comprehensive Gothic genius, except by means of parodies, will be difficult. As it is, students must travel to out-of-the-way corners of England, to neglected parish churches, which for want of money have been left alone, if they would see what Gothic building really was. It is to teach people to recognise the true inspiration, and to realise that "by no possibility can a nation of mechanics show the same products as a nation of artists," that this book is written. May the judicious preservation of all that is still left be its result! If that be so, we shall see no more bastard imitations of "Early English," or "Decorated," set up in the place of the fifteenth-century parish church, or the style of one county transplanted bodily to another and alien soil! "Perpendicular," says Mr. Prior, in his concluding remarks, "is the art of the most completely local individuality, yet of the widest

democracy. The form of the parish church was the Saxon contribution to our English Gothic, and we treasure its history. Our village art of 'Perpendicular' is not to be despised because it came too late to be 'Decorated' or 'Early English.' The fifteenth century was to our Gothic art an Indian summer, whose brilliant hues were of the falling leaf, not of the budding flower of Gothic."

We venture to predict that this sumptuous volume, adorned with more than 300 illustrations, and written in an earnest and scholarly spirit, will be the standard "History of Gothic Art in England," for a long while to come. It is a book which should be in the hands of every architect; and the general reader—above all, one who may have anything to do with "restoration," whether layman or cleric—will find it both fascinating and instructive, an invaluable check to vagaries, and a sure guide to a correct artistic taste.

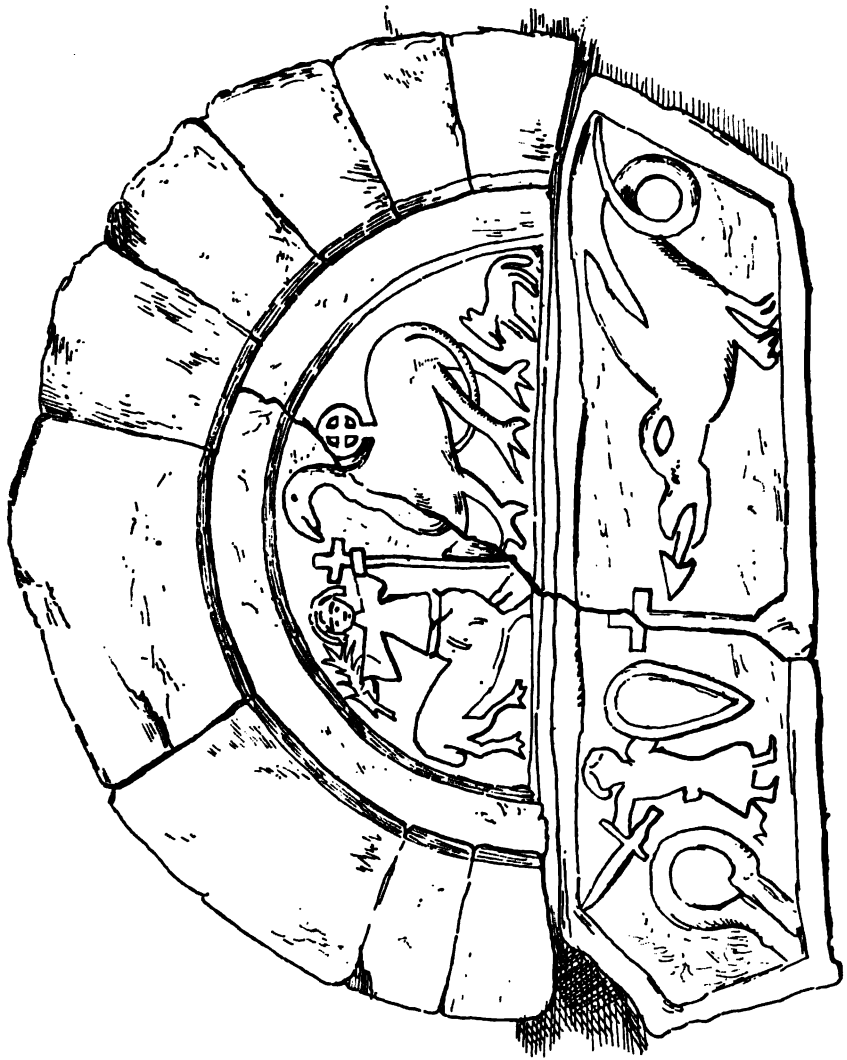
We have received from Mr. Elliot Stock an interesting little brochure entitled, *Reflections on the Character and Doings of the Sir Roger de Coverly of Addison* (12 p.p.), in which the author, Rev. R. E. H. Duke, endeavours to prove that the prototype of Sir Roger was an ancestor of his own, Richard Duke, of Bulford.

Addison was born at his father's parsonage of Milston, which is close to Bulford, and was first sent to school at Amesbury, and afterwards at Salisbury. "But," says the author, "the impressions of Addison's early boyhood remained with him all through his life . . . so that it is perfectly agreeable to his customs for us to suppose that in his Sir Roger he portrayed the character of a neighbouring squire." To prove his point, the author has diligently searched his *Spectator*, and compared what Addison tells us of Sir Roger with what we can gather from other sources of the real Mr. Duke, and he has certainly succeeded in making out a very good case. All lovers of Addison and of Sir Roger should procure this little book.

Norman Tympana in Derbyshire.—The two Plates herewith further illustrate the paper on above by T. N. Brushfield, M.D., F.S.A. (see pp. 241 to 271).

NOTE.—Several reviews of books on archæological subjects, and other matters of antiquarian interest, are obliged, from want of space, to be reserved for our next Volume.—ED.



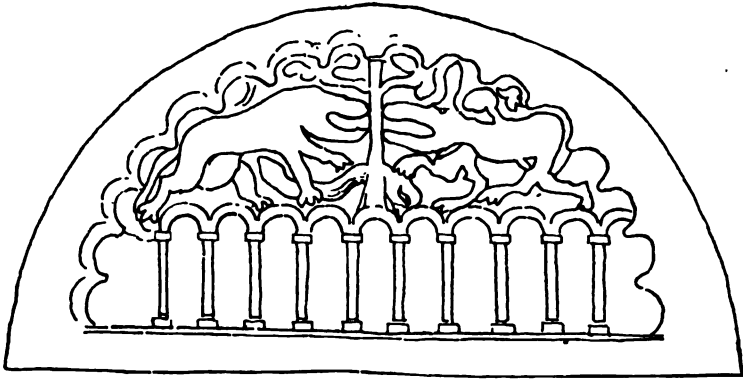


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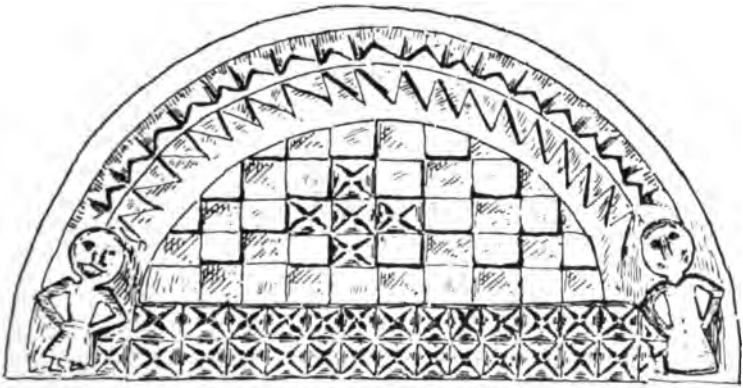


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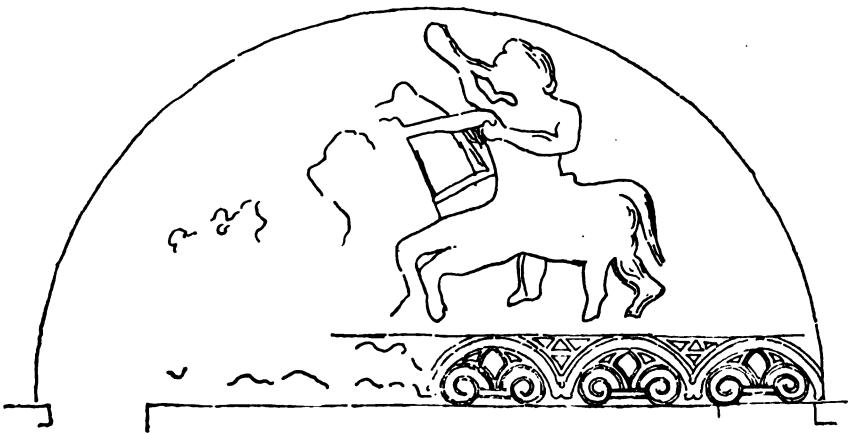
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STON LONK AID
FIELD B. EQUATION



Obituary.

LT.-GENERAL AUGUSTUS HENRY LANE FOX PITT-
RIVERS, D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A.

THOUGH not a member of our Association, the whole archæological world is so much the poorer by the death, on May 4th last, of this distinguished man, that the Society would fail in its duty if a few words about him were not enshrined in our *Journal*.

He was born in 1827, and attained distinction as a soldier, serving at the battle of the Alma and the siege of Sevastopol; but his fame will mainly rest on the splendid researches into the history of early Britain, which he made in and around his estate in Wiltshire, and the results of which have been preserved to posterity in the very handsomely illustrated volumes he printed privately, entirely at his own expense. The best finds are carefully preserved in the museum he founded at Rushmore.

It was the great privilege of the writer of this notice to hear him deliver a lecture on "Excavations in Bokerly and Wansdyke, and their bearing on the Roman occupation of Britain," before the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society, at the Manchester Town Hall, on November 13th, 1890. The beautiful models of his excavations then produced were an education in themselves. He was chosen F.S.A. on June 2nd, 1864, and was Local Secretary for Dorset, and made several contributions to *Archeologia*.

JAMES THOMAS IRVINE.

By the decease of Mr. J. T. Irvine, this Association has lost a valuable member, and the archæological world generally an enthusiastic and most painstaking labourer. He joined the Association in 1863, and from that time, almost to the day of his death, was one of its most earnest supporters. He contributed many papers to the pages of the *Journal*, and was a frequent exhibitor at the evening meetings.

James Thomas Irvine was born in the Shetlands in 1826, and was descended from an old Shetland family, the Irvines of Midbrake, and

all his life took the greatest interest in every subject relating to the islands, their history and antiquities. He lost his father when an infant. At the age of fourteen years he came to London to an uncle, a surveyor, who placed him in the offices of the architectural firm of Scott and Moffat (afterwards Sir Geo. Gilbert Scott only), and with the exception of a short period he remained there until 1884. While with Sir G. G. Scott he was engaged upon many works of church restoration. Amongst others may be named the parish church at Ludlow, Bath Abbey, St. Sepulchre's, Northampton, the cathedrals of Wells, Rochester, and Lichfield. During his connection with Sir Gilbert Scott he acquired that intense devotion, admiration, and respect for his chief, which he ever afterwards retained and expressed in the dedication of his Paper on "The West Front of Peterborough Cathedral," when he inscribed it to the "Memory of my Dear Old Master." It is very pleasing to be able to add that this somewhat unusual and very affectionate regard was entirely reciprocated by Sir Gilbert Scott. In 1884, Mr. Irvine accepted an engagement with the late Mr. Pearson, and undertook under his direction the superintendence of the rebuilding of the central tower of Peterborough Cathedral. During the interval between the rebuilding of the central tower and the restoration of the west front, he was engaged in the work of preservation of Kirkstall Abbey. The knowledge which he acquired of ecclesiastical antiquities in the course of these and many other works, was of the most varied and interesting nature, and is still accessible to the student in the many hundreds of most careful sketches and measured drawings and papers which he has left behind. Those relating to Bath, Shetland, and Saxon work are deposited in Edinburgh, in the library of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, of which he was a fellow. Those connected with Wells, Rochester, and Peterborough, are placed in their respective Chapter libraries, while those of Lichfield and of churches in the neighbourhood of Peterborough are in the Bodleian at Oxford. Mr. Irvine was a Local Member of Council of this Association at various times for Staffordshire and Northamptonshire, and was a member of the Local Committee for the Peterborough Congress in 1898. He will be well remembered by those members who attended that Congress, and had the advantage of hearing his clear and admirable description of the discoveries made during the progress of the works at the cathedral. He was interred in the cemetery at Peterborough, the Dean conducting the funeral service. The Association was represented at the grave-side by two of its hon. correspondents, Messrs. Bodger and Dack, who acted as local secretaries at the Peterborough Congress.



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THE JOURNAL
OF THE
British
Archaeological Association,

ESTABLISHED 1843,

FOR THE

ENCOURAGEMENT AND PROSECUTION OF RESEARCHES
INTO THE ARTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE
EARLY AND MIDDLE AGES.

NEW SERIES, VOL. VII.—1901.

London:
PRINTED FOR THE ASSOCIATION.

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LONDON:

PRINTED AT THE BEDFORD PRESS, 20 AND 21, BEDFORDSURY, W.C.

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PREFACE.

THE SEVENTH VOLUME OF THE NEW SERIES OF THE JOURNAL OF THE BRITISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION for the year 1901 contains the Papers which were laid before the Congress at Leicester, and one of those which were read at Newcastle-on-Tyne, besides several which were read during the recent Sessions (1899, 1900, 1901) in London, together with the Proceedings of the Congress at Leicester, and the Evening Meetings. In the department allotted to Antiquarian Intelligence will be found accounts of some of the most interesting discoveries of the year, and notices of recent books of archæological or historical interest. Many plates and drawings, for some of which we are indebted to the Authors of Papers, continue to embellish the volume, and the Association is thus enabled to render the book more attractive than would otherwise be possible.

Many interesting discoveries have marked the opening year of the twentieth century in all branches of archæology. Among the most remarkable of those which belong to our own country is the fact that positive evidence has been brought to light by the spade—that invaluable and indispensable handmaid of research—that our great national monument of prehistoric times at Stonehenge must be assigned to the Neolithic Age, and that it was in all probability erected by the pre-Celtic, *i.e.*, the Iberian, inhabitants of these islands some fifteen centuries at least before the Christian era.

Meanwhile Mr. Evans's discoveries in Crete have been continued, and have yielded fresh material for the

elucidation of the pre-Mycenean and Mycenean civilisation of that island. Other discoveries of a somewhat later age have been made by an Italian expedition in another part of Crete, and the continued exploration of the Forum at Rome has not only enabled historians to gain an insight into its appearance throughout the period of the Kings, Republic, and Empire, but has also thrown a flood of light upon the earliest history of the city, and has proved that Livy was a more accurate writer than the destructive school of critics would admit. Further accounts of these, and other results of patient "digging," will, we hope, be included in our next volume.

Like its predecessors the year has not passed without several old and valued members of the Association being called away, among whom we may mention Col. Lambert, F.S.A., whose obituary appears in this volume; Mr. Arthur Cates, for twenty years a member and a constant attender at our Meetings and Congresses, whose cheery presence and kindly counsel will be much missed; and Mr. Edward Fry, whose last contribution, pertaining to the Roman "finds" at Dover and Walmer, has a place in these pages.

It is to be hoped that those whose names have been added to our roll during the last few years will prove themselves as ardent archæologists as those were who have passed away, and that the Association will never want for members who are authorities in one or other of the innumerable branches of antiquarian science, and who by their energy and their devotion, will keep alive the traditions of the past. In this hope we bid each of our Associates, and each one who joins our ranks: "RESPICE, PROSPICE, ASPICE!"

H. J. DUKINFIELD ASTLEY.

December 31st, 1901.

British Archaeological Association.

THE BRITISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION was founded in 1843, to investigate, preserve, and illustrate all ancient monuments of the history, manners, customs, and arts of our forefathers, in furtherance of the principles on which the Society of Antiquaries of London was established; and to aid the objects of that Institution by rendering available resources which had not been drawn upon, and which, indeed, did not come within the scope of any antiquarian or literary society.

The means by which the Association proposed to effect this object are:

1. By holding communication with Correspondents throughout the kingdom, and with provincial Antiquarian Societies, as well as by intercourse with similar Associations in foreign countries.

2. By holding frequent and regular Meetings for the consideration and discussion of communications made by the Associates, or received from Correspondents.

3. By promoting careful observation and preservation of antiquities discovered in the progress of public works, such as railways, sewers, foundations of buildings, etc.

4. By encouraging individuals or associations in making researches and excavations, and affording them suggestions and co-operation.

5. By opposing and preventing, as far as may be practicable, all injuries with which Ancient National Monuments of every description may from time to time be threatened.

6. By using every endeavour to spread abroad a correct taste for Archæology, and a just appreciation of Monuments of Ancient Art, so as ultimately to secure a general interest in their preservation.

7. By collecting accurate drawings, plans, and descriptions of Ancient National Monuments, and, by means of Correspondents, preserving authentic memorials of all antiquities not later than 1750, which may from time to time be brought to light.

8. By establishing a *Journal* devoted exclusively to the objects of the Association, as a means of spreading antiquarian information and maintaining a constant communication with all persons interested in such pursuits.

9. By holding Annual Congresses in different parts of the country, to examine into their special antiquities, to promote an interest in them, and thereby conduce to their preservation.

Thirteen public Meetings are held from November to June, on the Wednesdays given on the next page, during the session, at eight o'clock in the evening, for the reading and discussion of papers, and for the inspection of all objects of antiquity forwarded to the Council. To these Meetings Associates have the privilege of introducing friends.

Persons desirous of becoming Associates, or of promoting in any way the objects of the Association, are requested to apply either personally or by letter to the Secretaries; or to the Sub-Treasurer, Samuel Rayson, Esq., 32 Sackville Street, W., to whom subscriptions, by Post Office Order or otherwise, crossed "Bank of England, W. Branch", should be transmitted.

The payment of ONE GUINEA annually is required of the Associates, or FIFTEEN GUINEAS as a Life Subscription, by which the Subscribers are entitled to a copy of the quarterly *Journal* as published, and permitted to acquire the publications of the Association at a reduced price.

Associates are required to pay an entrance fee of ONE GUINEA, except when the intending Associate is already a member of the Society of Antiquaries, of the Royal Archæological Institute, or of the Society of Biblical Archæology, in which case the entrance-fee is remitted. The annual payments are due in advance.

Papers read before the Association should be transmitted to the *Editor* of the Association, 32, Sackville Street; if they are accepted by the Council they will be printed in the volumes of the *Journal*, and they will be considered to be the property of the Association. Every author is responsible for the statements contained in his paper. The published *Journals* may be had of the Treasurer and other officers of the Association at the following prices:—Vol. I, out of print. The other volumes, £1:1 each to Associates; £1:11:6 to the public, with the exception of certain volumes in excess of stock, which may be had by members at a reduced price on application to the Honorary Secretaries. The special volumes of TRANSACTIONS of the CONGRESSES held at WINCHESTER and at GLOUCESTER are charged to the public, £1:11:6; to the Associates, 5s.

By a Resolution of the Council, passed on January 18th, 1899, Associates may now procure the Volumes of the First Series (I-L), so far as still in print, at 5s. each, or the single parts at 1s. 3d. each.

In addition to the *Journal*, published every quarter, it has been found necessary to publish occasionally another work entitled *Collectanea Archæologica*. It embraces papers whose length is too great for a periodical journal, and such as require more extensive illustration than can be given in an octavo form. It is, therefore, put forth in quarto, uniform with the *Archæologia* of the Society of Antiquaries, and sold to the public at 7s. 6d. each Part, but may be had by the Associates at 5s. (*See coloured wrapper of the quarterly Parts.*)

An Index for the first thirty volumes of the *Journal* has been prepared by Walter de Gray Birch, Esq., F.S.A. Present price to Associates, 5s.; to the public, 7s. 6d. Another Index, to volumes xxxi-xlii, the *Collectanea Archæologica*, and the two extra vols. for the Winchester and Gloucester Congresses, also now ready (uniform). Price to Associates, 10s. 6d.; to the public, 15s.

Public Meetings held on Wednesday evenings, at No. 32, Sackville Street, Piccadilly, at 8 o'clock precisely.

The Meetings for Session 1900-1901 are as follows:—1900, Nov. 7, 21; Dec. 5; 1901, Jan. 16, 30; Feb. 6, 20; March 6, 20; April 3, 17; May 1 (Annual General Meeting 4.30 p.m.), 15; June 5.

Visitors will be admitted by order from Associates; or by writing their names, and those of the members by whom they are introduced. The Council Meetings are held at Sackville Street on the same day as the Public Meetings, at half-past 4 o'clock precisely.

RULES OF THE ASSOCIATION.

THE BRITISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION shall consist of Patrons, Associates, Local Members of Council, Honorary Correspondents, and Honorary Foreign Members.

1. The Patrons,—a class confined to members of the royal family or other illustrious persons.
2. The Associates shall consist of ladies or gentlemen elected by the Council, and who, upon the payment of one guinea entrance fee (except when the intending Associate is already a Member of the Society of Antiquaries of London, of the Royal Archæological Institute, or of the Society of Biblical Archæology), and a sum of not less than one guinea annually, or fifteen guineas as a life-subscription, shall become entitled to receive a copy of the quarterly *Journal* published by the Association, to attend all meetings, vote in the election of Officers and Council, and admit one visitor to each of the ordinary meetings of the Association.
3. The Local Members of Council shall consist of such of the Associates elected from time to time by the Council, on the nomination of two of its members, who shall promote the views and objects of the Association in their various localities, and report the discovery of antiquarian objects to the Council. There shall be no limit to their number, but in their election the Council shall have regard to the extent and importance of the various localities which they will represent. The Local Members shall be entitled to attend the meetings of the Council, to advise them, and report on matters of archæological interest which have come to their notice; but they shall not take part in the general business of the Council, or be entitled to vote on any subject.
4. The Honorary Correspondents,—a class embracing all interested in the investigation and preservation of antiquities; to be qualified for election on the recommendation of the President or Patron, or of two Members of the Council, or of four Associates.
5. The Honorary Foreign Members shall be confined to illustrious or learned foreigners who may have distinguished themselves in antiquarian pursuits.

ADMINISTRATION.

To conduct the affairs of the Association there shall be annually elected a President, fifteen Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, Sub-Treasurer, two Honorary Secretaries, and eighteen other Associates, all of whom shall constitute the Council, and two Auditors without seats in the Council.

The past Presidents shall be *ex officio* Vice-Presidents for life, with the same *status* and privileges as the elected Vice-Presidents, and take precedence in the order of service.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS AND COUNCIL.

1. The President, Vice-Presidents, members of Council, and Officers, shall be elected at the Annual General Meeting, to be held on the first Wednesday in May in each year. Such election shall be conducted by ballot, which shall continue open during at least one hour. A majority of votes shall determine the election. Every Associate balloting shall deliver his name to the Chairman, and afterwards put his list, filled up, into the balloting box. The presiding officer shall nominate two Scrutators, who, with one or more of the Secretaries, shall examine the lists and report thereon to the General Meeting.

2. If any member of the Council, elected at the Annual General Meeting, shall not have attended three meetings of the Council, at least, during the current session, the Council shall, at their meeting held next before the Annual Meeting, by a majority of votes of the members present, recommend whether it is desirable that such member shall be eligible for re-election or not, and such recommendation shall be submitted to the Annual Meeting on the ballot papers.

CHAIRMAN OF MEETINGS.

1. The President, when present, shall take the chair at all meetings of the Association. He shall regulate the discussions and enforce the laws of the Association.

2. In the absence of the President, the chair shall be taken by the Treasurer, or by the senior or only Vice-President present, and willing to preside; or in default, by the senior elected Member of Council or some officer present.

3. The Chairman shall, in addition to his own vote, have a casting vote when the suffrages are equal.

THE TREASURER.

The Treasurer shall hold the finances of the Association, discharge all debts previously presented to and approved of by the Council, and shall make up his accounts to the 31st of December

in each year, and having had his accounts audited he shall lay them before the Annual Meeting. Two-thirds of the life-subscriptions received by him shall be invested in such security as the Council may approve.

THE SECRETARIES.

The Secretaries shall attend all meetings of the Association, transmit notices to the Members, and read the letters and papers communicated to the Association. The notices of meetings of the Council shall state the business to be transacted, including the names of any candidates for the office of Vice-President or Members of Council, but not the names of proposed Associates or Honorary Correspondents.

THE COUNCIL.

1. The Council shall superintend and regulate the proceedings of the Association, and elect the Associates; whose names, when elected, are to be read over at the ordinary meetings.

2. The Council shall meet on the days on which the ordinary meetings of the Association are held, or as often as the business of the Association shall require, and five members shall be a quorum.

3. An extraordinary meeting of the Council may be held at any time by order of the President, or by a requisition signed by five of its members, stating the purpose thereof, addressed to the Secretaries, who shall issue notices of such meeting to every member.

4. The Council shall fill up any vacancy that may occur in any of the offices or among its own members, notice of proposed election being given at the immediately preceding Council meeting.

5. The Council shall submit a report of its proceedings to the Annual Meeting.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

1. The ordinary meetings of the Association shall be held on the first and third Wednesdays in November, the first Wednesday in December, the third Wednesday in January, the first and third Wednesdays in the months from February to April inclusive, the third Wednesday in May, and the first Wednesday in June, at 8 o'clock in the evening precisely, for the purpose of inspecting and conversing upon the various objects of antiquity transmitted to the Association, and such other business as the Council may appoint.

The Annual General Meeting of the Association shall be held on the first Wednesday in May in each year, at 4.30 P.M. precisely, at which the President, Vice-Presidents, and officers of the Association shall be elected, and such other business shall be conducted

as may be deemed advisable for the well-being of the Association; but none of the rules of the Association shall be repealed or altered unless twenty-eight days' notice of intention to propose such repeal or alteration shall have been given to the Secretaries, and they shall have notified the same to the Members of the Council at their meeting held next after receipt of the notice.

2. An extraordinary general meeting of the Association may at any time be convened by order of the President, or by a requisition signed by twenty Associates, stating the object of the proposed meeting, addressed to the Secretaries, who shall issue notices accordingly, stating therein the object for which the meeting is called.

3. A General Public Meeting or Congress shall be held annually in such town or place in the United Kingdom, at such time and for such period as shall be considered most advisable by the Council, to which Associates, Correspondents, and others, shall be admitted by ticket, upon the payment of one guinea, which shall entitle the bearer, and also a lady, to be present at all meetings either for the reading of papers, the exhibition of antiquities, the holding of *conversazioni*, or the making of excursions to examine any objects of antiquarian interest.

4. The Officers having the management of the Congress shall submit their accounts to the Council at their next meeting after the Congress shall have been held, and a detailed account of their personal expenses, accompanied by as many vouchers as they can produce.

ANNULMENT OF MEMBERSHIP.

If there shall be any ground alleged, other than the non-payment of subscriptions, for the removal of any Associate, such ground shall be submitted to the Council at a Special Meeting to be summoned for that purpose, of which notice shall be given to the Associate complained of, and in default of his attending such meeting of Council, or giving a satisfactory explanation to the Council, he shall, if a resolution be passed at such meeting, or any adjournment thereof, by two-thirds at least of the members then present for such removal, thereupon cease to be a member of the Association. Provided that no such resolution shall be valid unless nine members of the Council at least (including the Chairman) shall be present when the resolution shall be submitted to the meeting.

LIST OF CONGRESSES.

Congresses have been already held at	Under the Presidency of
1844 CANTERBURY . . .)	THE LORD A. D. CONYNGHAM, K.C.H., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1845 WINCHESTER . . .)	
1846 GLOUCESTER . . .)	
1847 WARWICK . . .)	
1848 WORCESTER . . .)	
1849 CHESTER . . .)	
1850 MANCHESTER & LANCASTER	J. HEYWOOD, Esq., M.P., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1851 DERBY	SIR OSWALD MOSLEY, RT., D.C.L.
1852 NEWARK	THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE
1853 ROCHESTER . . .)	RALPH BERNAL, Esq., M.A.
1854 CHEPSTOW . . .)	
1855 ISLE OF WIGHT . . {	THE EARL OF PERTH AND MELFORT
1856 BRIDGWATER AND BATH {	
1857 NORWICH	THE EARL OF ALBEMARLE, F.S.A.
1858 SALISBURY	THE MARQUESS OF AILESBURY
1859 NEWBURY	THE EARL OF CARNARVON, F.S.A.
1860 SHREWSBURY	BERIAH BOTFIELD, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1861 EXETER	SIR STAFFORD H. NORTHCOTE, BT.
1862 LEICESTER	JOHN LEE, Esq., LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1863 LEEDS	LORD HOUGHTON, M.A., D.C.L., F.S.A.
1864 IPSWICH	GEORGE TOMLINE, Esq., M.P., F.S.A.
1865 DURHAM	THE DUKE OF CLEVELAND
1866 HASTINGS	THE EARL OF CHICHESTER
1867 LUDLOW	SIR C. H. ROUSE BUGHTON, BT.
1868 CIRENCESTER	THE EARL BATHURST
1869 ST. ALBAN'S	THE LORD LYTTON
1870 HEREFORD	CHANDOS WREN HOSKYNs, Esq., M.P.
1871 WEYMOUTH	SIR W. COLES MEDLICOTT, BT., D.C.L.
1872 WOLVERHAMPTON	THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH
1873 SHEFFIELD	THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, E.M.
1874 BRISTOL	KIRKMAN D. HODGSON, Esq., M.P.
1875 EVESHAM	THE MARQUESS OF HERTFORD
1876 BODMIN AND PENZANCE	THE EARL OF MOUNT-EDGCUMBE

Congresses have been already held at	Under the Presidency of
1877 LLANGOLLEN . . .	SIR WATKIN W. WYNN, BART., M.P.
1878 WISBECH . . .	THE EARL OF HARDWICKE
1879 YARMOUTH & NORWICH	THE LORD WAVENEY, F.R.S.
1880 DEVIZES . . .	THE EARL NELSON
1881 GREAT MALVERN . .	LORD ALWYNE COMPTON, D.D., DEAN OF WORCESTER
1882 PLYMOUTH . . .	THE DUKE OF SOMERSET, K.G.
1883 DOVER . . .	THE EARL GRANVILLE, K.G.
1884 TENBY . . .	THE BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S
1885 BRIGHTON . . .	THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, E.M.
1886 DARLINGTON AND BISHOP AUCKLAND . . .	THE BISHOP OF DURHAM
1887 LIVERPOOL . . .	SIR J. A. PICTON, F.S.A.
1888 GLASGOW . . .	THE MARQUESS OF BUTE, K.T., LL.D.
1889 LINCOLN . . .	THE EARL OF WINCHILSEA AND NOT- TINGHAM
1890 OXFORD . . .	
1891 YORK . . .	THE MARQUESS OF RIPON, K.G.
1892 CARDIFF . . .	THE BISHOP OF LLANDAFF
1893 WINCHESTER . . .	THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK, G.C.S.I.
1894 MANCHESTER . . .	
1895 STOKE-ON-TRENT . .	THE DUKE OF SUTHERLAND, K.G.
1896 LONDON AND HOME COUNTIES . . .	COLONEL SIR WALTER WILKIN.
1897 CONWAY . . .	THE LORD MOSTYN.
1898 PETERBOROUGH . . .	THE BISHOP OF PETERBOROUGH.
1899 BUXTON . . .	THE MARQUESS OF GRANBY.
1900 LEICESTER . . .	

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL FOR THE SESSION, 1900-1.

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THE MOST HON. THE MARQUESS OF GRANBY.

Vice-Presidents.

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C. H. COMPTON, Esq.	SIR ALBERT WOODS, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., F.S.A. (<i>Garber King of Arms</i>).
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King's Lynn.

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T. CATO WORSFOLD, Esq.

British Archaeological Association.

LIST OF ASSOCIATES.

1901.

*The past-Presidents marked * are permanent Vice-Presidents.*

The letter L denotes Life-Members, and C, Congress Members for the Year.

THE MOST HON. THE MARQUESS OF GRANBY.

PRESIDENT.

Date of Election.

- L. 1857 AMHERST OF HACKNEY, THE RIGHT HON. LORD, F.S.A., Diddlington Park, Brandon, Norfolk
- L. 1871 Aldam, William, Esq., Frickley Hall, Doncaster
- L. 1851 Alger, John, Esq.
- L. 1857 Allen, W. E., Esq.
- 1890 American Geographical Society, New York (care of B. F. Stevens, Esq., 4 Trafalgar Square, W.C.)
- 1869 Andrews, Charles, Esq., Farnham, Surrey
- 1874 Army and Navy Club, St. James's Square, S.W.
- 1877 Ashby, Thomas, Esq., Hotel Continental, Rome
- 1898 Ash, Miss
- 1894 Astley, the Rev. H. J. Dukinfield, M.A., *Hon. Secretary*, East Rudham, King's Lynn
- 1876 Athenæum Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
- L. 1857 BATEMAN, THE RIGHT HON. LORD, Carlton Club, S.W.
- L. 1860 BOUGHTON, SIR CHARLES ROUSE, Bart., *Vice-President*,* Downton Hall, Ludlow
- 1885 Bagster, R., Esq., Paternoster Row, E.C.
- 1884 Baker, Ernest E., Esq., Dunkery, Weston-super-Mare
- 1896 Bailey, T. S., Esq., School Board for London, Victoria Embankment, W.C.
- 1899 Bannerman, W. B., Esq., F.S.A. Scot.; F.G.S., F.R.G.S., F.R.Hist.S., The Lindens, Sydenham Road, Croydon
- 1897 Barrett, Frank Ashley, Esq., Merton College, Oxford
- L. 1876 Bayly, Robert, Esq., Torr Grove, Plymouth
- 1900 Beckett, J. H., Esq., Stoke-upon-Trent
- 1898 Bennett-Goldney, Francis, Esq., Goodnestone Park, near Dover

- 1879 Bensly, W. T., Esq., LL.D., F.S.A., Diocesan Registry, Norwich
- 1899 Bentley, Miss, 10A, Oxford and Cambridge Mansions, N.W.
- 1871 Birch, Walter de Gray, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A., British Museum, and 1, Rutland Park, Willesden Green, N.W.
- 1872 Birmingham Free Libraries, Birmingham
- 1897 Birts, John A., Esq., Westwood House, Welling, Kent
- L. 1882 Blakiston, The Very Rev. R. Milburn, F.S.A., The Deanery, Hadleigh, Suffolk
- 1861 Blashill, Thomas, Esq., F.Z.S., *Vice-President*, 29 Tavistock Square, W.C.
- 1894 Boston Public Library, Boston, Mass., U.S.A., care of Mr. G. E. Stechert, 2 Star Yard, Carey Street, W.C.
- 1892 Bowen, Rev. David, B.A., Monkton, Pembroke
- 1874 Bramble, Colonel J. R., F.S.A., Seafield, Weston-super-Mare
- L. 1886 Bramley-Moore, Rev. W., 26 Russell Square, W.C.
- 1880 Bravender, Thomas B., Esq., 96 Oakfield Road, Anerley, S.E.
- L. 1883 Brent, Algernon, Esq., F.R.G.S., 12 Mandeville Place, W.
- 1853 Brent, Cecil, Esq., F.S.A., *Vice-President*, 37 Palace Grove, Bromley, Kent
- 1875 Brent, Francis, Esq., F.S.A., 6 Tothill Avenue, Plymouth
- 1890 Brighton Free Library, care of F. W. Madden, Esq., Church Street, Brighton
- L. 1875 Brinton, John, Esq., D.L., F.S.A., Moor Hall, Stourport
- 1886 Broad, J., Esq., Ashford
- L. 1874 Brooke, Sir Thomas, Bart., F.S.A., Armitage Bridge, Huddersfield
- 1898 Bruce, John, Esq., F.S.A. Scot., Inverallan, Helensburgh, N.B.
- 1856 Brushfield, T. N., Esq., M.D., F.S.A., The Cliff, Budleigh Salterton, Devon
- 1899 Bryden, W. R., Esq., Buxton, Derbyshire
- 1890 Bull, William, Esq., 75 St. Aubyn's, West Brighton
- 1888 Burnard, Robert, Esq., 3 Hillsborough, Plymouth
- 1881 Bush, Edward, Esq., The Grove, Alveston, R.S.O., Gloucester
- 1881 Bush, John, Esq., 10 St. Augustine's Parade, Bristol
- 1892 Bush, Thomas S., Esq., 20 Camden Crescent, Bath
- L. 1880 Butcher, W. H., Esq.
- 1900 Caine, the Rev. Cæsar, Garrigill Parsonage, Alston, Cumberland
- 1897 Callard, Ernest, Esq., North Hall, Kilburn, N.W.
- 1893 Cardiff, The Free Library
- 1892 Carpenter, Evan, Esq., The Cottage, Altyre Road, East Croydon
- 1888 Cart, Rev. Henry, 9 Rockmount Road, Upper Norwood, S.E.
- 1881 Cates, Arthur, Esq., *Vice-President*, 12 York Terrace, Regent's Park, N.W.
- 1897 Clout, Richd., Esq., Brome House, West Malling, Kent
- L. 1867 Cokayne, George Edw., Esq., F.S.A., *Norroy King of Arms*, Heralds' College, E.C.

- 1896 Collard, A. O., Esq., 8 Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.
 1898 Collett, Miss Isabel A., 8 Marlboro' Place, Brighton
 1893 Collier, Mrs., 6 Chester Square, S.W.
 1898 Collins, Lewis E. G., Esq., 31 Gt. St. Helen's, E.C.
 1896 Columbia University Library, New York (care of Mr. Stechert, 2 Star Yard, Carey Street, W.C.)
 1876 Compton, C. H., Esq., *Vice-President*, 11 Royal Avenue, Chelsea, S.W.
 1896 Cooke, Richard, Esq., The Croft, Detling, Maidstone
 1863 Cope, Wm. Henry, Esq., F.S.A., *Vice-President*, 12 Gloucester Road, Regent's Park, N.W.
 1893 Crespi, Dr. Alfred J. H., Wimborne, Dorset
 1861 Creswell, Rev. Samuel Francis, D.D., F.R.A.S., F.R.G.S., North Repps, S. O., Norfolk
 1897 Crickmay, G. B., Esq., 6 Keswick Road, East Putney, S.W.
 1844 Cuming, H. Syer, Esq., F.S.A.Scot., 63 Kennington Park Road, S.E.
 1899 Cunliffe, Miss, 69 Cromwell Road, S.W.
 1872 Curteis, The Rev. Thos. H., F.S.A., Sevenoaks
- 1853 DUCIE, THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF, F.R.S., Tortworth Court, Falfield, Gloucestershire
 1895 Daltry, Rev. T. W., M.A., The Vicarage, Madeley, Newcastle-under-Lyme
 1897 Day, Mrs., 135 St. Mark's Road, North Kensington, W.
 1901 De Meray, Jules, Esq., 1, Rutland Gate, S.W.
 L. 1874 Derham, W., Esq., M.A., LL.M., 76 Lancaster Gate, W.
 1891 Detroit Library, care of Mr. B. F. Stevens, 4 Trafalgar Square, W.C.
 1884 Dix, John W. S., Esq., Hampton Lodge, Durdham Down, Bristol
- 1855 EVANS, SIR JOHN, K.C.B., D.C.L., LL.D., D.Sc., F.R.S., F.S.A., *Vice-President*, Hemel Hempstead
 1893 Elwell, W. R. G., Esq. (care of J. F. Perry, Esq., 3 Downside Road, Clifton, Bristol)
 1900 Evelyn-White, the Rev. C. H. M.A., F.S.A., The Rectory, Rampton, Cambridge
- 1899 Farrington, T. B., Esq.
 L. 1890 Ferguson, Professor John, 13 Newton Place, Glasgow, N.B.
 1898 Ferrar, M. Lloyd, Esq., Little Gidding, East Common, Ealing, W.
 L. 1880 Fisher, S. T., Esq., 1 Melbury Road, Kensington, W.
 1900 Folkard, Walter W., Esq., 13 Blomfield Street, Westbourne Square, W.
 1901 Forrer, Mons. L., Edelweiss, Chislehurst
 1900 Forster, R. H., Esq., Members' Mansions, 36 Victoria Street, S.W.
 L. 1888 Fowler, John, Esq.

- 1900 Freer, Major Wm. Jesse, V.D., F.S.A., Stony-gate, Leicester
 1900 Frost, F. C., Esq., F.S.I., 5 Regent Street, Teignmouth
 1883 Fry, E. W., Esq., St. Martin's House, Dover
 1880 Fryer, A. C., Esq., Ph.D., M.A., F.S.A., F.C.S., F.I.C., 13
 Eaton Crescent, Clifton, Bristol
 1899 Fyldes, The Rev. Wm., M.A., Hartingdon, Ashbourne
- L. 1874 Gainsford, T. R., Esq., Whiteley Wood Hall, Sheffield
 1894 George, Frank, Esq., 7 Ellenborough Crescent, Weston-
 super-Mare
- L. 1881 Gibson, Mrs. James, Castle Bree, Cambridge
 1877 Glasgow, The Mitchell Library, 21 Miller Street, Glasgow
 1896 Gould, I. Chalkley, Esq., Traps Hill House, Loughton,
 Essex
- L. 1889 HAWKESBURY, THE RIGHT HON. LORD, Kirkham Abbey, York
 1858 Hammond, Charles E., Esq., Newmarket
 1864 Harker, John, Esq., M.D., Hazel Grove, near Carnforth
- L. 1890 Harnett, Mrs. F. R., Highmoor Vicarage, Henley-on-Thames
 1897 Hart, Mrs. M. O., 13 Clanricarde Gardens, Bayswater, W.
- L. 1891 Harvey, H. Fairfax, Esq., Highcroft, Heavitree, Exeter
 1872 Hellier, Colonel T. B. Shaw, 4th Dragoon Guards (care
 of Messrs. Holt, Laurie, and Co., 17 Whitehall Place,
 S.W.)
- 1901 Henniker, The Hon. Mary, 4 Berkeley Street, Grosvenor
 Square, W.
 1872 Hicklin, B., Esq., 13 Park Crescent, Worthing.
 1891 Hogg, F. G., Esq., 60 Bedford Gardens, Campden Hill, W.
 1899 Holmes, J. G., Esq., Thorne Lodge, Oakfield Grove, Clifton,
 Bristol
- 1898 Horner, Ernest Simms, Esq., 8 Aldgate, E.
- L. 1895 Horniman, F. John, Esq., M.P., F.S.A.Scot., Horniman's
 Museum, Forest Hill, S.E.
- L. 1863 Horsfall, Richard, Esq., Halifax
 1897 Hovenden, Robt., Esq., F.S.A., Heathcote, Park Hill Road,
 Croydon
- L. 1875 Hudd, Alfred E., Esq., F.S.A., 94 Pembroke Road, Clifton,
 Bristol
 1878 Hughes, H. R., Esq., F.S.A., Kimmel Park, Abergele, North
 Wales
- L. 1890 Hughes, T. Cann, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., *Town Clerk*, 78 Church
 Street, Lancaster
 1882 Hughes, W. E., Esq., Essington Villa, 89 Alexandra Road,
 St. John's Wood, N.W.
 1895 Hull, the Public Library
 1853 Hull Subscription Library, Albion Street, Hull
 1896 Hunt, Fred. W., Esq., 18 Dorset Square, N.W.
- L. 1866 Hunter, Edward, Esq.
- 1879 Jenner, Miss Lucy A., Greenwood, Bishop's Waltham
 1897 Johnston, Miss, New Victoria Club, 30A Sackville Street, W.

- 1899 Kershaw, S. W., Esq., The Library, Lambeth Palace, S.W.
 1900 Keyser, Charles E., Esq., F.S.A., Aldermaston Court,
 Reading
- L. 1865 Kirchofer, Professor Theodor
 L. 1887 Kitching, John, Esq., Branksome Hall, Darlington
- 1875 Lach-Szyrma, Rev. W. S., M.A., The Vicarage, Barkingside,
 Ilford
- 1874 Lacy, C. J., Esq., Basingbourne, Fleet, Hants
- L. 1870 Lambert, Colonel George, F.S.A., 10 Coventry Street, W.
 1895 Lambert, Mrs. Chas., 10 Coventry Street, W.
- L. 1891 Larkin, John, Esq., Delrow, Aldenham, Watford
 1892 Lawrence, Basil E., Esq., LL.D., 3 Strathray Gardens, South
 Hampstead, N.W.
- L. 1881 Lewis, Mrs. S. S., Castle Bree, Cambridge
 1863 Library of the Corporation of London, Guildhall, E.C.
 1898 Lindsay, Wm. Alexander, Esq., K.C., F.S.A., *Windsor Herald*,
 College of Arms, E.C.
- 1887 Lloyd, Richard Duppa, Esq., F.R.Hist.S., 2 Addison Cres-
 cent, W.
- 1886 Long, Lieut.-Colonel, Woodlands, Congresbury R.S.O.
 L. 1866 Long, Mrs. Caroline
 1865 Lynam, C., Esq., F.S.A., Stoke-upon-Trent
- 1899 MELVILLE, THE RIGHT HON. THE VISCOUNT, Cotterstock Hall,
 Oundle
- L. 1876 MOUNT-EDGCUMBE, THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF, *Vice-
 President*,* Mount-Edgcumbe, Devonport
- 1897 MOSTYN, THE RIGHT HON. THE LORD, *Vice-President*, Mostyn
 Hall, Holywell, Flintshire
- L. 1874 MAPPIN, SIR F. J., BART., Thornbury, Ranmoor, Sheffield
 L. 1875 Mackeson, E., Esq.
 1897 McMillan, Mrs., 33 Barrington Road, Brixton, S.W.
 1876 Manchester Free Libraries, Manchester
 1898 Maples, Ashley Kilshaw, Esq., Spalding
- L. 1863 Marshall, Arthur, Esq., 13 Bolsize Avenue, N.W.
 1896 Marshall, Mrs., 8 Earl's Court Gardens, S.W.
- L. 1879 Maude, Rev. Samuel, M.A., The Vicarage, Hockley, Essex
 1897 Mercer, Randall, Esq., Sandling House, Maidstone
 1872 Merriman, Robert William, Esq., Sempringham, Marlborough
- L. 1881 Methold, Frederick J., Esq., F.S.A., Thorne Court, Shimp-
 ling, Bury St. Edmund's
- L. 1867 Milner, Rev. John, 16 Elgin Road, Addiscombe
 1899 Millward, Alfred A., Esq., 9 Gloucester Road, Regent's
 Park, N.W.
- L. 1875 Money, Walter, Esq., F.S.A., Snelsmore, Newbury
 1881 Montgomery, A. S., Esq., Brentside House, Brentford
 1898 Mottram, James, Esq., Messrs. Barclay & Co's Bank, Norwich
 L. 1877 Mullings, John, Esq., Cirencester

- L. 1875 NORFOLK, HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF, E.M., *Vice-President*,*
 Arundel Castle and 31 St. James's Square, S.W.
 1881 Nathan, Benjamin C., Esq., Lorano, Atkins Road, Clapham
 Park, S.W.
 1884 Nesham, Rolert, Esq., Utrecht House, Clapham Park, S.W.
 1886 Nichols, W. J., Esq., "Lachine", Chislehurst
 1900 Norris, H. E., Esq., Cirencester
- 1884 Oldham, Mrs., 96 Loxham Gardens, W.
 1889 Oliver, Andrew, Esq., 5 Queen's Gardens, Lancaster Gate, W.
 L. 1881 Oliver, Edmund Ward, Esq., New Place, Lingfield, Surrey
- 1898 PETERBOROUGH, THE LORD BISHOP OF, The Palace, Peterborough
 1898 Padman, John, Esq., 22 Bloomsbury Square, W.C.
 1859 Patrick, George, Esq., *Hon. Secretary*, 16 Red Lion Square,
 W.C.
 1885 Payne, William, Esq., Woodleigh, The Thicket, Southsea
 1866 Peabody Institute, Baltimore, U.S. (care of Mr. E. G. Allen,
 28 Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, W.C.)
- L. 1884 Peacock, Thomas F., Esq., F.S.A., Fernlea, High Road, Sidcup
 1899 Pears, Mrs. H., Malvern Link, Malvern
 L. 1866 Pemberton, R. L., Esq., Hawthorn Tower, Seaham
 1897 Penfold, John Wornham, Esq., 30 Great George Street,
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 1893 Penton, E., Esq., F.G.S., 1 Mortimer Street, W., and Bench
 House, Lyndhurst
 1871 Phené, J. S., Esq., LL.D., F.S.A., F.G.S., F.R.G.S., *Vice-*
President, 5 Carlton Terrace, Oakley Street, S.W.
 1886 Phillips, H., Esq., 145 Walworth Road, S.E.
 L. 1883 Pierce, Josiah, Esq. (care of Messrs. Baring Bros., 8 Bishops-
 gate Street Within, E.C.)
 1881 Prankerd, Peter D., Esq., The Knoll, Sneyd Park, Bristol
 1858 Previté, Joseph W., Esq., Oak Lodge, Pond Road, Black-
 heath, S.E.
 1867 Prichard, Rev. Hugh, Dinam, Gaerwen, Anglesey
 1883 Probyn, Lieut.-Colonel Clifford, 55 Grosvenor Street, W.
- L. 1863 RIPON, THE MOST HON. THE MARQUESS OF, K.G., G.C.S.I.,
 9 Chelsea Embankment, S.W.
 L. 1870 Rayson, S., Esq., 32 Sackville Street, Piccadilly, W.
 1899 Reading, The Free Library
 L. 1866 Roe, Charles Fox, Esq., F.S.A., Litchurch, Derby
 L. 1884 Roget, J. L., Esq., 5 Randolph Crescent, Maida Hill, W.
 L. 1878 Roper, W., jun., Esq., F.S.A., Beechfield, Yealand-Conyers,
 Carnforth
 1877 Rowe, J. Brooking, Esq., F.S.A., Castle Barbican, Plympton
 1877 Russell, Miss, Ashiestiel, Galashiels, N.B.

- 1889 Russell, the Rev. James C., D.D., 9 Coates Gardens,
Edinburgh
- 1873 Rylands, W. Harry, Esq., F.S.A., 37 Great Russell Street,
W.C.
- L. 1888 STAIR, THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF, K.T., LL.D., Bargamy
Castle, Ayrshire
- 1878 Scrivener, A., Esq., The Mount, Endon, S.O., Staffordshire
- 1895 Scull, Miss, 10 Langland Gardens, Frognal, N.W.
- 1899 Scull, W. D., Esq., 10 Langland Gardens, Frognal, N.W.
- 1900 Sharpe, J. Fox, Esq., Langford House, Scarborough
- 1877 Sheraton, H., Esq., 40 Rock Lane W., Rock Ferry, Birkenhead
- 1901 Sherborne School Library, care of F. Bennett, Esq., The
Parade, Sherborne
- 1876 Simion, L., Esq., Berlin (care of Asher and Co., 13 Bedford
Street, Covent Garden, W.C.)
- 1899 Smilter, Chas. J., Esq., Crescent Hotel, Buxton, Derbyshire
- 1878 Smith, Worthington G., Esq., 121 High Street South, Dun-
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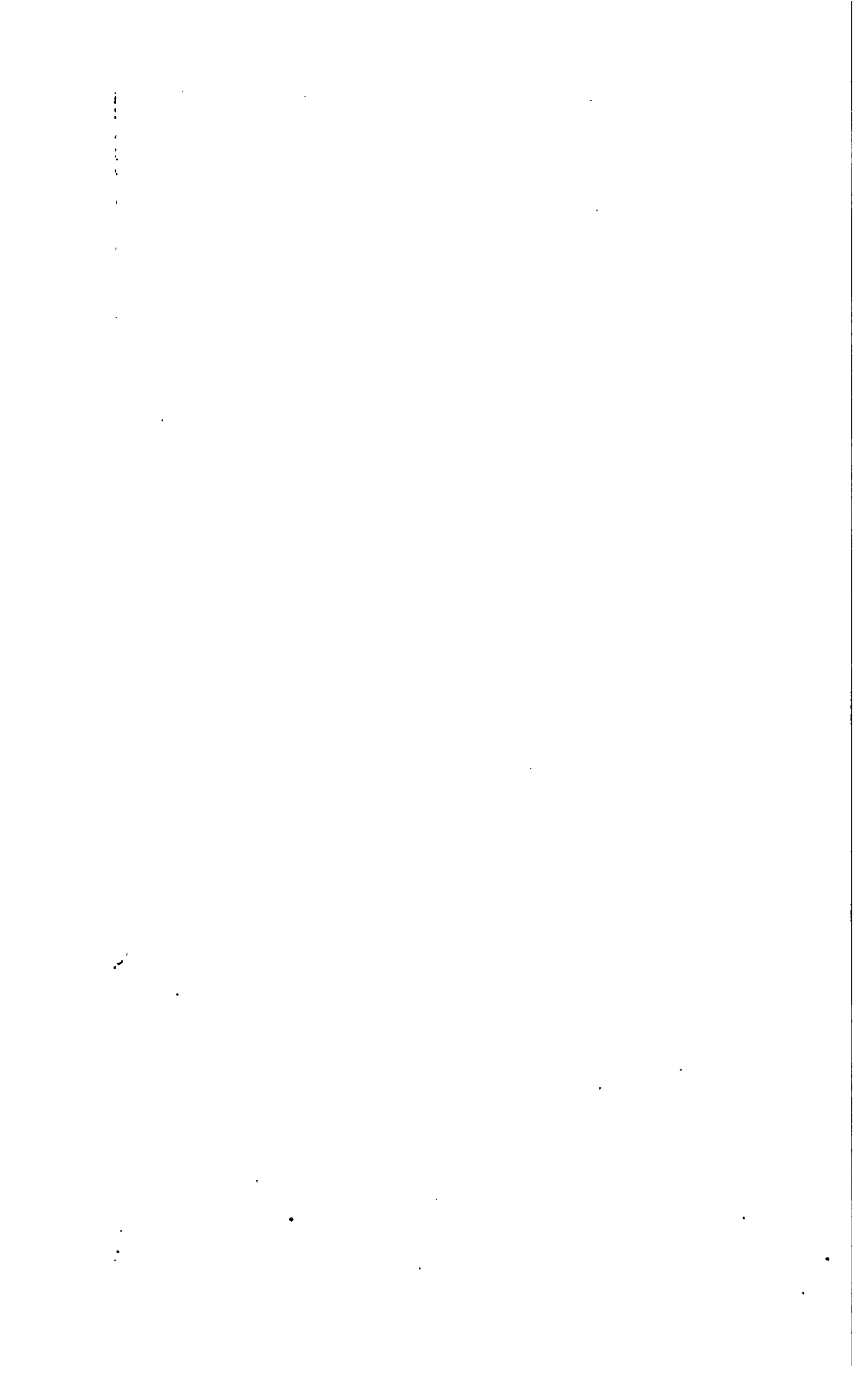
JANUARY 22nd, 1901.

Since the last Part of our *Journal* was issued, an event has happened which plunged not only the British Empire but the whole world into mourning. Our beloved Queen-Empress has passed away. It was a call which we knew must come sooner or later, but we hoped it might not be yet.

The sense of world-wide sympathy is soothing to us in our grief, for every Briton feels that he is not only the sharer in a public calamity, but that he has himself sustained a private and individual loss. This is not the place to add anything to the countless tributes that have been offered to her late Majesty, among whose many virtues must be reckoned her interest in everything that promoted the intellectual advancement of her people. We cannot forget that in the year 1893 she was for a time personally connected with this Association, whose Patron she graciously consented to become during the Congress held in that year at Winchester. Her memory will be an undying heritage to the posterity of the generations which revered and loved her.

Thus, in this opening year of the twentieth century, we have been forced to realise that "the old order changeth, yielding place to new."

We pass from our mourning for the beloved Sovereign taken from us to greet with hearty loyalty our new King, and his gracious Consort, Queen Alexandra. The King comes to us bearing the historic name of Edward. He, too, is not unconnected with this Association. In 1876 he was our Patron, as Duke of Cornwall, at the Congress held at Bodmin and Penzance; and again, as Prince of Wales, at Llangollen, in 1877; at Cardiff, in 1892; and at Conway, in 1897. His interest in all matters concerning the intellectual welfare of the people is as marked as was that of Queen Victoria; and we feel sure that during his reign, which we trust may be prolonged and prosperous, he will be found a wise and liberal patron of the arts and sciences, which constitute so large a part of the greatness of the nation.





THE JOURNAL

OF THE

British Archaeological Association.

MARCH 1901.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

BY THE LATE R. SMITH-CARINGTON, HIGH SHERIFF OF LEICESTERSHIRE, F.S.A.,
J.P., AND D.L.

(*Read at the Leicester Congress, July 30th, 1900.*)



THE British Archæological Association, which I have the honour to represent, has been established for fifty-seven years; it has been very successful, has done much good work, and will, I trust, do far more in the future.

Here, at the commencement, I must say that, much as one dislikes repeating what has been said before, it is simply impossible to give an address upon archæology, the matter of which has never been discussed: because archæology is a science which treats of antiquities, and is totally opposed to romance; it forbids invention! We must recover hidden facts, and then explain them in the best way we can. We may succeed in finding matters that have been overlooked for centuries, and happy is the man who finds lost treasures connecting the present with the past.

Archæology is the study of ancient material records, including every sort and kind of antiquity, pre-historic and otherwise; it may be crumbling masses of stone,

relics of buildings in past ages, frescoes or decorations on walls long hidden by plaster, old carving in wood or stone, ancient coins, metal work, armour, and such matters: utilised if recovered in time, or lost for ever. In the words of a writer in the last century, "There is an exquisite pleasure in rescuing the memory of past days from the dust scattered over it by time, of which none but those engaged in the pursuit can have any idea."

According to British history, the town of Leicester was founded by King Lear about 3111 anno mundi. This was one hundred and forty years before the foundation of Rome. It is remarkable that in all the books I have referred to, it is stated that on April 20th, 3251 A.M., Romulus laid the foundation of that city seven hundred and fifty-three years B.C. No story of the old kings is so well known as that of King Lear and his three daughters: Goneril, Regan, and Cordelia; whose characters are so lucidly sketched in one of the noblest tragedies of our noblest poet, and through Shakspeare's genius the memory of Lear will continue to the end of time.

All historians agree that England was first divided into shires by Alfred the Great, whose death a thousand years ago will be celebrated, I hope, gloriously next year, 1901.

Leicestershire lies nearly in the middle of England; its outline on a map roughly resembles a heart, and in its centre stands the town of Leicester. Its first name seems to have been *Caer-Lerion*, meaning a city on the river Lear—as Derby is derived from the *Derwent*, Colchester from the *Colne*, Lancaster from the *Lune*, and Ribblechester from the *Ribble*. During the Roman occupation Leicester was called *Rataë*. The river Soar was anciently called the *Lear*.

In 679 Leicester became the See of a Bishop, which bishopric was afterwards removed to Lincoln. This ancient town being built on the *Foss Way*, that great military road made by the Romans from London through Leicester to Grimsby, and situated conveniently for intercourse with the legions, garrisons, and camps, made *Rataë* (Leicester) a very important station, at the crossing of the *Foss Way* by another road, which led from the

mouth of the Axe river in Devonshire to Lincoln, and across the Via Devana at Leicester, the latter road running from Chester (Deva) to Colchester.

In the *Itinerary* of Antoninus, written A.D. 320, by order of the Emperor for the use of troops when marching through any of the sixteen Roman provinces, the names and distances in miles from one garrison to another are given, also the names of the various stations upon the great military highways. Ratae, or Leicester, was number eleven on the *Itinerary* list.

The Roman occupation of Leicester commenced A.D. 50, when Ostorius was Proprætor or President of Britain. He established a chain of fortresses from the Severn to the river Nene near Peterborough, to check the unsubdued tribes of the north, and from that base it passed through Leicestershire to the Irish Sea. The brook dividing Ashby Folville from Gaddesby is still called at this point "Ostor's Ford," after the Roman general. In the same year 50, Caractacus, King of South Wales, revolted against Ostorius, but he was defeated.

Caractacus took refuge with Cartismandua, Queen of the Brigantes, and was by her treacherously given up to Ostorius, who carried him in chains to Rome. With a fearless countenance and in a noble speech he defended his right to fight for the freedom of his people, and the Emperor Claudius generously granted to him and his followers a free pardon.

In Leicester and the neighbourhood there are many excellent examples of Roman encaustic pavements; doubtless more are still hidden underground, to be found hereafter. Besides mosaic tiles, many vases, urns, and other forms of Roman pottery have been frequently found; also silver and copper coins in abundance, belonging to the time of Vespasian (?) and fifteen other Emperors: Titus, Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus, Maximian, Diocletian, Constantius, Constantine the Great, Constantine junior, Valentinian, Theodosius, Gratian, Arcadius, Honorius, etc.

In 1730 six hundred brass coins of Diocletian, Maximian, Maxentius, and Constantine the Great, were found in the town. One of the most curious Roman relics is a

mile-stone, discovered in 1771, by the side of the Foss Way, about two miles north of the town. The stone is cylindrical, and the letters are rudely carved; it is 3 ft. 6 ins. in height, and 5 ft. 7 ins. in circumference. The Corporation, in 1873, removed it to Belgrave Gate, but it is now in the Leicester Museum. The inscription is very much defaced, but Mr. F. Haverfield reads it thus :

IMP . CAES .
 DIV . TRAIANI PARTH . F . DIV . NER . NEP .
 TRAIAN . HADRIAN . AUG . P . P . TRIB .
 POT . IV . COS . III — A RATIS .

II.

and expands it as follows :

Imperatore Caesare, divi Traiani Parthici filio, divi Nervæ nepote Traiano Hadriano Augusto patre patriæ tribunicia potestate iv., Consule iii. A Ratis [millia passuum] ii.

He adds : “ The only doubt is whether the inflexions to every one of Hadrian’s names and titles should be, in the ablative absolute, or in the dative ‘in honour of’; but probably the people who drafted the inscription did not attach much importance to the point.”

Hadrian is said to have been in England in his third Consulship, with which this inscription agrees. It is therefore probable the Foss Way was made by his order about 120 A.D. For a time this stone was used as a garden roller, but it was rescued from such improper use by Bishop Percy, who in 1765 published his *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*. (Thomas Percy, D.D., Bishop of Dromore, born 1728 at Bridgnorth; died 1811.) The beautiful Roman tessellated pavement in Friar’s Causeway, which was laid more than 1800 years ago, was discovered in 1832 in digging the foundation for the house which still stands partly over it.

In 1882 the Museum Committee suggested to the Town Council the purchase of the house and premises, eventually accomplished. The entire pavement is 24 ft. square, having a border round it 16 ins. wide. It is a marvel of constructive skill, of variety and beauty in form and colour. The marvel arises from the almost beggarly materials out of which the designer has produced his truly harmonious effects—no squared, artificially coloured,

or glazed tesserae are used—but little pieces, irregularly-broken, of brick and stone. There are three different shades of broken brick: bright red, dull or Indian red, and a shade between the two; slate from a neighbouring quarry gives the dark bluish-grey, an oolite supplies the rich buff, and a fine white limestone is used for the centre and borders. The site of this pavement is about the centre of the old Roman town, and it was obviously the principal house or villa of the district, and therefore the residence of the Prefect, or local representative of the Imperial power of Rome.

Julius Cæsar, in his *Commentaries*, expressed admiration at the main roads leading not only north, south, east and west, but also following the sea line all round Britain; not mere tracks, but properly made and metalled roads, with cuttings through hills, and hundreds of miles of embankments over marshes and fens, as proved by the remains that have existed more than two thousand years. Cæsar says the whole country, so far as he fought his way, was intersected by cross-roads, over which wheeled wagons of supplies and large numbers of chariots could, and did, advance on his flanks; so that while Caswallan, the British General, held him in check on the main road, his flanks were harassed by the charioteers and cavalry from the cross-roads; and if attacked or pressed, they rejoined their main body and advanced by new routes. Owing to the various methods of easy and rapid locomotion, Cæsar's troops were never able to hold more land than they stood upon. To foresee the value of roads, and make them easy and direct from place to place, requires perceptive and reflective faculties of a high order. Among savages the first wish is to build a wall round their village to keep it secure; also to make the way to it as difficult as possible, for the better safety of its inhabitants. Moses seems to have been one of the first roadmakers, when he commanded highways to be made from every part of Palestine to the Cities of Refuge for sanctuary. There are frequent references to roads and byeways in the Bible, in striking contrast to the pathless state of very early European countries. Many highways existed in Britain before the Roman occupation!

As my subjects are confined to this county, a short account of the ancient Earls of Leicester will not be out of place nor, I trust, wearisome.

The first of whom we can speak with any confidence was Leofwine, Saxon Earl of Leicester, who died in 1001.

By his wife Alwara, daughter of Athelstan Minneson, a Danish Duke of the East Angles, he left a son,

Leofric the Great, Earl of Mercia, who died August 31, 1057; and was buried in the monastery at Coventry. By the Lady Godiva, his wife, he had two sons; the elder,

Algar, succeeded his father as Earl of Mercia, and died 1059; he also was buried at Coventry. (His younger brother, Hereward the Wake, was a famous Anglo-Saxon General at the battle of Hastings.)

Edgar, Earl of Mercia, son of Earl Algar and his wife Alversa, daughter of William Malet, and grandson of the far-famed Lady Godiva, was restored to the honours of his father by William the Conqueror. He was, therefore, the first Earl of Leicester under the Norman dynasty. Edgar died in 1071.

There is no record of the appointment of another Earl of Leicester until 1107, when Robert de Beaumont, son of Roger de Beaumont, who is called the "noblest, the wealthiest, and most valiant seigneur of Normandy, descended from the kings of Denmark through Bernard the Dane, who was a companion of Rollo, the first Duke of Normandy," received the Earldom.

Robert, first Earl of this family, was in command of the second division of the English army at Tinchebray, September 28, 1106. He then firmly established Henry I on the throne; for which service he was rewarded with a grant of the Earldom and County of Leicester. He rebuilt the Castle, and erected a strong tower on a mount near to it. Robert also built a stately hall, which remains to this day, and is regularly used for the assizes. He married, in 1096, Isabella, daughter of Hugh the Great, Comte de Vermandois, second son of Henry I, King of France. Robert died 1118, and, like his father, was buried at Préaux, in Normandy. Their son, Roger de Beaumont, called Le Bossu, second Earl of Leicester, succeeded 1118;

he married Amicia, daughter and heir of Ralph de Gael, by Emma, daughter of William Fitz-Osborn, Earl of Hereford, by Adeliza, daughter of Robert de Todeni, hereditary Standard Bearer of Normandy, the first Norman possessor of Belvoir Castle. Earl Robert was Justiciar of England from 1155 to 1168. He founded Nuneaton Priory, and in 1143 built the famous Abbey of Leicester. He died 1161, and was buried in the Abbey. Amicia, his wife, died September 1; buried at Nuneaton, year unknown.

In 1168, Robert, called Blanchemains, third Earl, Steward of England and Lord of Hinckley, married Parnell, daughter and heir of Hugh Grantmesnil, and with her acquired vast estates. About this time, Leicester was sacked and burnt by order of Henry II, because the Earl joined Queen Eleanor and her sons against the King; but the Castle resisted all attacks. Eventually the Earl and Countess were taken prisoners, and sent to Falaise in Normandy. Anquetil Mallery, the Constable, defied the King, and would not surrender Leicester. On the King's return to England he brought the Earl, still a prisoner, with him. The King, in 1174, did penance at Canterbury for the murder of Thomas à Becket, and the times became more peaceful. The officers of the Earl interceded for their lord, and angrily the King called for the holy relics, and swore thereon that the Earl should neither eat nor drink till the castles were surrendered. Resistance being impossible, the Castles of Leicester, Groby, and Mountsorrel were yielded up to the King; after which the chief defences were demolished.

Henry II died 1189, and Richard Cœur de Lion restored to the Earl all that his father had confiscated. The Earl was in the Crusades of 1179 and 1187; he died in Albania in 1190. His son Robert, called Fitz-Parnell, became fourth Earl in 1190; and being at Messina, February 1st, 1191, on his journey to the Holy Land, he was invested with his father's earldom by King Richard. Robert was wise and prudent; he suffered heavy losses in the cause of Richard. He was faithful to King John, who through the Earl granted many

privileges to the burgesses of Leicester. The Earl, on his own part, also made many grants to the town; and the inhabitants were encouraged to enroll themselves in companies and guilds for the safety of their persons and the protection of their property; and when the serious troubles of John's reign became tumultuous and cruel, the Barons of England *assembled first at Leicester Castle* to take counsel for the Commonwealth.

Robert Fitz-Parnell died 1204 without issue, when the Earldom lapsed to the Crown. Amicia, sister and co-heir of Robert, married Simon de Montfort, Count of Evreux, and her second son, also called Simon, succeeded to the title and to half the possessions of the Earldom. He was therefore the fifth Earl, and as such was confirmed by King John, 1207. This Simon married Alice, daughter of Bouchard V, Sire de Montmorency, in 1190, and died 1221; his funeral being magnificently celebrated at Carcassonne. His youngest son succeeded in England, and was known as the Great Earl, Simon de Montfort. On February 2nd, 1230, he was confirmed as sixth Earl of Leicester and Steward of England; and in 1232 all the lands his father held under the King were confirmed to him by Henry III. On January 7th, 1239, Simon married, at Westminster, in the King's private chapel, the Lady Eleanor Plantagenet, second daughter of King John, by Isabella, daughter and heir of Aimar, Count of Angoulême; by this marriage he became brother to the King of England, the Emperor of Germany, and the King of Scotland. Simon incurred the royal displeasure in 1239, when he retired to France. After engaging in a crusade, and other adventures, he returned to England in 1255, and soon afterwards accepted from the rebellious Barons the appointment of General-in-Chief in the revolution of 1258: he was in command at the battle of Lewes, May 14th, 1264, and took the King, with Edward, his eldest son, captive. While the King was in prison, Simon summoned a Parliament to Westminster in the King's name; and on December 24th, 1264, he issued writs to the sheriffs throughout England, commanding them to return two knights each for every shire, and two burgesses for every borough, within the realm. To Simon, there-

fore, whatever his motives, the English constitution is indebted for the beginnings of our National Parliament. Simon used the power which success conferred on him to gratify his avarice and ambition ; he seized the estates of eighteen Barons of the opposite party, and appropriated to himself the greater part of the ransom of the prisoners.

The new government did not last long. Prince Edward escaped from prison ; Gilbert de Clare, seventh Earl of Gloucester, then reared the royal standard and joined forces with the Prince : marching to Kenilworth, they surprised young Montfort, the Earl's son, making him and thirteen of his chief adherents prisoners. Elated with this triumph, they, on August 4th, 1265, marched to Evesham, where the Earl of Leicester and his great force rested, waiting the arrival of his son, whose banner the royal army, as a stratagem of war, alone displayed, and thereby completely deceived Simon : who, undismayed, drew out his army in order of battle, and fighting gallantly to the last, he and his son fell with about one hundred and sixty noble knights, the royal army being completely victorious.

BATTLE OF BOSWORTH FIELD.

King Richard III, August 19th, 1484, rode into Leicester from Nottingham, with 15,000 followers, having heard that the Earl of Richmond had reached Lichfield on his way from Wales to London.

King Richard slept at the "Blue Boar," Leicester, on a bedstead he carried with him, in which was discovered, a century afterwards, £300—a very large sum in those days—concealed in a false bottom. Two days later, he marched out of Leicester with his army to Market Bosworth, to meet his foe, who was approaching with 6,000 men.

The armies met on Redmore Plains, one mile south of the town, where the issue was decided by the desertion of Lord William Stanley, with 3,000 followers, to Henry Tudor. William Stanley was second son to Thomas, first Lord Stanley ; he had been made Chamberlain of Cheshire in 1461 by Edward IV, and in 1483 he was

appointed by Richard III Judge of North Wales ; but family alliance overbore every other feeling ; and Stanley in person, with his cavalry, rescued Richmond, when he was actually within reach of his enemy's sword : after Richard had slain Sir Charles Brandon, the Earl's standard-bearer, and overthrown Sir John Cheney in single combat ; he next urged his charger into the midst of the fight, but Stanley's cavalry surrounded him. Richard was overpowered, covered with wounds, yet fighting, fell. His body was thrown across a sorry jade, and ignominiously carried to Leicester, where it was buried with scant ceremony in the churchyard of the Grey Friars.

Stanley obtained for himself all the treasure which King Richard had brought to Bosworth, and presuming upon his opulence and deserts, he solicited from Henry Tudor the Earldom of Chester. The disgust which the demand, and the consequent refusal, inspired was mutual. Stanley was, in 1494, accused of treason, and imprisoned in the Tower. According to the best authorities the charge of treason was groundless ; but Stanley was rich and very powerful, and perhaps greed inclined the covetous King to confiscate his great possessions at Holt and Ridley. After his execution, June 25th, 1495, there were found in his castle of Holt more than 40,000 marks, and his lands and fees amounted to 3,000 pounds a year, all which passed to King Henry VII.

Lord William Stanley's brother Thomas, first Earl of Derby (of that line), had married for his second wife the Lady Margaret Tudor, daughter and sole heir of John, Duke of Beaufort ; she was mother, by a former husband, of Henry, Earl of Richmond, the rival and successor of Richard III. Thomas, Earl of Derby, was one of the boldest and most active commanders at Bosworth ; and when victory at length declared for Lancaster, Earl Thomas had the honour of crowning, on the field of battle, his own wife's son, whom he proclaimed as " Henry VII, King of England."

After the battle, and Tudor's thanks to Heaven, the victors entered Leicester in triumph. King Henry erected a tomb of variegated marble over Richard's grave ; and when the Friary fell into decay, the tomb was hidden by

briars and thorns. On being discovered it was rifled for its stone coffin, which long afterwards served as a drinking-trough for the "White Horse" Inn, Gallowtree Gate; but in the time of King George I was used in making steps to a cellar. The "Blue Boar" was long regarded with interest for its historical associations, and the camp bedstead, supposed to have been King Richard's, used as a treasure-chest. The innkeeper who found the £300, said to have belonged to the same king, became in time Mayor of Leicester. In 1830, the record says: "About half a century since, the bed was purchased by a broker in Leicester, who slept in it many years, and showed it to the curious, little changed since King Richard's time: it being strong oak, having a high polish. The daughter of the broker having married one Babington, of Rothley, near Leicester, it was removed to Babington's house, where it is still preserved" (*Bygone Leicestershire*, 1892, p. 61, by William Andrews, and printed by J. and T. Spencer).

CARDINAL WOLSEY,

Born at Ipswich in 1471, by tact and great perseverance obtained an income and position in society almost equal to that of a Royal Prince. He had eight hundred followers, many of whom were knights and gentlemen, including nobles. His equipage and furniture were of the most costly kinds: not only rich silks and gold embroidery on his own garments, but his saddles and trappings were richly decorated also.

The Pope, observing his influence with Henry VIII, gave him legal pre-eminence over the Archbishop of Canterbury, and supreme authority over all Church matters in England. Wolsey built and endowed Christ Church, Oxford. He also built and furnished Hampton Court most sumptuously, and in 1528 presented it to the King, as a peace offering.

Wolsey was ordered to resign York Place (now Whitehall) with all its rich furniture and plate to the King, and on his doing so a full pardon was granted to him; but in 1530 the Earl of Northumberland was ordered to arrest the Cardinal, and conduct him to London for

trial. This was done in October, 1530, and on November 1 he set out under custody on his final journey ; but illness and mental distress compelled him to rest in Leicester, November 26, when he was honourably received in the Abbey. He said : " O Father Abbot, an old man broken with the storms of State is come to lay his bones among ye ; give him a little earth for charity ! "

His illness increased, and a few days brought him to his end in the sixtieth year of his age. Before he expired, he said to Knighton, the Constable of the Tower, " Had I but served God as diligently as I have served the King, He would not have given me over in my grey hairs."

Wolsey died November 28, 1530, and was buried in the Lady Chapel of Leicester Abbey.

A few words may be said about BRADGATE, the birth-place and scene of the happy childhood of Lady Jane Grey, the innocent victim of unscrupulous ambition. The Park is 6 miles in circumference, and well stocked with deer. Fuller, in *Leicestershire Worthies*, says Jane had " the innocency of childhood, the beauty of youth, the solidity of middle and the gravity of old age, and all at eighteen. The birth of a Princess, the learning of a clerk, the life of a saint, and the death of a malefactor, for her parents' offences."

Jane was the eldest daughter of Henry Grey, Marquis of Dorset, Lord Lieutenant of Leicester and Rutland, by Frances, daughter of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, through his marriage with Mary Tudor, sister of Henry VIII. In this King's will (1544), he left the crown to Jane, on failure of his posterity.

King Edward VI wished to marry his cousin Jane, but his pulmonary consumption rendered that impossible.

By letters patent, June 21, 1553 (within a month of his decease), he granted the crown of England to Jane and her heirs male, by the consent of all his councillors of State, consisting of nineteen lords and five judges, to which the King and every one of them subscribed their names, and were sworn to observe.

On July 6, 1553, the King died, having by his will given

his palace of Bridewell to be a hospital for the poor. He also gave Christ Church, then called Grey Friars, and also St. Thomas's Hospital for the sick and needy. The same day, Jane was publicly proclaimed Queen of England. A large majority of the aristocracy gladly accepted her, but the overwhelming power of the people would not change the family succession.

Jane reigned as Queen but nine days, and then her title vanished in favour of Henry's daughter Mary.

To-morrow, by invitation of the Duke of Rutland, we are to visit Belvoir. "This has been a noble's house of the first rank ever since the time of the Conqueror." The late Sir Bernard Burke said "This remark does not apply to any other house in the kingdom;" and no more magnificent situation could be found for a feudal fortress than the beacon hill on which the Castle stands.

When *Domesday Book* was written, in 1086, Belvoir Castle, with a vast estate all round it, was the possession of Robert de Todei, the valiant standard-bearer of Normandy, who held the like martial office at the battle of Hastings, for which he was nobly rewarded with four-score important English lordships. Todei was a direct male descendant from Malahule, uncle of Rollo, the first Duke of Normandy.

The Norman earls and knights who first settled in England, though very powerful, had many difficulties to contend with. They were hated by the English to the third generation, and it was not safe during that period to go about without a strong military escort; their dwellings also needed to be carefully guarded, no Norman being safe from ambuscade, and their families needed constant protection.

It is said that no Norman family retained possession of any lordship for three generations, unless one of their chiefs married an English wife.

Robert de Todei married Adela, daughter of Osulf fil. Franc, who was lord of Belvoir in the time of Edward the Confessor.

Belvoir passed from Todei to the Albinis; and in 1244 Isabel, daughter and sole heir of William d'Albini,

married Robert de Roos, lord of Hamlake and Trusbut, likewise of Belvoir in right of his wife. This great heiress was in ward to Henry III, and the king exacted a fine of £3,285 13s. 4d., and a palfrey, upon her marriage with de Roos. This Robert's grandfather, in 1227, took the cowl, and lies buried in the Temple Church, London, on the floor of which "lie the sculptured effigies of men who belonged to the period of Old England;" and these, as being undoubted originals, are amongst the most interesting pieces of sculpture we possess.

Nine of these Templar effigies remain, each in his habit as he lived; and conspicuous among others, de Roos, one of the Barons to whom the bloodless field of Runnymede has given undying reputation. The exquisitely beautiful effigy, with head uncovered, and the curling locks flowing about it, represents that nobleman with his arms emblazoned on the shield. No other effigy surpasses this in simple dignity.

Even now, after a lapse of eight hundred years, the Vale of Belvoir remains the patrimony of the Lords of Belvoir; and the present representative of Robert de Todeni, from the same lofty eyrie, looks down on the same bounteous inheritance.





EARLY DEFENSIVE EARTHWORKS.¹

BY I. CHALKLEY GOULD, ESQ.



My Paper contains little that is fresh to archæologists, and will be somewhat dry to those who are not enthusiasts in this branch of archæology, I must crave your indulgence, and explain that my reason for producing it is, that I desire at every available opportunity to draw attention to the importance of the study of ancient defensive earthworks. Perhaps there is less need for apology now, as the subject has of late occupied the attention of some eminent scholars, to whose opinions reference will be made in an appendix to this Paper. There is another and a sadder excuse for my subject—I refer to the melancholy fact that so little are these priceless memorials valued, that year by year some are mutilated or destroyed—the builder, the quarryman, the farmer, have all to answer for the process of destruction which, alas! there is no law to prevent.

Here it may be well to state that this Paper is written, not to promulgate theories as to date or origin of any particular form of earthwork forts, but as an effort towards increasing the public interest in the remains, with the hope that increased interest may peradventure lessen the likelihood of wanton destruction.

Appreciating their importance, one wishes that it were possible to organise a society or committee to survey and publish plans of all the earthwork fortresses throughout the kingdom; but as this is not possible, my present object is to urge local archæological societies to take the matter up at once, while there is yet time.

¹ Being the substance of two Papers, the one read at Buxton in July 1899, the other at Leicester, in August 1900.

If the various archæological societies will publish plans of the defensive earthworks within their respective spheres, a great work will have been accomplished ; and I venture to think that if the pages are published separately, as well as in "Transactions," many will be sold to the public to whom the "Transactions" are inaccessible. In addition to the plans there should be sections of the banks, ditches and mounds, and if possible a rough diagram of the general appearance. There should, too, be a short note of any relics known to have been unearthed in every case in which excavations have been made.¹

I plead that plans to a uniform scale be adopted, also for uniformity in the method of indicating banks, ditches and mounds. I would suggest in each case that one plan on the 25-in. scale should be prepared, and if necessary, enlarged plans of any special features on any scale which may be preferred, provided that it be indicated on the plate.²

The provision of accurate sections requires skill, but fortunately our societies always include among their members some surveyors, engineers, or architects who, with kindly generosity, are willing to give their services in the cause of science.

There is another body of men who could render good service towards popularising our subject ; I refer to the curators of our public museums, who might easily enlarge small plans provided by the Archæological Societies or printed in the 25-in. Ordnance Survey, and exhibit large-scale plans such as those I show to-night, which are all on the scale of 100 ins. to the mile. Museum authorities would, no doubt, be able to provide more finished plans and diagrams than these, which are the hasty results of hurried visits : but even these would be of some interest on the walls of museums. I hope the day will come when no museum curator will

¹ Such information will be helpful to the admirable work which is being done by the Society of Antiquaries in their County Surveys.

² The 25-in. O. S. plans are generally accurate so far as they show the work, but do not, in most cases, give all the detail. This must be added on the spot.

be satisfied to be without a complete series, covering all the forts in the neighbourhood or county.

Some sort of classification of forts will be necessary if publication is attempted, and I advise dividing them into classes, roughly chronological, perhaps; but it must be remembered that some of the earliest types of works were repeated in after-days, and that it is therefore, in the absence of the invaluable aid of spade labour, impossible of some forts to judge the age by the form of earthwork. Perhaps I ought to remind you that, though we speak of earthwork forts, walls of masonry aided the defence of some, while others were defended by stockades of timber, or palisading of uprights with willow wattle-work between, making an effective defence when placed on the high ramparts of earth.

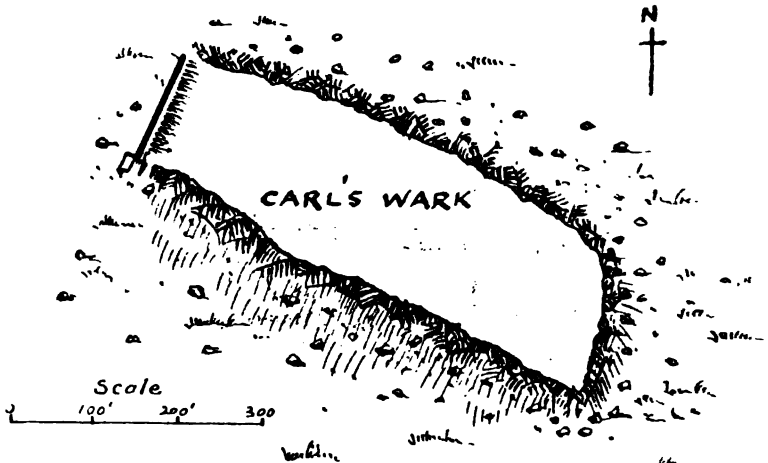
If time allowed, it would be interesting to show that the work of two or three thousand years ago in Britain is paralleled in the *Pa* of New Zealand, which dropped out of use only some seventy years since; and that some of our earliest works have their counterparts in modern forts built to resist nineteenth-century artillery.

(1) Probably the earliest traces of man's defensive handiwork are those roughly-defined, small-banked, or low-walled enclosures of rocky or mountain districts. Wittor, on Dartmoor, has yielded ample evidence of Neolithic origin, but it is nearly $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres in extent, and had originally two stone walls around it. Long before man had developed sufficiently to make that, he had defence of some sort apart from cave or water protection. I think his earlier work is to be found in many a half natural, half artificial, and wholly mysterious little enclosure, such as puzzles us on the hills of Wales or the fells of Yorkshire, and other high regions. In more civilized districts one comes across nearly obliterated scraps of banks on hilly ground, meaningless, and unnoticed in any maps; some doubtless the result of nature's "terracing," but many possibly the remains of little banked shelters of Neolithic men. Should a book be published, such early enclosures might figure first; but we have now to deal with works created when man had developed into civilisation enough to group himself with

other families on tribal or other systems sufficiently, by united labour, to make larger and more effective works of defence.

(2) The long vista of past ages shows us among man's early works some of the grandest and most impressive. Those who have gazed upon the mighty earthworks crowning the summit of some lofty hill—difficult of access by nature, rendered more so by art—must have experienced a feeling akin to awe, as well as a longing to, for a moment, re-people the fortress with its creators.

The spade has found us the record of Neolithic man



The solid lines on the west indicate walls of dry-built stones. The surface of the fort is strewn with boulders.

in some works, in others we have relics of bronze and iron, but the over-lapping of various types of finds and forms of construction renders it impossible to establish a chronological table; nevertheless, I propose to speak now of that type in which early man selected an eminence naturally defended on each side but one by precipices, steep slopes, or water. Across that one weak side he threw a wall of stone, or rampart of earth, usually with a fosse outside.

Derbyshire provides us with a remarkable example of one form of this class in Carl's Wark, a rocky summit on an outcrop of millstone grit. Some idea of its weird,

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CARL'S WALK FROM THE MOON PATH.

dark, almost uncanny aspect, may be formed from the illustration, reproduced by permission of Mr. S. O. Addy.¹

The forces of Nature have dealt terribly with this moorland fortress: hundreds of great stones, once component parts of the wall, lie scattered upon the slopes below; but on the northern side the huge natural wall is practically perfect, towering perpendicularly, high above the surrounding moor. The rock-strewn surface of the fort is nearly level with the top of these walls, excepting on the narrow western side, where we find that the builders cast up a rampart of earth, facing it outside with a wall of stones. This remarkable dry-built wall remains tolerably perfect on this, the one weak side of the fort, which is further protected by scarping the western slope.



Section of western wall

Along the base of this scarping the way of access wound up to a path, still hedged in by walls of masonry, passing at the south-west angle into the fort. Huge stones were added to the natural wall on the southern side where necessary, some being from 6 ft. to 9 ft. in length, and the southern and eastern sides have been strengthened by earth thrown up outside; but, in the main, Carl's Wark may be said to have had much natural defence save on the western side, where we find the before-mentioned rampart and wall, of which the above section is given in Mr. S. O. Addy's book, wherein he says, referring to this masonry:—

“The average length of each stone is about $3\frac{1}{2}$ ft., its depth, or thickness, 1 ft., and its width, 3 ft., that being the width of the wall, which consists of one course of stones only. These stones also, like the stones in the southern wall, are fitted together without mortar, and without smaller stones to fill up the interstices.”

¹ From the “Hall of Waltheof,” by S. O. Addy, M.A., 1893.

Comb Moss, near Dove Holes, in Derbyshire, affords an example of a fortress protected by its position on a high hill, with precipitous rocky sides, save towards the east. The surface is much strewn with boulders, but now affords pasturage for sheep. There are slight hollows or depressions, which may indicate the site of huts.

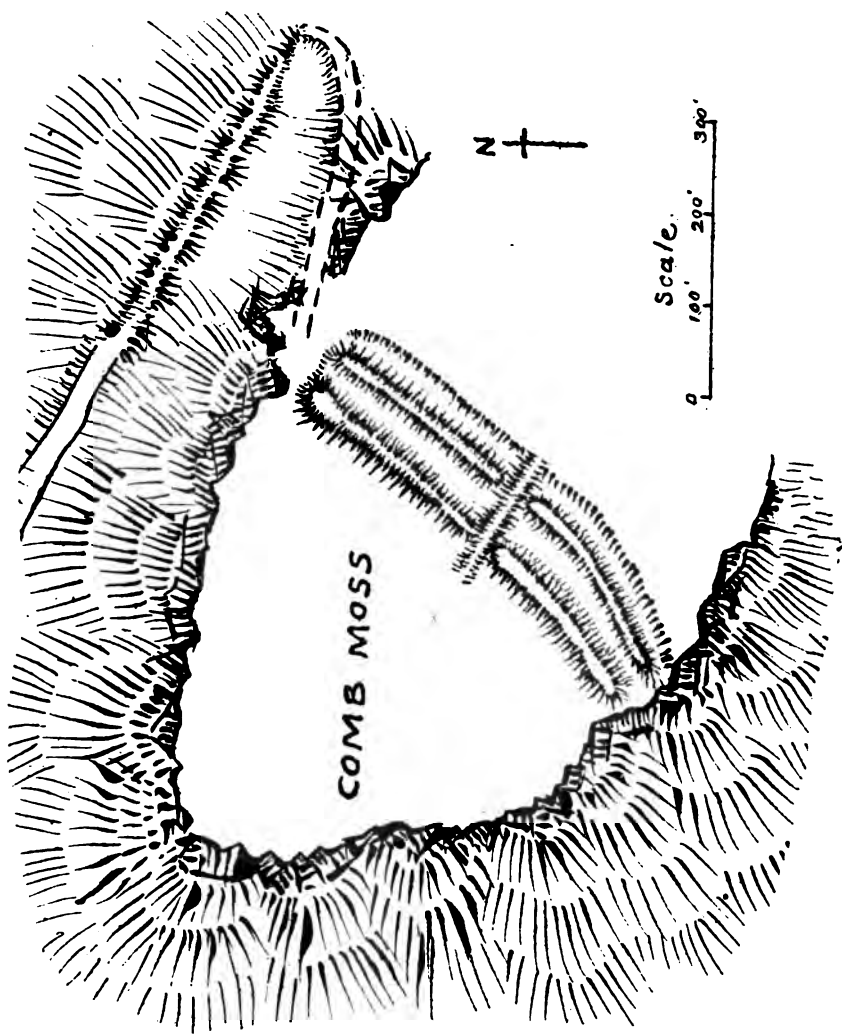
The plan shows the double vallum cut through by a straight pass; but that pass was no part of the work of the original occupiers, their entrance being by a dangerous, precipitous way at the north-east corner.

The addition of straight-cut entrances to old camps was frequently the work of Romans, who temporarily or otherwise occupied an ancient site. A path which leads up to the north-west point is probably modern, and omitted from plan.

(3) The next type is generally found in the form of earthworks surrounding the summit of a hill, dykes and ramparts enclosing the space occupied by the fort. The leading characteristic features of these works are twofold: first, they follow the natural outline of the hill; next, the entrances were rendered tortuous by involved passages along the fosse, or by outer earthworks barring and complicating the approach. Illustrations of entrance-ways at Maiden Castle, Dorset, may here be of interest.

It is evident to everyone who has studied these works that their makers could have been no mere savages, but men with intelligence enough to scheme their fortresses to the greatest advantage. Caesar's words would lead us to suppose that the Britons depended on forests for their defence; but Caesar's visits here in B.C. 55 and 54 were very short in time and range. Let me quote the words of General Pitt-Rivers, in his paper on Mount Caburn, by Lewes, in Sussex:—

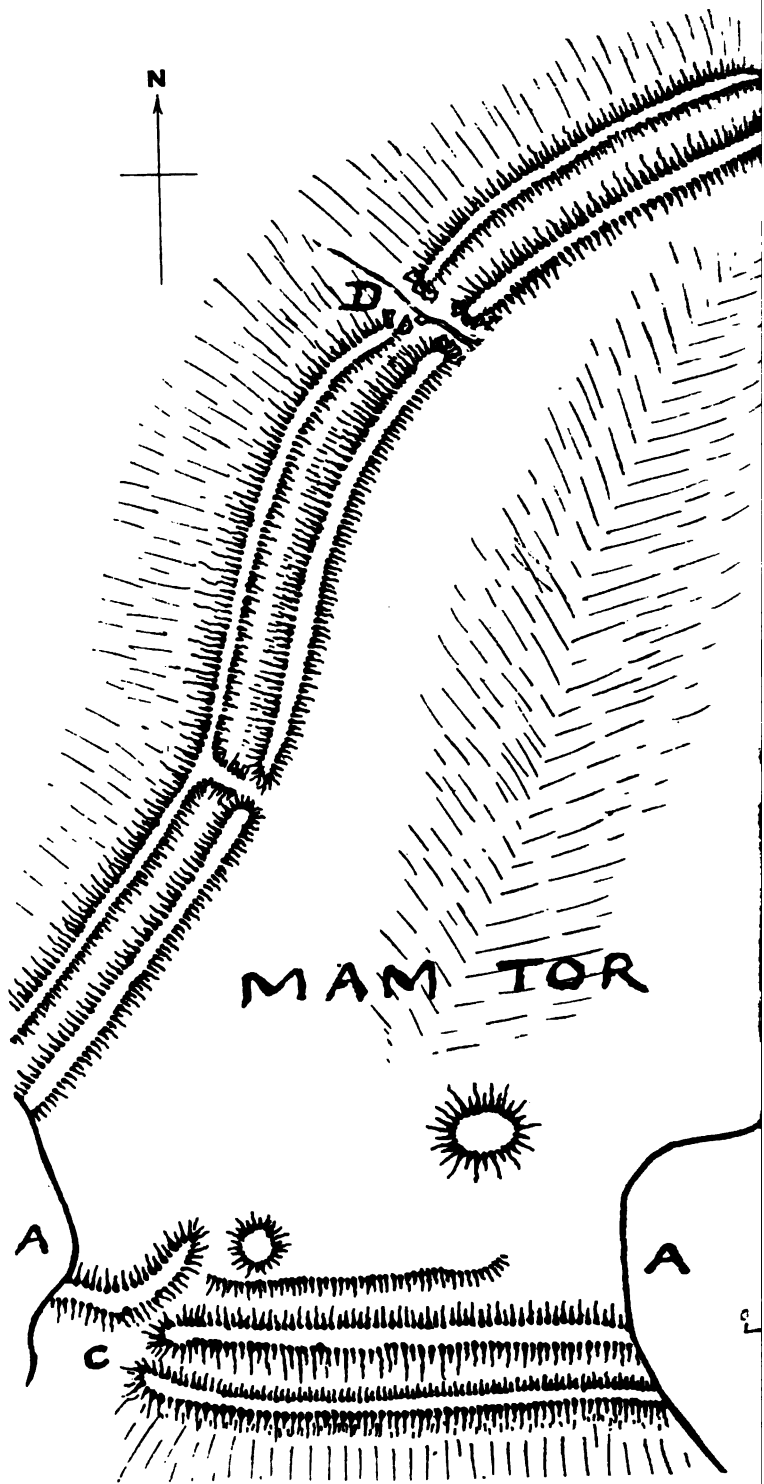
“The skill displayed in the selection of their sites negatives the supposition that they could have habitually been situate in the midst of woods. We find they are for the most part erected on the summits of hills, which, from the nature of the soil, could never have been thickly wooded. The careful manner in which their ramparts are invariably traced so as to command the slopes proves that these slopes could never have been covered with wood, otherwise the advantage of the arrangement would have been nullified” (*Archæologia*, vol. xlvi).

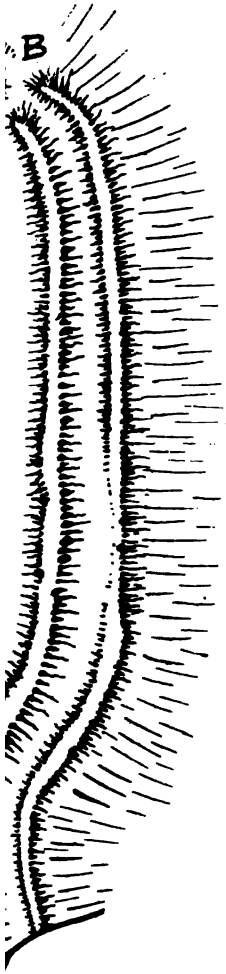


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“MAM-TOR,” OR THE “SHIVERING
MOUNTAIN,” NEAR CASTLETON.

- A. Hill-sides broken away, forming precipices.
- B. Probably modern entrance.
- C. Original entrance.
- D. At about this point the banks are broken through by water action.

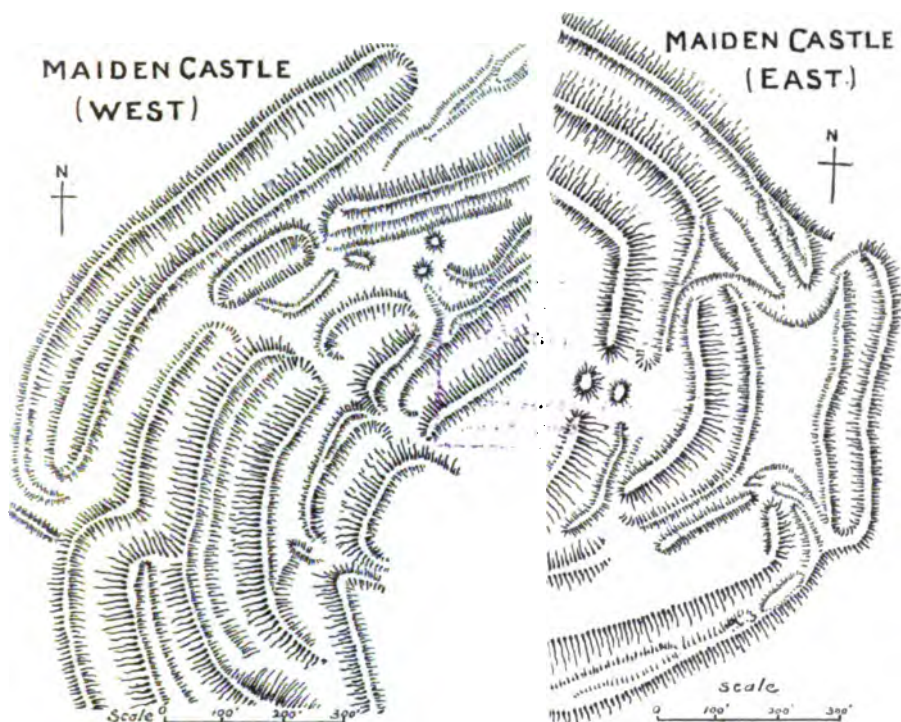
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Belonging to this early period is that wonderfully-situated earthwork known as "Mam Tor," or the "shivering mountain," near Castleton. No words that the most fluent of speakers could use would do more than justice to the beauty of the scene from the commanding height of this great hill, with its prospect into the charming Derbyshire dales, and far over Peakland. At about 1,700 ft. above the sea level, 1,200 yards of double



rampart defended the ridged summit, which nature itself rendered almost inaccessible save on the north, where it links on to the ridge of Lose Hill. Not content with double ramparts on the south, we find the makers threw up a third bank, and it is on that side that the original entrance appears; a low sunken way, beginning far in the valley below, climbs its way to the south-west corner of the precipitous height, where a great massive bank commands the entrance. A tumulus is here too, but

whether it formed any part of their scheme, or whether it is older than the banks, it is singularly well placed to aid in fighting the foe at the gate.¹

The Leicestershire hills, though not aspiring to such elevation as those of Derbyshire, afford one fine example of this type of fort. Anyone who takes the trouble to visit Burrow Hill, only a few miles from Leicester, will be well rewarded. The rampart is thrown up at the top of the steep hill-side on the south and west. On part of the north (with exception of a small length of precipice where is now no rampart) there is not so much natural slope, and consequently a higher bank is needed, which on the east increases, as the plan shows, to a 20 ft. high vallum on that side which is unprotected by nature. I am much inclined to think that, though the fort is of that far-away prehistoric period which, for want of more definite knowledge, we call Celtic, the entrance cut through the east rampart, and protected by banks on the inner side, is of Roman,² or even later date.

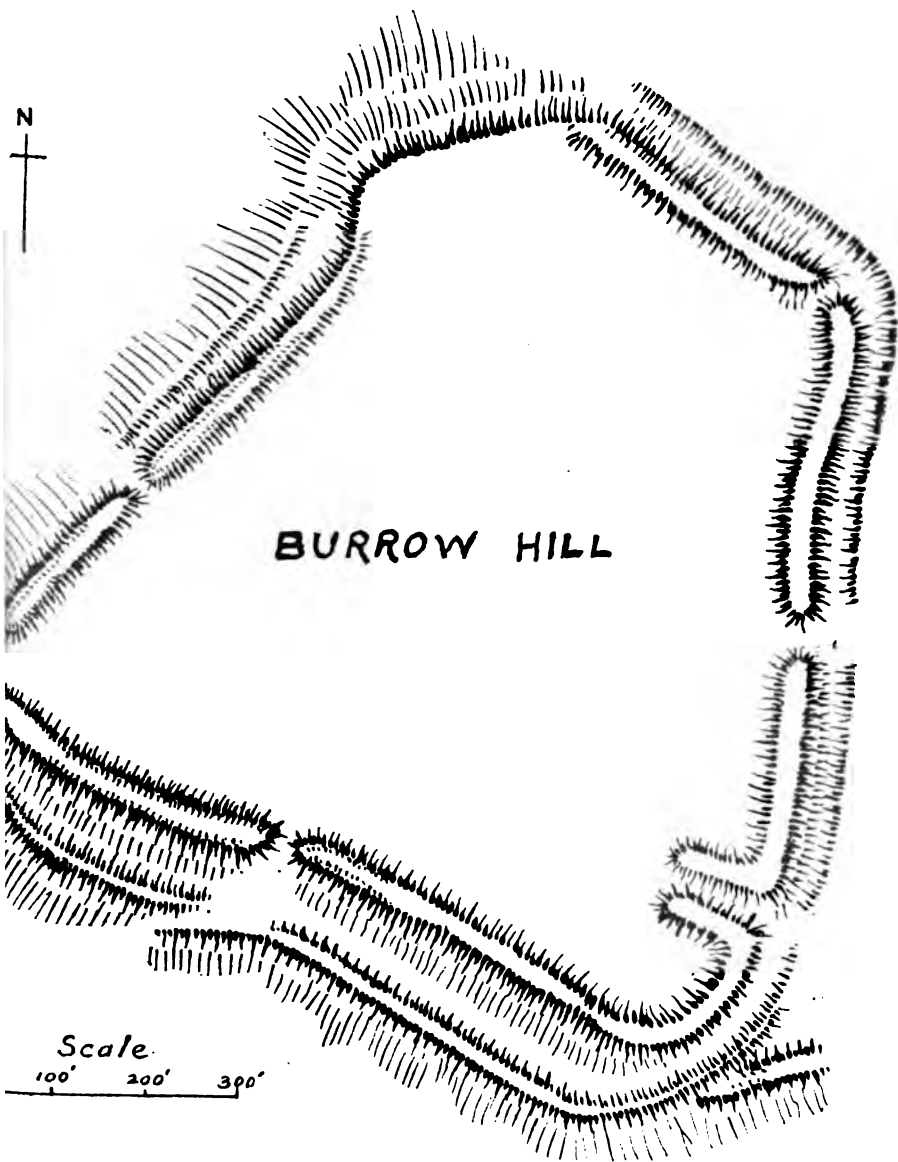
The original entrance seems to me to have been on the south, the way to it climbing up the steep hill-side, subject to the missiles of the defenders from an outwork.

It is much to be regretted that time and men have worked together to destroy the fosse, or moat, which anciently surrounded the ramparts; in most parts there is now a terrace, which would aid rather than hinder the assailants, but it is easy to see traces of a bank on portions of the counterscarp of the moat. This has fallen in, and, together with washings from the rampart, has destroyed the moat, thus forming the terrace. On the east side, where doubtless the fosse was deepest, earth seems to have been thrown in for the purpose of pasturage.

It has been said that these great works were the homes of the tribal Britons, but there can be little doubt that

¹ Bateman's *Vestiges of Antiquities* states that one of the two tumuli here yielded a bronze celt and an unbaked urn.

² At Puy, near Dieppe, the large Gaulish oppidum presents the same feature; the rampart on the only level side being cut through, its material forming two banks projecting inwards. The continued occupation of this work (known as the Cité de Limes and as the Camp de César) by the Romans has been amply proved.



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the tribes lived and toiled in the fruitful vales, and used these hill-forts in time of war as defensive refuges. That there were exceptions we know, as remains of hut residences have been found in some camps; but they are so few in proportion to the area, and occur so seldom, that they hardly affect the statement that, as a rule, they were unused save in times of peril. The circuitous involved entrances and the situation—sometimes 1,000 ft. to 1,500 ft. above the vales—forbid the idea of constant occupation: to say nothing of the frequent absence of water supply from these hill-forts. Whether they lived on such heights or not, early men loved to bury their dead at the highest points, as many a lonely tumulus tells us, recalling the words of Swinburne:—

“And there they laid their dead to sleep
 Royally, lying where wild winds keep
 Keen watch, and wail more soft and deep
 Than where men's choirs bid music weep.”

Should a complete summary of the varieties of form of prehistoric fortresses be attempted, far more would have to be said than your patience would endure on this occasion; therefore, attention is mainly limited to local examples.

There are remarkable works in Scotland and Ireland which should be described; Wales shows some singular defenced positions, and in Cornwall is a series of circular fortresses of great interest; while Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, and Somersetshire contain some of the most striking examples of early work in England.

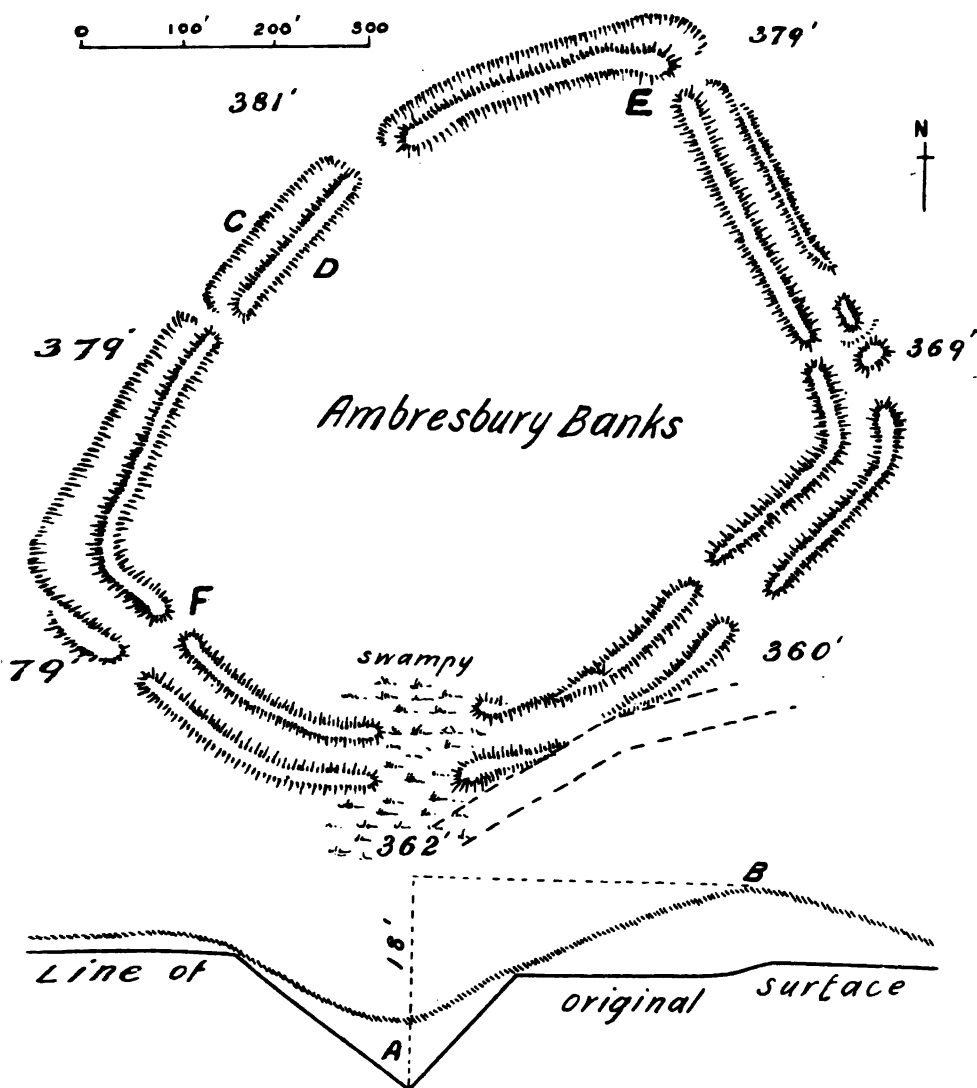
(4) Similar in general appearance to the forts last mentioned are numerous works to which it is, as a rule, safe to assign a later date. They are not on hills of great height, and differ from the earlier constructions in not following to so marked an extent the lines of the hills, and not depending on tortuous or strongly-defended entrances, while frequently the ramparts turn at an abrupt angle. These forts appear to be the work of men who had learned more of the art of war, and required, not camps of refuge, or forts for defence alone, but also places in which a body of fighting men could

be garrisoned, and from which they could rapidly issue forth in strength to attack an opposing force.

I am inclined to think that the great oblong camp west of Ratby, though of appearance suggestive of Roman work, belongs to this period. The entrances there are not placed according to the custom of the Romans; but I can obtain no information as to any "finds" which would help to determine the point, so prefer to give an example from Essex.

Ambresbury, near Epping, has, fortunately, been examined under favourable auspices. The protection of its gateways seems to have been slight; there is at least one angle of Roman appearance, and much of the enclosure is on a dead level with the surrounding land. A trench was cut through the west rampart by the Essex Field Club in 1881, under the guiding advice of General Pitt-Rivers, who came to the conclusion that the fort was of British construction about the time of the Roman invasion, but whether before or immediately after that event, the pottery and other evidence was insufficient to determine. It will be noticed that the fosse is cut down to a point, a somewhat unusual feature in British camps.

(5) Before parting from Celtic works, a word must be said as to a peculiarity in the plan of a few forts which needs investigation, one which I would specially commend to the attention of local societies. I refer to the bank, or bank and fosse, drawn across some forts dividing the enclosure into two parts, one smaller than the other. A conspicuous example is seen within Maiden Castle, near Dorchester; it has been thought that this bank indicates the existence of an earlier small camp, subsequently enlarged by extension westwards to its present enormous dimensions. Such may be the case; or, on the other hand, as I am inclined to think, the bank may have served a definite purpose, forming the eastern end of the enclosure into an embryo keep or upper ward. Another interesting example is in Caynham camp, which occupies a commanding position near Titterstone Clee. The bank here is thought by some to indicate an extension of the fortress to the west by Roman occupiers;



- A.** 7 ft. of silt had accumulated here since fosse was cut.
- B.** Present summit of rampart, originally higher. The shaded line indicates present surface.
- C, D.** Position at which the trench was cut for examination by the Essex Field Club.
- E, F.** Banks cut in the sixteenth century to form a roadway. The figures indicate feet above sea level.

The section is copied from Essex Field Club Transactions, 1881.

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ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

manner of earthworks were adopted by either party when the Britons found themselves harried from the north, south, or east; perhaps, with the exception of hurried works in bank and ditch, thrown up to protect their landing and advance, the earliest bands of Saxons, Jutes, or Angles have left us nothing. Coming, as those invaders did, in detached bands, owning no common king or leader, their policy did not include the making of terms, but was usually confined to fire and slaughter, and the driving of those who were unsubmitive to the wilder west or the more savage north. But when the pause in the war-rush came, and the lines of frontier had to be defended by either party, then, I think, some of the old works were utilised; and it may be that some of the so-called early earthworks were not constructed until this period. Excavation on systematic lines may throw light on this.

It is noteworthy that the *Saxon Chronicle* makes no mention of fortress-building till well in the sixth century; and then the work seems to have been of the simplest form.

“A. 547. This year Ida began to reign, from whom arose the royal race of North-humbria; and he reigned twelve years, and built Bebbanburh (Bamborough), which was at first enclosed by a hedge, and afterwards by a wall.”

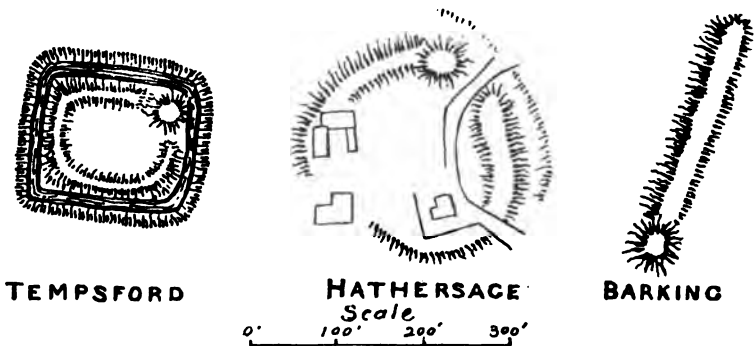
Taunton¹ is referred to A. 722 as having been razed; with this exception it is not till the time of the Danish invasions in the ninth century that we read of more fortress-building: but through that painful period we have frequent references, extending from Alfred's work at Athelney in 878 to the making of Bakewell burh in 924.

the Castle enclosure, and the high earthen banks—one scarped to allow space for the moat of the mound—thrown up over the Roman walls, appear to indicate the work of Dane or Saxon rather than Briton. One may regret that the Marquis of Bute has, at vast expense, removed the picturesque banks to make room for a pseudo-mediæval castle wall, but in so doing he has revealed the presence of a ruined Roman wall of exceeding interest.

¹ “In this year Queen Ethelburh destroyed Tantun (Taunton), which Ine had previously built.”

(7) Though possibly not in sequence here, it may be well to mention a type of which there are few examples. Occasionally, an enclosure with a moat surrounding its rampart has on the latter a mound—the mound not being provided with a moat on its inner face, as is usual with our next type. One example is of great value, as we know the date of its construction. The *Saxon Chronicle* tells us that the Danish army went in 921 to Taemeseforda (Tempsford), and wrought the work there.¹

There is no reference in the *Chronicle* to the fort at Barking, in Essex, known as Uphall Camp, but circum-

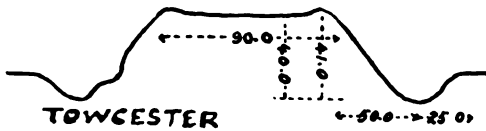


stances point to Danish origin. Very little of the camp has been spared by modern builders, but fortunately the mound is at present in good hands. The little circular fort at Hathersage is another example, of which a plan is given, showing the small mound on the rampart. This also is traditionally Danish.

(8) Scattered throughout England is a vast number of forts of a distinct type; they vary in size and detail, but in all a great mound of earth plays the leading part. Such works are also found in some valleys of Wales, in a part of Scotland, in Ireland, Normandy and Flanders. When, and by whom, were

¹ The ground near the fort is scored and scarred with traces of works, as would be expected, for the moated enclosure is but half an acre in extent, and could only have been a sort of "keep."

these mound-forts constructed? Before attempting to suggest an answer, let us see what appearance they present. Sometimes simply a mound, furnished with a deep moat, as at Towcester, of which work Clark gives



this section.¹ The flat summit of the mounds, and the top of outer protecting ramparts, where they existed, were usually protected by stockades or palisading.

The Bayeux Tapestry gives a picture of the mound fort at Dinan, which materially helps us to understand the construction of such works. Below, on the left, is



Dinan, from the Bayeux Tapestry. See Bruce (J. C.), *The Bayeux Tapestry*, 1856.

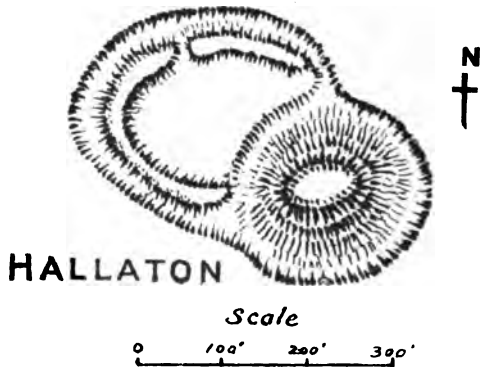
an outer gate or barbican, guarded by turrets on either side; then a ladder-like bridge over the moat, to an entrance tower or stage, no doubt protecting the main gate to the high stockaded keep. Against the inner side of the stockade-wall, a fighting platform of wood or earth must run, of sufficient elevation to enable the defenders to throw missiles over or through the roughly-indicated embrasures. Within the protected area is a hall, probably plastered, surmounted by a tiled roof,

¹ Clark, *Med. Mil. Arch.*, vol. i, p. 21 (1884).

with central smoke-vent.¹ We are thus able to understand two features which are noticeable on some mounds; the rim running round, or nearly round, the edge of the summit is the remains of a bank forming the fighting platform; and the step or projection nearer the moat level on one side is the remains of the bank supporting the main entrance tower. Both features appear in the section of Towcester.

In England, a great number of these mound-forts had attached to them a bailey, or base-court, also ramparted and moated as at Hallaton: a very interesting example, of which I have taken this plan.

The bailey was for the accommodation of the retainers,



their horses, etc. It will be noted that the mound-keep is usually not within the bailey, but on one side, forming part of the outer defence of the whole: in this respect differing from the custom of later days, when stone keeps were generally placed more within.² The mound carried the principal part or keep of the fort, and was connected with the bailey by a drawbridge. Usually we find a gap in the rampart of the bailey on the side furthest from the mound, the original sole entrance to the fortress;

¹ At Dinan, a tower on the right, corresponding to the entrance tower on left of mound, but narrower, is being used for communicating the surrender before the besiegers can succeed in their depicted attempt to fire the fort.

² A conspicuous example of the placement of a Norman stone keep, in position somewhat analogous to the mounds under consideration, is seen at the Chateau d'Arques in Normandy.

the gap is now frequently approached by a raised causeway across the moat, but this was not so originally. Hallaton is so well preserved that we see the complete surrounding moat, showing that the gap or gateway was approached by a bridge—perhaps a drawbridge, but certainly one easily removed in case of an attack. At the top of the counterscarp, or outer slope, of the surrounding moats was often a bank, which in some instances carried a palisade or stockade. This feature is lacking at Hallaton.¹

Very similar to Hallaton is the mound and court fort at Laughton-en-le-Morthen, of which this is a section. A third class of these works is that in which we see, not only the base court attached to the mound, but also a second, outer, larger court beyond. There is no good

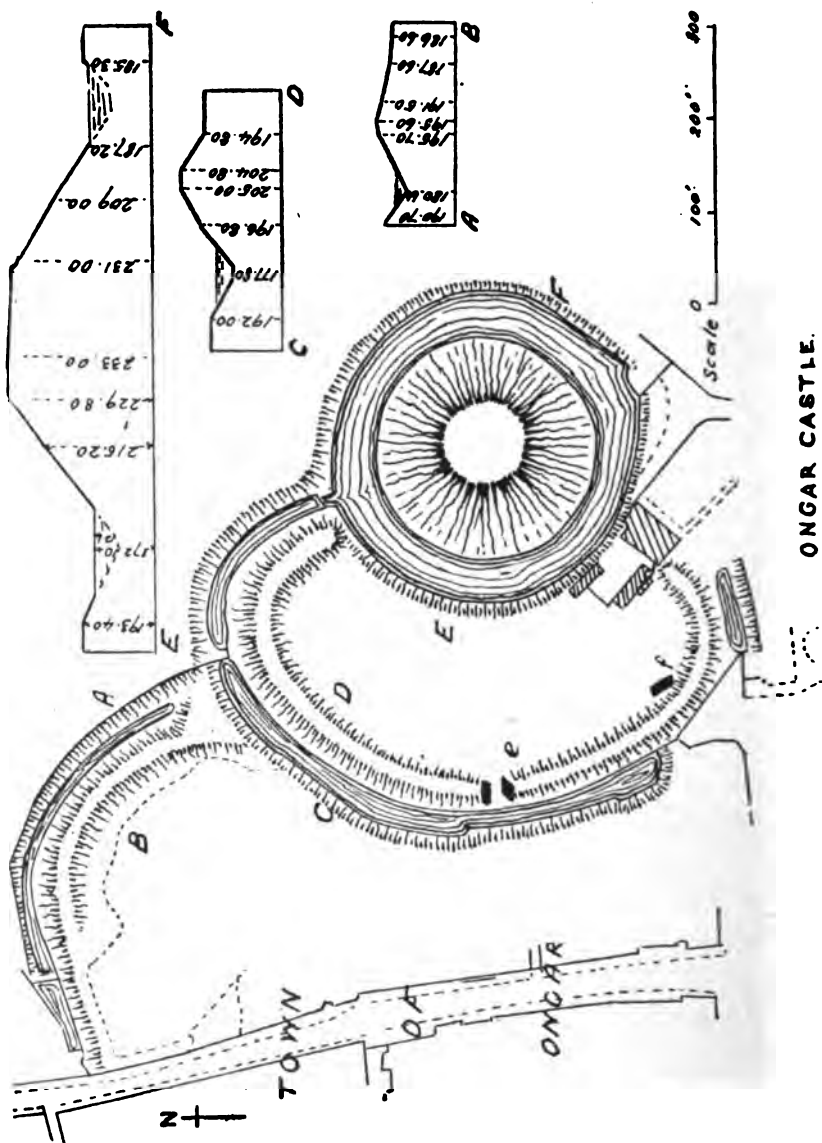


example in this neighbourhood, but Bakewell, I have no doubt, had such an appendage, though there is little left to show. Clark tells us that these outer courts were for the protection of flocks and herds in case of an attack; but I venture to think they were usually for another and more important purpose, for it was within their shelter that the infant townships grew.

The mound keep was for the lord's apartments, the inner bailey for his retainers and stables, and perhaps part of his own residential quarters; but the outer bailey contained the huts and homes and workshops of labourers and artizans, and peradventure a church for the devotions of all those who were voluntarily or perforce gathered round. Banks and ditches have disappeared as settlements have overgrown the old bounds, and it is difficult now to identify the lines of many an outer bailey.

A plan of Ongar, in Essex, which I have, shows all

¹ On the north side of Hallaton is some banking (shown in the O.S.) which may indicate an outwork; but as it appears to have been caused by slipping of some swampy ground below, I omit it from my plan.



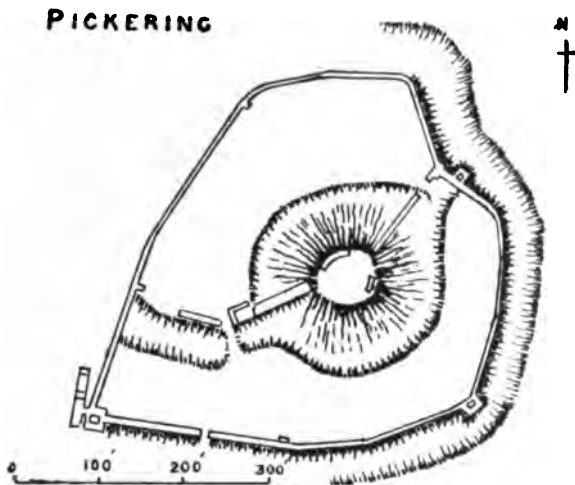
ONGAR CASTLE.

Section levels are 150 ft. above Ordnance; e f, Remains of tile and rubble masonry.

that is left of such an outer court, and shows, too, that the town's growth has largely obliterated its traces.¹

The power of the outer bailey has waxed strong, and the political might of the towns is upon us now, but the lord's keep and the soldier's bailey are desolated and deserted, surviving only as picturesque memorials of a long-decayed system.

I have spoken of the typical form in which the mound is placed at one end of the whole fortress, but there were



many exceptions to this rule; as where earlier banks were brought into use, or the configuration of the ground lent itself to a rather more central position for the main keep.

Pickering is a good example: the great mound stands upon the rampart and fosse which divide the fort into two long wards.

Sometimes we find the mound and court placed within the area of Roman fortifications, as at Castle Acre; or may be, within Celtic lines, as appears the case at Eddis-

¹ Though on high ground well above the valleys, Ongar moats had and have deep water in them; differing in this respect from other examples which I have shown.

bury.¹ But the most impressive exception to the simple type of castrametation is to be noted where the great mound is placed on a neck between great oblong or horse shoe courts, "producing a sort of hour-glass constriction," the whole forming an enclosure of royal dimensions, such as Windsor and Arundel, where stone has taken the place of wooden defences; and such, with some variation in plan, was Ongar, where little masonry was used.² By whom were these "mound-and-court" fortresses erected? Much controversy has accompanied the attempt to answer the question, and doughty champions have contended for the respective claims of Dane, Saxon, and Norman.

Hoping hereafter to express my views in an Appendix to this Paper, I now content myself with a quotation of my words published elsewhere.³—

"There is ample deductive evidence of the existence of moated mound-and-court earthwork forts prior to the Norman invasion of England, but the economic conditions of the Norman period alone can account for vast numbers of examples which remain. In short, I believe it cannot be said that these works are distinctively Danish, Saxon, or Norman, but that for between three and four centuries they were found to be the most useful form of defence for advanced posts, and afterwards for feudal holdings; always bearing in mind that wooden walls alone were possible on newly-made mounds and ramparts of earth."

(9) Passing from these "mounds of mystery," there remains but one type of defence to which reference need be made. Throughout England, though more frequently in the lowland districts, are simple moated enclosures without ramparts. The earth dug to form the moat being thrown inwards, the enclosed area is higher than the surrounding land.

Happily, we know the date of some of the old manor houses, etc., which were—or are—within the protected

¹ I am indebted to Mr. W. J. Andrew for a sketch plan of this interesting example, which (I think) shows Celtic banking and a Roman road, in addition to a "mound-and-court" fort.

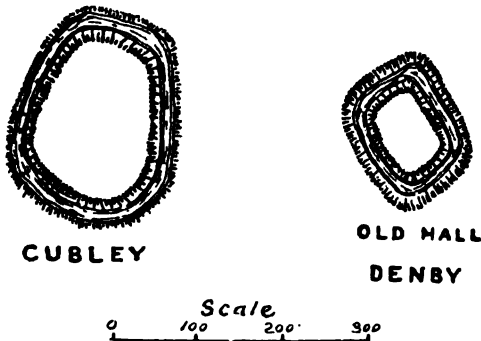
² The plan of Ongar shows the two courts on the west, but it seems highly probable that there were also two courts on the east, or one court with a great outwork, cutting off the site of the fortress.

³ *Notes and Queries*, 9th Ser., vi, 134 (1900).

area ; and, presuming the age of the moats to be that of the erections, we know that they are works dating from the fourteenth to the sixteenth and even seventeenth centuries. Hilly and rocky districts are not furnished with many, but among Derbyshire examples may be mentioned Cubley Hall and Denby.

It is rather in eastern England that one looks for conspicuous and extensive works of this type, but time will not allow of their enumeration.

Some consider the moat was rather for the protection of stacks and stores from wild beasts than from men ; but the double moats which some sites possess seem to



indicate the fear of human foes, and the castellated architecture of many moated houses shows provision against warlike enemies. Nor must it be forgotten that some of our eastern moats are furnished with banks or low ramparts for additional defence. Too often this feature has been cultivated out of existence, but happily examples remain here and there.

Picturesqueness is apart from our subject ; but who can forget the beauty of such moated mansions as Ightham, Moreton, Parham, or Leeds Castle, though the water of the last forms a lake rather than a moat. The position of some deeply-moated enclosures by the creeks of the east, up which early raiders passed, makes one doubt whether their first use must not be dated far before the period usually assigned. Who shall say ?

Together we have traversed Pre-historic, Roman,

Saxon, Danish, Norman, and Mediæval periods in this rough sketch; and I am satisfied if I have said ought, however imperfectly, to increase the interest in earthwork evidences of the past conditions of life in the land we all love so well.

In conclusion, I should like to have shown you a plan of an earthwork fort constructed only some few years ago by our Government.¹ With its steep scarp, deep moat, and high ramparts of earth, it startlingly resembles the pre-historic work of two or three thousand years ago! Verily, the day of defensive earthworks has not yet passed.

¹ Perhaps it is for patriotic reasons that the Ordnance Survey omits the fort from its maps: an example we respect and follow.





THE SITE OF LONDON BEYOND THE BORDER A THOUSAND YEARS AGO.

BY THE REV. W. S. LACH-SZYRMA, M.A., VICAR OF BARKINGSIDE.



AT the end of a century it is natural to look back on the past, and see what things were like one hundred years ago; and also what they were like a thousand years ago. Now, especially in view of the millenary of King Alfred the Great, it is appropriate to consider what the state of things were in and about the year 901, when the foundations of the British Empire were being laid; when England first became a naval power; when the institutions of the Anglo-Saxons were gaining fixity and form. The work has already been done fairly for England in general under Alfred, and I have ventured to lay before Cornishmen in London a sketch of Cornwall a thousand years ago (where the evidence is really fuller than we might expect, or we should find to be the case, in many English counties). May I, to-night, with your permission, lay some thoughts before you as to the state of London beyond the Border a thousand years ago? What London beyond the Border—*i.e.*, the vast region of Stratford, Plaistow, East and West Ham, Barking, Woodford and Walthamstow—is now we all know, *i.e.*, a huge city, larger and more populous than Rome, or Amsterdam, or many other Continental capitals; a town greater than Birmingham or Sheffield, or any of our great provincial towns, except Liverpool and Manchester. The vast region of houses and streets you may see for yourself easily any day. But what was

this densely-peopled region a thousand years ago? A vast primæval forest, with the little villis of Barking, Stratford, and perhaps of Wanstead, Walthamstow and Ilford in the forest clearings. The actual state of the forest is easy to imagine: if not exactly at the time named, yet by evidences a little later.

The great forest of Essex, one of the largest primæval forests in England, had probably never, up to this time—or indeed, till a much later period—been cleared. It remained as in the days of the Ancient Britons, or in the first period of human population, when the early Euskarian tribes, or the Neolithic or Paleolithic savages, chased in these forest glades the deer and the bull; or maintained a precarious existence against the bear and the wolf.

Perchance, no great change had passed over the great mass of this vast virgin forest since the days when the mammoth and the elephant ranged in the Tertiary Epoch among its woodlands, and gave their bones to interest geologists in the famous "Ilford beds" (which now lie well within the limits of Greater London.)¹ Some antiquaries of the period supposed that these elephants whose bones were found at Ilford may have belonged to the Romans, and had been brought over with the legions for military purposes in their British wars. This, of course, we all know has been exploded by palæontology. The elephants were at Ilford thousands of years before Rome was founded, or human beings existed in Britain, or anywhere. Here the bones were found of the mammoth, rhinoceros, ox, bison, and divers great mammals. It was a rich mine of fossils, and effected much for geology and palæontology some sixty years ago.

But I must not dwell on these most ancient records of the Forest of Essex. Let us turn to a more recent epoch, the so-called charter of Edward the Confessor, which may give us an idea of the forest inhabitants in

¹ Bison, musk-sheep, Irish elk, beaver, lion, hyæna, bear, rhinoceros, ox and wolf bones have been found here, and a hundred mammoths. These beds were lately gone over again, and an account appears in the last report of the *Essex Naturalist*; the discoveries were mostly of mollusca.

Anglo-Saxon days. I do not vouch for its authenticity as a document, but it sketches the state of things early in the Middle Ages.

“With hart and hind, do and bokke,
Hare and Fox, Catt and Brooke,
Wylde foule with his flock,
Partriche, feasant hen and feasant cock,
With green and wyld, stob and stock.”

The wolf, wild boar and roe are mentioned in Canute's forest laws, and doubtless ranged here. The wolf probably, and the boar certainly, abounded.

As for Essex wolves, may I, in passing, make two notes?

1. Cornish legend says that the last wolf in England was killed at Ludgvan, near Penzance. It is supposed that wolves existed in the wild regions of Cornwall after they were killed off in the rest of England. King Edgar was, as we all know, a great foe of wolves, and our ancestors owed much comfort and safety to him. But his clearing was not complete; for, under Edward I, Finchingfield in Essex was held by feudal service of keeping five wolf-dogs. Wolfhamston, in Barking, probably marks the existence of wolves in that parish.

2. In recent years a wolf was killed in Epping Forest, but it was not an European but an American wolf, and had probably escaped and taken to the forest thickets. This probably gave the plot to an amusing tale of an English wolf in one of our magazines.

The subject of wolves in London, and indeed in England, is an interesting one.

Stags, fallow-deer and boars abounded, but the wild boar, and even the bear, was found in Essex Forest up to the twelfth century.

In this forest, probably in 368, the Picts and Scots sought cover in their attack on London. Theodosius, the general sent by Valentinian, attacked them and drove them away from the city. There probably was much skirmishing “under the greenwood trees,” in what afterwards was known as Hainault and Epping Forests.

Most of the human population in this wild virgin forest of Essex probably was collected either at Barking around the Abbey, or along the fords on the Roman road. Stratford-atte-Bow marks by its name where the Stanstreet road reached the Lea, and Ilford where it crossed the river Roding. Probably there may have been a few huts at each. There seems to have been another ford two miles north of Ilford, where, at Hatton Corner in my parish, in digging a quarry, Mr. Crouch, in 1893, discovered some three hundred fragments of Roman remains, including a mortarium and an amphora. Beside these were horse and ox bones. Probably this marked a small military station guarding the fords near Wanstead. The Roding flowed then (as in our period) between dense woods on either bank; there was probably a military station guarding the northern fords of the Roding. Might it not be that when the *Ilford*, or dangerous ford, was impassable, one higher up was used (near where Wanstead now is), and this was secured by military defences by the Roman legionaries. This is an interesting subject in the history of Greater London.

There are two local events of early Saxon history connected with this part of the forest.

1. The baptism of some East Saxon converts by St. Chad, at Chadwell, or "the well of Chad"—an event probably connected with the early history of south Essex. St. Cedd, brother of Chad, took his station at Tilbury, before London.¹

2. The legend of the Seven Kings of the Saxons, who are said to have watered their horses at Seven Kings' Waters, when on a hunting excursion. This tradition is probably secured to our posterity in the name of Seven Kings Station, on the Great Eastern Railway. I therefore propose that Ilford should adopt the seven crowns, as part (at least) of its arms, *i.e.*, seven crowns *or*.

¹ London belonged to the Kings of Mercia about 718. "Lunden-tunes hythes or pool" was the great port of the Midlands, and separated from Essex possibly; the Lea was then the frontier of the East Saxons, and the great Essex forest marked the region between the Mercians and East Saxons.

This legend is not so improbable as it at first may appear. We know that Saxon kings often in time of peace met together and went a-hunting. We have actual records of the kings of Northumbria being on a visit to the kings of Essex. It is true that the legend of Seven Kings dining together is told of the Land's End. In both cases, however, there may be a substratum of fact, even though the number seven may have been made up somehow, and not be quite accurate.

But the chief place of the district, and the only one of importance in the early Saxon days, was Barking—from which, indeed, Barking Deanery (which includes in its three divisions much of London beyond the border) derives its name. Barking Abbey may be said to date its establishment from the period of the final conversion of London to Christianity, when Erkenwald established his See there. It was founded about 660, during the reigns of Kings Sebbi and Sighere, Kings of the East Saxons, by St. Erkenwald, at the request of his sister, St. Ethelburga.¹

Barking is sometimes said to be the oldest convent for women in England. If, however, we assent to the view that Cornwall is a part of and a county of England (and this is now the legal view, though an English king was called "*Rex Angliæ et Cornubiæ*," and also an old writer speaks of the Tamar as the western limit of England), we may find, I think, traces of nunneries of a still earlier date. Probably St. Breage, the church of the Irish Princess, so celebrated now for its mediæval frescoes, was one. Possibly St. Burian may have been another. Both were older than Barking. But these old Brito-Celtic religious houses for women are mere probabilities (though, I think, evidence points in this way to their existence); Barking Abbey is a definite historic fact.

I question if we have now any actual remains of the Abbey as it was a thousand years ago. Possibly, like Greenstead Church, it was built of wood, and was burnt by the Danes. I would incidentally note that Greenstead Church is an excellent specimen of an Essex church

¹ Some say it was actually built in 680.

of the period of which I speak, and well worthy a visit by archæologists. In the year 870, Barking Abbey was burnt by the Danes, who sailed up Barking Creek, and also up the river Lea. A thousand years ago, probably, Barking was in ruins, unless some fishermen's huts existed there. The Abbey was restored by King Edgar, who gave it to Wulfhilda, who was Abbess there at a somewhat later period. Its interesting and important history, *i.e.*, its connection with William the Conqueror: the swearing of fealty to him there; the founding of Ilford Hospital; the rule of Mary à Becket; the retirement there of Eleanor, Duchess of Gloucester, in 1399—all belong to a later period. I may say, however, that its influence on ladies' education may be traced in the famous satire of the Father of English poetry, Chaucer:—

“ And Frensch sche spak ful faire & fetysly
After the scole of Stratford atte Bowe,
For Frensch of Paris was to hire unknowe.”

The ideal lady-prioress, of the age of Cressy, was educated in a school under the Abbess of Barking. It is worth noting that at Barking, probably under the Abbey, has been found a Roman fibula, and several Saxon coins—including one of King Burgred. Roman bricks have also been found, probably the using-up of old materials so common in the Middle Ages.

Besides Barking, there probably was very little population in this region. Stratford—or at least some foresters' huts on its site—possibly existed from Roman times, and there may have been some huts near the *Ilford*. The Roman road was doubtless in disrepair, but perhaps used as a pathway through the great forest of Essex, which stretched (as local tradition, and I think historic evidence, points) “down to Bow Bridge and the river Lea.” Bow Bridge itself was a far later erection, belonging to the age of Queen Maud, wife of Henry I, to whom its foundation is ascribed. All from the Lea was a vast primæval forest, and long continued so: a hunting ground of the Kings of Essex, then of the Saxon Kings of the English, then of the Normans. It was a convenient distance from London, and was much used in Saxon and in later times.

But there were possibly at Wanstead and other parts of the forest some remains of Roman occupation. In 1735, some labourers found there (not far from the recent discoveries of Roman pottery at Hatton Corner) a tessellated pavement of a villa, some 20 ft. by 16 ft. The tesserae were of divers sizes and colours. On the outside they formed a red border, but in the centre a mosaic picture. A coin of Valens and many Roman bricks were also found there, showing that the forest at Hatton Corner and at Wanstead was not quite unpeopled in Roman any more than mediæval times. In other parts of Wanstead, Roman coins, bricks and foundations have been found. But probably the villas of Wanstead, Woodford (*the ford in the wood*, close to when Claybury now stands); Ilford (*the bad ford*) were mere petty clearings in the vast primæval forest of Essex, with huts of the foresters. That outlaws of the Robin Hood type may have existed here all through the Middle Ages is highly probable—indeed, to my mind, almost certain. “Under the green-wood” tree the laws of the English kings—whether Saxon, Norman, or Plantagenet—were not always supreme.

At this time the whole region of Plaistow must have been, as it was through the Middle Ages, a vast marsh, without population. London was the Town by the Lake, as has been now commonly accepted—Lyn = Lake; Don = Town. The eastern part of this lake was the Plaistow marshes, probably without human population, the abode of the water-fowl and the fish.

I hope I shall not in any way be transgressing our rules by, in conclusion, comparing the past and the present, and asking you before I finish to look at this region for a moment as it is: “look on this picture and on that.”

It is estimated officially that London over the Border will, before this year is out, contain nearly 700,000 people. The annual increase is now more than twice that of the whole population a hundred years ago. It has forty-six ecclesiastical parishes, and one of the largest boroughs in England—West Ham. Forty-three thousand people are said to be added annually to its population. Few towns in Europe are growing more rapidly. Most of the

district is built over in a dense network of streets with, as yet, few public edifices of great size or commanding architecture. But I need say no more: you can see it for yourselves any day. But when you visit it next, and see the crowded streets of Stratford, Plaistow, Forest Gate (whose very name reminds us of the fact I urge) remember it was all, in the ages our Association mainly considers, a vast virgin forest, with the Abbey of Barking and some little vills, as Stratford and Ilford, scattered along the remains of the old Roman road. Such was, then, not only a thousand years ago but only five hundred, the site where now stands huge London over the Border. Compare this picture and that of the past. What a change!

NOTE.—The Editor has kindly drawn my attention to the statement of Tanner in his *Notitia Monastica* (after referring to the old British monastery of Carmarthen): “King Eadwald is recorded to have founded, about A.D. 630, a nunnery at Folkestone in Kent, which 'tis likely was the first in England.” He then disputes the views of Weaver and Sir W. Dugdale, “that Barking was the first nunnery in England which was not built till A.D. 680.”



British Archaeological Association.

FIFTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL CONGRESS AT LEICESTER, 1900.

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Proceedings of the Congress.

MONDAY, JULY 30TH, 1900.

THE Fifty-seventh Annual Congress commenced at Leicester on Monday, July 30th, with a reception of the members in the afternoon, at the Museum Buildings, by the Mayor and Mayoress, Alderman and Mrs. Windley, who were supported by Mr. R. Smith-Carington, F.S.A., the High Sheriff of Leicestershire, and various members of the Leicester Architectural and Archæological Societies, including the Ven. the Archdeacon of Leicester; Rev. G. J. E. Stocks, M.A.; Sir J. F. L. and Lady Rolleston; Alderman E. Wood, J.P.; J. W. Wartnaby, Esq.; C. J. Billson, Esq., M.A.; J. Goddard, Esq., F.R.I.B.A.; J. D. Paul, Esq.; S. Perkins Pick, Esq. (President of the Leicestershire Society of Architects); I. Fielding-Johnson, Esq., and Mrs. Fielding-Johnson; J. G. Grimsdick, Esq.; Orson Wright, Esq.; T. Harrold, Esq.; F. Morley, Esq.; J. Fewkes, Esq.; Rev. Hugh Bryan, M.A.; the hon. local secretaries; Colonel G. C. Bellairs, V.D.; Major Freer, V.D.; Rev. S. Thorold Winckley, M.A.; Rev. E. Jackson, M.A.; Rev. R. Titley, M.A., and W. B. Bragg, Esq. And among the members of the Association we observed the following: Messrs. W. de Gray Birch, LL.D., F.S.A.; Arthur Cates, F.R.I.B.A., and Mrs. Cates; C. H. Compton, C. Lynam, I. Chalkey Gould, R. Horsfall and Mrs. Horsfall; T. Cann Hughes, W. E. Hughes, W. J. Nicholls, A. Oliver, C. J. Williams, S. Rayson, G. Patrick, the Rev. H. J. Dukinfield Astley and Mrs. Astley; Mr. and Mrs. Pears; Mr. and Mrs. Birts; Dr. and Miss Winstone, Dr. Bensly, Rev. C. H. Evelyn-White, F.S.A., Mrs. McMillan, Mrs. Collier, Miss Bentley, Mr. and Mrs. Nathan, Mr. and Mrs. Simms Reeve, Mr. Fry, Mr. Bull, etc.

The Mayor, in opening the proceedings, said it was a pleasure to the Mayoress and himself to give the members of the Association a very hearty welcome to the ancient city of Leicester. His only difficulty was one of an archæological character, as to whether he should welcome them to the ancient city or to the modern borough.

Leicester was a city many generations ago, and he should be very glad if the gentlemen who were present at that Congress could throw any light upon how they lost their title. It would be more interesting, of course, to many people to point out how they could regain the title which had been lost so many years. Leicester was a city in 731, and Mr. Thompson, the historian of the town, said that title was in existence for over twelve centuries, and long after the town had ceased to be the see of a bishop. During the last few years, attempts had been made to restore the ancient name, but at present in vain. At any rate, Leicester was not a mushroom town. The Romans came there, had their encampment, and built their walls. They would be able to see during their visit a beautiful tessellated pavement of a Roman house, built, it was presumed, just outside the walls of the encampment. The Mayor went on to refer to the other features of interest in the town, including the Jewry Wall, the street of the Holy Bones, the ancient churches, etc. : and, in conclusion, said he thought they could boast of much to interest archæologists, and he trusted that the meetings of the Association in Leicester would be very pleasant and profitable.

Mr. R. Smith-Carington, F.S.A., in the absence of the President, the Marquis of Granby, then delivered the Inaugural Address, which has been printed in this Part of the *Journal*, pp. 1-16. The Mayoress also joined in welcoming the visitors in a few well-chosen remarks, in which she referred to the historical associations of the town, and made special mention of the great part which the guilds played in mediæval life, of which the Guild of Corpus Christi was particularly strong in Leicester.

Dr. W. de Gray Birch responded on behalf of the Association ; and in referring to the desire of the ancient town to be numbered once again among the cities of Great Britain, said that if the corporation would study the way in which another ancient town near London—Westminster—recovered the right to be called a city, there would be very little difficulty in Leicester recovering its ancient dignity. Although a city was supposed to be the seat of a bishop, Westminster had not a bishop, and Leicester, being in a similar position, should receive the same treatment.

The party then dispersed to examine the Roman and other antiquities in the Museum, under the guidance of Mr. Montague Brown, the Curator. The Museum is remarkably well kept and well arranged, a model of what a provincial museum may be made. It is particularly rich in Samian ware, found in the town and neighbourhood ; and as an illustration of the value which its Roman possessors set upon this

beautiful ware, it may be noted that many of the pieces had been broken, and mended with leaden rivets in Roman days. This ware would naturally be valuable in an outlying province of the empire like Britain, to which every piece had to be brought over sea from the Continent. The Roman milestone, discovered on the line of the Fosse Way in 1771, and marking a distance of "two miles from Rata," i.e., Leicester, attracted much attention.

In the evening, the members and townsfolk attended a pleasant *Conversazione* given by the Mayor and Mayoress in the Museum Buildings.

TUESDAY, JULY 31ST, 1900.

To-day was occupied with a visit to the Duke of Rutland's splendid Castle of Belvoir. Leaving Leicester at 10 A.M., a large party proceeded by train to Stathern, whence carriages were taken for the Castle. The drive through the beautiful park was much enjoyed, and some fine views were obtained. The view from the rocky height on which the Castle stands is, however, the finest of all, surpassing, it is sometimes said, even Windsor in its extent and beauty. Modern Belvoir is, of course, a magnificent pile, but has been so often described, and is of so slight archæological interest, that we may pass it by. Of the ancient Castle, founded by Robert de Todeni, standard-bearer to the Conqueror shortly after the Conquest, nothing now remains but a few fragments discovered in the foundations of the present building. It was probably erected on the site of an ancient British encampment. At the foot of the Castle hill, Robert de Todeni, in 1077, founded a priory for four Black Monks, which in later days became a cell of the Monastery of St. Albans. Recent excavations made by Mr. Pogson, the landlord of the "Peacock Inn," though in a somewhat desultory manner, have disclosed some interesting remains of the foundations of the Priory Church, including nave, apsidal choir, and side chapels; but these are too fragmentary to enable any idea of the architecture of the building to be formed. The building formerly contained many monuments of the Todeni, Albini, and De Roos families, but all are gone.

At the Evening Meeting, held in the Town Hall, Dr. W. de Gray Birch gave a most interesting account of the charters and other historical records of the borough of Leicester, in which he particularly impressed upon the Corporation the necessity of taking the utmost care of these precious documents. Proceeding, he said that we knew nothing of mediæval Leicester until the end of the twelfth century, the first charter being dated in the first year of King John. That much-

maligned king, who had been painted in the blackest colours, but whom he believed to have been as good a king as any we have had, recognised the value of more closely uniting together the interests of sovereign and people. In this charter the first mention is made of the "burgesses" of Leicester. It is short, but grants most important privileges. In those days, unless specially permitted, every man was compelled to remain in the town in which, and to follow the trade to which, he was born. This charter runs: "John, King of England, Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, Count of Anjou, etc., to all whom it may concern: Know ye that we have granted to our burgesses of Leicester, that freely and without any impediment they may go and perform their businesses throughout all our land, with all their matters of merchandize, saving to us all the dues and just customs which belong to us." Henry III granted three charters, Edward III twelve, and Elizabeth, James I, Charles I, and Charles II granted a great many. Among others, James I, about 1623, granted one giving "the power of purchasing houses, tenements, lands, rectories, tithes, and hereditaments of all kinds in the kingdom of England;" a most important one, as these things could not be done except by virtue of a grant. A charter is above all law, hence the importance of their careful preservation. In conclusion, Dr. Birch said he was glad to notice that, with one or two exceptions, the charters of Leicester had been well cared for, but all should be copied in the original and translated.

The second Paper was by Mr. W. A. Carington, Archivist of Belvoir, entitled, "Belvoir Castle and Priory," and was read in his absence by the Rev. H. J. Dukinfield Astley, M.A., Hon. Sec. The Paper, which will be published, dealt in an interesting manner with the history of the Castle, and of the various families who had successively held it, until it came into the possession of the Manners family; with the various charters granted—of which, here again, the earliest is one of King John; and with the foundation, history, and monuments of the Priory.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 1st, 1900.

To-day a large party started, at 10 A.M., in carriages and brakes for Kirby Muxloe Castle, Groby, Ulvescroft Priory, and Bradgate. The morning was wet, and the weather continued showery, but, notwithstanding, a most enjoyable day was spent in this interesting series of visits. Mr. J. A. Gotch, F.S.A., read a Paper descriptive of Kirby Muxloe. He commenced by saying that this was not so much a military stronghold as a fortified dwelling-house, though the dis-

tion was not at first perhaps very great. As civilisation advanced and security increased, the fortified castle or manor house gave way to the comfortable mansion. In early days the great hall occupied the centre, and was as much protected as the rest of the buildings; later on it was placed in one of the wings, with larger windows; and, later still, it was placed on the outer walls, protected only by the moat. After referring to Warwick Castle, Oxburgh, and Hengrave, which are all built round an inner courtyard, Mr. Gotch went on to say that here we have the remains of a fortified house, built round a court and surrounded by a moat. Nine-tenths of the fabric have disappeared, the parts that remain belonging only to the defensive portions, so that any restoration is largely conjectural. In the centre of the front, approached by a drawbridge over the moat, still stands the great gateway, flanked by two canted turrets; at each corner stood a tower, of which one still remains. Half-way on each side is a projection in the shape of a tower. Opposite the entrance but not in the axial line, is another projection, which was probably the bay window of the great hall, and the moat is wider on that side. Kirby, in point of date, comes midway between Haddon Hall and Burghley House. Unlike Haddon it was built at one effort; and, unlike Burghley, at a time when defence of a kind was still needed. Judging by the work and the symmetrical arrangement, it was built at a fairly late date; and from the fact that the detail is entirely Gothic, it could not have been very late. It is built throughout of red brick, with a diaper of blue brick; there are stone dressings to the doors and windows, the detail of which is rather large and simple.

Referring to the letters W. H. over the gateway, and to the figure of a maunch, which may be seen in the blue diaper work on one of the turrets, Mr. Gotch concluded that the Castle was built by Sir William Hastings, who succeeded his father in 1456, was a devoted adherent of Edward IV, was made a Baron in 1461, and beheaded by Richard III in 1483; and from the absence of a coronet he fixed the date between 1456 and 1461. The plain barrel vaulting of the lower rooms, and the brickwork of the staircase, is very fine. Each room contained a fireplace, though Henry VII's palace at Richmond, later on, still had none. There are no signs of plaster, the walls being probably covered with tapestry. Each of the canted turrets contains a round hole, with stone dressings, for cannon commanding the approach, and low down, so that the cannon could rest on the floor. The place has no historical associations, and how long it was inhabited is not known; but it is most interesting as showing the domestic manners of the fifteenth century. This Paper will be published.

A move was then made to Groby, where Mr. I. C. Gould read the following :—

NOTES ON GROBY HALL AND CASTLE.

Close behind the house is the mound, a remnant of the Castle of Groby. For the sake of chronological order it would have been better first to have spoken there of the Castle and its belongings, and to have dealt afterwards with this old hall; but as we are obliged to pass this way, it is well to say something of Groby Hall first.

In the thirteenth century the estate of Groby came into possession of the Ferrers family, who held it for some two hundred years till the



Groby Hall.

(Photographed by J. Burton and Sons, Leicester.)

line ended in an heiress, Elizabeth Ferrers, who married Edward Grey in the fifteenth century. There may be no reason to doubt the accuracy of the statement¹ that it was one of the Ferrers who built the oldest part of the hall, perhaps using material from the ruined Castle buildings; but most of the windows and the doorways must, in that case, be insertions of later date.

To the Ferrers succeeded Edward Grey, who became Lord Ferrers of Groby, and from him descended Thomas, first Marquis of Dorset, who in the latter part of the fifteenth century, built the brick part of this patchwork mansion, and died in 1501.

¹ Nichols, *History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester*, vol. iv.

Leland visited the place about 1540, and his *Itinerary* says:—

“The ould parte of the Worke that now is at Groby was made by the Ferrares. But newer Workes and Buildinges there were erectid by the Lorde *Thomas* first Marquise of *Dorset*: emong the which Workes he began and erectid the Foundation and Waulles of a greate Gate House of Brike, and a Tour, but that was lefte half on finishd of hym, and so it standith yet.

“This Lorde *Thomas* erectid also and almoste finishid ii Toures of Brike in the Fronte of the House, as respondent on eche side to the Gate House.”¹

Much that Leland saw has gone, but part remains as described by him: a fact for which we, as antiquaries, cannot be too thankful.

Perhaps the most interesting association of the place is with that much-tried lady, Elizabeth, the queen of Edward IV. Sir John Grey, son of the first Lord, Edward Grey, whose name has just been mentioned, married Elizabeth Woodville, but was slain at St. Albans in 1461. Elizabeth, doubtless still beautiful, was afterwards married to King Edward IV, and became the mother of the two unfortunate princes, Edward V and his brother, who were murdered in the Tower of London by order of the demon-king, Richard III. It is probable that many of her days were passed in this old hall.

Passing to the back of the hall we see the keep-mound and a few adjoining earthworks, all that remain of the once strong castle of Groby. We know that it was destroyed by Henry II, at that critical period when he reduced the power of the lords so effectually after the feudal revolt of 1173-74, and never from that day was any attempt made to rebuild the castle, but who shall say exactly when the mound was first raised?

There is evidence of stonework here in solid masonry, but unless the foundation of that masonry was carried down below the artificial mound, which is hardly likely, we must assume that the mound was here for many long years to solidify sufficiently to carry a shell keep of stone. It may be that this fort, like some others of similar form, owes its first existence to the trouble between Saxon and Dane, when early in the tenth century the possession of the neighbouring town of Leicester was hotly contested: though for any evidence to the contrary it may be that in the eleventh century the Norman lord threw up the mound. Whether due to Saxon, Dane or Norman, it is tolerably certain that its defences were at first wooden stockading or palisading, and that the mound had stood for many years before the stone keep appeared on its summit.

¹ Hearne's *Leland-Itinerary*, I. 19.

The situation of Groby Castle, at the point where the ancient road from Leicester entered the wild forest district, rendered it of great importance to the Earls of Leicester, in whose hands it was, and to whom it served as an outlying defence till its destruction by Henry II.

There would have been more to show to day, but that, as Leland tells :—

“There remayne few tokens of the olde Castelle more then yet is the Hille that the Kepe of the Castelle stoode on very notable, but ther is now no stone Work upon it.

“And the late *Thomas* Marquesh filled up the Diche of it with Earth, entending to make an herbare there,”

POSTSCRIPT.—The correctness of the assignation of the title “Lord Ferrers” to Edward Grey having been questioned by a correspondent of the *Athenæum* (August 18th, 1900), it may be well to refer to the information given in Sir Bernard Burke’s *History of the Dormant and Extinct Peerages* (edition 1883).

Sir Edward Grey, Knt., married Elizabeth Ferrers, granddaughter and heiress of William Ferrers, Lord Ferrers of Groby, and was summoned to Parliament in her right as Baron Ferrers of Groby, from December 14th, 1446, to January 2nd, 1449, and as Lord Grey of Groby from September 23rd, 1449, to May 26th, 1455. That he bore in 1446 the former title is evident also from the address of a special dispensation which he obtained in that year from the Archbishop of Canterbury. It should also be noted that Thomas Grey was summoned to Parliament in 1509 as Lord Ferrers of Groby.

A move was then made to Ulvescroft Priory, where Mr. Geo. Patrick, Hon. Sec., read the following :—

NOTES ON ULVESCROFT PRIORY.

In the *Journal* of our Association, for the year 1863, is published an exhaustive and valuable paper by the late Mr. Gordon Hills, a most conscientious and reliable authority, upon the history of Ulvescroft and the adjacent Priory of Charnley, about two miles off, with which it was united less than a century before the Act for the extinction of all the monasteries in 1537. Ulvescroft, or Osolvescroft, as it was anciently called, is situated within the borders of Charnwood Forest, described by Burton in 1622 as a “dearne and solitary place.” Leland, about a hundred years previously, says this forest “is commonly called the ‘Wast,’ and is 20 miles or more in cumpace; in this forest is no good toune, nor scant a village.” I have gleaned from Dugdale, also from Burton and Nichols, in their respective Histories of Leicester shire, and from other sources without discovering much, if anything,

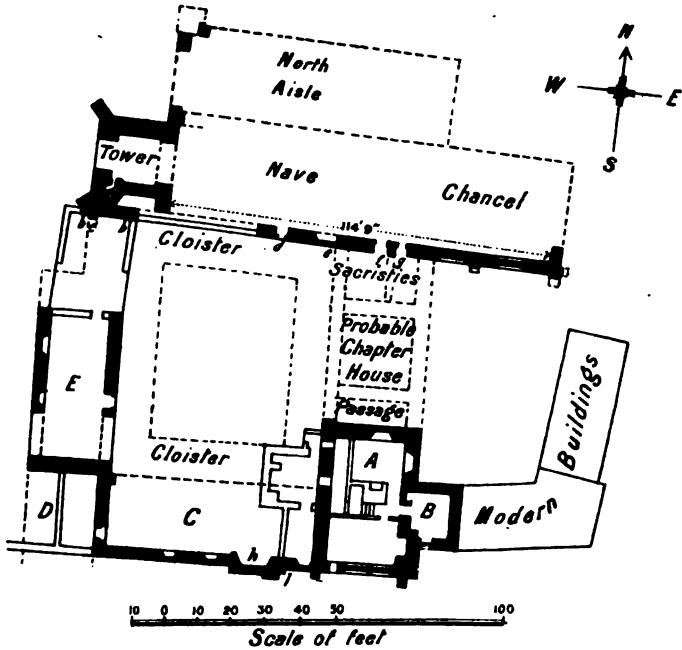
to add to the information Mr. Hills obtained from his painstaking researches into the ancient deeds and MSS. I will, therefore, not occupy your time by any lengthy historical account of this monastery, but briefly give you a summary of its history. It appears that, about the year 1134, a powerful noble and devoted adherent of King Stephen, Robert, Earl of Leicester, nicknamed "Le Bossu," was led to found this Priory for Friars Eremites. It is not clear to what order these brethren belonged, further than that they "professed a regular life," and that none could assume the office of Prior "except elected by common consent of the brethren according to the rule of the Blessed Augustin." As Mr. Hills remarks, the mention of Erenites and the rule of St. Augustin has led previous writers upon the history of these priories to consider them as originally for Austin Eremites or friars; but, he says, none of the passages in the old documents warrant that assumption: the truth being that the order of Austin Friars had no existence so early as the foundation of Ulvescroft (not till after 1220), and the older order of Austin Canons, although well known, was not fully established until 1139, when Pope Innocent III decreed that all regular canons should adopt the rule of St. Augustin. It was not till 1215-16 that the two great preaching orders of friars, Franciscans and Dominicans, were established by Papal Bull. It seems, therefore, most probable that Ulvescroft was founded by Robert le Bossu for eremites or friars who belonged to one of the many independent brotherhoods without any distinctive denomination.

The Ground Plan of the Priory which illustrates Mr. Gordon Hills's paper in our *Journal* I have had considerably enlarged for more easy reference; it shows the buildings as they remained thirty-eight years ago. There has been very little alteration since that time. The ruins, as we see them, are mainly those of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. There are some portions of Early English date, but I think none of the period of the original building, which belonged to the time of the semi-Norman style of architecture, the transitional between the Norman and Early English. The earliest buildings of all, those of 1134, were most likely mainly of wood, as the site, being in the midst of the forest, clearing would have to be made, and timber would be available, and the accommodation at first required would be but small, as there were only three inmates. There would seem to have been never more than eight, even in later times, when they were really Austin Friars, and subsequently, when they were reconstituted Austin Canons for a brief period of two years before the final extinction.

The whole of the buildings were surrounded by a lofty wall, which was moated outside in order to protect the inmates from the dangers

inseparable from this lonely situation in the forest waste. This wall in part remains on the south, east, and west sides. The space enclosed is in form a parallelogram, lengthwise from north to south, and rounded at the four corners.

The position of the church is on the north end of the enclosure and the domestic buildings on the south, their respective positions being determined by the water supply and the natural drainage of the land,



The Ground Plan of the Priory.

- | | |
|-------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| A. Parlour or day-room of the | bb. 13th-century wall. |
| Canons. | c. Wall of domestic buildings. |
| B. Part of private offices. | d. Early English door. |
| C. Refectory. | e. Two-light Early English window. |
| D. Probably the kitchen. | f. Early English door. |
| E. Probable guest-hall. | g. Perpendicular door. |
| Tower, late 14th century. | h. Steps to pulpit. |
| | l. Corbelling cut for pulpit. |

which is towards the west and south. The church in its later period, the remains of which are now before us, consisted of nave, chancel, and north aisle with western tower. There is no evidence of what the earlier church was like; it probably consisted only of nave and chancel, as towers were forbidden in the early and more simple days of these friars and brotherhoods.

The north walk of the cloister and the conventual buildings abut against the south wall of the nave. There appears to have been no chancel arch; the clerestory ran all round the church without break from west to east (the *upper story* is the more correct term, as, strictly speaking, there is no clerestory), and the roof was in one unbroken length—or, if there were a division other than the rood-screen, it must have been by an arch carried on corbels, or springing direct from the walls, as there are no traces of wall-piers or shafts. Some of the corbels which carried the principal roof-timbers remain. Towards the middle of the fifteenth century, the west end of the nave was taken down to allow of the insertion within its length of the present tower. The western portion of the Early English south wall of the nave still remains alongside the tower, with an intervening space between the two walls; and the canopied top of an Early English buttress may be seen over the roof of the shed at this angle. In this narrow space or nook south of the tower there is a doorway at about 10 ft. from the floor of the tower; and there are indications of a floor across such space. At this level there is a slit splayed light looking into the church eastward. There are indications of another floor at about 9 ft. higher up, with a similar light looking into the church eastward, but there are no indications of any way to this. It may have been reached by wooden steps from the lower floor. This upper space has been flat-ceiled with stone flags, and above roofed with a lean-to roof. There are no indications whatever of any communication between the above spaces and the domestic buildings of the west side of the cloister. The turret stair has doorways to the two upper floors of the tower, and is entered from the church at the south-west angle. On the west face of the tower, you will notice the remains of the relieving arch of the west door. The upper windows of the tower have four-centred arches and were of two lights. The portion of the west wall of the nave, with the remains of the diagonal buttress, is probably of the same date as the tower; and the remaining portion of the west wall of the north aisle is of about the same period, although the low four-centred arch to the turret at the north-west angle which once existed would seem to indicate a later date. On the east face of the tower the weathering of the old nave roof can still be seen, *i.e.*, the roof before the clerestory or upper story was added. All that remains of the north aisle is some masonry at the north-west angle, a portion of an angle turret with a Late Perpendicular doorhead and four-centred arch—it is possible that this aisle was altogether an addition of the latter part of the fifteenth century. The north-west corner of the nave was finished with a diagonal buttress before the north aisle was built, and the remains of it are perceptible in the wall.

Remains of thirteenth-century Early-English work may be seen, as first mentioned, in the south wall of the nave, and in the two doors, lettered *d* and *f* on the plan, and at *e*, which is a mutilated two-light window, situated high up so as to allow the cloister roof to run beneath it. The door at *g* is of the fifteenth century, and opened probably into a smaller sacristy.

Of the domestic buildings of the Priory there are more traces remaining than of the Church, although they are but fragmentary. The greater part of the buildings which enclosed the quadrangle on the east side are totally destroyed, and we can only suppose that they followed the usual arrangement of sacristies adjoining the church; next came the chapter-house, which would be square; then, between the wall of the present building on the south and the chapter-house would be a passage called the "slype," leading into the garden. The building to the south, now the farmhouse, and lettered *A* on the plan, was the parlour or day-room. The walls are of great thickness, and are of the Early-English period, the windows and doors being insertions of the late fifteenth century. In the floor of this apartment, which is of square red tiles, is inserted a stone, circular in shape, and about 1 ft. 7 ins. in diameter. The tiles are laid in radiating curves from north to south to this stone in a very singular fashion, the tiles being purposely cut to suit the figure, which has somewhat the appearance of the two arms of a cross. There is a reddish stain on the stone, which local tradition proclaims to be blood. Over these apartments, to the south, extended the dormitory, and nearer to the church a portion of the space would be screened off to form the library, leaving a passage way to the stairs, which descended to one of the doors just mentioned, by which the canons entered the church for the night's services. At *C* on the plan was the refectory, occupying the whole south side of the enclosure, the projecting part lettered *h* being where the steps to the pulpit were situated. At *D* was probably the kitchen, with doorway of communication with the refectory. *E* was the guest-hall, and remains of the Early-English windows, which once lighted it, may be seen on its west side, now built up. Here was dispensed the lavish hospitality for which the house was so celebrated. Parts of the old timber roof still remain, apparently of the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. Northward of this apartment, indicated by the dotted lines, would be the porter's lodge, and the main entrance to the cloister. Of the cloister itself no trace remains above ground, but the soil has been much raised, and it is likely, if excavation was made, the bases of the walls which formed the enclosure of the Garth and supported the wooden uprights of the lean-to roof, would be met with.

Surrounding three sides of the site of church and buildings, outside the enclosing wall, was a broad and deep moat, which came close up to it. This moat was merged into the fish-ponds which extended all along the west side, and was crossed by a bridge on the east side.

It only remains to say that this Priory was one of those which received high testimony from the Commissioners, who visited it previous to the suppression of the smaller houses. They were greatly impressed with the saintly lives of the inmates, and the good order which was kept in the buildings. They have left on record their high opinion in a letter to Sir Thomas Cromwell, which is printed at length in Nichols's *History of Leicestershire*. In consequence of their good character the friars obtained a respite, and in 1536-37, by Letters Patent, the house was reformed for Augustinian Canons; but this did not last long, as on September 15th, 1539, the prior and canons entered their chapter-house for the last time, and signed the deed of surrender.

After the Paper, the ruins were as carefully inspected as the state of the weather—the rain was now coming down in torrents—would allow, and the objects of interest were pointed out. Before leaving, Mr. Lynam called attention to the certificate of character mentioned above, given to this Priory by the Visitors of Henry VIII to Thomas Cromwell, of which the following is a transcript of the original letter from the MSS. volume in which it is contained:—

“*Cleopatra E. IV., fol. 249 (New folios).*”

“RIGHT . HONORABLE SIR—After myn humble Recommendacions thys shalbe taduertyse youe that I have Receyued your most Comfortable letters for the whiche in my Right . lowly wyse I Rendre vnto youe most hartie thankes. Pleasithe itt your mastresh[ip] to be fferther aduertised that we have sirueyed the howse or priorie of Brook[e] the certificathe whereoff I Sent you . by your ffermers sun . and my nephu Rog[er] Carell . this present the xvij day of June/ The Priorie of Bradley thabb[ey] off Wolueston, the Priorie of Kirby Bellers, the priorie of Woulstropp . and now be att thabbey of Garadon./ And Sir for asmyche as of late my ffellows and I d[id] wright . vnto Mr. Chauncellour of the Awgmentacions in the favour of thabbey of Seynt James and the Nunnerie of Catysby in Northamptonshire whiche lett[er] he shewed vnto the Kynghis highnes. in the favour of these howsez wher[at] the Kinghis highnes. was displeased as he said to my seruaunt Thomas Har[. . .] seyeng that itt was like that we had

Receyved Rewardes whiche caused vs to wright. as we dyd/ whiche myght. putt me in ffearre to write nottwithstondyng the sure knowlege that I have had all wey in your indiffere[nce] gyvethe me boldnes to wright. to yowe in the ffavour of the howse of Wols[tropp.] the Gouvernour whereof is a vere good husbond for the howse and welbeloued of a[ll] thenhabitantes thereunto adioynng. a Right. honest man. hauyng. viij Religious persons beyng prestes of Right. good conuersacion and lyving religiously havyng. su[ch] qualities of vertu as. we have nott ffound the like in no place for ther y[s] n[ot] oon. Religious person. thear butt thatt he can. and do the vse eyther in brotheryng. wrytyng bookes with verey ffayre hannd makyng. ther own garnementes karvyng. payntyng or graffyng./ the howse without any selandre or evyll ffame and stond[ing] in a west grownde verey solitarie keypyng. suche hospitalitie that except [by?] syngler good provision itt Cowld nott be meynteyned with halfe so muche lan[d] more as they may Spend/ Suche a nom[ber] of the poure inhabitantes nye therunto dayly Relevyd that we haue nott sene the like havyng no more landes than. they have/ God be evyn. my Juge as I do wright. vnto youe the trothe and non. otherwys to my knowlege which vere petie all oon. causithe me to wright./ The premyssez whereoff Considered [fol. 249^b]. In. most humble wise I beseche youe to be ameane vnto the Kyng his maiestie for the standing. of the said Wolstropp. wherby his gracc shall do a myche gracious and a meritorious acte ffor the Relieff off his poure subiectes their and ye shalbe sure nott only to haue the Contynewall. prayour of those Religious persons thear butt also the hartie prayour off all thenhabitantes withyn. iiij or v nyle abowt that howse And this ffor lack of wytt I am. bold to wright. onto youe the playnes of my harte as vnto hym. that of all lyving. Creatures I have most assured and ffaythfull trust yn. So knowyth. our lord god who haue you. in his most mercyfull tucyon ffrom. Garadon. the xix day of June [1537].

“Your Bounden Bedeman

“att Comandment GEORGE GYFFORD.”¹

It will be noticed that the name of the Priory is spelled “Wolstropp,” and it is so given in Father Gasquet’s *Henry VIII and the English Monasteries*, without the author’s being apparently aware of the identity of the Priory referred to. But there can be no doubt that Ulvescroft

¹ A dot after such words as *highnes*, *Wolstropp*, etc., means an overlining of the lost letter, *i. e.*, in some cases an *e*, in some a consonant, in some cases merely a flourish.

is intended—Wolstropp being only a softer variation of the name, by a man who had apparently only heard it mentioned without troubling to see how it was written.

Mr. Lynam also read the following :—

NOTE ON THE MONASTIC CHURCH.

The church consists of west tower, nave and chancel without any arch dividing them, and a north aisle; no south aisle—the domestic buildings abutting on the nave itself.

The remains of the church, of almost wholly Perpendicular and Third Pointed date, belong to the beginning of Richard II, about the time of the patronage of Henry de Ferrars.

The north aisle was a late addition to the church. In the east end of the nave are remains of Early English work.

The tower was in the nave of the older building, and was probably inserted late in the fourteenth century, and may be connected with the change from Eremites to Canons.

In 1287 and afterwards, the Eremites were prohibited from erecting towers, and this was followed abroad up to 1659 and afterwards.

The Abbey is now a farm; but it is sad to see a building once sacred to religious uses given over to cattle and pigs and fowls; while the nave of the once-beautiful monastic church is filled with stacks, and the chancel is a dunghill.

After lunch at the "Bradgate Arms," Newtown Linford, the drive was resumed through the park to Bradgate House, which was described by Col. Bellairs. Only the outer walls, the chapel, and one tower remain of this once-splendid mansion, which belonged to the Greys of Groby, and where Lady Jane Grey is said to have been born. It was here, at any rate, that her tutor, Roger Ascham, was amazed to find her engaged in study, while all her young companions were tilting in the yard, which may still be seen. Of her Fuller says, in his *Worthies*, that "she had the innocency of childhood, the beauty of youth, the solidity of middle, and gravity of old age, and all at eighteen." The house remained until the beginning of the eighteenth century, when, according to Thursby, it was burned to the ground by the then Countess of Stamford. Writing to her sister in London, in answer to a question as to how she liked the place, she replied that the house was tolerable, the country a forest, and the inhabitants all brutes. Her sister thereupon advised her to "set fire to the house, and run away by the light of it:" which she is reported to have done. A fine monument to the first Lord Grey of Groby (of James I's creation), who died in 1614,

and to his wife, is to be seen in the chapel, which has been recently re-roofed.

On the drive back to Leicester, Thurcaston was passed, where a cottage, said to have been the birthplace of Latimer, was noticed. But this is modern, Latimer's house having long since disappeared. Leicester was reached about 6 o'clock.

The evening meeting, which was well attended, was held in the large room of the Grand Hotel, under the Chairmanship of Mr. Perkins Pick, the President of the Leicestershire Architectural and Archaeological Society. An interesting Paper, giving an account of all that may be known of the Abbey of St. Mary de Pratis, at Leicester, was read by Mr. C. H. Compton, V.-P., and will be published; and Col. Bellairs, V.-D., read a careful Paper on "The Roman Roads of Leicestershire," which will also be published in due course.





Proceedings of the Association.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 16TH, 1901.

W. DE GRAY BIRCH, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A., IN THE CHAIR.

The Rev. C. H. Evelyn-White, F.S.A., was unanimously elected to a seat on the Council.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned for the following present to the Library :—

To the Kent Archæological Society, for "Archæologia Cantiana,"
vol xxiv, 1900.

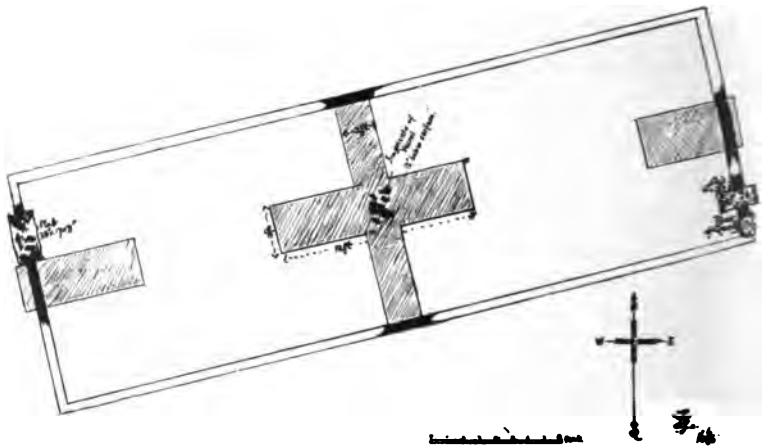
The Rev. H. J. Dukinfield-Astley, Hon. Sec., read the following Paper, by L. D. Jones, Esq., of Bangor, North Wales, which was illustrated with the accompanying carefully-drawn Plan and Map of the locality, and also by numerous fragments of pottery, charcoal, and the contents of the earthen vessel discovered, as stated :—

NOTES ON "'YR EGLWYS WEN,' OR THE WHITE CHURCH."

"About seven miles from the town of Bala, almost exactly due south, is a farm, in a bleak mountain district called 'Bryn-melyn', standing near a stream called 'Afonfechan.' About half a mile to the north of this farm, on the brow of a declivity overlooking an extensive tract of country, are two small eminences marked on the O.S. Map as 'Banciau Crynion' (Round hillocks). One of them is still conical in shape, but the other is truncated by having the summit, which consisted of small stones, quartz and granite, carted away by the farmers. I made a cutting across this one. I found it almost a perfect circle about 10 yards across, with the foundation of a wall around it. This wall consisted of good-sized stones, built rubble fashion, but without any trace of cement or plaster. About 2 ft. below the present surface I came to a bed of almost pure, clean, wood charcoal, about 3 ins. or

4 ins. thick. It appeared to be spreading in all directions, as if covering a floor. I found nothing else here, except a small piece of bone, which appeared to have been burnt.

"I made a slight attack on the other tumulus, but this appeared to be a natural formation, and I abandoned it. About 30 or 40 yards from these hillocks is an old track, said to be the Roman road, which I believe may be correct, as it makes for an old Roman station on the other side of the valley, called 'Caer-gai.' Below this road, and near the stream, is a level, circular, hard floor, artificially formed from the face of the slope. The peasants call this the 'Romans' Threshing-floor.' On the northern circumference of the circle was a large block



The lightly-shaded parts are excavations, about 15 ins. deep. The black parts are portions of the foundation exposed. Length, 45 ft. ; breadth, 15 ft.

of stone embedded in the marl ; its upper surface was flat and fairly even, and cracked in every direction by the action of fire, I believe. It looked as if fire had been burning on it, or that it had been used as an anvil. Whatever this flat space was, it was hard and well trodden, and the surface was covered with small flat stones.

"I then crossed the stream, and about a mile to the north of the farmhouse of Bryn-melyn came to where the people say the *Eglwys Wen* (White Church) stood. There was nothing to see above ground, except a large block of quartz, shown on the rough plan. The place was a rectangular level surface, 45 ft. by 15 ft., covered by tough skin of short grass of long growth. We made the cuttings shown on the sketch, and touched the foundation of a rubble wall at four points. Below the surface it was a dark, peaty mould to a depth of about

from Mediolanum to Conovium did pass this way, and after coming over this pass it throws out several branches, which may still be traced by tracks and place-names."

In the discussion which followed, the Chairman and others expressed the opinion that it is too early as yet to come to any decision as to the value of the find, but it was understood that it is proposed to undertake a thoroughly systematic exploration of the site later on, in order to determine, if possible, the nature of the buildings which seemingly originally existed on this spot.

Dr. Winstone exhibited, on behalf of Mr. Fry, a seal found in an excavation at Dover, 6 ft. below the surface. The seal is finely cut, and exhibits a portrait of a young man resembling Sir Walter Raleigh, and it may be a conventional portrait of that worthy, but it was considered of later date than his time.

A Paper was next read by Mr. Patrick, contributed by Dr. Fryer, upon "Norman Fonts in North-East Cornwall." These fonts, form a group of nine, in the parishes of Altarnon, Callington, Jacobstow Landrake, Laneast, Launceston, Lezant, Lawhitton, and Warbatow. They are all of the Transitional Norman period, very much resemble one another, both in design and workmanship, and are particularly interesting as affording further evidence of a band or a school, or a guild, of carvers and masons. The Paper, which will be published, was fully illustrated by a beautiful series of photographs of the fonts, kindly presented by Dr. Fryer. In the discussion following, Mr. Gould drew attention to the ordinance directing the locking of fonts, which was enacted in Stephen's reign, and asked for information. This was not in force, he thought, for many years, but was seemingly re-enacted at a later period, as he knew of some instances in which the locking was apparently continued up to the fourteenth century. The Rev. H. D. Astley said that he did not know of an Act passed in Stephen's reign, but that in 1236, *i.e.*, in the reign of Henry III, Edmund Rich, Archbishop of Canterbury, ordered that baptismal fonts should be kept locked as a precaution against sorcery (the exact words are: "Fontes baptismales sub sera clausi teneantur propter sortileges"). He was not aware that the order had ever had legal force, nor that it had ever been rescinded.—The Hon. Secretary announced that, upon the invitation of the Mayor and Corporation, the Congress this year will be held at Newcastle-on-Tyne.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 30TH, 1901.

W. DE GRAY-BIRCH, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A., IN THE CHAIR.

The following member was duly elected :—

Mons. L. Forrer, Edelweiss, Chiselhurst.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the respective donors of the subjoined presents to the Library :—

To the Smithsonian Institution for "Annual Report, 1898." Two vols.
 ,, Roumanian Government for "Fouilles et Recherches Archæologiques en Roumanie," per D. Medayano, 102, Victoria Street, S.W.

Mr. R. H. Foster gave an interesting and able lecture upon the Roman Wall, which was illustrated by over fifty lantern-slides, many of which were prepared specially for the purpose.

The following are Mr. Forster's own notes of those parts of his lecture which deal with the most recent discoveries and the conclusions based on them; together with four of the views which he exhibited, and which, by his kindness, we are enabled to publish.

SOME NOTES ON HADRIAN'S WALL.

1. *The Vallum at Downhill, near Corbridge.*—At this point the vallum, which has for a considerable distance been running parallel with the wall, makes a sharp angular bend, and skirts along the south side of Downhill, a prominent height formed by an outcrop of the limestone, while the wall keeps to the brow of the northern face of the hill. Here an ancient road has been discovered, cutting through the vallum; and it has been suggested the road is Roman, and the vallum, therefore, of an earlier date than the wall. Downhill, however, has been extensively wrought for limestone from an early period up to comparatively recent times, and it is somewhat doubtful whether any ancient road in its immediate neighbourhood can be definitely classed as Roman.

But even if we assume it to be a Roman road, the deduction as to the age of the vallum is not justified: it leaves out of account the length of the Roman occupation, which lasted for nearly three centuries. If the wall and vallum, viewed as one work, were designed not only as a defence against the north, and a means of protection in case of rebellion in the ultra-mural province, but also as a cordon or barrier for isolating that province from the unsettled country beyond the wall,

and for preventing the unsubdued clans from communicating with and fomenting rebellion amongst the conquered tribes, while the latter were settling down as peaceable subjects, then this secondary purpose would be fulfilled in the course of one or two generations; and after the province had become thoroughly settled and Romanised, it would no longer be necessary to maintain the vallum, the wall being sufficient for the defence against the north. It is therefore quite natural to find Roman roads interfering with the vallum, just as in many cases we find it obliterated in the neighbourhood of the stations; and this explains Horsley's statement that the military road, which accompanies the wall, runs in many places on the north agger of the vallum. In such cases the road has probably been diverted from its original line:



Vallum at Downhill.

except on the steeper slopes, there would be a tendency for the space between the wall and the vallum to become swampy—I have myself seen pools of water standing there two or three days after rain—and when the vallum had ceased to be necessary for its original purpose, the easiest way of avoiding such swamps would be to divert the road, where necessary, to the north agger.

At the west side of Downhill the vallum bends back, and resumes its usual position with regard to the wall. The whole diversion is probably due to a desire to avoid the necessity of rock-cutting, and perhaps also to keep the limestone free for quarrying. It is also possible that Downhill, which commands an extensive view, may have been an important look-out and signal station. Mr. W. E. Heitland, of St. John's College, Cambridge, has drawn my attention to the following passage in Vegetius, iii, 2: "Aliquantum in castellorum aut

urbium turribus adpendunt trabes, quibus aliquando erectis aliquando depositis indicant quae geruntur." This certainly seems to show that the Romans had some system of semaphore signalling; and if it were in use on the line of the wall, Downhill would undoubtedly be one of the signal stations, even if semaphores were not set up on all the mile-castles and turrets.

2. *The East and West Gates of Cilurnum.*—This station, like Amboglanna, had two eastern and two western gates, viz., a double-arched gate on either side, opening immediately to the north of the point where the wall joins the wall of the station, and a single-arched gate at either side, opening behind the wall on the line of the military road, there being thus three large gateways giving access to the extramural country. It is probable that the object of this arrangement was to enable cavalry (Cilurnum was garrisoned by the Second Ala of Asturians) to issue from the station with greater speed; and there is some evidence that a broad street ran round the northern half of the fort, close under the outer walls, connecting these three gates.

3. *Cilurnum: the Suburban Buildings by the River.*—These are an extensive range of buildings below and to the east of the station, in the angle between the river and the military road: they have been variously described as a bath or a temple, but in all probability they were a villa. The drains, tanks, and water-channels which remain are not more extensive than a villa would require, especially if we suppose it to have contained a small bath for private use. The supposition that it was a temple is based mainly upon the fact that an altar, dedicated to Fortuna Conservatrix, was found in the largest chamber. However, nearly all the altars dedicated to that goddess which this district has produced have been found in buildings which bear the appearance of villas or dwelling-houses, though they are often described as "baths" by old writers, who usually classed any building containing a hypocaust under that head without further inquiry. In a border region, where property was particularly liable to sudden destruction (and this very villa has at some date been destroyed and restored), an altar dedicated to Fortuna Conservatrix might very suitably be set up in a private house.

This chamber, which seems to have been the atrium, has in its western wall a series of seven round-topped niches, 3 ft. in height and 2 ft. in breadth, which possibly contained statues of the deities who presided over the seven planets and the seven days of the week. The niches are not unlike those which form part of the sculptures discovered at Old Penrith in 1813 (see *Lapidarium Septen-*

trionale, 805). These latter are five in number, and represent Apollo Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, and Venus, Diana and Saturn being lost.



Cilurnum : Niches in Villa.

At the back of the villa is a rectangular recess about 14 ft. square, which is bounded on three sides by the villa walls and is open at the back ; it seems to have been roofed over, and probably formed the



Cilurnum : Supposed Kitchen.

kitchen. I am informed that kitchens of this type are to be seen in Italy at the present day. In one of the interior corners of this recess, the hypocaust which heated the villa is brought outside the main

building, forming a kind of stone table, above which is a hatch, or window, opening into one of the adjacent rooms on the floor level. It is possible that this table formed a kind of "hot plate," on which the dishes were set until they were required; they would then be passed through the hatch to the triclinium within.

4. *The Ditches at Limestone Bank.*—Across the summit of Limestone Bank, the ditches of the wall and vallum have been cut with extraordinary labour through the hard basalt of the Great Whin Sill, and the place is of importance in considering the relation between the two lines. Elsewhere, as at Harlow Hill and Downhill, the vallum avoids places where the rock comes to the surface, if (apparently) it can do so without going to any considerable distance from the line of the



Recess in Wall, Cuddy's Crag.

wall; the same thing may be observed in the neighbourhood of the basalt hills from Sewingshields westward, on the southern slopes of which the rock is only thinly covered; there the vallum, though farther from the wall than elsewhere, is always in sight of it, and generally as near as the suitability of the ground for digging will allow. At Limestone Bank the vallum might have avoided this heavy rock-cutting, by taking a line considerably further to the south: but this would have increased the distance between the wall and vallum to an amount much greater than the space which separates them at any other point on the line.

5. *Alterations in the Thickness of the Wall.*—In many places the thickness of the wall is suddenly altered by an inset or offset on the south side, varying from 6 in. to 12 in. The theory of the late Dr.

Bruce—that such places show the points where two working parties joined up their sections—is insufficient. In most instances the insets occur in corresponding pairs, forming a long shallow recess in the south face of the wall, of a length varying from a few feet to about 30 yards; and in some cases the bottom course is not set back at all, or only for a portion of the length. The most curious instance of this kind of variation occurs just east of the Housesteads Mile-castle, where the changes are as follows: From the west, decrease, 10 in.; then straight for 16 ft. 6 in.; increase, 9 in.; then straight for 32 ft.; then another increase of 6 in., and a decrease of the same amount 7 ft. further on. Then straight for 73 ft. 4 in., at the end of which there is a decrease of 8 ins.

6. *Amboglanna*.—This station is of almost exactly the same design as *Cilurnum*, having two eastern and two western gates; but while at *Cilurnum* the wall joins the fort at the south side of the main east and main west gates, at *Amboglanna* it falls in with the north wall of the station. This must be considered in connection with the “turf wall” discovered by Mr. Cadwallader Bates at a little distance to the west of this place, and the additional ditch, which lies close to the so-called turf wall, on the north side, and is supposed by Dr. Bruce to have been a strengthening of the vallum. After examining the spot, I am inclined to believe that the turf wall has no real existence, and that the indications which gave rise to the idea rather point to the brink of the scarp of the ditch having been built up with turf—possibly the turf removed from the surface when the ditch was dug. This ditch really represents the original line of the works at this point. Between it and the road which now represents the site of the wall is a stretch of flat meadow land with deep drains, which clearly show that the place was formerly a marsh. The ditch of what I will call the original design passes to the south of this, and I have traced it from the point where it diverges from the ditch of the amended design, to within a few hundred yards of *Amboglanna*. Its direction, where it is last traceable, is such that, if the wall were standing at the usual distance from its southern edge, the wall would join the wall of *Amboglanna* at the south side of the larger western gate—exactly as it does at *Cilurnum*; and this is confirmed by *Maclauchlan's* survey. To the east of the larger eastern gate there is a mound of some length, which if prolonged westward would touch the wall of the station at the corresponding point. These facts, together with the analogy of *Cilurnum*, make it practically certain that the original design of the wall has been altered, though at present we cannot say definitely whether the wall was ever actually built on the more southern line:

the change may have been made after the ditch was dug, but before anything further was done. It may be that the space between the marsh and the edge of the Irthing ravine was found too narrow to contain the whole of the works without undue cramping ; or the change may have been occasioned by an alteration of the arrangement of the troops, by which the Cohors I Aelia Dacorum was stationed here, instead of the cavalry regiment for which Amboglanna seems to have been designed.

The series of views ended with that of the last fortress of which the name can be identified.—In view of the forthcoming Congress at Newcastle-on-Tyne, the lecture was much appreciated.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 6TH, 1901.

C. H. COMPTON, ESQ., V.-P., IN THE CHAIR.

The following new member was duly elected :

Sherborne School Library, per F. Bennett, Esq., The Parade, Sherborne.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the respective donors of the subjoined presents to the Library :—

To the Agent-General for New South Wales, 2, Victoria Street, S.W., for "The Climate," "The Fauna," "Forty Years Progress," "Agriculture," "The Mining Industry," and the "Timber Resources of New South Wales." Six pamphlets.

„ Royal Institute of British Architects, for "Journal," vol. viii, 3rd Ser. First Quarter Part "Congress Supplement," vol. vii.

The Rev. C. H. Evelyn White read a Paper on "Some Recently-discovered Earthworks, the supposed Site of a Roman Encampment, at Cottenham, Cambridgeshire." Several plans of the earthworks were supplied. These earthworks are of a very singular nature, extending over twenty acres of ground, and have hitherto been unnoticed, so far as the writer was aware. Immediately to the north of Cottenham parish church is the Cottenham Lode, and abutting upon this lode to the north-west is an unploughed field of about 8½ acres, in which are situated the principal entrenchments. This field is bounded on the north-east by the Car Dyke, while the roadway known as the Setchell Drove, running nearly parallel with Cottenham Lode, encloses it on that side. Here are visible large rectangular ramparts of chevron or zigzag formation, with a ditch on each side ; the forma-

tion extends into the field beyond the Setchell Drove, which cuts through it; and there are remains of geometrically-formed entrenchments in the surrounding fields. The trenches are well above the old water-level of the Car Dyke, and vary in depth from 6 ins. to 2 ft. Mr. White exhibited a large number of pieces of Roman and other pottery, which is found in abundance all over the site, Samian, Upchurch, and red ware, some bearing potters' marks and decoration. One fragment of the neck of a vase or urn bore an unusual type of ornament, in the shape of a series of straight lines going up from the collar. The only article of personal adornment found was a portion of a bone pin having a series of notches for ornament, somewhat resembling one illustrated in Keller's *Lake Dwellings*. The question to be decided by antiquaries was, whether these remains indicate the site of a British settlement or of a military position, as the peculiar formation of the entrenchments would rather suggest. A discussion followed, in which Mr. Bull (a native of Cottenham) described how his attention was directed to these earthworks. Mr. I. C. Gould said that, while there were undoubted traces of Roman occupation of the locality, it remained to be proved whether they had anything to do with the ramparts and ditch, which seemed to be rather mediæval, perhaps dating even from the Civil War of the seventeenth century. The Rev. H. D. Astley said that, if the Romans had an encampment here, it would probably have been of the usual rectangular formation; while if of earlier date, it would have been circular or oval, and would, besides, have been on some rising eminence. The chevron or zigzag formation seemed almost modern. There might very possibly, and as the abundance of pottery seemed to indicate, have been a station, or perhaps the villa-residence of a country gentleman, in Roman times. The Paper will be published.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 20TH, 1901.

R. W. KERSHAW, ESQ., F.S.A., IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the donors of the following presents to the Library:—

- To the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-on-Tyne for "*Archæologia Æliana*," vol. xxii, Pt. II, 1900.
 „ Powysland Club for "*Collections*," vol. xli, Pt. III, Dec. 1900.
 „ Somersetshire Archæological Society, for "*Transactions*," vol. vi, 3rd Ser., 1900.
 „ Sussex Archæological Society, for "*Collections*," vol. xliii, 1900.

A paper was read on "Some Old Halls in Wirral," by Mr. W. Ferguson Irvine, who illustrated it by many fine photographic views shown by the lantern. The Hundred of Wirral possesses many special characteristics, due mainly to its peculiar surroundings and situation. Wirral (or "Wurrall," as the old natives call it) is the tongue of land lying between the estuaries of the Mersey and the Dee, and contains the only coastline which Cheshire possesses; it is, in fact, a peninsula being connected with the rest of the county by one narrow end. The halls and manor-houses of Wirral differ in many respects from the rich examples of domestic architecture for which Cheshire is celebrated; nevertheless, they are not without quaint and picturesque features. One peculiarity about them is the half-timber construction, which is confined entirely to the frontages, the rest of the wall being of masonry. In Bidstone Hall we have a good specimen of the style of architecture of the early seventeenth century, the house being built in 1620 to 1622. In the deer park is still standing an old wall, over 6 ft. high and about 4 ft. thick, built of rough stones, which is referred to in almost every lease of the Hall as far back as 1609 as "the great stone wall." Its antiquity may be much greater, as tradition records it was built when wages were a penny a day. The wall is popularly known among the villagers as the "Penny-a-day Dyke." Chief amongst the buildings described and illustrated were Leasowes Castle; Storeton Hall, connected with many memories of the historic house of Stanley, dating from about 1360, and architecturally a good example of the fourteenth century; Shotwick Hall, and the partly timbered houses of Irby, Hooten, and Plessington. A somewhat unusual feature of these old halls is, that not one of them can boast of having been the residence of a king or queen; yet the histories of many of them, as told by Mr. Irvine, were romantic and interesting.





Antiquarian Intelligence.

The Commune of London, by J. HORACE ROUND, M.A. (London: Archibald Constable and Co., Westminster. 12s. 6d. nett).—The title of this important work, from the pen of Mr. Horace Round, is derived, not from the first but from the most interesting and valuable, of the essays it contains. These essays are chiefly connected with obscure points of English history of the twelfth century, and readers who are familiar with Mr. Round's *Geoffrey de Mandeville* and *Feudal England*, need not be told that this book also is the result of original research and industrial plodding among Pipe Rolls, charters, and other ancient documents. Mr. Round thus comes across numerous facts which disprove the statements and opinions of previous historians, who have been content to accept their information at second-hand. Too much praise can scarcely be awarded to him for the fresh and accurate knowledge he obtains, and the true light he throws on many dark pages of our early history. But his method of using his information is sadly to be deprecated. No one can read this work without a feeling of regret that so much ability should be devoted to the jealous ambition of proving that everyone else is wrong—and, after all, Mr. Round is not the only pebble on the beach of Norman history. It is not a very difficult matter to select some statement or theory from the numerous pages of a brother historian's work, and treat it to the familiar *reductio ad absurdum* process; but Mr. Round is not content with laying his competitor in the dust; he would even bring his work into contempt. For instance, speaking of one of the Rolls Series, he says: "That a certain percentage of mistakes must occur in works of this kind is, perhaps, to be expected; but when they are made the vehicle of confused and wild guesswork, and become the means of imparting wanton heresy and error, it is the duty of a scholar who can prove the fact to warn the student against their contents The further exposures of this official work, contained in these pages—especially in the Paper on "The Inquest of Sheriffs," which illustrates its wanton heresies—justify my demand that the authorities should withdraw it, till revised, from circulation." But this must be Mr. Round's idea of a very mild criticism indeed, as in *Feudal England* he

publicly proclaims the author in question "*my friend!*" Others he treats with scant courtesy: some are "pitfalls for the unwary," all are guilty of errors, some of "double errors," and one of "a series of fantastic errors." Personalities abound, but sometimes the innuendo is carefully veiled, as in the case of a well-known professor of history, who, "of course, questions my theory; but scholars, I understand, accept it." Finally certain names are selected to be pilloried in the index, followed by such expressions as "his errors," "misreads his MSS.," etc. Sometimes Mr. Round plays the rôle of his own critic in such modest terms as "my crushing *exposé* of Mr. Freeman's vaunted accuracy," and "because I exposed Mr. Freeman."

It is now a relief to turn from the mind to the matter; and the residue of the book, like all Mr. Round's writings, throws a flood of clearer, often of new, light upon every subject with which it deals. And various indeed are the topics included: "Place-Names in Sussex and Essex," "Anglo-Norman Warfare," "The Origin of the Exchequer," "The Inquest of Sheriffs (1170)," "The Conquest of Ireland," "Bannockburn," "The Marshalship of England," and half a dozen other kindred subjects. But "London under Stephen" and "The Commune of London" will appeal to most as the cream of a clever series. In "Anglo-Norman warfare" Mr. Round proves once more—and, surely, for all time—that the only defence of the English at the battle of Hastings was "the close array of the shield wall," and his arguments that the numbers engaged at the battle of Bannockburn have been grossly exaggerated are equally sound. We have nothing but praise for his masterly expositions of the value of the study of "Place-Names," and for all he has to say of the real origin of the terminations "ing," "ton," and "han" in opposition to the very doubtful theories of patronymics and Anglo-Saxon "totemism." This subject he has since pursued in a valuable Paper, read before the Congress of Archæological Societies in 1900.

In the Paper on the Conquest of Ireland, Mr. Round gives us a graphic picture of that distracted time, and clearly demonstrates that it was the dissensions of the Irish chieftains which rendered the conquest under Strongbow so comparatively simple a matter. Suddenly, the versatile author advances some eight centuries, and points a moral in modern Irish politics more suitable perhaps to a maker than to a recorder of history.

In "The Pope and the Conquest of Ireland," one of the most involved of the lesser problems of mediæval history is dealt with; but we feel that even now the last word has not been said upon the subject. Mr. Round rejects the Bull "*Laudabiliter*," but accepts the three letters

of Alexander III, which are in the Black Book. He thinks that Giraldus concocted "Laudabiliter" and the confirming Bull; but when he suggests that Giraldus joined in a conspiracy with some official English historians—we hesitate. However, his essay loosens if it does not untie the knot, and should hasten the time when it will be universally admitted that no race, party, or church among us can exploit the story of "Laudabiliter" to its own advantage.

Under the heading "The Origin of the Exchequer, Mr. Round explains in detail many interesting comparisons between the customs of payment as recorded in *Domesday* and those entered in the early Pipe Rolls. With most of his arguments historians will agree, but when he throws doubt upon the honesty of purpose of the author of the *Dialogue of the Exchequer*, by suggesting that he was "biassed by his eagerness to exalt Bishop Roger, his relative and the founder of his family," they will demur, for even Mr. Round's theory of his identity has yet to be proved.

Although chronologically separated in the text, the two essays on London should be read together; and if Mr. Round's chapters on the same subject in *Geoffrey de Mandeville* are also referred to, as vivid a picture of civic and domestic life in the twelfth century is presented as the most exacting of us could desire. In "London under Stephen," the author has relied for most of his material upon the charters of Holy Trinity Priory, Aldgate, and the Collegiate Church of St. Martin's-le-Grand. Some of the former are printed in the *Monasticon*, but Mr. Round, as usual, brings to light inedited MSS. from their obscurity, and from the whole selects the characters for the foreground of his picture until one can almost see them in life. One of these charters, which he assigns to the year 1137, relates to certain "land in dispute which was in East Smithfield, within the soke of the Cnihtengild, which lay outside the wall from Aldgate to the Thames, and therefore adjoined immediately the Tower precinct. The priory having now acquired the soke, complained that successive Constables of the Tower had encroached upon this land to make a vineyard." The cultivation of the vine was then making rapid progress in England, for though it is referred to in Henry I's Pipe Roll under three counties only, in Henry II's Early Rolls vineyards seems to have spread over most of the southern half of the country. The title to the land in dispute is, as Mr. Round points out, "carried back straight to the days of Edward the Confessor, and is decided by the oath of twenty-one men, familiar evidently with the locality;" but "that ancient and remarkable institution, the English Cnihtengild of London, remains shrouded in mystery. It is known to us only through the gift of its

soke to Holy Trinity Priory, and the consequent preservation among that Priory's monuments of charters confirming that soke from Edward the Confessor downwards." From this it seems clear that the Cnihtengild held the soke from Saxon times, and transferred it to the Priory by the charter of 1125. Mr. Round, however, does not notice that, according to a transcript of Queen Matilda's charter of 1108, she granted to the Priory "the gate of Aldgate, with the soke belonging to the same, which was my lordship." But this, though interesting as showing the large possessions of the Priory in that district, is perhaps outside Mr. Round's main object, which is to trace the history and follow the fortunes of the leading citizens, and prove their connection with the Cnihtengild and the various civic offices of the day. In so doing he upsets the previous theory that the grantees of the Cnihtengild soke in 1125 were admitted into the Priory as canons when they made their gift. In fact, to put it shortly, Mr. Round's "London under Stephen" may almost be called "Who was Who in 1136-54;" and not the least interesting of his many discoveries are those of the names of Gilbert Becket, as early as in the 1137 charter, and of Osbert Huitdeniers, the kinsman and employer of the great Archbishop, to whom another of 1139 is addressed.

"The Commune of London" is an essay of unfortunately only forty pages, but everyone of these bristles with points new and vital to the civic historian. Mr. Round is in his element, and one only regrets that the whole work was not devoted to London in the twelfth century. He puts aside the theory that the governing body of the City was ever the Cnihtengild as resting upon no foundation, and points out that "the only institutions of which we can be sure are the 'folkesmote' and the weekly 'husteng' of Henry I's charter, and the shrievalty." We wish he had also referred to and explained away the "*propositus* of London," to whom, jointly with the Bishop and Sheriff, Henry I addressed one or two of his charters; for this word has been, erroneously we think, translated "mayor," instead of its probable meaning, "port-reeve." We agree with the author that he has finally established his contention that Henry I's great charter to London must have been subsequent to the 1130 Pipe Roll, and that then, for the first time, the citizens elected and were governed by their own sheriff. It is highly improbable, as Mr. Round urges, that after the extreme partizanship shown by the citizens in the cause of Stephen against the House of Anjou, Henry II would further extend their privileges; and so it is not until October, 1191, that a Commune was granted to London. Like all early charters of privileges this entailed a considerable monetary payment to the Crown; and, unfortunately for our self-conceit,

it was not the outcome of gradual evolution from an elected sheriff to an elected mayor and Commune ; but, alas ! according to the author, "we find conclusive proof that the Commune of London derived its origin from that of Rouen." In the latter half of the twelfth century, Communes were established in many cities of the Continent, and Mr. Round gives cogent arguments in favour of the absolute identity of the constitution of that of London with the one established a few years earlier in our then Norman capital of Rouen. Thus, he infers that its system was transplanted bodily from that city, and was not the outcome of any previously existing administration. The crisis of October between King Richard's representative, Longchamp, and his brother John, in 1191, was London's opportunity ; and "finding that she held the scales, she promptly named the 'Commune' as the price of her support."

That a Commune did not necessarily entail a mayor is evidenced by Mr. Round in the instances of Beauvais and Compiègne ; but as long ago as in 1893 he "expressed a hope that some document might yet be discovered which would throw fuller light upon the mayor and on his connection with the 'Commune' of 1191." Now he has found it. We all know that the mayor is mentioned in King John's charter to London, but the indefatigable author has discovered a record of "the Mayor of the City of London" in the spring of 1193: thus proving a simultaneous, or almost simultaneous, origin to both Mayor and Commune. The document containing this tells us even more than Mr. Round ever expected, for, to quote his words, it "comes to our help with a flood of light, proving as it does that London, in 1193, possessed a fully developed *Commune* of the Continental pattern."

Space will not permit us to dwell on the remaining essays, and we must leave even untouched "Ingelric the Priest and Albert of Lotharingia," "The Inquest of Sheriffs," "The Coronation of Richard I," "The Struggle of John and Longchamp," "The Great Inquest of Service," "Castleward and Cornage," and "The Marshalship of England." Of these, perhaps, "Castleward and Cornage" more especially appeals to us ; but none should be omitted by the student of history, and all will repay thoughtful perusal, even when followed here and there by the query of the hesitating critic.

W. J. A.

Sweet Hampstead and its Associations. By Mrs. CAROLINE WHITE (London : Elliot Stock, 15s.).—We must devote some lines to a rather belated notice of this handsome volume, which we make no doubt has already taken a worthy place among the numerous publications of an antiquarian nature issued by the enterprising firm represented by Mr.

Stock. A pathetic interest is attached to the work, when we bear in mind that, as Mrs. White tells us in her Preface, "the first draft of



Holly-bush Hill, 1840.



Vale of Health, Hampstead, 1840.

the book was laid aside, but never forgotten, for more than thirty years (and those among the busiest of a busy life), and has only recently

been reverted to—a task bringing back images of the past, looked at from the perspective of eighty-nine years.”

And so, as an old inhabitant of the delightful suburb whose tale she unfolds, the authoress chats pleasantly of men and things through nearly four hundred pages, many of which are adorned with illustrations and portraits, which vividly recall the past and present condition and associations of the once-smiling village and now populous borough, to which she happily applies the epithet of Constable, who wrote of it: “When shall we see you at sweet Hampstead again?” Mrs. White is never deep, but she is never inaccurate ; she is somewhat diffuse, not to



Squire's Mount, about 1840.

say garrulous, but cannot that be forgiven to a lady, burdened with her “pile of years” ? The tale of Hampstead’s early history is rapidly passed over ; and then we meet, walking through her pages, in their habit as they lived, Evelyn, Pepys, Steele, Addison, Johnson and Boswell ; Joanna Baillie, Charles Lamb, Leigh Hunt, Keats, Shelley, and many another, whose names lend an undying lustre to that charming neighbourhood, and on whose history she has thrown much fresh light, and brought together much interesting information, and many forgotten incidents and memories. No reader who is touched with the halo of the past can fail to derive pleasure from a perusal of this book : some of the illustrations to which we are enabled, by the courtesy of the publishers, to reproduce.

History of Surrey. By HENRY ELLIOT MALDEN, M.A. (London: Elliot Stock, 10s. 6d.).—This is the latest volume in Stock's "Popular County History" series, and we have no hesitation in saying that it is by far the best of any hitherto published, not even excepting Mr. Conybeare's *History of Cambridgeshire*, which was remarkably good. We note with pleasure that the value of these volumes steadily increases as the series advances, and the too-popular character of the earlier books is being discarded for a more scientific treatment of the history of the several counties. The present volume will form an admirable introduction to the great *Victorian County History*, of which we believe we are right in saying that Mr. Malden has been chosen to edit the portion allotted to Surrey. In dealing with the events in the long story of England's development with which Surrey is more especially connected, the author shows a marked historic insight, keen critical acumen, and an instinct for dramatic arrangement. For, as he points out, this county has nothing particular, either in its boundaries or its situation, to mark it off from its neighbours, and it has always been to a certain extent subordinate to its great rivals north of the Thames. What is true of the county as a whole is exemplified by the position held by Southwark in relation to London. Surrey in pre-historic and early historic times is well dealt with; the account of the successive families who held the earldom of Surrey, Warren (or rather De Warenne), Fitz-Alan and Howard, is clear and accurate; and the story of the manors, of the feudal tenures, and of the growth of the towns, such as Guildford, Godalming, and Dorking, is ably told.

The author's reasons for holding that Gundrada, wife of the first William de Warenne, Earl of Surrey, was the step-daughter of William the Conqueror, *i.e.*, daughter of Matilda, the Conqueror's Queen, by a former husband, are cogent and forcible, and will we believe be now generally admitted.

Surrey played an important part in the history of the kingdom in Henry III's reign, when the Battle of Lewes placed the King and Prince Edward for a time in the power of Simon de Montfort and the justly-discontented barons—among whom, however, must not be reckoned John de Warenne, the then Earl, for he fought on the side of the King, and was among those who fled, too early, from the scene, and escaped abroad. The interest of Surrey in Elizabeth's days centres in her one great town, Southwark, with its dependencies of Bermondsey, Lambeth, Wandsworth, etc, for there the citizens of London amused themselves with bear- and bull-baiting; there, too, was the home of the first real national drama, several theatres being opened in the closing

years of the sixteenth century, the last being "the Globe Theatre in which Shakespere had a share," which was opened on Bankside in 1599. To go back for a moment, we must not forget that earlier scene, so graphically and humorously described by the "Father of English Poetry," when the pilgrims gathered at the sign of the "Tabard" in Southwark, ere starting on their eventful journey to Canterbury, to visit the shrine of St. Thomas à-Becket: a scene repeated over and over again during the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries.

What Southwark was to the citizens in the days of good old John Stowe, that the whole county is to-day—the playground of London, with practically no individuality of its own; existing only as a vast suburb to the great city, its healthy air and breezy downs, and woodlands and heaths, affording an indispensable breathing-space to the toilers of high and low degree. We heartily congratulate the author upon the production of this interesting book, which contains a useful Bibliography, and a good Index.

Bermondsey: its Historic Memories and Associations (London: Elliot Stock, 12s. 6d.).—This book deals in an interesting manner with the many-sided history of this now bustling and busy borough, whose present-day associations are mostly connected with the tan-yard.

To those who know Bermondsey in the full tide of business activity, it would often give pleasure to reflect upon the scenes and characters associated with this familiar place, because, in order to enjoy the history of the past, it is not necessary to be a *laudator temporis acti*. Reverence for antiquity is perfectly compatible with high appreciation of the advantages of the present, and the fullest use of its opportunities.

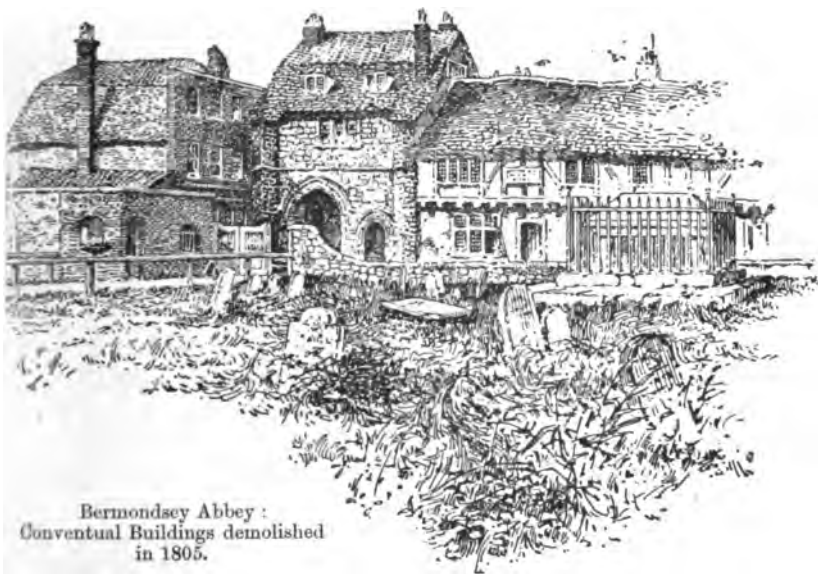
In ancient times Bermondsey was the "Westminster of South London," the seat of a great and famous Abbey, founded in the reign of William the Conqueror. Dynasties of English Sovereigns, Normans, Angevins, Lancastrians, Tudors, figure as patrons and benefactors of the Monastery. Bermondsey Abbey is linked with the names of William Rufus and Henry Beauclerc, Stephen of Blois and Henry Plantagenet, Edward III and Richard II, Henry IV and Henry VII; with those of Maud of Boulogne and Eleanor of Aquitaine, Katherine of Valois and Elizabeth Woodville.

As we review its story, the pageant of mediæval history seems to revive before us; the "stately monastery, with the good cheer in its refectory, and the high mass in its chapel," rises in all its majesty; we find ourselves "in the company of knights like those of Froissart, and pilgrims such as those who rode with Chaucer from the 'Tabard'"

For not sovereigns alone, but many of the greatest feudal barons, vied with one another in lavishing gifts upon the monastery, and paying honours to its occupants.

Nor, even with the fall of the monastery did greatness depart from Bermondsey. On the ruins of the Abbey arose Bermondsey House, built by Sir Thomas Pope, founder of Trinity College, Oxford, whose name belongs to history as the friend of Sir Thomas More and the guardian of Elizabeth at Hatfield.

After Sir Thomas, a still more illustrious personage chose the manor house as his residence : the famous Earl of Sussex, immortalised



Bermondsey Abbey :
Conventual Buildings demolished
in 1805.

by Sir Walter Scott in *Kenilworth*, the rival of Leicester and the patron of Raleigh, who died in June, 1583 "at his house in Bermondsey beside London," as Stowe has it. The author has written the history of the district with much pains ; his style is popular ; he deals well with his facts ; and many illustrations, together with a careful Index, make the book one which may be recommended not only to lovers of Bermondsey, of whom the author is certainly one, but to all lovers of antiquity.

The Oak Hamlet : a Short History of the Local and Personal Associations of the Village of Oakham, Surrey. By H. St. JOHN H. BASHALL (London : Elliot Stock, 5s.).—This is an example of a local and parish history, of which the get-up is considerably better than the matter.

The author is Parish Churchwarden, and a member of the Surrey Archaeological Society, and from his long residence in the neighbourhood ought to have been well qualified for his task. He seems to have gone to ancient documents, manorial rolls, the parish registers and *Domesday*, and from these and other historical sources he might have drawn information which would have been both new and useful, but his ability is not equal to his intention.

One or two mistakes must be noticed: the date of *Domesday* is 1085-6, not 1068 (p. 3); mal(e)practices is evidently intended instead of "male practices" (p. 41); and Henry VIII should be Henry VII (p. 52). But these are slight blemishes; others much more serious disfigure the book. The derivation of the name is, to say the least, doubtful; the supposed nunnery at Oakham, and its supposed underground connection with the monks at Newark, is quite imaginary; modern trivialities are used as padding, though its pages are few; and the list of "Kings and Queens of England" is an absurd addition to a local history. As a lecture the matter contained in this book was useful, but there was no further need for it. The illustrations, especially the reproductions of water-colour drawings of about 1830, give the book a value it would not otherwise possess.

Rambles Round the Edge Hills and in the Vale of the Red Horse. By the REV. GEORGE MILLER (London: Elliot Stock, 6s.). The author of these "Rambles" is already known by previous works on *The Parish Diocese of Worcester*, *Battle of Edgehill*, *Glossary of Warwickshire Words*, etc., and he tells us that this is the second edition, revised and enlarged, of the present work.

In that case it is a pity that he did not take more pains to be accurate and up-to-date in his information, and more consistent with himself in his opinions. For example, he mentions, in the Preface, "Gundred" (*sic*), and calls her the fifth daughter of William the Conqueror. If by "Gundred" he means, as we suppose, Gundrada, who married William de Warrenne, it is now the generally-received opinion that that lady was not the daughter of William I, but of Matilda, his Queen.

Again, his remarks on Place-Names ending with "ton," or "ham," or "ing," or "hampton," or "ington," or "ingham," are largely based on the exploded theories of Kemble and others as to Anglo-Saxon patronymics; and on this subject we would advise him to study Mr. J. Horace Round in the *Commune of London*, and also that writer's valuable pamphlet on "Place-Names," read before the Congress of Archaeological Societies in 1900, before he brings out a third edition

of his book. So much as to inaccuracy ; as to inconsistency, we would refer the reader to the author's remarks on the derivation of the word *hide* on p. 45, and ask him to compare it with what is said on p. 126. Both (or rather, the *three*, for there are really two on p. 126) derivations cannot each be right. Which does the author attach himself to ?

The book seems, indeed, to have been put together with some haste and carelessness, in spite of the revision and enlargement ; and the author in more than one instance repeats himself, *e.g.*, a whole paragraph on p. 171 is repeated virtually word for word on p. 194.

In spite, however, of these and other defects which might be noticed did space permit, the book is not without its value. The author discourses pleasantly upon a most delightful part of England ; and as he carries the reader with him among the towns and villages of the Edge Hills, he has many a "quaint and curious story" to tell of what would otherwise be "forgotten lore." His description of the Battle of Edgehill, with the accompanying plans, is good. In the Appendix he gives a really graphic, and for the most part accurate, picture of rural life in bygone days ; and the Tables of prices and values are carefully compiled. The *Glossary of Warwickshire Words* contains many which are not peculiar to the district, and some, such as *bimeby*, *bullyrag*, *half-baked*, to *jack up*, *yarly*, etc., which are mere colloquialisms ; but in these days of a growing uniformity, owing to the spread of an identical system of education throughout the country, all dialectical words and phrases are worthy of preservation.

This is, on the whole, a book that is worth making better than it is.

A small book which we have also received from Mr. Stock, entitled, *The Minor Writings of Charles Dickens*, by F. G. KIRTON (4s. 6d.) is the latest volume of "The Book-Lovers' Library," and is as neat and daintily got up as usual. It can hardly be considered of antiquarian interest, but, containing as it does a full bibliography of all the lesser writings of the great novelist, it is certainly a book which no lover of Dickens "should be without." In these days of rampant sensationalism, any book which stimulates an interest in Charles Dickens—who, with all his faults of style and occasionally false sentiment, was a true student of human nature—is to be welcomed.

Contents-Subject Index to General and Periodical Literature. By A. COTGREAVE, F.R.Hist.S. (London : Elliot Stock, 7s. 6d.)—We have much pleasure in recommending this work to the attention of our members. The author is Librarian of the West Ham Public

Library, and of the Guille-Allés Library, Guernsey, and this volume may be viewed as an attempt, and a very successful one, of one busy Librarian to give some idea of the value of such an index, if the work were undertaken by a body of experts, and it were published periodically. We have tested it on such subjects as "Folk-lore," "Architecture," "Abbeys," "Castles," "History," "Biology," "Natural Science," etc., and have found the information conveyed full and complete within its compass. Such a bibliography is calculated to save much valuable time, and the present is a praiseworthy and meritorious commencement.

Discovery of a Neolithic Burial in Egypt.—One of the most interesting of recent "finds" is described above. We subjoin the inscription on the tablet in the British Museum, where the body of this long-departed chieftain now safely rests. It runs as follows:—

"Body of a man who was buried in a shallow oval grave hollowed out of sandstone on the west bank of the Nile, in Upper Egypt. Before burial the body was treated with a preparation of bitumen, and was arranged in the posture in which it now lies—on its left side, with the hands before the face, and the knees drawn up nearly level with the chin. The grave (which has been roughly imitated by the model here exhibited) was covered with slabs of unworked stone; and in it, beside the body, were disposed flint knives and a number of vases, partly filled with the remains and dust of funeral offerings. The man probably belonged to a fair-skinned, light-haired race, which may be regarded as one of the aboriginal stocks of Egypt, whose settlements are usually found on the west bank of the Nile. The style of the flint implements found in the grave indicates that the man lived in the early Neolithic period of Egypt, that is to say, in remote ages long before the rule of Menes, the first historical King of Egypt."

It may be added that his skull is of the shape known to histologists as dolichocephalic, and that possibly the race came originally from Asia. His height, if he were standing up, would be 5 ft. 9 ins.

Discovery of a Neolithic Cemetery in Cornwall.—The following account of one of the most striking of the British discoveries of the past year, is taken from the *Athenæum*:—

"A discovery of the highest importance to the study of the prehistoric races inhabiting England before the first Roman invasion, has recently been made in a remote corner of Cornwall. On a sloping sandy hillside, overlooking the picturesque white sand bay of Harlyn, excava-

tions were being made by Mr. Reddie Mallett for sinking a well, preparatory to building a house overlooking the sea. The spot selected for boring turned out to be exactly in the centre, not of a tumulus containing but two or three interments, but of a perfect cemetery, with three distinct layers of burials of men, women, and children. The drift-sand, that is so extensive in this part of Cornwall, rose some 8 ft. to 10 ft. above the graves, but when the original, hardly-compressed sand was reached, the great slates with which the cists were carefully formed, were often not more than 2 ft. below this surface.

“Of these cists some forty to fifty have been discovered. Unfortunately, the discovery was not at first thought of importance, and some graves and their contents were destroyed; but, on finding more, Mr. Mallett (with the valuable aid of Mr. W. T. Crank, of Clifton, who happened to be staying in the neighbourhood) carefully preserved, and Mr. Crank photographed, the finds; and then the Rev. W. Iago, the well-known Cornish antiquary, visited the spot, and, acting for the Society of Antiquaries, the British Museum, and the Royal Cornish Institution, at once proceeded to open carefully other cists, and make plans and drawings of their position and contents. In a few days he was assisted by the Rev. S. Baring-Gould, and a tent was erected for protecting the finds as excavated, watchers appointed, and the public restrained from damaging or carrying away bones or *trouvailles*.

“It was deeply interesting to work down amidst the overdrifted sand of modern days to the huge slabs of slate that we now know covered the remains of a people of pre-Christian days. In the best preserved cists we came upon an upper slab of slate, some 3 ins. to 5 ins. thick, and 4 ft. long by 2 ft. to 2½ ft. broad, supported on four upright slabs, these being retained in position by boulders of spar. Often this slate was nearly resolved again into its original mud, but at other times it was perfectly firm and hard. On working away this shale, and lifting the great slate, below would be seen oftentimes a perfect skeleton, lying on its left side, with hands brought up to the shoulders and knees to the chest, the heads in nearly all cases to the north, and facing to the east. This is exactly as the early burials are depicted in Bateman's *Ten Years' Diggings*, and in Jewett's *Grave Mounds*. The one thing that was disappointing was the scarcity of implements or weapons, and the utter absence of pottery. Three spinning-whorls were found, several slate knives or dagger-heads, two halves of a well-worked slate (?) arm-ring, two copper rings, much encrusted and oxidized; and, on the day I left the diggings, an apparently iron fibula,

with its clasp. Some large broken teeth were also found, said to be those of an ox.

“The skulls were of the dolicho-cephalic order, the teeth in many being well preserved, ground down flat with work, and most of them entirely free from signs of caries. Feeling that it was of the utmost importance these skulls should be scientifically examined, I suggested Dr. John Beddoe should be sent for. On writing to him I found that, although he was at the British Association meeting, he was willing to come down; and Mr. Baring-Gould arranged that the whole of the skulls and the complete skeletons should be packed in cases, specially prepared, for his thorough examination; and on September 11th we drove out with Dr. Beddoe, who made a careful examination of the site and of the cists, witnessing the opening of several, and taking measurements of some of the skulls and bones. The longest femur measured $17\frac{1}{2}$ ins., giving a man of about 5 ft. 6 ins.; and the skulls he then was able to measure Dr. Beddoe pronounced of the Neolithic order; but he is to make a careful examination of the whole, and will report upon them to the Societies who have interested themselves in, and subscribed for, the work. Many of the bodies were buried without cists, and tiny cists for little children were discovered; sometimes a skeleton would be found above the slate that covered an earlier burial, and apparently there were three generations of burials. Harlyn Bay lays two-and-a-half miles south-west of Padstow, and is in the centre of numerous tumuli, many of which have been opened, as those on Bray Hill, on the north shore of the Padstow estuary. Some brilliant red sand, found on the surface of the lower stratum of the local brown sand, suggests the presence of iron, and there are other problems yet to be worked out in this highly interesting discovery. It would have been well if the whole site could have been covered in, and the discovery preserved intact and *in situ*. In Austria or Germany this would have been done by the Government.

“JAMES BAKER.”





THE JOURNAL

OF THE

British Archaeological Association.

JUNE 1901.

THE ABBEY OF ST. MARY DE PRATIS, LEICESTER.

BY C. H. COMPTON, ESQ., V.-P.

(*Read at the Leicester Congress, August 1st, 1900.*)



AS a preliminary to the investigation of the history of this important monastic institution, it will be well to ascertain who was its founder. That he was one Robert de Beaumont, who lived some time between the invasion of William, Duke of Normandy, until after the accession of Henry II is clear enough; but there were, during that period, several persons of that name whom our early chroniclers have somewhat mixed up. With the aid of the valuable Paper on the "Genealogy and Armorial Ensigns of the Anglo-Norman Earls of Leicester," read by the late Mr. Planché ("Rouge Croix"), at our former Congress in this town in 1862,¹ and the authorities he has referred to, we may venture on the authenticity of the following account:—

In the year A.D. 1107, according to Ordericus Vitalis, the earldom of Leicester, which had remained in the hands of the sovereign from the death of Edwin in 1071,

¹ Published in vol. ii of *Collect. Archaeologica*, Pt. I, p. 30.

was bestowed by King Henry I on his chief councillor and firm adherent, Robert de Beaumont (otherwise Belmont and Bellomont, Comte de Meulan, son of Roger de Beaumont, Seigneur de Pontauderner, by Adelina, daughter of Waleran de Meudan : her brother Hugh having assumed the monastic habit, and died in the odour of sanctity without issue. Robert de Beaumont obtained from Henry, King of France, for a sum of money, the castle of Meulan, and succeeded his uncle in the Comté. Accompanying his father Roger, "the old Sire de Beaumont," in the invading army of Duke William,¹ he distinguished himself by his valour at the Battle of Hastings ; for which eminent service he had conferred upon him (*inter al.*) the greater part of sixteen lordships in Leicestershire, which his father, Roger de Beaumont, had previously possessed. This Robert, Earl of Leicester and Comte de Meulan married² "the beautiful Isabel, niece of the King of France, by whom he had twin sons, Waleran and Robert, who were born in 1104, and another son, called Hugh the Poor, with five daughters." This lady, who was daughter of Hugh the Great, Comte de Vermandois, son of Henry I, King of France, and brother of Philip, King of France, is often called Elizabeth ; and Mr. Nichols, in his *History of Leicester*,³ says, perhaps, Isabella might be the first wife. Mr. Planché says : "Mr. Nichols does not seem to be aware that the names Isabella and Elizabeth are identical."

We learn from Ordericus that Henry I had kindly

¹ In the *Battle Abbey Roll*, so ably edited by the late Duchess of Cleveland, she says, speaking of Roger Beaumont, that he furnished sixty vessels to the Conqueror's fleet, and Wace places him on the Roll of the Norman Chiefs at Hastings ; but both William de Porton and Ordericus state that he remained in Normandy, as President of the Council appointed by the Duke to assist the Duchess in the government, sending his young son Robert to win his spurs at Senlac (vol. i, p. 145). And the *Dictionary of National Biography*, under the head of "Robert de Beaumont," follows the Duchess's account, and states that Roger de Beaumont remained in Normandy, and sent his sons with William ; and of these Robert fought at Senlac, though confused with his father by Wace.

² Ordericus Vitalis, Bk. xi, c. 2.

³ Vol. i, p. 23 (n).

brought up, as if they were his own children, Waleran and Robert, the twin sons of Robert, Comte de Meulan, from the time of their father's death ; for the King loved him much, because, in the beginning of his reign, he had greatly aided and encouraged him. These two young men, on arriving at the proper age, received knighthood at the King's hands ; and Robert, who was known as Robert Bossu, received the earldom of Leicester in England.

He took an active part in advancing Stephen's claim to the Crown, and is spoken of as famous for wisdom, piety, and learning. King Stephen, in A.D. 1139, made him Earl of Hereford, in addition to the earldom of Leicester ; but this latter title did not survive to his heirs. He married Amicia, the great-grand-daughter of William Fitz-Osborne, the first Earl of Hereford after the Conquest.¹

On the accession to the throne of England of Henry II, or not long afterwards, Robert de Bossu was appointed by that King his High Justiciary and President of the Court of Exchequer. The former of these offices was the highest in the realm, and must not be confounded with that of Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench. The holder of this office was, in fact, the *alter ego* of the King when he was absent from the kingdom. The office is the same as is mentioned in the Seventh "Constitutional" of Clarendon, providing that abbots and others who held of the King should not be put under excommunication or interdict, unless the King should have been previously resorted to for redress, or his Justice, if the King were out of the realm.²

¹ Nichols's *History of Leicester*, vol. i, p. 29.

² Henry III's attempt to render this office subservient to the arbitrary and corrupt practices of the Crown was one of the grievances of the Barons, who insisted that the appointment should be by the King with the assent of the Common Council of the realm. Henry yielded, and from that time nothing more was heard of a High Justiciar of England (Nichols, *vid. sup.*, vol. i, p. 32). Subsequently, when the King left England temporarily, he appointed a substitute under the title of *Custos Regni*, or *Custos Angliæ*, *Et. gr.* 18 Richard II. Edmund, Duke of York, was *Custos Regni* when the King went to Ireland ; and in 7 Henry V, the patent appointing the Earl of Ormond

In the capacity of Justiciary, Robert Bossu was present in 1162, at the final arrangements between the Church of Lincoln and the Monastery of St. Albans. And again, in 1165, when Reginald, Archbishop of Cologne, came to Westminster for the marriage of the Princess Matilda to Henry, Duke of Saxony, and the King and his Council were ready to receive him, the Earl of Leicester refused to accept his kiss of salutation, because the Archbishop stood excommunicated by Pope Alexander, whom England had recognised as lawful Pope.¹ He appears to have held this office until his death. Hovenden, in recording the events of the year 1168, says: "In the same year died Robert, Earl of Leicester, Justiciary of England."²

This Robert de Bossu, Earl of Leicester and Hereford, Chief Justiciary of the Realm and President of the Court of Exchequer, was the founder of St. Mary de Pratis Abbey, at Leicester.

It came into being in the following manner: When Robert, Count de Mellent, the father of Robert Bossu, came to England, and Henry I bestowed upon him the earldom of Leicester, he rebuilt the Church of St. Marie *infra et juxta Castellum*, which had been destroyed in the time of the Conqueror, and placed in it twelve secular canons and a dean, to whom he gave all the churches in Leicester except St. Margaret's, which was a prebend of Lincoln, and endowed them with other lands and possessions. Robert, Earl of Leicester, the father, died A.D. 1118, and Robert Bossu succeeded to the earldom of Leicester, with its revenues. In the year of grace 1143 he, with the consent of Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln, founded the Monastery of the Blessed Mary de Pratis of Leicester, and gave to them the church of St. Mary *infra Castellum*, and all the church's lands and possessions of the canons secular, with many others which he transferred to regular canons. And he in the same monastery, with the consent of Amicia his wife, was made

Viceroy of Ireland for two years is tested by Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, *Custos Angliæ* (see Prynne's *Animadversions* for other instances: 14 Edward III and 21 Edward III).

¹ Matth. Paris, *Hist. Maj.*, vol. ii, p. 219, Rolls Ed. (Luard).

² Vol. i, p. 212, Giles Transl.

a canon regular; and so remained, as Knighton tells us, for fifteen years, and died in the Abbey, and was buried on the south side of the choir of the Abbey Church, Anno Gratæ 1167, though some place his death in 1168 and others in 1169.

He founded several other monasteries, among which was that of Eaton, into which Amicia his wife, with the assent of her husband, entered as a nun for the residue of her life. As Knighton says in his Chronicle,¹ “unde ipse factus est canonicus regularis, et illa sanctimonialis.” From these events the convent was known as Nuneaton. The Countess Amicia died on September 1st (St. Giles’s Day)—the exact year is not known—and was there buried.

Sir William Dugdale suggests a doubt as to the Earl having entered the monastery—Mr. Nichols says “very properly.” “We have shown,” he says, “that he was busily engaged in secular employments; and the fact is that, after having been the founder of that Abbey, his name was of course enrolled in that fraternity, as was the custom of the times, that he might have the more immediate benefit of all the devout suffrages, fastings and alms, of the members of that religious society.” It is also observable that, as he was in the exercise of his active functions as High Justiciar and President of the Court of Exchequer in the years 1162-1165, and died at the latest in the year 1169, there would have been no time for him to have completed fifteen years of retirement in the cloister. To do so, he must have entered in the year 1154, the first of Henry II’s reign, and thus we should have to ignore the whole of his official position, and the events of 1162-1165.

In the *Battle Abbey Roll*, the Duchess of Cleveland, speaking of Robert Bossu having founded the Abbey of Leicester, says: “He himself wore the habit of a Canon Regular of Leicester Abbey for fifteen years before his death in 1167; though, as he continued in secular employments and was Justiciary at the same time, the strict observance of the rule of the cloister must in his

¹ No. XVII, *Ex. Chron. MS.* Hen. Knighton in *Bibl. Cotton.* lib. ii, cap. 2.

case have been dispensed with.¹ This seems a fair way of harmonising the conflicting statements on this question. She describes him as a powerful and crafty chief, of whom it may be affirmed that his policy was as crooked as his back. This is the only (and not a very kindly) allusion I have met with to his infirmity, which does not seem to have interfered with his physical or mental vigour. Dr. Staveley, whose "History of Leicester Abbey" Mr. Nichols has inserted *verbatim* as a preface to his history of the Abbey, gives as a motive for the foundation of the Abbey: that the Earl, having been very stubborn and undutiful to his prince, and a great stickler in some dangerous commotions, when growing in years, meditated the expiation of such crimes, particularly the injuries he had brought upon Leicester, by founding and endowing of this and some other religious houses. Nichols describes Robert de Bossu as famous for wisdom, piety, and learning, and I cannot find anything in opposition to this character. It may be that Dr. Staveley is confusing Robert Bossu with his son Robert Blanchemains, who succeeded his father in the earldom of Leicester, but not in that of Hereford, and who espoused the cause of Henry II's son against his father, and was several times taken prisoner, with his wife Petronilla, during the wars which were waged between the father and the son.

In the edition of *Camden's Britannia*, by Gough,¹ it is said that, "on the transfer of the revenues of St. Mary de Castro to St. Mary de Pratis, Robert Bossu, that he might not totally seem to destroy his father's foundation, with the consent of Richard, the first Abbot,² placed eight canons in the church of St. Mary de Castro, whereof one was dean, and endowed these churches with the oblations, etc. These continued till the general dissolution, and there still remained in the vestry a chest called an "Ark," in which there is a convenience for hanging their several vestments."

The Abbey being thus founded and endowed, soon obtained a large accession of lands and possessions.

The charters of foundation and endowment are set

¹ Vol. i, p. 148.

² Vol. ii, pp. 202-3 [1789].

forth *verbatim* in Dugdale's *Monasticon*. They are all, with one exception, without dates, and are taken from the *Cottonian* and *Bodleian MSS*. The earliest of these, after the charter of foundation, is one of King Stephen,¹ by which he granted to Robert, Earl of Leicester, to found a church of St. Mary, etc., and there to constitute an Abbey, etc. And he granted to God and the Blessed Mary, and Richard, Abbot, and the regular canons, all gifts which Robert, Earl of Leicester, gave, granted, acquired, or should acquire, or which should be given to them in frankalmoign.

Amicia, the Countess of Leicester, gave four libratas of land in Everlas.

In 1148 the Abbot and Convent obtained several material privileges from Pope Eugenius III, which were confirmed by succeeding Pontiffs.²

After the death of Robert Bossu, his son Robert Blanchmains confirmed to the Abbey all that his father had given in the original charter of foundation, and in addition a stag every year on the day of the Assumption of the Blessed Mary, and another stag on the Nativity of our Lord; and license to fish in his great fish-pond at Groby four days in the year, *scil.*: the Vigil of the festivals of the Purification, the Annunciation, and Nativity; and Henry II confirmed the previous grants by his charter, which is shown by an *Inspeximus* of 10 Edward III.³ This charter was granted to the canons regular and the church of St. Mary de Pratis, Leircestræ.

There is also a charter of confirmation by Robert, son of Petronilla (wife of Robert Blanchmains) of all gifts of his grandfather and father;⁴ and another by the Countess Petronilla, confirming all gifts which Robert the Earl, her son, gave to the Abbey. Nichols says⁵ that this lady built a fair church to the Abbey, which was dedicated in the year 1279, and that she was buried

¹ *Ex Registro Abbatie in Bibl. Bodl. fo. 22.*

² *Dugd., Monast.*

³ *Cart. 10 Edward III, m. 2 n. 1 per Inspex. Vid. Etiam Cart.*

² *Edward II, n. 10.*

⁴ *Ex. Bodl.*

⁵ *History of Leicestershire, vol. i, Pt. II, p. 254.*

in the choir thereof before the high altar ; but in a note he says Leland notices no more than one tomb in Leicester Abbey, and seems to have been uncertain whether it were this lady's or the tomb of the founder ; he says . " Other [either] Robert Bossu, Earl of Leicester, or Petronilla, a Countess of Leicester, was buried in a ' tombe ex marmore chalchedonico ' in the wall of the south of the high altar of St. Marie Abbey of Leycester."¹ Nichols says : " It is memorab'le also of this lady that, in a devotional fit, she made a long rope or plait of her own hair, to be used with a pulley to draw up the great lamp in the choir, which was afterwards kept there for a long time as a precious relic." The dubious manner in which Leland speaks of this lady's tomb, and also the doubt thrown on the date of her death, may be prudently left as they stand. Petronilla's husband, Robert de Blanchmains, died 1190 ; and if she built the Abbey Church, which was dedicated in A.D. 1279, and was buried there, she must have sufficiently exceeded the then average rate of mortality to have deserved a special notice from cotemporary chroniclers.

Henry II granted and confirmed whatever Robert, Earl of Leicester, gave them, and whatever had been given or should be given ; and in the sixth year of his reign King John gave the Abbey a charter of confirmation, " Dat per manum I de Well apud Wigorn XXIII die Marcii anno, etc., VI."

This Abbey, having been founded by a subject, was not held of the King in capite per baroniam, and consequently the Abbot was not legally capable to be summoned to Parliament. Notwithstanding this, there are several instances amongst the records of the Abbots being summoned by writ, but on petition they were discharged, and eventually, in 26 Edward III, the King, on the petition and agency of William le Chowne, an eminent Abbot of the Abbey, granted that the Abbot and his successors should for ever after be eased and discharged, of their attendance in Parliament ; for which, says Staveley, the said William Chowne is celebrated

¹ Lel., *Itin.*

as a great benefactor to his house; and after he had most commendably governed it thirty-three years, he died XI Kal. Feb., 1377.

Other Abbots of note have been of this house, amongst whom Gilbert Folliott is very memorable; and in this (says Staveley) Bale has discovered an error of Matthew of Westminster, who says he was Abbot of Gloucester.¹

Henry de Knighton, so-called because born at Knighton, a neighbouring town, was a canon in this house in the reigns of Edward III, Richard II, and Henry IV: Mr. Burton mistaking when he said he was Abbot there.² His Chronicles, covering the period from the earliest Saxon kings to the deposition of Richard II, now form part of the Cottonian Collection of MSS. at the British Museum.

Several kings have been here entertained and lodged in their journeys to and from the North; particularly, a great entertainment and lodging was once given to King Richard II and his Queen, with their retinue.³ It is also well known that in this Abbey died Cardinal Wolsey, on his way to the Tower after his fall, and that he was there buried; in the words which Shakespeare used in pronouncing his *requiescat in pace*, "then, and not till then, he felt himself and found the blessedness of being little."

It may be curious, says Dugdale,³ to notice that in one of the MSS. in the British Museum, formerly Dr. Chas. Burney's No. 357, are, "Versus Sygerii Lucani in sanctorum laudem monachorum," at the end of which it is said: "Robert Comes Leicestriæ solebat hos versus memoritur recitare." The verses and the remarks are in a hand certainly not later than the twelfth or thirteenth century.

The first Abbot was Richard, of whom mention has been made before, and who was elected in 1144. John Bouchier occurs in 1534 on August 11th, in which year he, with certain members of his convent, subscribed to the King's supremacy. He surrendered his office in 1539. Nichols says he was one of the latest surviving

¹ Nichols' *Leicester*, vol. i, p. 225.

² *Id.*, 256.

³ *Monasticon*.

Abbots, having received a general pardon from the King as late as the month of August, 1584.¹

	£	s.	d.
The revenues at the Dissolution were valued at ...	1062	0	4½
Deduction	110	5	11
	<hr/>		
	£951	14	5½

The site of the Abbey was granted in the 4 Edward VI to William, Marquis of Northampton;² it now belongs to the Earl of Dysart, and is let by him to a tenant, who has a modern residence within the walls near the entrance, and cultivates the ground as a fruit and flower garden. Parts of the old buildings are retained in the modern outbuildings. The outer wall of the Abbey remains in good preservation, owing to its repair from time to time which, though it will not deceive the expert's eye, may yet in some parts puzzle the less experienced observer. The courtyard through which the Abbey is entered remains surrounded by walls, and the gateway into the Abbey exists, and is pointed out as that through which Cardinal Wolsey entered on his last journey. Over this gateway there are remains of some buildings of the Tudor period. There is no trace of the Abbey Church visible, or of any of the conventual buildings except those already noticed. Should, however, excavations on a thorough and judicious plan be undertaken, we cannot doubt that very valuable and interesting discoveries would be brought to light.

¹ Nichols' *Hist.*, vol ii, Pt. II, p. 275 ; Dugd., *Monast.*, by Caley, etc., vol. vi, p. 462 *et seq.*

² Dugdale, *ubi sup.*





TWO NORFOLK VILLAGES.

BY THE REV. H. J. DUKINFIELD ASTLEY, M.A.



IN a country like ours, with a history extending over two thousand years, and with a prehistoric period reaching back to the dim and distant past, there is no village, however seemingly prosaic to-day, that has not its story of romantic interest for the intelligent investigator.

This is strikingly illustrated by the two villages, East and West Rudham, of which I am, within the limits of a Paper, to endeavour to unfold the tale.

Situated on the main road running from Lynn to Fakenham, at a distance of 16 miles from the former and 7 miles from the latter town, at the head-waters of the river Wensum, which rises here, in a gently undulating district, with a range of low hills to the north, Rudham lies in the heart of an Anglian locality. It is surrounded by places having names that tell of Anglian settlement, the *ingtons* and *inghams* so dear to speculative historians—as Hillington, Massingham, Dersingham, Sandringham, etc. I need not say that I am not convinced by Mr. Walter Rye's very ingenious attempt to prove from these and other place-names in East Anglia a *pre-Roman* Danish, or Scandinavian occupation of the district.

I rather agree with Mr. J. Horace Round whose able and learned Paper in *The Commune of London* has, in my opinion settled the point, viz., that the ending "ham" is *older* than "ton;" that the people who settled the "hams" came in boats up the rivers, and that "ingham" and "ington" denote an Anglian and *not* a Saxon settlement (*The Commune of London*, pp. 4, 8, 16).

Of Rudham in prehistoric times there is unmistakeable

evidence. Numerous Celts of Neolithic workmanship have been found in gravel pits within the limits of the parishes, but all except one are unfortunately lost.¹ The Neolithic population of this neighbourhood must have been numerous, and had arrived at a superior stage of culture. Their remains abound in the district.

There are no actual traces of the Roman occupation, though the tramp of the Roman "legions," as they passed from camp to camp, must often have been heard in its neighbourhood, for it lies in the direct line of march between the two great camps of Castleacre and Brancaster (the Roman Branodunum, the headquarters of the Counts of the Saxon Shore), and the ancient trackway known as the "Peddar's Way,"² no doubt an Icenian highway, before the Romans utilised it for military purposes, skirts its borders. Indeed, a watch-tower, long known as Roman and said to contain undoubted remains of Roman brickwork, existed not long ago within the limits of East Rudham; but unfortunately it was pulled down, and every vestige of it has vanished.

It is said that a little pot containing a number of Roman coins was found in the ruins of Coxford Priory in the year 1719, but pot and coins alike have been lost.

From the day when the Romans departed, through all the sanguinary struggles that accompanied the founding of the heathen kingdom of the East Angles; through the period of the introduction of Christianity, and its estab-

¹ This one I exhibited. It is remarkably fine and of beautiful finish and polish. It is from the collection of Dr. Manby, of East Rudham.

² The Peddar's Way runs down to the coast between *Brancaster* and *Hunstanton*, and gets lost beyond *Castleacre* at the other end; but there is no doubt that it ran, in Roman days, on to *Brandon*, thus connecting the two *Branodunums*. We would call attention to this name, which in the latter case is pure Celtic, in the former, united to *Castra*. *Bran* in Welsh means *Crow* or *Raven*, and is connected with the name of the Celtic chieftain *Brennus*. *Branodunum* is "the town and camp of *Brennus*," whose tribal totem was a crow or raven—cf. the name "Castel Dinas y Bran" at *Llangollen* in North Wales.—*Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, vol. xxxiv, p. 97.

An ancient grass-grown British trackway also runs between *Raynham* and *Creake* to *Brancaster*, skirting *Rudham* and passing an ancient earthwork at *South Creake*, known locally as the "*Burh Diks*," and marked on the Ordnance Map as a Danish Encampment.

lishment under good Bishop Felix and his successors, supported as they were by the pious efforts of King Anna and his saintly daughters, Sexburga, Etheldreda, Ethelberga, Witberga, and Hilda;¹ through all the wars between Anglian and Dane, down to the period of the "Survey" after the Norman Conquest, the history of Rudham is a blank. Some, indeed, would find in its name a hint of its early devotion to the Christian faith, or try to see in it a place consecrated by some holy shrine—Rudham: Rud being connected with *rood*, the Cross, thus making it "the Hamlet of the Cross;" but this is pure conjecture, and, indeed, as in other cases, the place-name is most probably derived from the first Anglian settlers who took up their dwelling here.

At the time of the "Survey," Rudham, not yet divided into East and West, belonged to William, Earl Warrenne, to whom vast possessions in these parts had been assigned by the Conqueror; and who had his headquarters in the mighty keep which he erected within the bounds of the Roman fortified camp at Castleacre.²

We will deal first with the fortunes of East Rudham, including Coxford Priory. This portion belonged at the Conquest, so *Domesday* informs us, to Toka, a Saxon Thane, who had in the reign of the Confessor, six vills, sixteen borderers, and three servi, with six carucates; now (the "Survey"), one carucate and three acres of meadow land belonging to his tenants, two mills, one salt work, two churches endowed with sixty acres, fourteen breeding mares, and four hundred sheep, etc., that pastured in the woods. It extended into many of the neighbouring villages, valued in the whole at £8 in King Edward's

¹ Sexburga married Erconbert, King of Kent; retired to a convent at Sheppey, but later joined her sister Etheldreda, foundress of Ely Monastery. Ethelberga, Abbess of Brie. Witberga lived as a saint at East Dereham. Hilda, foundress and Abbess of Whitby.

² Earl Warrenne and his wife Gundrada, formerly said to be a daughter of William the Conqueror, but who is almost conclusively proved by recent research to have been a daughter of Matilda, the Conqueror's wife, by Grebod, a former husband, or connection, was also the founder of the Cluniac Priory of Castleacre, as a cell to the great monastery at Lewes in Sussex. The remains of this splendid house awaken wonder and admiration to-day.

time, and £10 at the "Survey;" all Rudham being 3 miles long by 3 broad (about the limits of the present parishes), and paid 4s. 3d. gelt.

This lordship was held under Earl Warrenne by Ralph, the ancestor of the family of De Querceto, De Caineto, or De Cheyny;¹ one of whom, John, was the founder of Coxford Priory, of which more anon.

John de Cheyny's daughter and heiress, Emma, brought it by marriage to Michael Belet, about the year 1150. These Belets were a family of great honour and wealth: a Hervey Belet lived in the reign of King Henry I, and was father of Michael Belet, who served under Earl Warrenne, and acted as cup-bearer to King Henry II at the coronation of Eleanor, his wife. This Michael had two sons, Michael and Hervey, by Emma de Cheyny; of whom Michael became a judge and high sheriff of Leicestershire, and in 1206 had a grant to himself and his heirs of being King John's butler. He does not appear, however, to have had any heirs, for in 1215—the year of Magna Charta—his brother Hervey was lord, and had a grant of a fair, to be held yearly on the feast of St. Matthew, which fair was only discontinued some twenty-four years ago. It was this Hervey Belet who gave the lordship of East Rudham to Coxford Priory.

We must now go back a little. It will be remembered that Toka possessed two churches; of these Saxon churches, which were probably of wood, not a trace remains. In the reign of King Stephen (1135-1154), William Cheney founded in the Church of St. Mary of Rudham a Priory. The dedication remains, but of this Norman church, as of the Saxon, there is no vestige.

The situation of this Priory was evidently found inconvenient, for between the years 1146 and 1149 it was removed about a mile eastward, and practically re-founded by John de Cheyney, at Coxford, on the banks of the Coke, now called the Tatter, in the midst of a rich alluvial pasture-land. This John de Cheyney is spoken of indifferently as a great benefactor, or as the founder, of the

¹ The name was still to be heard in the village within quite recent years. Cheyney Lane was the traditional name of the road now more prosaically called Station Road.

Priory for monks belonging to the Order of Austin Friars, or Black Canons, then recently introduced into England by William de Corbeil. The charter of foundation mentions among the numerous possessions¹ with which John de Cheyney enriched the Priory, "the two Churches of that town, with their appurtenances, and all the lay land which *Bruno and William the priests* held." This is the first mention of priests of the two Rudhams, but of Rudham as a whole we have mention of a previous *William*, in the reign of King William Rufus, in a charter in which it is stated that the land which he held of Lambert de Rosci, was confirmed to him by Earl Warrenne. Thus, by means of the notices of the churches and the priests, we can trace an unbroken succession of Christian ministrations in Rudham for more than eight hundred years. One of the witnesses also to John de Cheyney's charter was Jeffrey de West Rudham; another is Wache, called the deacon.²

In 1215, Hervey Belet, of whom mention has been already made, gave to the Prior of Coxford Abbey the lordship of East Rudham, with lands in many neighbouring villages, "for the maintenance of a hospital at *Boycodeswade*,³ built by him, and a secular chaplain to serve therein for ever, for his own soul, that of the lady Emma de Kayneto, his mother, and for the souls of his brothers, ancestors and parents, in pure alms." This grant was

¹ Among the lands specified, mention is made of gardens belonging to *Wilmot* (Blomfield's translation: The Charter reads: "*Wlmote*;") this is interesting, if correct: there are Wilmots still residing in the parish. We may also notice in this charter the custom of giving the serfs and their families with the land, *e.g.*, "Ralph, son of Wlmar, and all his land, and Burstan and his land . . . and Godwin the writer, and all his land, and the mill . . . and the two men living near the said mill." This is not uncommon, but throws a curious light on feudal customs.

² See Appendix I A.

³ *Boycodeswade* = "Wood," or "House in the Woods," and is Norman French, Welsh, and Saxon, *i.e.* :—

Bois = Wood, Norman French.

Coed = ,, Welsh

Wade = ,, Saxon

cf. Carisbroke Castle—in which each member of the word means "Castle"—"Caris" = "Caer," Welsh, and "broke" = "broch," Pictish,

for a warden and thirteen poor people, to be under the government of the Prior and Convent of Cokford, and was dedicated to St. Andrew.

In 1226, the Prior had a grant of a fair, on the feast of St. Thomas the Martyr (of Canterbury), which was confirmed in 1250, and continued to be held till quite recent times.¹

Of the further fortunes of the Abbey it is not my purpose to speak. Two interesting notices of events in its history before the Dissolution will suffice. In 1281, the Prior and Canons were visited by Archbishop Peckham, in the course of his tour round the religious houses of Norfolk. They seem, as Dr. Jessop says, to have been living a pleasant, jovial sort of life, doing no particular harm, but doing no good. The Prior, probably Hugh de Elmham, was old and easy-going, kept no accounts, but let his Canons do as they pleased; and liked going out with a number of dogs at his heels. Moreover, Prior and Canons, one and all, had been led astray by an evil-disposed person, John of Hunstanton, who had actually tempted them all to give themselves up to the seductive game of chess; and this intoxication must be put a stop to, even if it came to three days and nights on bread and water. One can imagine the unhappy monks being thankful when this masterful Archbishop went on his way. That they could bestir themselves on occasion, however, is proved by an entry in the oldest register book of West Rudham, where there is mention made of the restoration of the chancel by the Prior and Canons of Cokford, in the year 1456. To this we shall refer again.

The seal of Cokford Priory, in red wax, represented the Blessed Virgin Mary, seated with the Christ-child in her arms, and on each side a monk kneeling, praying; and under an arch another monk, also praying. The inscription ran thus:—

“ S . PRIORIS . ET . CONVENTUS . DE . COKESFORD . ”

¹ Of the temporalities we read:—

Prior de Cokesforth habet eam in propriis usus. Estimatio Rectoris xx marc. (xviii, *Rot. N.*) Estimatio Vicaria ejusdem v. marc. non taxatur. Prior præcipit medietatem obventionum. Procuratio, constitutio, et Synodalia xxiii*d.* Denarii S. Petri xviii*d.*—*Tanner's MSS.*

In 1428, their temporalities were valued at £222 12s. 8d., and their establishment consisted of a Prior and nine Black Canons. At the Dissolution it was only valued at from £121 to £153, which shows how low the visitors laid it.¹ King Henry VIII, in 1537, gave the manor of East Rudham, with impropriate rectory and patronage of the vicarage to Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk; from which family it passed, in 1578, to Sir Roger Townshend; and in this family, represented by the present Marquis Townshend, it still remains.² So passed away the possibilities for good or evil of Coxford Abbey, as of many another religious house; and with it vanished the Hospital of St. Andrew at Boycodeswade, in which the secular chaplain was to serve for ever, merged in the wide demesnes of the Townshends; whom the fate, which fell upon the Duke of Norfolk, its first possessor, and which, as Sir Henry Spelman testifies in his book on *Sacrilege*, sooner or later befalls the lay possessors of Church property, seems still, in lesser degree, to attend. More harm, indeed, was done to the country by the spoliation of the hospitals, and of the guilds and chantries, and the consequent diversion of money intended by the pious benefactors for the benefit of the destitute poor "for ever," than even by the dissolution of the monasteries. By *that* act the poor were really the greatest sufferers; but it was these *three* spoliations combined that made the Poor Law of Elizabeth necessary: such a means of providing for the indigent never having been previously required.

The Abbey is now a farm; of the usual buildings the foundations may be traced.³ The church, which must

¹ This, however, is equal, according to Dr. Jessopp, to some £10,000 or £12,000 to-day, but more probably to at least £2,500 to £3,000.

² The Townshends had long been Lords of Raynham, and no doubt wished to consolidate their possessions in this neighbourhood.

³ Shortly after the Dissolution, the Abbey was inhabited by a family of the name of Calibut, who had been settled in Norfolk for a long period, and first rose to importance through the success of one of its members at the Bar. "William Calibut, of Coxford Abbey, gent.," was a man of wealth and substance *temp.* Queen Elizabeth, and married his daughters to John Walpole, of Houghton, Henry Russell, of West Rudham, and other leading families.—*One Generation of a Norfolk House*, by Dr. Jessopp.

have been a fine one in the Decorated and Perpendicular styles, was still standing, as Sir H. Spelman tells us, in the time of James I, but is now a hopeless mass of ruins.¹ It consisted of a nave of four bays, transepts and chancel, with two transeptal chapels, north and south.

The nave was 90 ft. long, the intersection of nave, chancel, and transept, 21 ft., and the chancel 75 ft. ; the nave and chancel were each 21 ft. broad.

The only considerable piece of masonry still standing is the northern intersection of nave and chancel, where a



Coxford Priory, Norfolk, 1885.

very fine Decorated archway has been filled in, and a Perpendicular window inserted, as may be seen in the illustration here given.

The fish-ponds, three in number, still remain, as perfect as on the day when the monks, breviary in hand, bade them a last farewell. These are at Broomsthorpe.

¹ The church was pulled down by Sir Roger Townshend (*temp.* Jas. I), as he wished to use the materials for his new house at Raynham. In this, however, he was frustrated by a variety of untoward occurrences, and thereupon used them to build the rectory, which was permitted by the higher powers. See the curious account in *The History and Fate of Sacrilege*, by Sir H. Spelman, under "Coxford Abbey."

Of the Hospital, not the slightest vestige remains. Its site is unknown, and the very name of Boycodeswade has been lost, even from the usually keen memory of popular tradition.

The present Church of St. Mary, East Rudham, is but the simulacrum of its former self. It had been repaired in 1820, and again in 1860, when the old square pews, the west gallery containing the organ, the north gallery where the servants sat, and the "three-decker," were all done away with; but in 1876 the north-west corner of the tower fell out, destroying with it a considerable part of the nave, and the whole fabric was in consequence

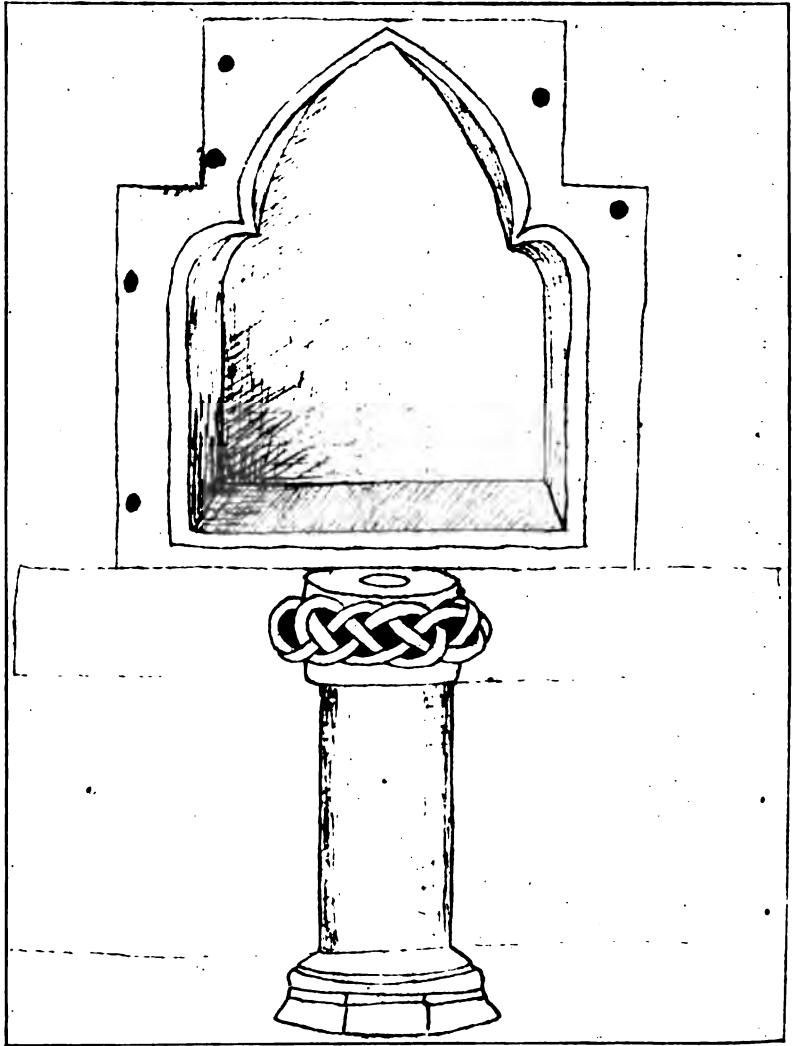


East Rudham Church: from the south-east.

almost entirely rebuilt. It was a bad time for restorations, and we must be thankful that the building is still able to tell something of its history. The Saxon and Norman Churches have, as I said, entirely disappeared.

The present church consists of western embattled tower, nave, north and south aisles, south porch, south transept, and chancel. The earliest part is in the chancel, where four beautiful Early English windows are to be seen, two in the north wall and two in the south wall: the western one in the south wall is over the priests' door. The east window is a modern reproduction in the Decorated style; while just east of the south pillar of the chancel arch in the south wall there is a Perpendicular window,

said to have been brought from Coxford Priory. In the usual position, on the south side of the sacrarium, there is a very beautiful pillar piscina, with interlacing



Pillar Piscina and Aumbry at East Rudham.

ornamentation on the capital, which almost looks like a copy of Saxon work. Above the piscina in the thick-

ness of the wall is an aumbry, with the holes into which the door was hinged and bolted still remaining. To the immediate west of this, in the position commonly occupied by the sedilia, is a curious round arch, almost Norman, springing directly from the floor, and looking as if some monument must once have been there. Could this have been an Easter sepulchre? I know that these were placed in almost every instance on the north side of the altar; but is it an absolute rule? Still, if this were an Easter sepulchre, I believe it would be a nearly unique exception.

During the restoration of the church, a recess was found at the east end of the chancel about 4 ft. square, containing the remains of an oak chest.

Numerous fragments of the ancient church, including two fine Perpendicular windows with tracery almost complete, are now in the garden of Dr. Manby, of East Rudham, one of which was abolished, and the place of the other taken by a modern one at the west end. There was once a rood-screen which has long since disappeared, and on the north side a small stone figure sitting, said to represent King David with a scroll, and above it a crowned head, which used to be known as King John. This was in its place at the time of the 1820 restoration, but was then removed, and is now in Dr. Manby's garden.

The nave and aisles are modern Perpendicular, and deserve no notice, though the windows of both the aisles and of the clerestory contain good tracery, copied, I believe, from the old. The pillars are all alike, plain and ugly. The old ones were all dissimilar on the south side, all alike on the north; all had candlestick pediments, as the original church had no foundation, water being found very near the surface. Even now, in the churchyard, graves 6 ft. deep have water in them, especially after rain.

It may be noted that all the aisle windows were also dissimilar, and earlier than those in the nave.

The south transept contains a piscina with ogee arch, and a low-side window, which proves that it was almost certainly a chantry or guild chapel, but of this there is no record. There was the guild of St. Radegunda at Coxford, with a chapel of that name, in 1466, within the

Priory, and a lady anchoress there in 1526; but probably there was no connection between the two. Half-way between Rudham and Coxford there is a group of cottages standing on a site still known as *the Upper Anchorage*; this was probably the cell of an anchorite or anchoress. Tradition is seldom wrong as to sites, where it becomes a place-name. There is a group of cottages known as the "lower anchorage" at Coxford, and this was, no doubt, St. Radegunda's. The south window of this transept is very fine Early Decorated, with unusual tracery, and the two windows on the east are three-light lanceolate, with three lozenges at the apex, telling of the transition from Early English to Decorated. In the west wall there is a circular or rose window, known as *Mordaunt's* window, and said to have been given by Sir Aylmer de Mordaunt after preservation from a tempest on his return from the Holy Land. His arms were also in the fine south window (*Tanner's MSS.*).

The south porch contains a very fine groined roof with Tudor roses at the intersections, and a beautiful central boss, representing the Holy Trinity. The Divine Father is portrayed supporting between his knees the Divine Son on the Cross, the arms of which are upheld by his hands. The figure of the Holy Spirit, as a Dove, has been chipped off, but otherwise the boss is well preserved.¹

There is a similar Trinità over the west doorway of Peterborough Cathedral, in which, however, the Father has his right hand uplifted in blessing. They are not uncommon, but we may be thankful this one has escaped both Protestant and Puritan fanatics.

The label over the south door terminates in the heads of King Henry VI and his Queen, Margaret of Anjou. The King is on the west side, crowned; the Queen on the east, in a flowing wimple of the fifteenth century.

¹ The present porch is quite modern, but the groined roof is original, though many of the bosses, representing the Tudor rose, are modern. The ancient porch contained stone seats; and over the one on the east side was fixed in the wall an alabaster panel, representing the coronation of the Virgin, very much defaced. Over the porch was a parvise chamber, which was used as a school-room during the last century: the door leading to it may still be seen in the nave wall of the church. See Plate I.

Over the entrance to the south porch, in the angle formed by the roof, there is a fine recessed canopy, for the figure of St. Mary, which, however, is a modern reproduction of the old work.

On the southern apex of the roof of the south transept is a most beautiful fourteenth-century floriated cross, which I consider the best thing we have in East Rudham Church. It is evidently too large and massive for its



Fourteenth-Century Floriated Cross, East Rudham.

present position, and much weather-worn. The figure of the Saviour may still be traced on one face; and attention may be drawn to the curious demon-heads, with wide open mouths, on each side, as though being crushed, and crying out in their agony. From the size and beauty of this cross it has been conjectured that it may really be the village cross, and mark Rudham as a station or halting-place for pilgrims on the way from Lynn to Our Lady of Walsingham.

We must now mention a most interesting discovery made at the restoration in 1876, and re-discovered by me, after twenty years' neglect, in 1896.

This consisted of numerous fragments, more or less complete, of carved figures and subjects in alabaster, with a considerable amount of the original colouring still remaining. They were found, with one exception, in a square opening in the north wall of the sacrum, on a level with the floor, which they filled up, and which had then been cased over. My friend, Mr. Patrick, A. R. I. B. A., and I have arranged the pieces in order as nearly as possible, and our conclusion is that they were portions of a highly-ornamented reredos of rich fifteenth-century workmanship, with possibly some fragments of another composition, perhaps an altar frontal.

The illustrations, done by Mr. Patrick, give a very faithful idea of the fragments in their present condition.

(1) An almost complete panel, but much battered, representing the Coronation of the Blessed Virgin Mary. This had been built, as already stated, into the east side of the south porch, above the seat.

(2) Five fragments, evidently forming part of the central panel, and representing the Crucifixion of Our Lord. On the right hand, a kneeling female figure, symbolical of the Church, uplifting a chalice, in which she is catching the sacred drops from the Saviour's side. On the left hand, the lower part of a Roman soldier (probably the centurion), grasping a spear. Traces of colour are still perceptible on many of the fragments, but more remain upon the pieces forming this subject. The limbs of the cross are a pale blue-green, the nimbus a deep red, the face of the Saviour flesh-colour, the beard auburn, and there is some gilding on the crown. The wings of the kneeling figure are painted red, and the dress of the standing figure is also red.¹

(3) Another panel, of which the centre part is missing, representing the Entombment of Christ. The Saviour's head is perfect and very beautiful, the draperies are flowing; two figures stand at the feet. This was, perhaps, intended to fit below the previous one. The

¹ See Plate II.

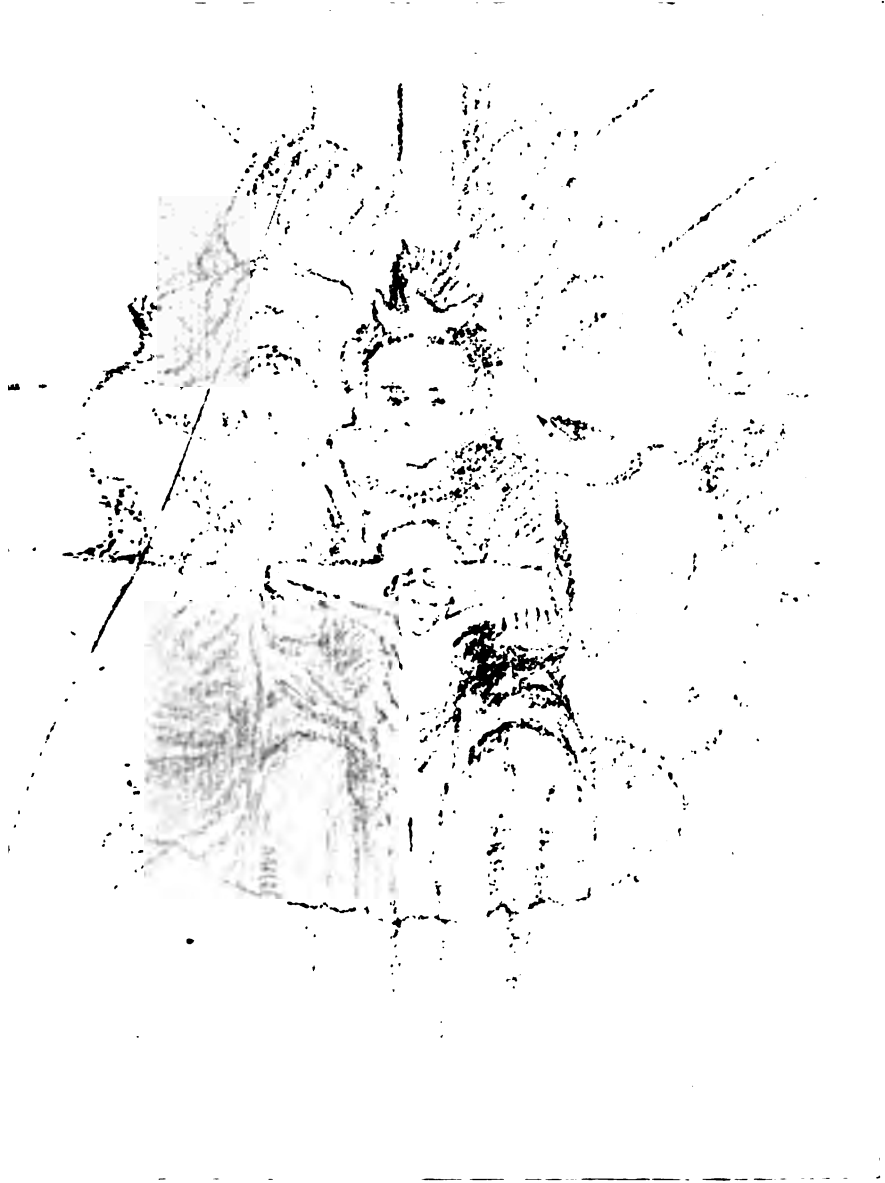


PLATE I.—CENTRAL BOSS IN THE SOUTH PORCH.

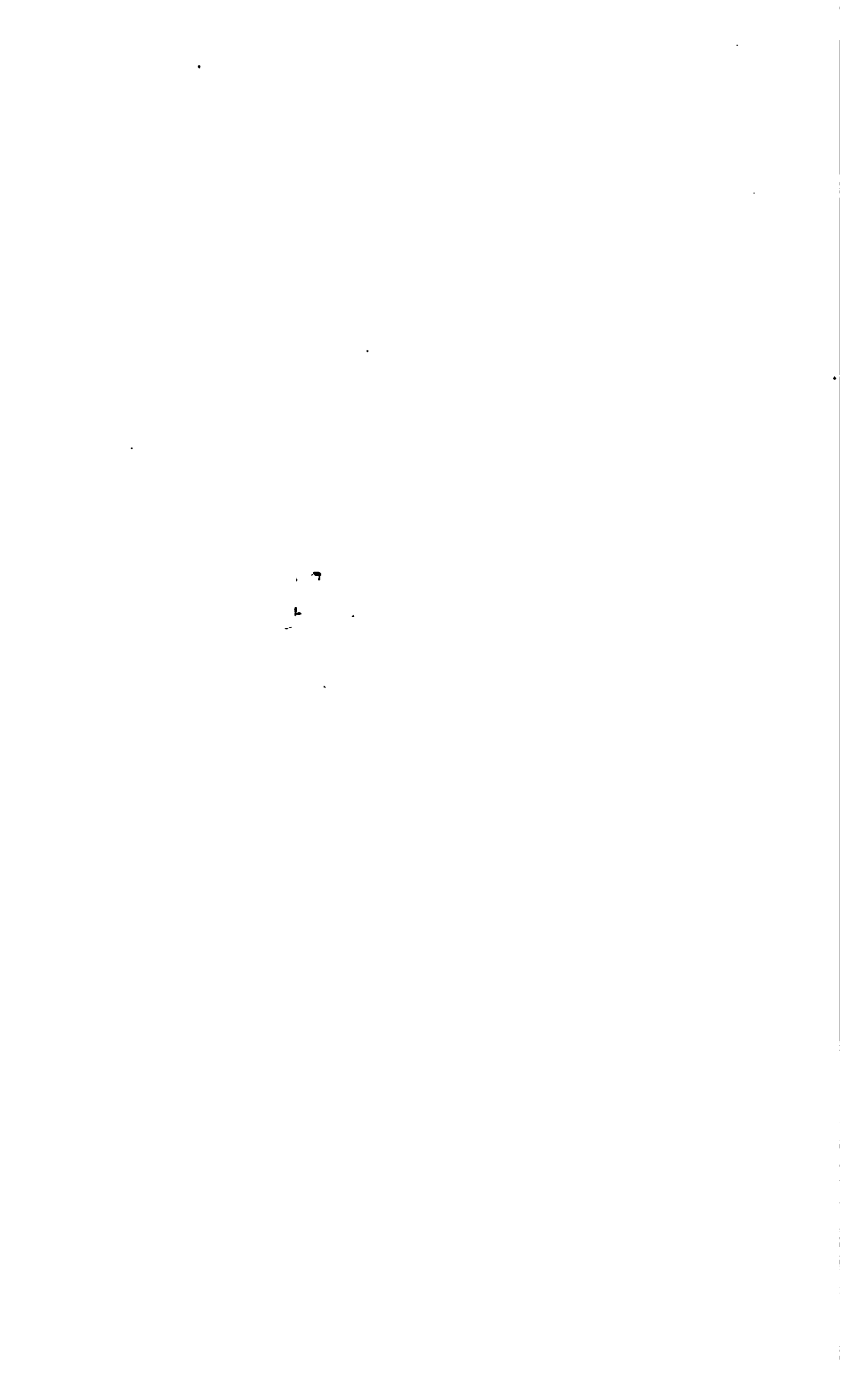




PLATE II.—THE CRUCIFIXION.

Mutilated. This portion is composed of five fragments.

Height, 1 ft. 6 in. ; breadth at base, 10 in.

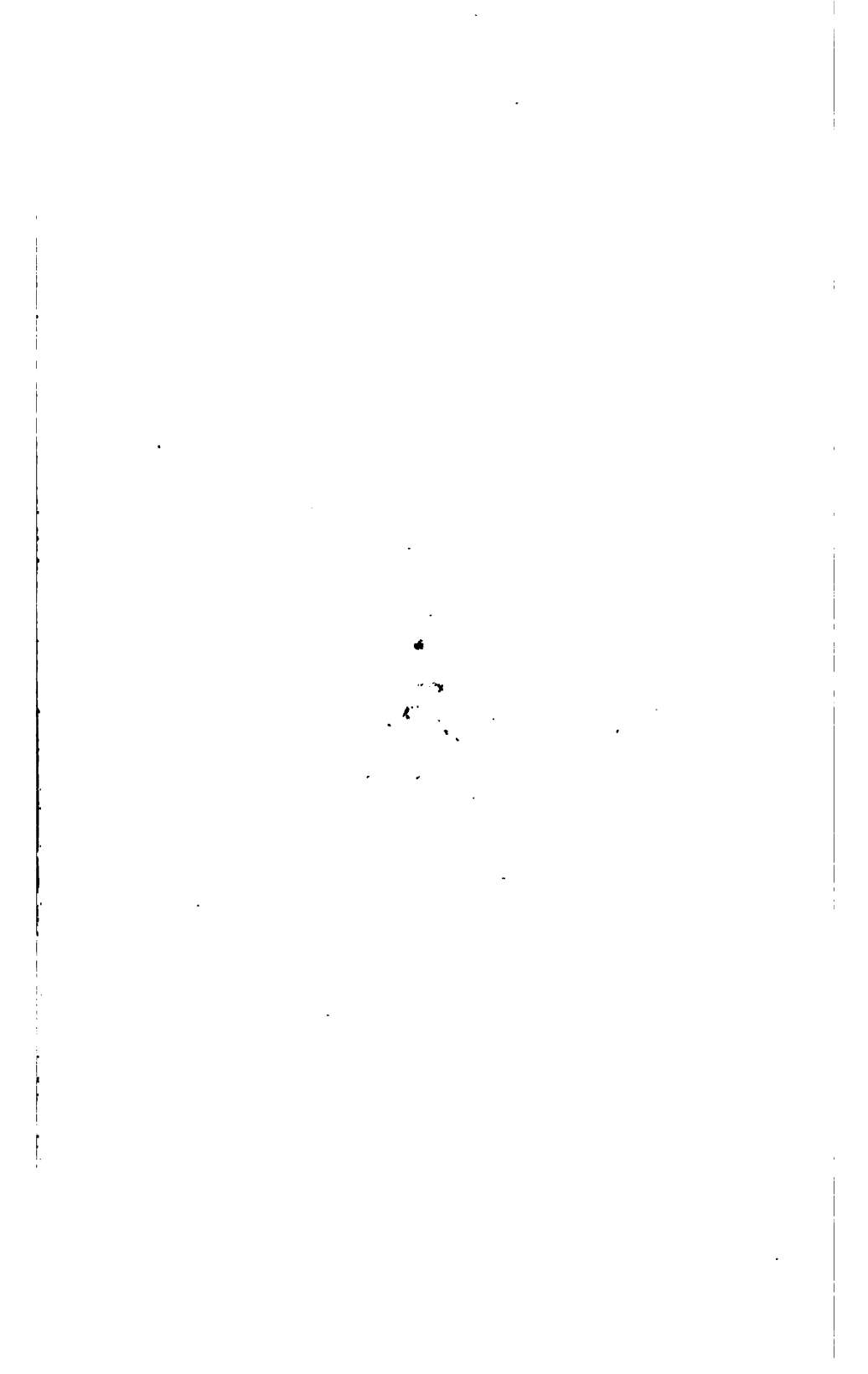




PLATE III.—FRAGMENT FROM PANEL REPRESENTING THE ENTOMBMENT OF OUR SAVIOUR.

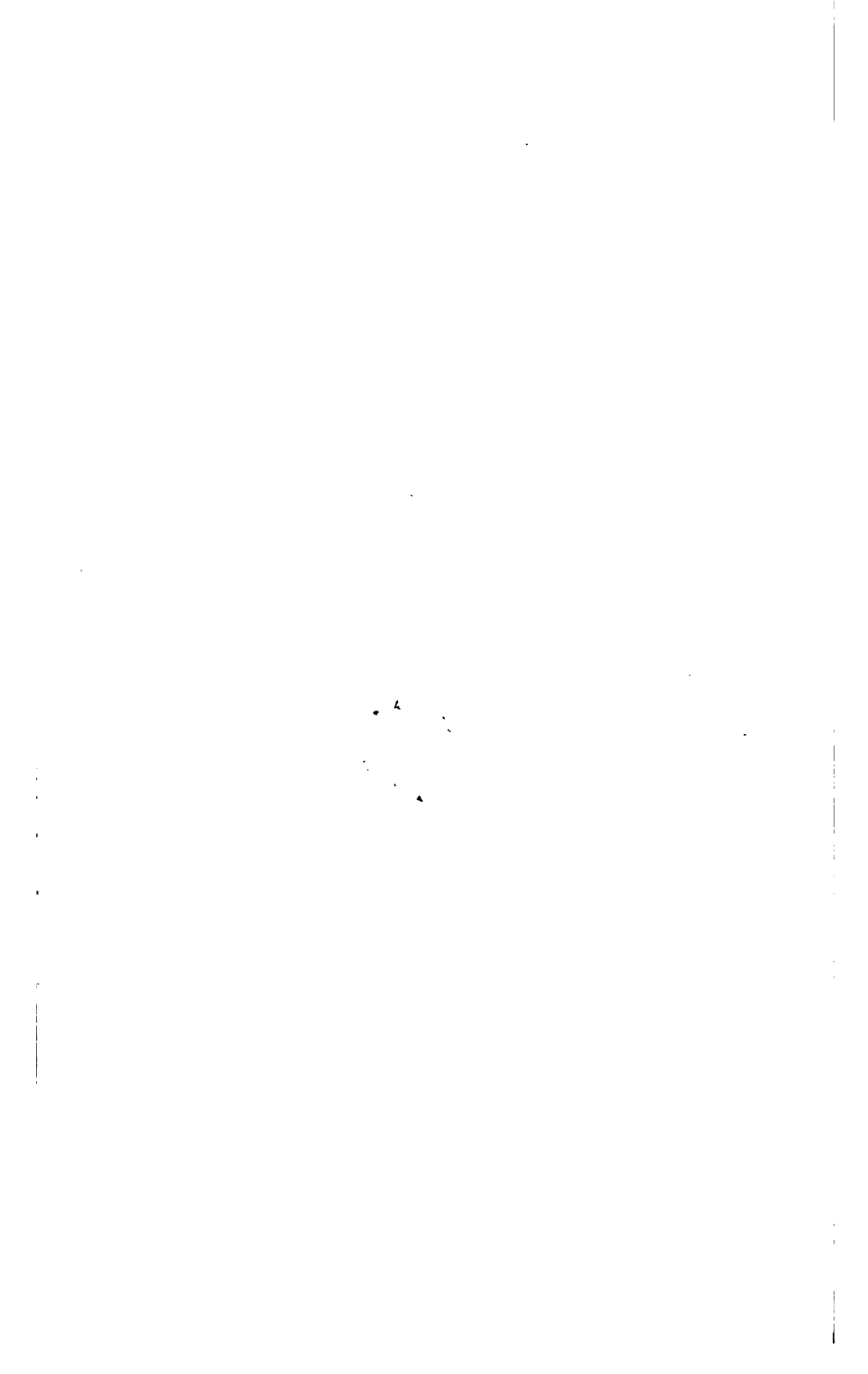
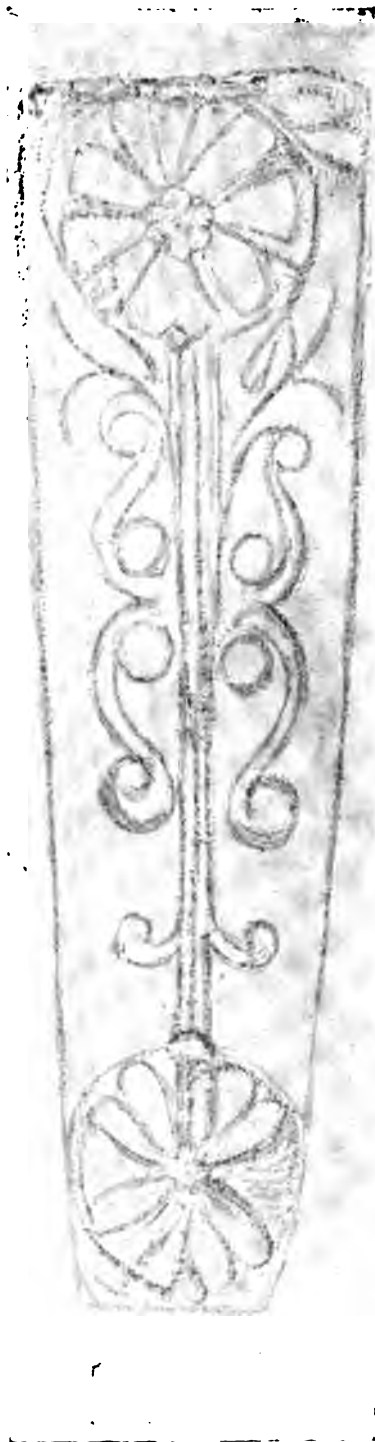


PLATE IV.—COFFIN SLAB, EAST RUDHAM CHURCH, NORFOLK.



Length, 6 ft. 2½ in.; breadth at head, 21 in.; breadth at foot, 10 in.; thickness at foot, 5 in.

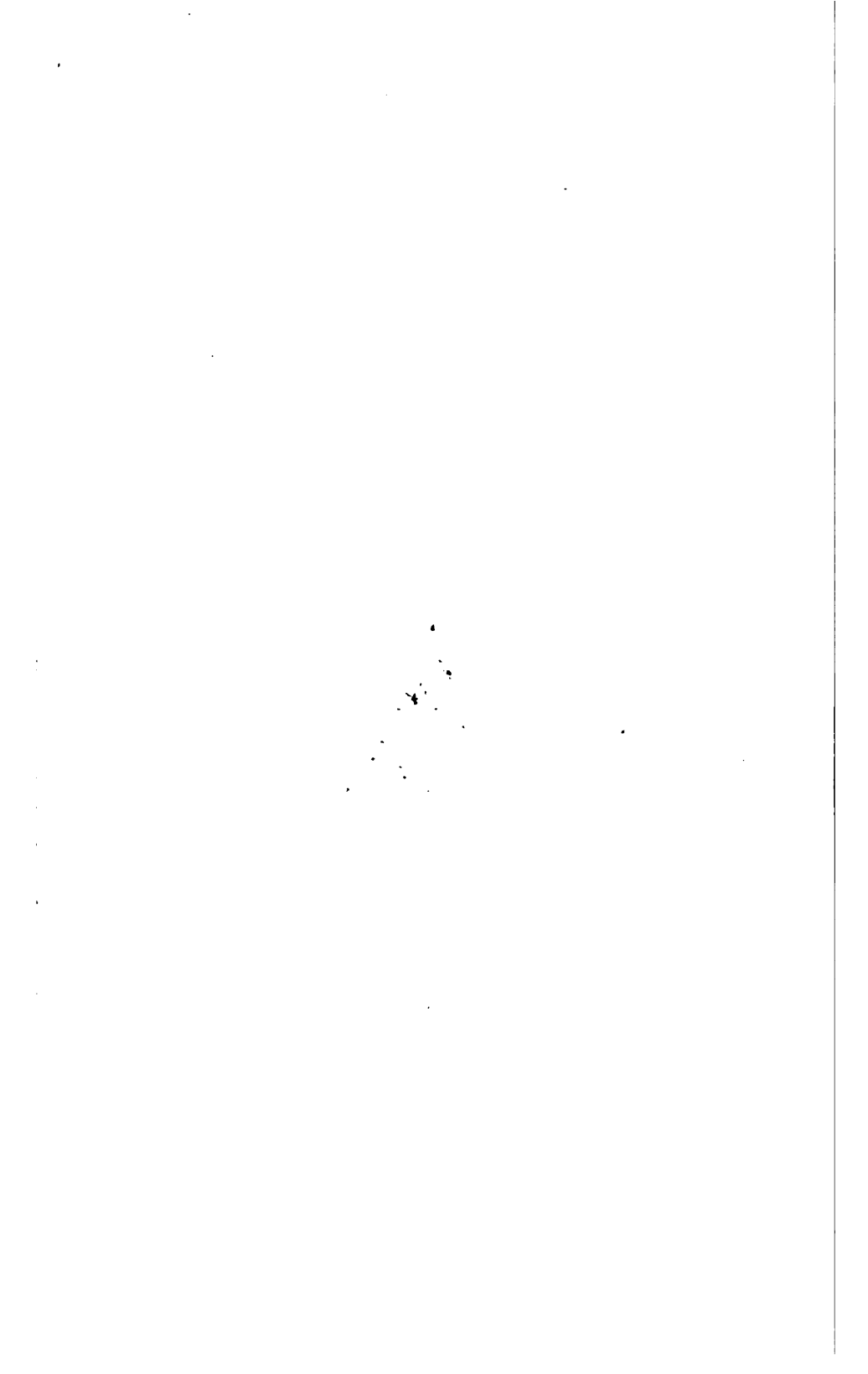


illustration shows only the head of the Saviour. He is represented in the sleep of death, the right hand supporting the face; there are remains of colour and gilding.¹

(4) The remaining panel of this composition represented the donor, a lady in rich fifteenth-century costume, but unfortunately headless, kneeling before a *prie-dieu*. There is no record which would throw any light upon



Coronation of the Blessed Virgin Mary (a complete Panel).

the identity of this lady. The list of benefactors of Coxford Abbey closes in 1350, but it is possible that she may have been that Isabella Dey, of whom it is recorded that she presented a marble floor to the chancel about the year 1500, and the two gifts may have been almost contemporaneous, though these alabaster fragments

¹ See Plate III.

certainly appear to belong to a somewhat earlier date. The marble floor has long since vanished, together with the brass which commemorated this pious lady. Blomfield, however, mentions a gravestone with a brass plate, inscribed: "Orate pro aiab. Rici Dey, notarii, et Isabellae uxoris suae, qui quidem Ric. obiit 25 die Feb. a.o. 1507." This, too, is gone.

Other fragments are:—

(5) A headless figure, standing in a chaldron or tripod:



St. John the Evangelist in the Boiling Oil (a fragment).

no doubt a representation of St. John the Evangelist in the boiling oil.

(6) The lower part of a draped figure, with an unmistakably horned sheep at the feet and a bell on its neck.

Some say this is a representation of St. Anthony, with a pig at his feet : but I take it to be St. Agnes.

Other portions represent two angels seated, with left hands on a globe ; and two other angels, one with a scroll, and the other holding a crowned staff.

Fragments of a similar reredos were found, some years ago, in a barn at East Barsham, and were fully described in *Norfolk Archæology*, vol. xi, Pt. 3. That may perhaps have belonged to Walsingham, and both were probably destroyed at the Reformation, with the same intemperate zeal which led Bishop Goodrich to destroy the story of the Life of the Blessed Virgin in stone upon the walls of the Lady Chapel at Ely.

The church plate consists of a pewter flagon of ancient date. The chalice is silver, of plain Elizabethan workmanship, inscribed, "THE . TOWNE . OF . EAST . Roudham
✠ A° 1567." The paten, also silver, is inscribed, "The gift of Margaret Congham to the Church of East Rudham, in 1727." In the centre are the arms of the donor.

There are no monuments or inscriptions of any interest in the churchyard ; but a few feet eastward of the east wall I found a splendid stone coffin-lid lying, and doing duty as a tombstone. This, I was told, was originally discovered some 4 ft. below the soil, in the same position, when a grave was being dug, some twenty-five years ago, and was then laid on the surface.

The illustration, herewith, gives an exact representation of it, from a rubbing taken by Mr. Patrick. It is 6 ft. 2½ ins. long, and 1 ft. 9 ins. broad at the head, and 10 ins. broad at the foot, slightly raised down the middle line, which forms the shaft, uniting two wheel crosses at the head and foot. In the centre is the figure known as "the double Omega," the conventional monkish symbol of the thunderbolt of Jove ; the emblem of Divine power. There is a stone sarcophagus, without the lid, at Houghton, which was taken thither from the ruins of Coxford, and this may possibly be the lid belonging to it ; in that case it was most likely the last resting-place of one of the Priors of that Abbey. In any case, it is a grand specimen of a thirteenth-century ecclesiastical monument,

the more so that, with the exception of a small fragment chipped off the foot, it is, unlike the majority of examples, perfect.¹ There are not many similar memorials in Norfolk, but in Essex they are numerous, and a good description of these latter may be found in *Essex Archaeology*, vol. vii, Pt. 4.

One coin, a silver groat of one of the Edwards, was found by one of the workmen in 1876, close to the south wall.

It remains for us to note the points of interest in West Rudham.

At the "Survey," this part of the then undivided parish was held by Lambert de Rosci under Earl Warrenne. Later on, we find that the parish consisted of three manors: (1) Ferrer's Manor. This was in the hands of the de Cheyney family, and came by the marriage of Margaret, daughter of William de Cheyney, to Hugh de Cressi, *temp.* Henry II. His son Roger married Isabel, daughter of Hubert de Rie. This Roger, having taken arms against King John with the Barons, his lands were seized, and given to Robert de Ferrers, of the great family of Ferrers, Earls of Derby. In 1287, Sir Guy de Ferrariis was living here; in 1303, Edmund de Ferrers, of West Rudham; John de Ferrers in the reign of Edward II, another of the name was here in 1357, and another held land in East Rudham in 1410.— See App. I (c). In the reign of Edward VI, this manor passed to the Russell family, said to be of the same family as the Dukes of Bedford; thence, after numerous alienations, to the Walpoles, and is now in the possession of the Marquis Cholmondeley.² There is a brass to the memory of Henry Russell, dated 1606, which runs thus:—

HENRY RUSSELL, LATE OF WEST RVD-
HAM, ESQ., DEPARTED THIS LIFE THE
3 OF SEPTEMBER 1606, IN MEMORY OF
WHOME THOMAS RVSSELL, HIS NEPHKW
HATH LEFT THIS TO POSTERITY.

¹ See Plate IV.

² In the time of Queen Elizabeth the Russells of West Rudham were "substantial Norfolk squires," and intermarried with the Walpoles of Houghton, and other leading families. William Calibut, of Coxford Abbey (d. 1577), as stated above, married one of his daughters to John

(2) Castleacre Priory Manor. This manor was held in the reign of William Rufus, of Lambert de Rosci, by *William, the priest of Rudham*. It was later on agreed by deed, *sans date*, that the small tithes of this lordship should belong to Castleacre, but the tithes of the corn, lamb's wool and cheese, should belong to Coxford, with the weif and stray, and the assize of bread and beer. Among the witnesses is Sir Henry de Ferrariis, which shows it was about the end of the reign of Henry III. In return, Robert, Prior of Castleacre, 1270, remits to William, Prior of Coxford (17 Henry III) their right in the manor of East Rudham. At the Dissolution it passed to Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, and thence to the Townshends.

In the time of Richard I (1189-1199), Eustace de Cheyney, Seneschal of Acre (? Castleacre, or Acre in Palestine),¹ granted the reversion of all his lands in Rudham to the Priory of Castleacre, on condition of being admitted a monk, if he should desire it.

(3) Northall, or St. Faith's Manor.—This manor was held at the "Survey" by Peter de Valoins, *Turgis*, a freeman, having been deprived of it. He had half a carucate of land, with three bordarers and one servus, and one carucate and an acre of meadow, with four socmen and six acres, valued at 10s. From the family of Valoins it came to Lord Robert Fitzwalter (by the marriage of Gunnora, daughter and heiress of Lord Robert de Valoins, who was lord of it in the reign of King John), and he granted it to the Priory of St. Faith's, at Horsham: so says Blomfield. A deed, however, exists in the British Museum which proves that this is altogether incorrect, and that the transfer must have taken place earlier, and in quite different circumstances, for this deed is a Papal confirmation of the grant of this manor to Horsham

Walpole, of Houghton, and another, Ele, or Elizabeth, to Henry Russell, of West Rudham, whose Brass is in the church. A Captain Russell, who belonged to the West Rudham family, and was a cousin of the Walpoles, was among the English officers serving at Flushing in 1589.—*One Generation of a Norfolk House*, by Dr. Jessopp.

¹ Probably the latter, as it was the age of the Crusades, and Eustace may have been with Richard in the Holy Land; but of this I have not been able to find any record.

St. Faith's Priory, in 1163, 9 Henry II. In this deed it is stated that the land at Rudham, with all its appurtenances, had been given to Horsham St. Faith's by "Sybil, the wife of the aforesaid Robert Fitzwalter;" it having, in all probability, been her dowry. This Lady Sybil is stated, by Dugdale's authority, to have been the "sister of John de Cheyney," and "daughter of Ralph de Cheyney, who came to the conquest of England."¹ She was, therefore, aunt of John de Cheyney, who founded Coxford Priory. Horsham St. Faith's Priory was founded by Robert Fitzwalter in 1105 (Tanner, *Notitia Monastica*, ed. 1695, p. 149).

In 1275 the Prior of St. Faith's had a lete; and in 1347 the Prior held half a fee of the Prior of Coxford; in 1428 their temporalities were valued at £9 18s. 10d.² Henry VIII granted it in 1544 to his trusty councillor, Sir Richard Southwell. It was afterwards united to the manor of Ferrers.³

Besides these three manors there were other lordships in the parish, belonging to the Calthorpes (from Sir Edmund de St. Omer), to Alan, Earl of Richmond, and to Robert Fitz-Roger.

The temporalities of Coxford Priory here amounted to 32s. 4d. per annum in 1428. These passed at the Dissolution to the Duke of Norfolk, and so to the Townshends.⁴

¹ See Appendix 1 (b), and Note at the end.

² A deed of 1523 notes a custom with regard to the tithing of weights and measures, that all the tithes belonged to the Prior of Coxford, except that coming from certain lands belonging to the Prior and Convent of Horsham St. Faith's "Depos. M. 247-1523. de substract. dec. 1. acr. pisand. voc. Drishew Consuetudo decimandi pias et mensuras Æs decimæ p'tinent Priori de Cokesford except. decimas provenientibus de certis terris Prioris et Conv. de Horsham S. Fidis" (*Tanner's MSS.*).

³ The Priory of Horsham St. Faith's also held numerous parcels of land in Broomsthorpe and East Rudham, to which the name of "St. Faith's" (commonly corrupted to "The Faze") is still attached.—See App. I (c). These also, no doubt, formed part of the Lady Sybil's dowry.

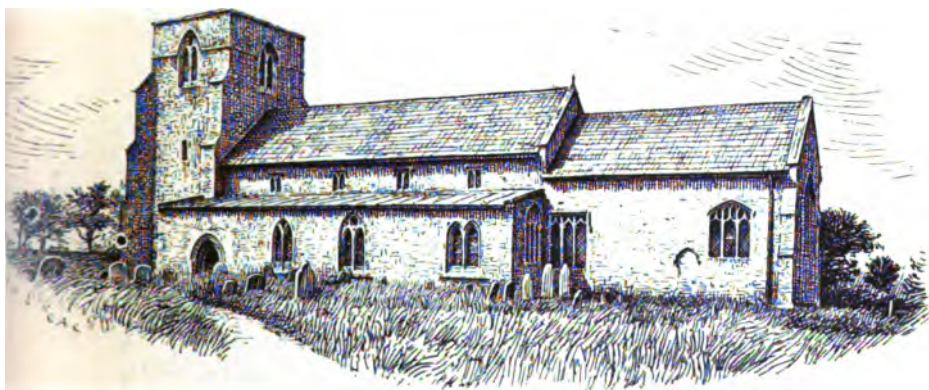
⁴ Of the temporalities it is said:—Prior de Coxford habet eam in proprios usus; habet mansum, cum una carucate terræ. Et est ibi Vicaria ad quam pertinet mansum sine terra.

Estimatio Rectoria præter portionem et Vicariam indecimatam xxvi

The Chapel of All Saints, in the churchyard of St. Peter's, West Rudham, is mentioned in 1493. Some traces of the foundations remain, running in a south-westerly direction, at a distance of about 15 ft. from the south porch.

There were two guilds : one of St. Peter, the other of St. John.

The Church of West Rudham is dedicated to St. Peter. It consists of a low western tower, nave, south aisle, and chancel. Before 1890 it had fallen into a very ruinous state, but it was then thoroughly and well restored. The flat post-Reformation ceiling to the chancel was removed, and it was thrown once more open to the roof



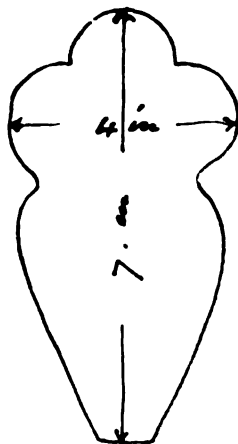
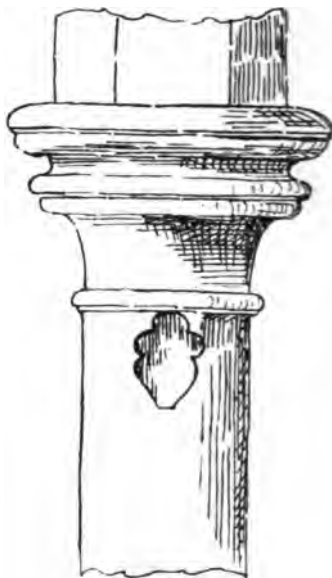
West Rudham Church : from the south-east.

There are no remains of either the Saxon or of the Norman church. Of the Early English building, remains exist in the west wall and south aisle. In the west wall, on the south side, which is of great thickness, there is a small lancet window, the oldest in the church. The three windows in the south aisle are Early English two-light, of different periods in the style. There is also a beautiful little bit of leaf-moulding of this period in the capital of

(*Rot. Norf.* xxiv) marc. Estimatio Vicaria ejusdem V. marc. non taxatur. Portio prioris de Castleacre in ead. xiiis. iiiid. Portio prioris de Bynham in eadem iis. Procuratio vis. viiid. Synodalia pro termino S. Michael xcd. et pro termino Pasch. xid. Denarii S. Petri xiid. (*Tanner's MSS.*).

the south-west pillar of the arcade. The pillars and arches of the arcade belong to the Decorated style. Some remains of colour may still be seen on the mouldings of the arches. The rest of the church is Perpendicular. The three large windows in the north wall of the nave are very fine specimens of this style, and contain a few fragments of stained glass, saved, doubtless from the sacrilegious hands of Richard Dowsett, the Grand Inquisitor of the Long Parliament. The oldest register contains a notice of the rebuilding of the chancel in 1456, as we have remarked elsewhere.¹ The piscina is of ogee form, with crockets and finial, and contains the emblems of the Passion. There is a very interesting little reliquary, with trefoil opening, in the western face of the easternmost pillar of the arcade. The timbers of the roof of the nave and aisle are ancient, the corbels of the former being alternately an angel flying and bearing a scroll, and a monk; while in the aisle three corbels represent Henry VIII, Jane Seymour, and Edward VI as a boy King, respectively, from west to east: evidence to my mind of a restoration in the time of the latter. There are signs in the south wall of a south porch.

At the entrance to the south door there are two ancient



Receptacle for Heart Burial, on west face of south pier of nave-arcade, West Rudham Church.

¹ See Appendix III.



Edward VI.

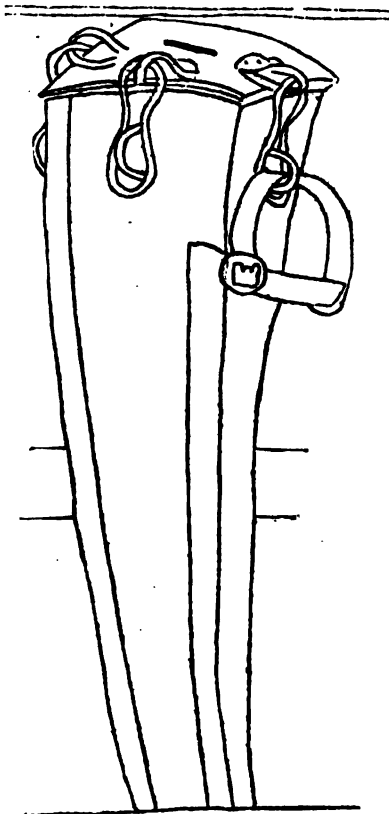


Jane Seymour.



Henry VIII.

Three Corbels in South Aisle, West Rudham.



Seventeenth-century Alms Box

stone coffin-lids. On the north side there is a turret, which contained the staircase to the rood-loft which no longer exists. A very poor screen was removed at the last restoration. The pews in the south aisle are noticeable for the beauty and variety of their carved poppy-heads, no two being alike. I would draw attention to an interesting seventeenth-century almsbox, originally possessing three remarkable padlocks, of which only one now remains.

The church plate is modern, with the exception of the paten, which is of silver, about 4 ins. in diameter, and having a foot about an inch in height, on the bottom of which is inscribed, "West Roudham, A° 1567."

There are three bells, only one of which is now hung, the others being unfortunately cracked. One of these latter is inscribed "✠ Dulcis sisto melis [] Campā Vocor Michis," and on the crown are three shields with three bells, crown in centre, and ermine marks (Brasyer, *temp.* Henry VIII).

The Church of West Rudham, far more than that of East Rudham, displays the long history and unbroken continuity of the Catholic Church in this land; and is a testimony to the value of a reverent and careful dealing with these monuments of the past.

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX I.

Copies of Four Original Documents relating to the Parishes and to Coxford Priory, now in the British Museum.

(a) CHARTER OF COXFORD ABBEY, 1146-1149.

✠ Willelmo dei gratia norewicensi episcopo et domino suo Willelmo comiti de Warenna et omnibus sanctæ ecclesiæ filiis tam presentibus quam futuris. Johannes de querceto salutem.

Sciatis me concessisse deo et Sancte Marie et canonicis de rudeham duas ecclesias ipsius ville cum omnibus pertinentiis suis. et totam preterea terram laicam quam bruno et Willelmus presbyteri tenuerunt. Scilicet quam Avus meus Radulfus de querceto et Willelmus filius ejus patruus meus et Ego liberam ab omnibus

consuetudinibus et exaccionibus et ecclesiasticam possessionem fecimus. Sciatis etiam me dedisse eis hortos freke . Godwini . Lamberti . Wlnoti . et Warini . et almari . et molendinum de cokesforde et vivarium . et caldewellewong . et totam terram que est inter caldewellewong . et aquam de tatersate¹ . et ketelesmere-wong . et totam Noremerewong . et Radulfum filium Wlmari et totam terram suam . et burstanum et terram suam . et hoc in escambio propter terram almari de gartuna quam moyses tenet . et servitium sumerledi sacerdotis et terram suam quam patruus meus Willelmus de querceto dedit ei . et Godwinum scriptorem et totam terram suam . et tocheswda et totam terram de marham que de feudo meo esse disnoscitur. Et molendinum de torp de vivario et ipsum vivarium . et opera que homines ipsius ville facere solabant ad stagnum predicti vivarii reficiendum . et duos homines juxta predictum molendinum manentes . scilicet Godwinum et Vluingum fratrem suum et terram illorum . et dimidium nemus de besefen quod est extra parcum. Et ut ipsi canonici pro anima avi mei Radulfi de querceto et vxoris ejus . et anima patris mei et matris meæ . et Willelmi de querceto patris mei et Rogeri . et sororum eorum . et Walerani de rocesforde . et omnium parentum meorum . et pro mea et uxoris meæ et fratrum meorum et sororum meorum. Omnia suprascripta inconcusse et honorifice et quiete jure perpetuo teneant; ea et presentis scripti attestacione et sigilli mei appositione corroboro et confirmo . Salvo servitio comitis.

Hujus autem donationis sunt testes. Reinaldus de Warena . Radulfas de Wiburvilla . Radulfus filius osmundi . et Sibilla uxor domini johannis . Petrus de caineto . et matheus frater ejus . Nicolaus clericus et Godwinus frater ejus . Scul' et Willelmus frater ejus . Radulfus sacerdos de Saxtorpe . et magister Willelmus maurinus . Willelmus sacerdos . Nicolaus de stanhoë . Wache diaconus . Gaufridus de West rudeham . Radulfus avis . et Nicholaus clericus de barsham . et Walterus clericus . et albertus . et Rigolf . et Warinus . et Robertus de croft.

The following paragraph is in a different handwriting:—

Ista conventio renovata fuit coram domino Willelmo Norwicensi episcopo apud Tornedis in vigilia ascensionis domini . die Sancti Dunstani presente ipso Johanne de Caineto . Hujus autem donationis et renovacionis testes sunt . Willelmus Norwicensis archidiaconus . Tuoldus Capellanus . Radulfus de Snaringes . Ernaldus capellanus . Adam de Calna . Radulfus clericus de Saxlingham . Johannes dapifer . Petrus constabularius . Willelmus de Backetuna . Arthur . Adam filius Johannis dapiferi . Willelmus filius Ranulfi.

(British Museum, *Harley Charter* 47 H. 45).

¹ The name of Tatterset still belongs to a neighbouring village and parish, now alternately called Gatesend. The other names have mostly been lost.

(b) PAPAL CONFIRMATION TO HORSHAM ST. FAITH OF LANDS IN
RUDHAM, 1163.

Alexander episcopus servus servorum Dei, dilectis filiis Bertramo priori monasterii Sancte Fidis de Horsham ejusque fratribus tam presentibus quam futuris regularem fidem professis. In perpetuum.

Religiosam vitam eligentibus apostolicum convenit adesse presidium. ne forte cujuslibet temeritatis incursus aut eos a proposito revocet aut robur quod absit sacre religionis infringat. Quocirca dilecti in domino filii vestris justis postulationibus clementer annuimus. et prefatum Monasterium in quo divino mancipati estis obsequio. sub beati Petri et nostra protectione suscipimus. et presentis scripti privilegio communimus. Statuentes ut quascumque possessiones. quecumque bona idem Monasterium impresentiarum juste et canonice possidet. aut infuturum concessione pontificum. largitione regum vel principum. oblatione fidelium. seu aliis justis modis patrante domino poterit adipisci, firma vobis vestrisque successoribus, et illibata permaneant. Ne quibus hec propriis duximus exprimenda vocabulis. Villam de Horsham cum hominibus. Terris. Nemoribus. Pascuis, et pertinentiis suis. quemadmodum Robertus filius Walteri et filii ejus vobis dederunt. et hospitale ejusdem ville quod habetis a fratribus hospitalis Ierusalem cum nemore. et omnibus pertinentiis suis. Terram de Ruddaham cum omnibus pertinentiis suis. quam Sibilla uxor prefati Roberti vobis dedit. Ecclesiam de Horsforda. et Ecclesiam de Mor. In Londoniis. Ecclesiam Sancte Margarite. cum omnibus terris quas in eadem villa Robertus filius Walteri vobis in helemosinam dedit, etc.

Decernimus ergo ut nulli omnino hominum liceat supradictum Monasterium temere perturbare. aut ejus possessiones auferre vel ablatas retinere. minuere. seu quibuslibet vexationibus fatigare. Sed illibata omnia et integra conserventur eorum pro quorum gubernatione et sustentatione concessa sunt, usibus omnimodis profutura. Salva sedis apostolice auctoritate. et dyocesani episcopi canonica justitia. Siqua igitur infuturum ecclesiastica secularive persona hanc nostre constitutionis paginam sciens contra eam temere venire temptaverit. [secundo tertiove commonita. nisi presumptionem suam congrua satisfactione correxerit,]¹ potestatis honorisque sui dignitate careat. reamque se divino judicio existere de perpetrata iniquitate cognoscat. et a sacratissimo corpore ac sanguine Dei et domini redemptoris nostri Jhesu Christi aliena fiat. atque in extremo examine districte ultioni subjaceat. Cunctis autem eidem loco sua jura servantibus. sit pax domini nostri Jhesu Christi. Quatinus et hic fructus bone actionis percipiant.

¹ This has been struck out.

et apud districtum iudicem premia eterne pacis inveniunt. Amen.
Amen. Amen.

Alexander Papa. III. Sanctus Petrus Sanctus Paulus † vias tuas
domine demonstra mihi.

Ego Alexander, Catholice Ecclesie Episcopus.

Bene Valete (monogram).

(Followed by crosses and autograph signatures of ten cardinals
and bishops.)

Datum, Turon', per manum Hermanni Sancte Romane ecclesie
subdiaconi . et Notarii . vii . Kal. Jun. Indictione . xi. Incarna-
tionis dominice Anno .m°. c°. Lx°. iiii°. Pontificatus vero domini
Alexandri Papa .III. anno quarto.

(British Museum, *Cotton Charter*, Augustus II, 136.)

NOTE.—*Sibilla uxor præfati Roberti, etc.*

The *Genealogia Fundatoris*, quoted in Dugdale, begins:—

“Domina Sibilla soror Johannis de Cayneto, filia Radulfi de Cayneto,
qui venit ad conquestum Angliæ, maritata fuit domino Roberti filio
Walteri, fundatori domus sanctæ Fidis de Horsham.”—Dugdale's
Monasticon, vol. iii, pp. 635, 636.

The Lady Sybil was, therefore, it will be observed, great-aunt of
Emma de Cayneto, who married Michael Belet.

The Continuator of Blomefield calls the husband Robert de Cademo,
or Caen, son of Walter de Cademo, lord of Horsford.

(c) SURVEY OF LANDS IN EAST AND WEST RUDHAM BELONGING TO
COXFORD, 1410-1411.

The annotations in margin and text in a later hand.

†

Westrudham.

*Hec sunt terre prioris et conuentus in villa et in campis de West-
rudham secundum nouas abuttaciones Anno regni regis Henrici
quarti xij.*

Lord
Frederick
Campbell.
Charter, xxi, 8.
† f. 3.

In primis tres acre apud Ovenhowe iuxta terram Prioris de
Castelacre ex parte occidentali et capud australe abuttat super
terram [*scilicet viij acr.*] eiusdem prioris. Ouenhogh.

Item nouem acre apud Schephousecroft iuxta terram Simonis
Grygge ex parte aquilonali et capud occidentale abuttat super
communem brueram de Westrudham. Schephouse-
croft.

Item una acra apud Couperesschepous iuxta terram Willelmi
Calthorp militis ex parte australi et capud occidentale abuttat
super Couperesschepous. Cowperisicroft.

Item septemdecim acre apud Westwong iuxta terram prioris de
Castelacre ex parte aquilonali et capud occidentale abuttat super
Wodegate. Westwong.

Item septem rode apud Ovenhowe iuxta terram Prioris de Castel-
acre ex parte australi et capud orientale abuttat super terram
Prioris de Cokesford. Ouenhogh.

- Potteriswong. Item vna acra et dimidia apud Pottere Wong iuxta terram quondam Coupers ex parte occidentali et capud aquilonale abuttat super Massynghamgate et est quedam fovera.
- Salteriscrundel. Item quinque acra in Salterescrundel iuxta Massynghamgate ex parte aquilonali et capud orientale abuttat super terram quondam Johannis de Kerbrook.
- + f. Sb. Item prope ibidem iiij acre ad finem occidentalem dictarum quinque acrarum iuxta terram Johannis Bacheler ex parte aquilonali et capud orientale abuttat super terram Prioris de Cokesford.
- Potteriswong. Item quatuor acre apud Pottere Wong iuxta terram Simonis Grygge ex parte occidentali et capud aquilonale abuttat super Massynghamgate.
- Weseynhamgate. Item due acra apud Weseynhamgate ex parte orientali et capud australe abuttat super terram Simonis Grygge.
- Bromhildele. Item vna acra et dimidia apud Bromhildele iuxta terram Willelmi de Calthorp militis ex parte orientali et capud australe abuttat super terram dicti Willelmi.
- Bulhowe. Item, tres acra apud Bullehowe iuxta terram quondam Couperes ex parte australi et vtrumque capud abuttat super terram prioris de Cokesford.
- Lyngbrya. Item vij acre apud Lyngbrys ex parte occidentali et capud aquilonale abuttat super Ryggesty.
- Leyhtenelond. Item septem acre vocate Leyhtenelond prope ibidem iuxta terram Galfridi Happeres ex parte orientali et capud australi abuttat super terram quondam Coupers.
- Chotettescrundel. Item quatuor acre apud Chotettescrundel iuxta terram prioris Castelacre ex parte aquilonali et capud occidentale abuttat super terram prioris de Cokesford vocatam Leyhtenelond.
- Bulhoghyl. Item quatuor acre apud Bullehowhyl iuxta terram prioris de Castelacre ex parte aquilonali et capud orientale abuttat super terram Johannis Bacheler.
- Hangandenorthil. Item tres acre apud Hangandenorthhyl iuxta terram Jacobi Gyn ex parte australi et capud orientale abuttat super terram quondam Caves.
- Rygsty. Item nouem acre apud Ryggesty iuxta terram quondam Gonett ex parte orientali et capud australe abuttat super Ryggesty.
- Sexacris. Item sex acre apud sex acras iuxta terram Jacobi Gyn ex parte occidentali et capud aquilonale abuttat super terram prioris de Castleacre.
- Wynwecloth. Item quatuor acre apud Wynwecloth iuxta terram prioris de Castleacre ex parte occidentali et capud aquilonale abuttat super Happleegate.
- Helmeresty. Item septem rode apud Helmeresty iuxta terram Oliueri de Swathyng ex parte occidentali et capud australe abuttat super terram Jacobi Gyn.

Item vna acra et dimidia apud Schortpatteswong iuxta terram Schortpattyswong. quondam Coupers ex parte occidentali et capud australe abuttat super Patteswong.

Item vna acra et dimidia apud Helmerescroft iuxta terram Helmerescrof. prioris de Castleacre ex parte orientali et capud aquilonale abuttat super Helmeresty.

Item apud Helmeresty vna acra et dimidia iuxta terram Willelmi Helmeresty. de Calthorp militis ex parte occidentali et capud aquilonale abuttat super Helmeresty.

Item tres acre et dimidia iuxta Happleegate ex parte australi Happleegate. iuxta terram Oliueri de Swathyng ex parte occidentali et capud aquilonale abuttat super Happleegate.

Item due rode et dimidia apud Heylondeshende iuxta terram Heylondys hende. quondam Coupers ex parte australi et capud orientale abuttat super terram Thome Herman.

Item tres rode apud Vphowes iuxta terram Thome Skyppon Vphowes. ex parte australi et capud abuttat super terram quondam Coupers.

Item v rode iacentes subtus messuagium quondam Edwardi de Coyntoun. Sancto Oliuero ex parte australi et capud orientale abuttat super Wesynhamgate.

Item vij rode iacentes prope ibidem iuxta terram predicti Wesynhamgate. Edwardi ex parte australi et capud orientale abuttat super Wesynhamgate.

† *Brunesthorp*.¹

† f. 4.

Willelmus de Pinkeneye² tenet in villa de Brunesthorp lx acras terre et lx acras marisci et j mesuagium et liberum taurum et aprum de comite de W. it.³ per seruicium dimidii feodi militis et Idem comes tenet de comite Mareschallo et Idem de Domino Rege in capite Idem ut supra tenet per seruicium predictum viij^{xx} viij acras et dimidiam terre quas xij^{cm} sui villani de eo tenent Villani. cum suis mesuagiis.

Matildis relicta Galfridi tenet de dicto Willelmo de eodem feodo j acram et dimidiam terre per seruicium vjd.

Petrus filius Rogeri tenet de eodem Willelmo vnum mesuagium et vi acras terre per seruicium xiiij^d. et ad scutagium ob.

Johannes filius Henrici tenet xxxj acras terre de Petro Bozon per seruicium xij. d. et ad scutagium j. d. et Idem Petrus de predicto Willelmo et Idem Willelmus de predicto comite ut supra.

Symon de Burgh tenet de eodem Willelmo j mesuagium xij acras terre per seruicium xiiij. d. et ad scutagium iij. d.

¹ Now known as Broomsthorpe.

² Pinkney is now the name of a property in Tatterford and Broomsthorpe, owned by Mr. Scott-Chad, of Pinkney and Thursford.

³ Sic. Earl Warren held lands in Rudham, and probably here also. The reading should be (?) "comite de Warren in ibi."

Willelmus de Newton tenet de eodem Willelmo j acram terre per seruicium j . d . et ad scutagium ob.

Alanus Rydeman tenet de eodem Willelmo j acram terre per seruicium j . d .

Thomas de Simpringham tenet de eodem Willelmo vnum mesuagium et ij acras terre per seruicium iij . d .

Henricus de la Mor tenet de eodem Willelmo j acram terre per seruicium j . d .

Henricus frater eius tenet de eodem Willelmo j acram et dimidiam terre per seruicium j . d . Johannes filius Henrici tenet de eodem Willelmo iij acras terre et j molendinum aquaticum per seruicium iij . d .

Michil Roffey tenet de eodem Willelmo iij acras terre per seruicium vij . d . ob.

H tenet de eodem Willelmo j acram terre per seruicium ij . d .

Ricardus Cimi tenet de eodem Willelmo j acram terre per seruicium ij . d .

Prior de Cokesford tenet de eodem Willelmo xxv acras terre in pura et perpetua elemosina.

Prior de Sancta Fide tenet de eodem Willelmo iij acras terre in pura et perpetua elemosina.

Prior de Simpringham tenet de eodem Willelmo xxij acras terre in pura et perpetua elemosina.

Domus de Kerbrok . tenet de eodem Willelmo vnum mesuagium ij acras terre in pura et perpetua elemosina.

Hospitalis de Lenn . tenet de eodem Willelmo j acram et dimidiam in pura et perpetua elemosina.

Prior de Simpringham habet aduocacionem ecclesie de Brunesthorp et tenet eandem ecclesiam in proprios vsus ex dono antecessorum predicti Willelmi ad quam ecclesiam pertinent predicta xxij acre terre ut supra.

† f. 5.

† *Estrudham.*

Hee sunt terre Prioris et conuentus de Cokesford in villa et in campis de Estrudham secundum nouas abuttaciones ex parte australi ville Anno regni regis Henrici quarti post conquestam xij.

vnde xliij acre
in ij peciis
cum f

In primis quatuor pecie terre in Schryryngesdele.

Item xj acre
Item xij....

Item prope ibidem [*in manibus Johannis Hattere*] tres acre iuxta terram Martini Hattere ex parte australi et capud orientale abuttat super Hoppedykgate.

Item prope ibidem [*Henricus Westun J. Hoppar*] due acre et dimidia iuxta terram Martini Hattere ex parte australi et capud orientale abuttat super Hoppedykgate.

Item apud Byltepokescroft [*in propriis manibus*] octo acre iuxta terram Thome Symmys ex parte occidentali et capud australe abuttat super Helgotonegate.

Item prope ibidem [*H. Westun J. Sowarby*] tres acre iuxta terram Thome Symmys ex parte orientali et capud australe abuttat super Helghtonegate.

Item apud le Gore [*J. Hopper*] acre et dimidia iuxta terram Martini Hattere ex parte aquilonali et capud occidentale abuttat super Reynhamgate et est quod Gore, etc.

Item apud Schryringesdele tres acre iuxta Helghtonegate ex parte aquilonali et capud orientale abuttat super Hoppedykgate. infra vij acras, suprascriptas vt estimatur et in propriis manibus.

Item apud Le Gore [*in propriis manibus*] vna roda iuxta terram Martini Hattere ex parte australi et capud aquilonale abuttat super Helghtonegate.

Item prope ibidem [*in propriis manibus*] dimidia acra iuxta terram quondam Reicheri Maupas ex parte aquilonali et capud orientale abuttat super Helghtonegate.

Item prope ibidem [*vna pecia*] tres rode [*in propriis manibus*] iuxta Reynhamgate ex parte occidentali et capud australe abuttat super terram quondam Willelmi Nally.

Item prope [*vna pecia*] ibidem vna pecia iuxta terram Edwardi Vincent ex parte orientali et capud australe abuttat super terram quondam Willelmi Nally [*xj acre*].

Item in Kotecroft [*in propriis manibus*] nouem acre iuxta terram Martini Hattere et capud aquilonale abuttat super Chapeleynescroft.

Item prope ibidem [*in propriis manibus*] quatuordecim acre iuxta terram Galfridi de Burgh ex parte orientali et capud aquilonale abuttat super Chapeleynescroft.

Item [*in propriis manibus*] vna magna pecia vocatur Elyswong iuxta terram quondam Cheynes ex parte orientali et capud australe abuttat super Schortlond . [*xxx acre*].

[Item in Knottescroft due acre et vna roda iuxta Helghtonegate ex parte orientali et capud aquilonale abuttat super Thorpgate.]¹ { Crown, cum clauso paruo.

Item apud Mayesattehyl septem rode iuxta Knottescroft ex parte orientali et capud aquilonale abuttat super Thorpgate.

Item in Heriotdyescroft [*Ricardus Crowper . H. Westun*] tres rode iuxta Helghtonegate ex parte occidentali et capud australe abuttat super Cotecroft.

Item [*Willelmus Hamund*] due acre et una roda in Capescroft iuxta terram quondam Roberti Caunseler ex parte aquilonali et capud occidentale abuttat super Chapeleynescroft.

Item in Trewelouescroft [*Willelmus Hamund*] vna acra et dimidia iuxta Capescroft ex parte aquilonali et capud occidentale abuttat super Chapeleynescroft. † f. 5b.

Item [*Willelmus Hamund*] dimidia acra vocata Treweloues-halfaker inter Chapeleynescroft ex vtraque parte et capud aquilonale abuttat super terram quondam Roberti Caunseler.

¹ This had been struck out.

Item [*Ricardus Crown*] vna acra et dimidia apud Hennecrundel iuxta terram Radulphi de Oxwyk ex parte australi et capud occidentale abuttat super terram quondam Chapeleyne.

Item [*terra hospit¹. Ricardi Cowper*] quatuor acre apud Moresyde iuxta terram quondam Roberti Caunseler ex parte occidentale et capud aquilonale abuttat super Le More.

Item apud [*Ricardus Crown*] Schortlond vna acra iuxta terram quondam Ade Cokerel ex parte orientali et capud aquilonale abuttat super terram quondam Chenyes.

Item prope ibidem [*Ricardus Crown*] vna acra et dimidia iuxta terram Radulphi de Oxwyk ex parte orientali et capud aquilonale abuttat super terram quondam Cheynes.

Item prope ibidem [*Ricardus Crown*] dimidia acra iuxta terram quondam Roberti Caunseler ex parte occidentali et capud australe abuttat super terram Roberti Rekant.

Item prope ibidem [*Ricardus Crown*] tres rode iuxta terram quondam Roberti Caunseler ex parte orientali et capud australe abuttat super terram Edmundi Vincent.

Item prope ibidem [*in propriis manibus*] quatuor acre iuxta terram Thome Synnmis ex parte orientali et capud australe abuttat super fflaxlond.

Item vna magna pecia vocata fflaxlond [*xviij acre*].

Item vna magna [*xij acre*] pecia vocata Netherbaretteswong iuxta terram Edmundi Vincent et ex parte orientali et capud australe abuttat super terram prioris Sancte ffidis.

Item tres rode in Lytelhowedele [*Partryk*] iuxta terram Martini Hattere ex parte aquilonali et capud orientale abuttat super Blakemereweye.

Item vna acra [*et j roda*] prope ibidem iuxta terram quondam Thome de Bekham ex parte australi et capud orientale abuttat super Blakemereweye.

Item quinque [*vna pecia*] rode prope ibidem iuxta terram quondam Chapeleyne ex parte aquilonali et capud orientale abuttat super Blakemeregate.

[Item dimidia [*vna pecia*] acra apud Blakemeregate iuxta terram Martini Hattere ex parte australi et capud orientale abuttat super Blakemeregate.]²

Item vna magna pecia prope ibidem iuxta terram quondam Johannis de Chosele ex parte aquilonali et capud orientale abuttat super Blakemeregate [*x acre. ix acre*].

Item vna acra [*et j roda*] apud [*Johannes Partritch*] Baretteswongeshende iuxta terram quondam Johannis de Chosele ex parte aquilonali et capud orientale abuttat super terram prioris Sancte ffidis.

¹ *I.e.*, the Hospital of Boycodeswade.

² This had been struck out.

Item quinque [*Partrik*] rode apud Halfhyll iuxta terram quondam Cheynes ex parte aquilonali et capud occidentale abuttat super terram Sancte ffidis.

Item prope ibidem [*Partrik*] due acra et dimidia iuxta terram quondam Cheynes ex parte aquilonali et capud orientale abuttat super terram prioris Sancte ffidis.

† Item due acre [*Johannes Hattere*] et dimidia apud Wesenhamgate † f. 6. iuxta terram quondam Roberti Bonet ex parte aquilonali et capud occidentale abuttat super Wesenhamgate.

Item vna magna pecia apud [*Partryk*] Netherthorncrundel iuxta terram prioris Sancte ffidis ex parte australi et capud occidentale abuttat super terram eiusdem prioris [*xiiij acre*].

Item vna [*Partryk*] magna pecia apud Ouerthorncrundel iuxta terram Roberti Rekaunt ex parte occidentali et capud australe super terram prioris Sancte ffidis [*xij acre*].

Item [*Prior occupat sine titulo Sancte Ffidis*] vna magna pecia apud Grenehowe iuxta [*ex vtraque parte vie*] terram prioris Sancte ffidis ex parte orientali et capud australe abuttat super Helghtoneheythe [*ix acre*].

Item quinque acre in campis de Brounsthorp apud Hoppedykgate ex parte orientali et capud aquilonale abuttat super Hoppedykhowe [*vel Presthowe*].

Item [*Cauncelleriscroft*] tres rode subtus Schakedenezerd ex parte australi et capud occidentale abuttat super viam regalem.

Item ex parte aquilonali dicte ville.

Item Johannes Hattere occupat vnam rodam iacentem inter terram Johannis Sad ex parte aquilonali et terram Willelmi Coke ex parte australi et capud orientale abuttat super terram de Chenys et capud occidentale abuttat super terram prioris Sancte Ffidis et reddit per annum ij. d. pro firma.

Item Ricardus Covper tenet vij rodas terre iacentes inter terram Johannis Partryk ex parte aquilonali et terram Thome Newe ex parte australi et capud orientale abuttat super terram Prioris et Conuentus de Cokesford et capud occidentale abuttat super terram natuam in tenura Willelmi Hammund et reddit per annum.

Item iij rode in vna pecia apud Halfhyll inter terram Roberti Partrych ex parte australi et terram natuam Nicholai Roo ex parte aquilonali et capud orientale abuttat super terram prioris Sancte ffidis et capud australe abuttat super terram prioris de Cokesford continentem quinque rodas terre vt supra.¹

† *Estrudham.*

† f. 6b.

Radulphus de Knyeto tenet de priore de Cokesford viij^{xx} acras pasture separate per seruicium v. s. et ad scutagium iijd. et pro j

¹ The last three paragraphs are all in a later hand.

quarterio feodi militis et hoc facit pro eodem tenemento et pro alio tenemento quod tenentes sui subscripti de eo tenent Scilicet Laurencius de Mauert tenet de eodem Radulpho viij acras terre per seruicium viij*d.* et ad scutagium ob. Cristiana le Godewykes tenet de eodem Radulpho j acram terre per seruicium ij*d.* et ad scutagium ob. Reginaldus Wythman tenet de eodem Radulpho j acram terre per seruicium j*d.* Johannes de Ferrers tenet de eodem Radulpho j messuagium vij acras terre per seruicium x*d.* Ricardus de Knyeto et fratres tenent de eodem Radulpho vj acras terre per seruicium j*d.* Hugo Tinctor tenet de eodem Radulpho ij acras terre per seruicium ij*d.* et ad scutagium ob. Willelmus Tinctor tenet de dicto Hugone de dicto feodo ij acras et dimidiam terre per seruicium ij*d.* Hilde de Knyeto tenet de dicto Radulpho j acram terre per seruicium iij*d.* Heredes Bertholomei Tinctoris tenent de eodem Radulpho j messuagium et j acram terre et dimidiam perticatam terre per seruicium x*d.* ob. Symon de Burgo tenet de eodem Radulpho j messuagium et vj acras terre per seruicium ijs. ij*d.* ob. et ad scutagium j*d.* Godefridus de Titilsale tenet de eodem Radulpho j perticatam terre per seruicium vij*d.* Radulphus Trenchende tenet de eodem Radulpho dimidiam acram et dimidiam perticatam terre per seruicium ob. R. de Weyerpyn tenet de eodem Radulpho j cotagium et j acram terre per seruicium x*d.* Willelmus de Newton tenet de eodem Radulpho j cotagium et j acram terre per seruicium viij*d.* ob. q. Walterus filius Petri tenet de eodem Radulpho viij acras terre per seruicium vj*d.* Thomas Grain tenet de eodem Radulpho j cotagium per seruicium xij*d.* ob. Ricardus Delfys tenet de eodem Radulpho j cotagium per seruicium iij*d.* Reginaldus Skeretar tenet de eodem Radulpho de eodem ij acras terre per seruicium j*d.* ob.

NOTE.—Most of the field-names in this fifteenth-century Survey have long since disappeared. The villages mentioned all had the same name then as now—Massingham, Weasenham, Harpley, Helhoughton, may all be recognised under the spellings of Massyngham, Weseynham (or Wesynham), Happle (or Happlee), Helgotone (or Helghtonne). Chapeleynscroft is the land pertaining to the Chaplain of the Hospital. Notice “True love’s Croft” and “True love’s Half-acre.” Is this an unexpected bit of romance in a field-name, or is “Truelove” only the prosaic surname of an individual? A pathetic interest attaches, too, to the land called “formerly Cheyney’s.”

Gate means “on the road to.” *Wong*, in this Survey and in the original charter, means “meadow,” or “grove of trees.” Both are good old English words, and the former still survives in the phrase, “Gang your ain gate” (Scotch) for “Go your own way.” The latter is unfortunately obsolete.

(d) INSTITUTION OF ANTHONY BURBALL, 1652.

To all whom these presents shall concerne Sir Horatio Towns-

hend of East Reynham in the County of Norfolke Barronet sendeth Greeting.

Knowe ye that I the said Sir Horatio Townshend the true and undoubted Patron of the Vicaridge of West Rudham in the said County (the same being now voyd by the absence of Nicodemus Paulett Clerke the last Incumbent there, and the Right of Presentation to me in this behalfe belonging) doe by these presents present Anthony Burrall Clerke, And desire you will vouchsafe to admitt him the said Anthony Burrall to the said Vicaridge of West Rudham and to institute and induct him Vicar thereof with all its Rights members and appurtenances, And further to doe and execute such other lawfull Act and Acts as shall in this behalfe be convenient and necessary.

Given under my hand and seale this seaventh day of May in the yeare of our Lord God according to the Computacion of the Church of England one Thousand six hundred and Two and fiftie.

Signed HORATIO TOWNESHEND.
(seal of arms)

Sealed and subscribed in the presence of

Tim. Felton
Nehemias Bond
John Baily.

(British Museum, *Additional Charter* 14848.) Purchased at Mr. Dawson Turner's sale, June 6th, 1859.

NOTE.—This Presentation is interesting as an example of one made under the Commonwealth, and is not addressed to the Bishop of the Diocese, the Church of England being in abeyance, but “to all whom these presents shall concern.” Anthony Burrell was probably an Independent.

It will be noticed that there is no mention of him in the official list of Incumbents of West Rudham, nor of his predecessor, Nicodemus Paulett.

APPENDIX II.

(a) THE VICARS OF EAST RUDHAM.

- 1301. John de Titeshale, instituted Vicar, presented by the Prior and convent of Cokesford.
- 1310. Peter de Buxstone, ditto.
- 1314. Richard Ringstede, ditto.
- 1306. Bened. de Fakenham, ditto.
- 1328. William Keys, ditto.
- 1349, John de Sustede, ditto.
- 1393. Thomas Grey, ditto.
- 1416. Adam de Erneley, ditto.
- 1425. William Mallere, ditto.
- 1429. Thomas Howlet, ditto.

1448. William Leutt, by John, Prior, etc.
 1478. John Belle, by the Bishop ; a lapse.
 1511. John Stifing, by the prior, etc.
 1554. William Blakey, the Bishop ; a lapse.
 1555. Bernard Mankinholles, ditto.
 John Head.
 1566. John Muriel, by the Duke of Norfolk.
 Edmund Warne.
 1597. Henry Baldwin, by Jane, relict of Sir Roger Townsend.
 1612. Richard Kettlewell, by Sir John Stanhope, Baron de Harrington.
 1625. John Robotham, by Sir Roger Townsend, Bart.
 1629. John Ramsey, ditto.
 1669. Thomas Gibson, by Hor., Lord Townsend.
 1693. Ant. Austin, by Charles, Lord Townsend.
 1697. William Marshall, the Bishop ; a lapse.
 1704. Robert Baldwin, by Charles Townsend.
 1707. Patr. Guthry, ditto.
 1720. John Athill, ditto.

The Vicarages of East and West Rudham were consolidated, October 13th, 1720.

(b) VICARS OF WEST RUDHAM.

Mr. Godfrey, Vicar of West Rudham, and Richard, his son, were found to have been killed in the *Iter* of the King's Judges, A^o fourteenth Edward I.

1305. William de Rademelde, Vicar, presented by the Prior and convent of Cokesford.
 1342. Robart Chattocks, ditto.
 1348. Robert Weynold, ditto.
 1349. Thomas James, ditto.
 1391. John Symth, ditto.
 1395. Barth. Benet, ditto.
 1401. Steph. Honyter, ditto.
 1404. Nich. Chandelers, ditto.
 1410. N. Chandelers, the Bishop ; by lapse.
 1414. William Brown, by the Prior, etc.
 1429. Robert Insum, the Bishop ; by lapse.
 1431. William Thurton, by the Prior, etc.
 1448. Dion. Iggys, the Bishop ; a lapse.
 Thomas Spark
 1480. Thomas Hempton, by the Prior, etc.
 Thomas Spendeler.
 1492. Robert Robinson, ditto.
 1498. And. Waryn, ditto.
 1504. Thomas Sylesden.
 1506. Robert Lawe, ditto.
 1535. Peter Stancliff, ditto.
 1554. William Blackey, the Bishop ; a lapse.

1555. John Baymunt, ditto.
 1560. John Head, by Thomas, Duke of Norfolk.
 1566. John Muriel, ditto.
 Richard Brazell.
 1572. Marm. Oholmeley, by Roger Blenerhasset, etc.
 1583. Andrew Pilkington, by Roger Townsend, Esq.
 1616. Richard Kettlewell, by Jane, Lady Berkley,
 1625. John Robotham by Sir R. Townsend, Bart.
 1639. Michael Mylla, the King in the minority of Roger Townsend,
 Bart.
 1659. Henry Atkyna, by Hor. Townsend, Bart.
 1669. Thomas Gibson, ditto.
 1693. Ant. Austen, by Charles, Lord Townsend.
 1697. William Marshall, the Bishop; a lapse.
 1704. Robert Baldwin, by Charles, Lord Townsend.
 1707. Peter Guthry, by ditto.
 1720. John Athil, by Lord Townsend.

(c) VICARS OF EAST AND WEST RUDHAM.

1721. Robert Spencer, by Lord Townshend.
 1762. Mr. Thomas Burslem, ditto.
 1771. Lancaster Framlingham, ditto.
 1785. Joseph Faulder, ditto.
 1786. Folliott Herbert Walker Cornwall, ditto.
 1788. Charles Lucas Edridge, ditto.
 1805. Thomas Bland, ditto.
 1851. Valentine Samuel Barry Blacker, ditto.
 1858. Francis Pye Willington, ditto.
 1867. Francis Garrett Wilson, ditto.
 1886. Robert W. Wortley, ditto.
 1896. Hugh John Dukinfield Astley, ditto, the present Vicar.

(d) PRIORS OF COXFORD.

Matthew de Caineto was the first Prior.
 Herebert, or Hubert, occurs Prior in the tenth of Richard I, and fourth of Henry III.
 William, occurs seventeenth Henry III.
 Adam de Dalling, occurs in the reign of Henry I, Ao. 29.
 John, occurs Prior thirty-fourth and forty-first Henry III.
 Hugh de Elmham, occurs in the fourteenth Edward I.
 William de Hempton, elected Prior, 1315.
 John Thorp, died Prior 1342, and John de Thornham elected that year.
 Peter de Tekenhow, elected in 1346, on Thornham's resignation.
 Henry de Elmham was Prior about 1369.
 John de Walsingham, elected in 1404.
 Edmund de Snetisham, occurs in 1430 and resigned.
 John de Dereham elected 1438.
 Edmund de Snetisham, elected again on Dereham's death, 1449.

John Wichingham, succeeded and resigned in 1463, when John Knollys *alias* Clement was elected; and on his death in 1478, Henry Mileham was elected, and occurs Prior in 1498.

John Matthews occurs Prior in 1534, with John Nevill, and eight other canons.

APPENDIX III.

THE PARISH REGISTERS.

The Registers of both parishes are well preserved.

East Rudham commences 1566.

West " " 1565.

The following interesting Notes are contained in the Oldest Register Book of West Rudham, 1565-1653 :—

On p. 2 of cover :—

“ West Rudham Register Booke kept from the feast of the annunciation of the Virgin Mary in the year of our Lord God 1565, et Anno Regni Elizabethæ. 7^o, of all the Baptisms, Marriages, and Burialls that have been there to the present yeare, which be sought out of the Old Registers, written by the ... Vicar there at that instant as followeth :—

Andrew Pilkington, 1583.

Richard Kettlewell, 1616.

John Rowbotham, 1625.

Thomas Rowbotham,
West Rudham.

On p. 31 :—

A memoriall of some (historical facts ?) as to the Parish of West Rudham, collected by John Robotham, incumbent, Anno Domini 1626.

Md.—The chancel was built¹ by the Prior and Convent of Coxford Abbey in the year 1456 (as witnessed by an inscription ?) the first sentence yet legible on the (?) *Orate pro bono statu Edmundi de Snetesham honorandi P'rioris de Coxford et ejus (?) conventus qui istam cancellam de novo fieri fecerunt, anno milles' mo. cccclvi^{to}.*

Md.—Peter Stanclif, Vicar of ys church was in ye daies of Q. Mary enforced to put away his wife, who thereupon married to another man; but (when Q. Elizabeth came to the crown) he took her again from her second husband. He lieth buried near ye north door of ye church, with this inscription yet legible over the door, Peter Stanclif, Vicar of²

¹ This should be “rebuilt.”

² It will have been observed that, in 1554, William Blackey was appointed Vicar; so that in 1558, “when Queen Elizabeth came to the crown,” and Peter Stanclif resumed his wife, he was no longer Incumbent, though he seems to have continued living in West Rudham, and was styled “Vicar” on the inscription.

Md.—Marmaduke Cholmeley was Vicar here, Anno Do. 1565.

Md.—The church wal was cast, and sentences of scripture written thereon, anno 1575, as appeareth by the figures yet legible on the wal.

Md.—Andrew Pilkington was Vicar here, anno 1583, and held this living and Massingham, where he lived and where he died, Anno 1616.

Md.—Richard Kettlewel was settled in this Vicarage Anno 1616, which he held, together with East Rudham, where he died, Anno 1624 December.

Md.—John Robotham was presented to this Vicarage by Sir Roger Townshend Anno 1625, and received institution from Bishop Harsnet.¹ In which year the desk was new made by Mr. Daniell,² and a new pulpit set up by the Parish.

Md.—1627 Sir Roger Townshend the Patron gave al the Parsonage tith belonging to the Rectory of West Rudham (both of abbey lands and others) to the p'sent incumbent, John Robotham and afterwards confirmed them to him by Indenture during his life.

Md.—1630 the new barn (intended for a parsonage barn) was built by Sir Roger Townshend, and the roof (?) of it at ye charge of the Incumbent 1634. The great bel was new cast, and weigheth now nine hundred forty and seven (?) pounds. Anno 1626. The communion table was railed in.

In another hand:—

1640. Memorandum. { that Michael Mills was presented to this Vicarage by our Sovereign Lord King Charles, by reason of the minority of Roger Townshend : Baronet, gent., the true and undoubted patron of the said Vicarage for that p'sentation . . . (?) received institution from Bishop Mountague, and . . . (?) actual and p'sonall possession given by John R. . . . (?)³ Vicar of East Rudham, the ffowerth day of ffebr : 1640.

In another hand, and in red ink:—

Md.—That Anno 1645 March 15 the book of common prayer was taken away. That Anno p'dicto March 22, the Directory for the public worship of God was first used.

¹ Note : [later hand] :—“of Chigwell.”

² Mr. Daniell died seized of the manors of Ferrars and Northall, January 10th, 1636.

³ John Ramsey (see p. 138).

I find mention of the burial of Henry Russell, who died the 3rd September, 1606, as stated on the Brass in the church, on the 7th September of the same year. There are numerous references to other members of the Russell family between the years 1567 and 1640, and also to members of the family of Daniell.

ADDITIONAL NOTE on "Broomsthorpe."—This hamlet, called in the *Survey* "Brunesthorpe," and in the Charter "torp de vivario" (see pp. 110 and 127), is still a separate Parish, though the church, dedicated to St. John the Evangelist, was in ruins in the days of Queen Elizabeth. There is now nothing left of it. The inhabitants, about sixteen in number, attend East Rudham Church, and the Parish goes with the Rudhams. This manor belonged at the *Survey* to the Abbey of Ely, whence it passed to the Pinkneys about 1160. The advowson of the church belonged to the Priory of Sempringham, *temp.* Edward I, by the gift of one of the Pinkneys, and was valued at four marks, and paid 7*d.* Peter's Pence. This continued down to 1532 (cf. p. 132), when it passed to Coxford Priory, and at the Dissolution to Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk. John Croome was Vicar in 1481, and John Meudham in 1529. The 23 acres which are stated (p. 132) to have been held by the Prior of Sempringham "in pure and perpetual alms," and to have belonged to the church of this parish, have been altogether alienated. I suppose they disappeared at the Dissolution.

The temporalities of Coxford Priory, here and in Tatterset in 1428, were valued at £6 6*s.* 8*d.* In the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, 26 Henry VIII, the Rectory was valued at £3 3*s.* 4*d.*

NOTE.—My thanks are due to the Proprietors of the *Norwich Mercury* for the views of East and West Rudham Churches; to Mr. Patrick for the series of drawings illustrative of the architectural and other objects of interest in the churches, except those on pp. 112 and 125, which were drawn by Miss Kitton, of East Rudham; the view of Coxford Priory is from a photograph kindly lent by Mrs. Day; and the Cross on the south transept of East Rudham Church is from photographs kindly lent by Dr. Manby.

ERRATUM.—Page 105, text, line 4; note 1, line 4: St. Hilda has slipped in here by an oversight. King Anna only had four daughters. St. Hilda was, however, connected with the Royal Family of East Anglia, being sister to Hereswith, the Queen of Ethelhere, brother and successor to King Anna. These ladies were both of the Royal Family of Northumbria.





PORTA NIGRA : THE TREASURE OF TRÉVES.

BY T. CATO WORSFOLD, F.R.Hist.S., F.R.S.L.



RISING on the right bank of the Moselle, sixty miles to the south-west of Coblenz and about ninety miles from Cologne on the south, stands ancient Tréves, or Trier of to-day, now the principal city of an important district of the Rhine, and formerly known in the Roman world under the resounding title of Colonia Augusta Treverorum. It is, in truth, a most quaint city of the past, flourishing in the present ; and as one enters it, crossing the ancient bridge which tradition declares was built by the Romans A.D. 28, and identifies with the Moselle bridge mentioned by Tacitus as existing here in his history of the Batavian War A.D. 78, one seems to have gone back at least four hundred years in the flight of time, to find the past living in the present, so numerous and splendid are the relics of a historical past, brought before even the most casual observer. An early tradition puts the foundation of this grand old town at thirteen hundred years before that of Rome, when, gravely states the ancient chronicler of the *Gesta Treverorum*, with all the delightful minuteness of his time, "Abraham was seven years old;" adding, with further detail, that the builder was Trebeta or Trebetas, son of the Assyrian king Ninus, who, fleeing from the wrath of his stepmother, Semiramis, after going to and fro upon the earth, ultimately in the course of his wanderings, attracted by the lovely valley of the Moselle, settled here, and became the father of the Treviri. An allusion to this occurs in the description above the gateway of the ancient Rothes

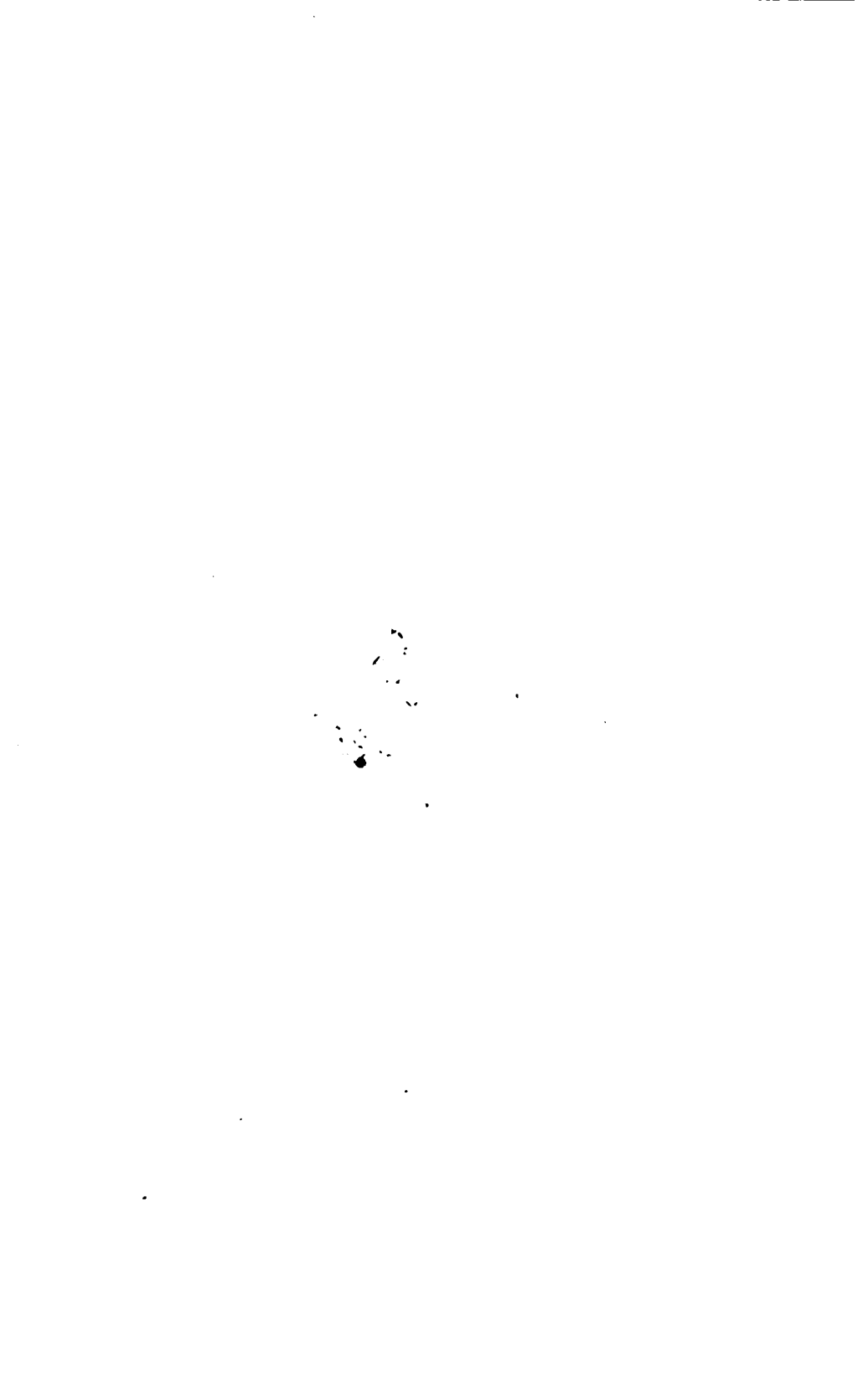
Haus in the market-place, a late Gothic erection of the fifteenth century, formerly used as the Rathhaus. Here he who runs may read : "Ante Romam Treviris stetit annis mille trecentis Perstet et eterna pace fruatur Amen," which may be rendered in English : "Trier existed One thousand three hundred years before Rome ; may it last and enjoy eternal peace."

Whatever may be the date of the foundation of the city, opinions certainly vary as to whether the Treviri were of Celtic or Teutonic stock. It is true St. Jerome records that the tongue of the Treviri of the fourth century had a marked resemblance to the language of the Gauls in Asia ; but even if this testimony is accepted as to their Celtic origin, it must be borne in mind that the Treviri had, even then, been for a considerable period under the influence of extensive Teutonic environment. Thus writes the Father in the introduction to his second book of Commentaries on the Epistle to the Galatians : "Unum est quod inserimus et promissum in exordio reddimus, Galatas, excepto sermone Græco quo omnis Oriens loquitur, propriam linguam eandem pene habere quam Treviros nec referre se aliqua exinde corruerint, quam et Afri Phœnicum linguam nonnulla ex parte mutaverint, et ipso Latinitas et regionibus quotidie mutetur et tempore."

(Note that Jerome here refers to the Phœnician as the non-Latin language of Africa, passing over the native dialects.)

Passing to Cæsar, that most practical of all chroniclers, we find that, in the year 58 B.C., he recognised their bravery as a fighting race, and that their cavalry was the most efficient in all Gaul (*Bell. Gall.*, ii, 24, v. 3 ; viii, 25, 1-37 ; vii, 63, v. 2, 55).

The Roman town itself, the Colonia Augusta, was probably founded by Augustus, and became a military colony under the Emperor Claudius, being made a part of the Provincia Gallia Belgica, and the headquarters of a procurator, rapidly reaching a position of opulence and importance, which gained for it from Ausonius, in the fourth century, the title of "Rome beyond the Alps." Surrounded then as now by vineyards clustering upon





PORTA NIGRA ; FROM THE TOWNS.

the sunny hills and smiling valleys, there is but little doubt the poet appreciated Tréves and those delicate vintages of the Moselle for which, at all times, the town has been famous. Thus he speaks in his *Urbes Nobiles* :—

“ Armipotens dudum celebrari Gallia gestit,
Treverique urbis solium quæ proxima Rheno
Pacis ut in medio gremio secura, quiescit.”

The city was embellished from time to time by the Roman Emperors with splendid buildings as monuments of their power and wealth, and it is with ever-deepening interest that an intelligent observer of the manners and customs of a bygone age contemplates the Circus Maximus which, situated just outside the town, and capable of seating some fifty thousand persons, recalls the grim fate of the Frankish kings Ragaise and Ascarich, who, with thousands of their followers, were here torn to pieces by wild beasts at the command of the Emperor Constantine in 306, and then passes to that imposing pile of ruins which, even in the desolation of destroying ages, shows in all directions the magnificence of the palace where Imperial Cæsar in softer mood held sway.

Again, attention is claimed by the lofty basilica which, built entirely of Roman bricks about the end of the third or commencement of the fourth century, after serving in earlier days as a hall of justice and for meetings of merchants, became in succession a palace for kings and archbishops, to be finally consecrated as a Protestant church in 1856 ; whilst a short distance away, the extensive Roman baths of St. Barbara (660 ft. in length) afford a further field of investigation to the ardent archæologist. Then, again, the Cathedral claims our attention, as probably the oldest church in the North of Europe (about 375-85 A.D.), and admittedly the most important instance of pre-Carolingian building in Germany. Here is kept, in a secret place known to the Chapter alone, the “ Holy Coat ” of the Saviour, said to have been presented to the Cathedral by the Empress Helena on her return from the Holy Land. It is shown at rare intervals to the faithful, who then, however, flock in thousands to behold it.

But we leave the Cathedral, with the adjacent and equally attractive but smaller *Liebfrauenkirche* on our right, and as we pass through the quaint old market-place towards the north there rises before us that magnificent relic of Roman might known as the *Porta Nigra*, and bearing also the other Latin name of *Porta Martis*, and the German title of *Simeonsthor* or *Römerthor*. This grand and imposing pile is constructed of immense blocks of *lias sandstone* from the quarries in the neighbouring forest of *Pfalzel*, which were clamped together with iron braces in the olden time, though only two or three of these remain to-day to show us how the great gate was held together without mortar.

The *Porta Nigra* is practically a huge fortified gateway, 115 ft. long, 75 ft. to 93 ft. high, and some 30 ft. in depth, having two four-storied towers protruding on the side extending to the country, in the shape of a crescent. The tower on the east, which appears to be unfinished, is connected with the other one by two double galleries on the third story. Its construction is remarkably similar to that of the ordinary Roman fortified camp, and the building was undoubtedly intended for defence; a very important and most interesting feature being the *propugnaculum*, a court between the outer gate giving access to the country, and the inner one admitting to the town. Here, for an attacking party would be found the most critical moment of their assault; for, if successful in carrying the first gate, the enemy would find himself with yet another and stronger door to overcome; whilst from the inner windows and loopholes, and from the turrets and galleries giving on the town, the besieged party could rain showers of stones, boiling lead, and arrows upon the foe, crowded in the inner court before the second and opposing gate. Surveying this wonderful structure which, in spite of what we know of modern guns and their powers, still carries a very solid conviction of its vast defensive strength, the appreciative mind naturally seeks for the date of its erection—the method of its building. The most recent theory refers it to the first century of the Christian era; but, on the other hand, the unfinished



PORTA NIGRA ; OUTSIDE ENTRANCE.



appearance in certain details, such as the capitals, gives considerable basis to the hypothesis that it was erected about the commencement of the fourth century. The loss of fortified territory on the Rhine made it necessary to set up defences to maintain the empire against the rush of its Teutonic foes; and thus in its very strength has the Porta Nigra remained a monument of the Roman weakness. In support of this theory, too, we have the fact that many of the blocks of sandstone used in the construction of the Porta Nigra bear the same marks and letters, such as "A. G. E.," "S. E. C.," etc., which I also observed on the stones of the Roman Baths or Thermæ, and the latter appear undoubtedly to have been constructed when an Emperor of Rome dwelt at Tréves.

Whilst on the subject of the foundation and strength of the great Gate, I may point out that, standing without an equal, even in Rome itself, it nevertheless has a marked similarity in style to the Porta Maggiore, or Claudian Gate, in the Imperial City. The name of Simeonsthor, sometimes applied to the Porta Nigra, is due to the fact that from 1020 to 1035, a Greek hermit named Simeon resided as an ascetic in the East Tower. Subsequently, Archbishop Poppo turned the edifice into two superposed churches, blending the different styles of round arch architecture together in a somewhat singular fashion. The lower of these two churches was dedicated to St. Mary and St. Michael, and the upper, appropriately, to St. Simeon; and by wholly blocking up the lower arches, the Archbishop constructed a massive flight of stairs giving access to the Church of St. Simeon in the olden times, from the town outside. Traces of the mural decorations of these churches are still to be seen; whilst in the interior, on the ground and first floors, architectural fragments, stone coffins, and shattered pieces of sculpture found in or about the spot, mark in silent manner the march of time in the history of the grand old Gate.

Passing to more recent times: in 1804 orders were given by Napoleon for the restoration of the buildings which, begun that year, were completed in 1817, the event being celebrated by the ceremonial entry into

Tréves through the great Gate, of Frederick William IV, then Prince Royal of Prussia. In 1876 the soil, which had accumulated to a considerable extent, was levelled to the surface of the original foundations ; and to-day the Porta Nigra rises from the ground, blackened by age, but still superior to the assaults of time and man ; sturdy and massive as when, before its rugged strength, the fierce onslaught of Frankish hordes recoiled, defeated and dismayed, some seventeen hundred years ago. Long may it continue "The Treasure of Tréves."





KIRBY MUXLOE CASTLE. ✓

BY J. A. GOTCH, F.S.A.



ALTHOUGH this building is usually called a castle, it is not a castle in the sense of being a military stronghold; it is, in reality, a fortified dwelling-house. But castles and fortified dwelling-houses had a certain amount in common so far as their arrangements were concerned, and the wide distinction between a castle and a house, which most people carry in their minds, ought to be largely obliterated; for the greater number of the castles which were built in early times were primarily dwelling-houses, and were strongly fortified, because the state of society demanded it. But, as the state of society grew less turbulent, the need for fortification grew correspondingly less, and the attention bestowed upon comfort and convenience grew correspondingly larger. The centre of the domestic part of all houses, whether much or little fortified, was the great hall. This apartment in early times was as carefully protected as the rest of the building, but as the demand for comfort increased, the extremely dull effect of the hall, caused by the small windows and ponderous masonry necessary for purposes of defence, was found highly disagreeable. The hall, therefore, was placed in a wing of the building, with a court on either side of it; and as, in its new position, its windows no longer looked out into the open country, they were made larger and more cheerful. In course of time it became no longer needful to pay so much attention to defence, and the hall was once more placed on the outer walls, sufficient protection being afforded by the

moat, which in flat districts always surrounded the house.

At Warwick Castle the hall is on an outer wall, but the ground falls so abruptly down to the river that little danger was to be anticipated from that side. At Oxburgh and Hengrave, and other moated dwellings of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the hall is on an outer wall ; and it must be understood that all these

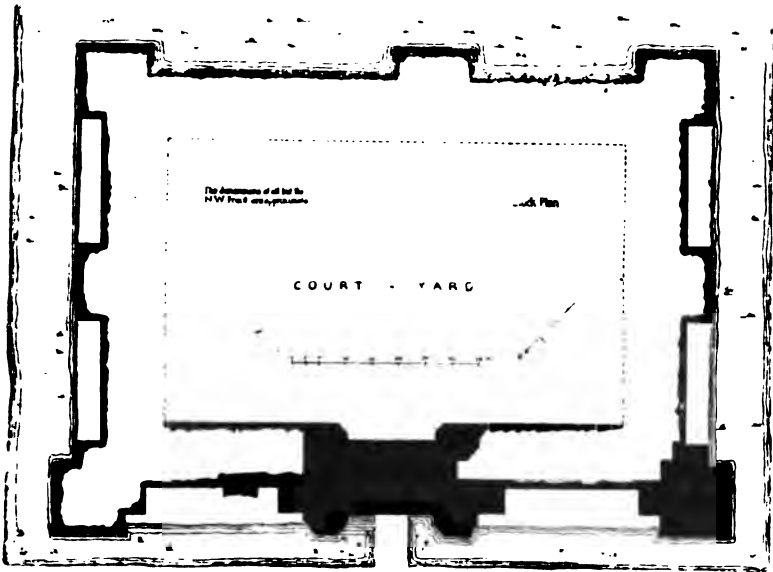


View from Courtyard, June 16th, 1900.

houses, which were of considerable size, were built round a court.

Now, how do these remarks bear upon Kirby Muxloe ? We have here the remains of a fortified house, which was built round a court, and was surrounded by a moat. Unfortunately, nine-tenths at least of the house has disappeared, and it is not the domestic part which has survived, but the portions adapted for defence. The moat remains, and the outline of the outer walls, but there is very little left of them ; what is left is over-

grown with trees, and the moat, although it might not present great difficulties in a case of life and death, is quite sufficiently wet to prevent an examination of the remains of the walls from the outside. Anything, therefore, in the shape of restoration must be largely conjectural. What is quite clear is, that the building was rectangular and symmetrical. The entrance-gatehouse, which is the most important part left, stood in the centre of the front. At each of the four corners was a tower, probably similar to that which still remains.



Half way down each side was another projection, most likely in the shape of a tower; while opposite to the entrance, but not quite on the axial line, was another projection. These lofty masses at the four corners, and half way down each face, were connected by a lower two-storey building. So much we can infer from what we find here, and we know from other buildings that such a disposition was what might be expected.

I am inclined to think that the hall was placed immediately opposite to the entrance-gatehouse, and that the projection on that face represents the bay window at the dais end of the hall, which would help to account for

its being out of the centre. The moat also being considerably wider on that side, seems to point towards the hall being there, inasmuch as the greater width would be supposed to give greater security.

This, however, is only conjecture, and we may well turn to something more certain, and examine a little more closely the actual remains. It will be seen that this building differs in many respects from the two which I have already had the honour of describing to you, namely, Burghley House and Haddon Hall. Kirby Muxloe occupies a place between those two. Burghley is the outcome of the ever-increasing tendency towards civilisation and comfort which marked the sixteenth century. It is a splendid mansion, in which any thought of defence finds no place. Haddon Hall was the gradual growth of centuries, and the thought of defence permeates it throughout. Kirby Muxloe was not the growth of centuries, but was built at one effort, at a time when defence of a kind was still needful. As to its date, there is no record to fix it; but, judging by the work itself, the symmetrical arrangement points to a fairly late date; the detail, which is entirely Gothic, points to its not being very late. That is to say, the entire absence of anything like Renaissance detail indicates that it must have been built before A.D. 1500, and the symmetrical disposition seems to preclude its being much earlier than 1450. So we may safely place it at some period of the last half of the fifteenth century.

In another respect it differs from those other two houses, in that it is built of brick, whereas they are built of stone. At Burghley there is a considerable amount of ornament, because the stone is of a kindly nature; at Haddon the work is much more severe, because the stone is much more difficult to work. Both these houses are in stone districts. This one is in a brick county, and although there is plenty of stone in the neighbourhood, it is of a hard nature, and you will find that it has been sparingly used, only the central block having stone dressings to its doors and windows; and you will also find that the detail is rather large and simple.

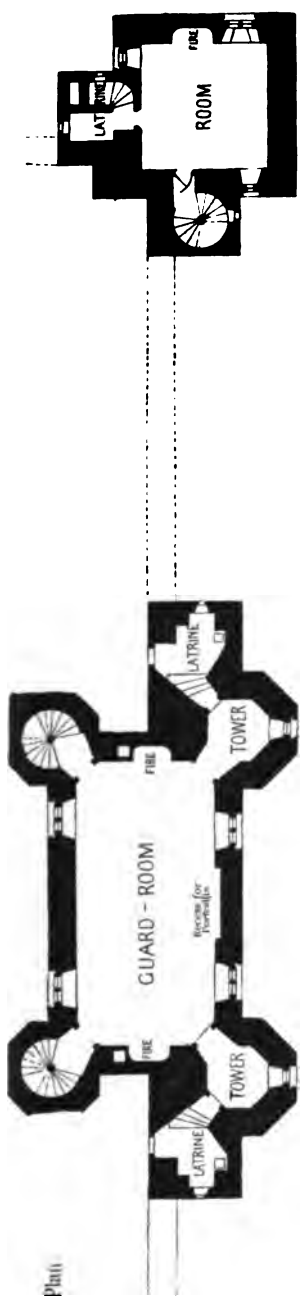
By whom was the house built? There is nearly always some kind of indication on these old houses, in the shape, if not of the actual date, yet of heraldry or initials, or both, carved in the stonework: but here there is very little carved stonework, and what there is gives no clue. The niche over the entrance-gateway has a foliated border, and the pedestal within it has on each face a quatrefoil enclosing a shield. Here, if anywhere, ought to be a clue; but the shields, if ever they were carved, have nothing to distinguish them now, and the eye consults them in vain. A closer scrutiny of the brickwork, however, brings some relief. There is a blue brick diaper, worked chiefly in a diamond pattern, over most of the walls. Time has done much to assimilate the colours of the red and the blue, but just over the gateway to the left of the niche, can be detected, worked in the blue bricks, a w, and on the right another letter, partly mutilated, which might be an H. The eye travels curiously over the surrounding surfaces in search of further help, but none comes until, reaching the canted face of the right-hand octagonal turret, it is enabled to decipher a maunch, the heraldic form of a sleeve. This settles the matter, for the maunch was the cognizance of the Hastings family, and the initials over the archway are W. H., which stand for Sir William Hastings, who succeeded his father in 1456, was a devoted adherent of Edward IV, was made Baron Hastings of Ashby de la Zouche in 1461, and was beheaded by Richard III in 1483.

These dates confirm the conjectural date of building, and limit to it some year between 1456 and 1483. If no coronet can be discovered in the diaper, the limit might almost be reduced to the five years between 1456 and 1461, at which latter date Sir William Hastings became entitled to display one.

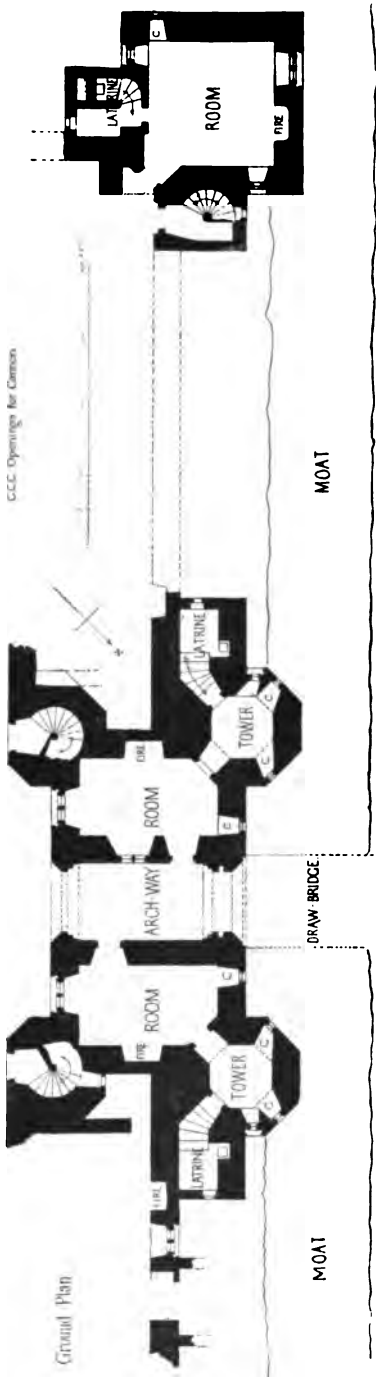
There is more diaper on the corner towers, and in the parapet is a pattern of great obscurity, but which a careful scrutiny might possibly resolve into something of interest. There is a tradition, mentioned by Parker in his *Domestic Architecture*, that the house was built by Lord Hastings for Jane Shore; but this is hardly likely, as it not only bears his own initials and device, but also

on the corner tower, a Latin cross on a base, all worked in the diaper ; and it is improbable that he would have thus adorned a building designed for the residence of the lady above mentioned.

There are, therefore, no historical associations connected with the house ; it is not actually on record when it was built, nor when left to fall to decay and ruin ; all we can learn from it is something of the manners of the end of the fifteenth century, and those not so much of the lord as of his retainers. The moat was crossed by a draw-bridge, for the plain sunk space above the entrance archway was the place into which the further end of the bridge fitted when it was raised ; and the two holes, now rudely enlarged, just above this space, are the holes through which the chains which raised the bridge passed on their way to the winch, or whatever machine it was that raised it. There was also a portcullis ; for the grooves down which it rattled are there to be seen, as well as the recess which received it in the large room over the archway, when it was drawn up (see plans). The small circular holes which look out in various directions from the front, the octagonal turrets and the corner towers, were intended for cannon ; the holes are of a size just sufficient for the mouth of the gun, and they are low down, so that it could stand on the floor. Not such a piece of ordnance as we read of to-day, which could carry from this place right over Leicester and put an army to flight on the other side, but one that might have carried across the field, and would certainly have been an annoyance to any one approaching the gateway. The gateway itself is wide enough to admit a wheeled vehicle, and was furnished at each end with a ponderous pair of gates, of which the massive hanging-hooks still remain ; on either side of the gateway is a room for the accommodation of the guard and of the porter, the latter being provided with a window overlooking the gateway, so that no one, even in quiet times, could pass unseen. From each of these rooms a door leads into the octagonal tower which was occupied by the cannon, and thence to a well-preserved latrine or garderobe. From these rooms, by passing through the gateway into the open court, and turning either to the left or the right, a staircase was gained, which led into a



COURT-YARD.



REMAINS OF KIRBY MUXLOE CASTLE. PLANS OF GROUND AND UPPER FLOORS.

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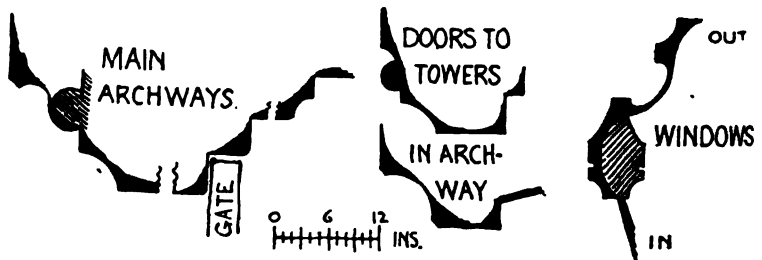
large chamber or guard-room on the first floor, occupying the whole space between the octagonal turrets, furnished with a large fireplace at each end, and provided with a few windows. Out of this, again, access was obtained to the towers and the latrines beyond. This room was the place where the machinery for working the portcullis and drawbridge stood, and was the resort of the men who guarded the entrance.

There is nothing else left in the central block, but the stairs led up to another floor (or floors). Between it and the corner towers was a range of rooms with fireplaces and windows, but of their special use and their disposition nothing much can be said. The corner comprises a large room (18 ft. square) on each floor with fireplace and windows, a sanitary block, and a circular staircase; the ground floor has two small windows, and some embrasures for cannon; on the upper floors the windows are larger, and some of them are provided with stone seats on either side of the window-recess, upon which the retainers of four centuries ago may have wiled away many a dull and weary hour. In one of the octagonal turrets is another window, small, and of only one light, still retaining its heavy crossed iron bars, and the hooks upon which the shutters hung which served instead of glass to keep out the weather. But, by the time this house was built, glass was beginning to come into more general use; and you will find that, whether it was ever put into these windows or not, the masons had provided a groove in their stonework to receive it.

Another feature which was becoming general was the fireplace; and each of the large rooms here has one. But so late as 1500, in the royal palace built for Henry VII at Richmond, the hall fire was in the middle of the floor, and the smoke found its way out through the lantern on the roof. Judging by the moulded bricks round the openings of the fireplaces and the doors, there was no intention of plastering the walls. These, no doubt—at any rate, in the better rooms—were to be covered with tapestry. But none of the better rooms are left to help us towards a decision. Except for the moulded brick round them, the fireplaces are quite plain; there is no attempt at ornament, such as was so frequent in the next

age. In fact, the whole detail is plain and simple; even the chimney-shafts, which in Henry VII's reign were so highly wrought, are here almost plain. They have no pronounced base, and the necking and caps, so far as they remain, are quite simple in outline. The vaulting of the rooms is also quite devoid of detail. In stone buildings there are generally vaulting ribs, and the corbels from which they spring; but here we have merely plain barrel vaulting, or, in the case of the octagonal turrets, dome vaulting equally plain. It is only on the corner tower that any chimney-shafts are left; they spring out of the battlemented parapet, and indicate that the original height of these towers is what we see to-day. What the height of the central tower was, we cannot tell. It may have soared up four, five, or more stories, like Layer Marney, and Oxburgh; but the probability is that it was not so ambitious, and that its height was somewhat the same as that of the corner towers.

There is little more to be said. I wish the remains were more extensive, so that conjecture might have given place to reasonable certainty. But what is left is in a fairly good state of preservation, so that something can be learnt of the habits of former days. How long the place was a home nobody knows, nor whether cannon ever did belch forth their contents on hostile visitors; judging by the absence of much wear-and-tear, it would almost seem as though the place was not in use for a long period as a human habitation. It is in use now, but cattle of another kind live within its walls; and the occupant most to be dreaded by those who seek to invade its seclusion is a young and handsome bull.



Details of Mouldings.



Proceedings of the Congress.

(Concluded from p. 64.)

THURSDAY, AUGUST 2ND.

THIS day was devoted to a perambulation of the town of Leicester, and an inspection of its most noted objects of interest, under the guidance of the Honorary Secretaries of the Leicestershire Archæological Society. The first visit paid was to St. Margaret's Church, which was described by the Rev. Canon Rendell, the Vicar. A church is said to have been founded here in 731, as the seat of a bishop, whose simple dwelling stood near by. The present church was founded by Robert Bossu, second Earl of Leicester. There are remains of Late Transitional work (*circa* 1190) in the eastern respond of the first arch. The south aisle and south arcade are Early English, 1250, while the south doorway is a little later. The north aisle and north arcade, with two curious trefoil windows above the chancel arch, date from about 1300, while the chancel, tower, porch, clerestory, and vestry with hagioscope, were erected about 1400 to 1450. North of the altar, within the sacarium, is a fine monument to Bishop Penny, Abbot of Leicester, and Bishop of Bangor and Carlisle. A remarkable huddled-up figure, in the niche to the north of the east window, is said to represent Robert Bossu. Bell-founding was an industry in Leicester during three centuries, and for the most part in one family—that of Newcombe. The six bells of St. Margaret's were cast by a Thomas Newcombe, who died in 1594. His monument is in the church, bearing three bells above his name. The road leading from St. Margaret's westwards is called *Sanvy Gate*, evidently a corruption of *Sancta Via*, from the fact that the processions of Guilds and Pilgrims passed along it. The next church visited was that of All Saints, an interesting little building, also founded by Robert Bossu in 1199. A curious clock, with two figures which strike the hours, formerly in the west front, has been restored and placed over the south porch under a small gable, which hardly affords sufficient protection against the weather.

Passing the old Grammar School in High Cross Street, in which a capital collection of antiquities—chiefly Roman, and almost rivalling the Museum, belonging to Mr. John Spurway, a citizen of Leicester—was inspected, the party proceeded to the ancient church of St. Nicholas, at the eastern end of which is the district known as “Holy Bones,” said to have been the scene of sacrifices in Roman days, and later of martyrdom at the time of the Reformation, while at the west end are the remains of a wall of Roman construction, known as the Jewry Wall, which have been often described, and are well known. The church was described in a most elaborate and fascinating Paper by Mr. Chas. Lynam, F.S.A., Hon. Treasurer. This Paper will be published. There are three bells, one inscribed “I. H. S. Nazareus Rex, 1656. G. Oldfield.”

After a brief visit to the Roman pavement discovered in 1898 (as described and illustrated in the *Journal* of the British Archaeological Association, vol. iv, N. S., pp. 289-291), with its beautiful guilloche border, geometrical pattern, and central Peacock figure, partly destroyed—the whole suffering also, as was noticed with regret, from the depredations of visitors—the party inspected the old hall of the Guild of Corpus Christi, the windows of which still contain some ancient glass; and the old Town Hall, where Shakespere is said to have played; and thence proceeded to St. Martin’s Church, which was described by the Vicar. This was the municipal and corporation Church, as St. Margaret’s was the ecclesiastical. Here the archdeacon held his court, in the south aisle, which was formerly that of the Guild of Corpus Christi. The Guild of St. George also had a chapel in this church, at the west end of the south aisle. Over its altar used to be an equestrian figure of St. George, which was carried in procession on the festival day (April 23rd), and there is an entry in the churchwardens’ accounts for 1540 of its sale by them. These accounts are perfect, and complete from the Reformation.

Here Mr. Andrew Oliver read the following Notes on some Heraldic Monuments in St. Martin’s Church:—

“Amongst the tombs and monuments which are to be found here attention should be drawn to certain examples, viz., the mural monument, with the half-effigies which are placed under a canopy of Renaissance detail, and the slabs which bear certain coats-of-arms in the east wall of the south aisle, and those which are to be found in the north chapel of the chancel on the north wall. The coats on the east wall of the chancel, and the first from the west end of the chapel, are similar.

“The examples show the helm and mantling, with the crest over the

helm, the shields bearing the arms being underneath the mantling in each case. The mantlings, it will be seen, show great boldness in the cutting. At the east end are two incised slabs, one bearing the date 1585. There is another mural shield just over the screen next to the organ, and another one on the north side of the chapel."

In this churchyard, as in many others at Leicester, there are many grave-stones of slate with, in a number of cases, very artistic designs in incised ornaments, sometimes coloured and gilt. There appears to have been a school of artists in slate who did this work, even as late as 1640. The church is said to stand on the site of the Roman temple of Diana, and many bones and other relics have been found.



Sedilia, St. Mary's, Leicester.
(Photo. by J. Burton and Sons.)

After lunch, which was much appreciated after the hard work of the morning, the Roman Pavement, which is now under the Great Central Station, was visited; after which a move was made to the church of St. Mary de Castro, situated within the Castle precincts. This was described by Col. Bellairs. The church is a splendid structure, and was founded by Robert de Beaumont, father of Robert Bossu, in 1107. Many Norman details may be seen in the present walls. The south aisle is disproportionately large, but this is due to its having been the parish church, while the nave and chancel were originally conventual.

The triple sedilia, of which Mr. I. C. Gould has kindly provided the accompanying illustration, constitute the finest Norman remains of this interesting church, and are thus described by Mr. Chas. Lynam, F.S.A., Hon. Treasurer:—

“The Sedilia in the chancel of St. Mary's Church, Leicester, are

referred to in Parker's *Glossary*, 3rd Edit., 1840, as being of Norman date, and one of the few early examples now remaining. Churches of Norman erection were thickly spread over every part of England, but many have been superseded by those of later dates. With the churches, their early details were for the most part discarded; but in many instances of Norman doorways, their charm of design and elaboration were, happily, too much for the hand of the destroyer, and they remain very often to this day, even to post-Reformation rebuildings, testifying to the previous existence of a church of their date.

"At the Church of St. Mary, at Leicester, this very perfect example of Late Transition sedilia still remains. They consist of three graduated seats, divided and margined by pairs of shafts carrying semi-circular arches. The caps and faces of the arches are elaborately carved; the latter with a multiplication of zig-zag in refined relief, and the former in geometric and foliated forms; a suggestion of the Early-English dog-tooth being indicated.

"The general feature is just what the Norman artist delighted in: semi-circular arcading, with pillar and arch and shaded recess. He never tired of these elements, but treated them as variously as circumstance demanded. His ponderous nave arcade-triforium, with bright light and deep shadow; clerestory of changeful form and vaulted cover, and his simple wall veil, all came to him with welcome and with grace. This fragment of Leicester may well be treasured, though not free from certain handling by a modern tool."

A visit to the Castle, part of which is now used as the Court-house, to the mound which is all that remains of the Norman keep, and to the Trinity Hospital—founded in 1330 by Henry, Earl of Lancaster, but of which the present building is all modern—brought a long and most interesting day to a close.

At the evening meeting Mr. I. C. Gould read a valuable Paper, entitled, "Notes on Early Fortifications," which has been published, pp. 15 to 38. Another Paper by Dr. Brushfield on, "A Leicester Church Brief of 1640," was read in the author's absence by the Rev. H. J. Dukinfield-Astley, and will be published in due course.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 3RD.

To-day the Association joined in a united excursion with the Leicester Architectural and Archæological Society, under the guidance of Mr. Thomas Harrold. The start was made in carriages and brakes at

10 A.M. by a large party, in spite of most unfavourable weather, for Market Bosworth and Bosworth Field. The first halt was made at Newbold Verdon, built about 1680, where the moated Manor-house was visited, but a much more interesting Elizabethan house, with projecting porch and upper room, was passed at Desford on the way.

At Market Bosworth the Grammar School, rendered memorable because Dr. Johnson was once an usher there, was inspected, after which a visit was paid to the Church. This has been well restored. The tower arch is a beautiful example of Transitional style of the early fourteenth century, the arch itself being Early English, while the mouldings are Decorated. After lunch, the drive was continued to Bosworth Field, the principal features of the great battle being ably pointed out and described by Mr. Harrold. In opposition to Mr. Gairdner, Mr. Harrold clearly proved that not only Richmond, but Richard III. also, had a morass on his right: *i.e.*, there was one on the right flank of each army. Four hundred years have made an enormous change in the aspect of the country—hedged and fields exist now when all was open common then, and the smiling country looks as though it could never have known the "bloody gage of battle." The one small monument of the fight was viewed with interest—a pyramid of stone, 10 ft. high, erected, it is said, by Dr. Parr, with a Latin inscription, over the well from which Richard drank on that fateful day, August 22nd, 1485.

The drive was resumed *viâ* Dadlington to Stoke Golding, and thence back to Leicester. A stop was made at Dadlington to examine the church, an old building of no great size, and much spoilt by "restoration." Many of the ancient roof-timbers have been removed, the clerestory is gone, and the little tower, formerly roofed with timber shingles, is—now covered with glaring red tiles. The old oak door, much weather-worn, is now preserved in the vestry at the west end. At Stoke Golding, on the other hand, there is a splendid church, scarcely touched by the hand of the "restorer;" unfortunately, he is said to be on the way, but it is to be devoutly hoped that his ardour may be kept within bounds, and only necessary repairs executed. For this church, as it stands, and with the weathering of six hundred years on its stones, is a magnificent example of one Period throughout, *i.e.*, the Decorated or Geometrical Gothic. It was founded, as an inscription tells us, by "Robert de Champaign and Margaret his wife, in honour of St. Margaret the Virgin, in the time of Edward I," and the founders' tomb may be seen in the south aisle. The church consists of nave, chancel, and south aisle (prolonged into a chapel, extending to a level with the east wall of the chancel). There

is a fine west tower and spire. The south aisle originally ended at the chancel arch, and the south wall of the chancel was an exterior one. In this wall there are remains of Early English work, and a beautiful little lancet window, now looking into the chapel. The nave arcade is very fine, the caps of the piers being elaborately adorned with richly-moulded clustered foliage, interspersed with grotesque figures. The western pier bears the representation of marguerites on the cap, and the font tells the story of St. Margaret and St. Catherine. Tea was kindly provided for the visitors by the Rector, Rev. H. Bryan, after which the journey was resumed for Leicester, which was reached about 7.30. In spite of the gale which continued throughout the day, it was agreed that it had been one of the most enjoyable outings of the week.

At the Evening Meeting Mr. Thos. Blashill read a paper on "The Frame-knitters' Company of London," which will be published; this was followed by one on "The Early History of the Stocking-frame," by Mr. W. T. Rowlett, in which the invention of the first stocking machine by the Rev. T. Lee, in the time of Queen Elizabeth, and the progress of the industry down to the present day was described. A Paper on "Wickliffe and His Times," by the Rev. W. S. Lach-Szyrma, M.A., was then read by Mr. Geo. Patrick, Hon. Sec., in the author's absence. This Paper will be published.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 4TH.

The weather was fine and bright after the recent rain, and a goodly number of the members left at 9.50 by the Great Central Railway for Lutterworth, of which parish the celebrated Wickliffe was rector from 1375 to 1384. Mr. Patrick, Hon. Sec., read a Paper on the "History of Lutterworth and its Rector," which will be published, and described the church. Lutterworth is mentioned in *Domesday Book*, but there is no record of a church there in Saxon or early Norman times. The present building, in its oldest part, dates from the thirteenth century. It consists of a nave, aisles, chancel, and massive tower at the west end. The tower, up to the middle stage, and the chancel and north aisle are the earliest parts. The rest of the church is of the Early Decorated and Perpendicular periods. The rood-loft was approached from the interior of the church, and a large semicircular recess on the south side of the chancel arch indicates the position of the stairs. This church affords good examples of the various forms of window tracery, some of which

are illustrated in the text-books of Freeman and others. Some interesting examples of mural decoration of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are still preserved here. One, over the north door, consisting of three full-sized figures, two kings, with a lady between them, carrying hawks on their wrists, was considered by the late Mr. Bloxam to represent Edward II and Edward III, but he did not account for the lady. Other interpretations have been suggested, but none are sufficiently conclusive. They may, perhaps, commemorate Richard II and his Queen, Anne of Bohemia, and John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, who claimed to be King of Castile. The wall above the chancel arch is covered with a large painting of the Doom, or Last Judgment, probably not earlier than the fifteenth century.

In this church the great reformer John Wicliffe ministered and worshipped for some years; and it was whilst engaged in the sacred office of the Eucharist that he was seized with his last illness, and died December 28th, 1384. He was buried in the chancel, and his body rested there for forty-four years, when, in fulfilment of the decree of the Council of Constance, his remains were disinterred, burnt, and cast into the river Swift. There is an interesting piece of embroidery preserved in a glass case in the vestry which appears to belong to the fourteenth century, and may have formed a part, it is said, of a vestment worn by Wicliffe, but it is uncertain; and the other relics said to be associated with him—the chair in the chancel and the fine carved oak table in the nave—are several centuries later date; the table particularly is Jacobean, and a fine example. Mr. Andrew Oliver gave a careful description of the Fielding monument in this church, which is an altar-tomb, with two recumbent effigies of a knight and lady in alabaster. Upon the floor close by are two brasses, said to represent the same individuals. Mr. Oliver said: “The figures supposed to represent members of the Fielding family are placed upon an altar-tomb, over which is a four-centred arch, having in the place of the finial a figure of an angel holding a Representation of the Soul. The male figure shows with armour at the elbows and lower arms as far as the wrist, a portion of a breast-plate and gorget, and pointed shoes or “solleretts.” Over the figure is worn a large flowing cloak, an anelace secured by a belt being passed through the side. The hair is worn cut short across the forehead. The wife’s effigy is also in a cloak, and secured by a cord passing across the breast and terminating in tassels. On the outside is to be seen an “ink-horn and penner.” On the opposite side, and on the side of the effigy next to the back of the tomb, there

is a rosary. A veil is thrown over the head. Both the figures have small animals at the feet. The front of the tomb is panelled in seven compartments alternately, a rose and a canopied compartment, the latter containing angels' figures holding shields, from which the heraldic bearings have entirely disappeared. There is neither date nor inscription, but the date may be placed approximately at *circ.* 1460; but the armour being so completely hidden, it is difficult to say exactly. Close to this monument, on the floor, are two small brasses to John Fielding (1402), and his wife, Joanna (1418). They call for no special remark, being characteristic of the period. There is also another small fragment consisting of a butterfly head-dress, *circ.* 1485; the remainder of the effigy and that which accompanied it being now lost."

After strolling about the little town, the party returned to Leicester in time for luncheon.

The final meeting was held in the afternoon at the Museum Buildings. Mr. Lynam, Hon. Treasurer, took the chair, and hearty votes of thanks were unanimously accorded to Mr. R. Smith-Carington, F.S.A., the High Sheriff,¹ to the Mayor and Mayoress of Leicester, to Mr. Perkins Pick, to the officials and members of the Leicestershire Architectural and Archæological Society, and to all who by their interest and support had helped to make the visit of the British Archæological Association to Leicester a pleasant and successful one.

¹ Mr. Smith-Carington has since deceased, to the great regret not only of his friends, but of all who met him at Leicester, to whom he made himself especially agreeable by his genial kindness, and keen interest in all that made for the comfort of the party and the success of the Congress.





Proceedings of the Association.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 6TH, 1901.

W. DE GRAY BIRCH, Esq., F.S.A., V.-P., IN THE CHAIR.

The following Member was duly elected :—

George Edward Tarver, Esq., 35, High Street, Marylebone, W.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the donors of the following presents for the Library :—

- To the* Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland for "Journal," Pts. 3 and 4, 1900.
- „ Cambrian Archæological Association for "Archæologia Cambrensis," vol. i, 6th Ser., Pt. 1, 1901.
- „ Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society for "Magazine," No. 94, vol. xxxi, 1900.

Some pewter plates of about the middle of the eighteenth century, having an unusual pattern, and bearing the maker's marks (Spackman's) upon them, were exhibited. The coat-of-arms resembles that of Castile, and probably represents the institution or company to which the plates belonged. They were exhibited by Mrs. Collier.

Mr. T. S. Bush exhibited a photograph of a curious circular wooden money-chest, or box, now belonging to St. Peter's Church, Bristol. The box is $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. in diameter outside, and 5 in. inside, and is $6\frac{3}{4}$ in. high to the top of the cover, which is raised, or pie-shaped. The box is bound with iron, hinged at the back, and has a strap over the cover with a top plate and ring; the strap is hinged at the front and carried down to the bottom band, forming a hasp over the lockplate, which has three keyholes: one on each side of the strap, or hasp, and one at the bottom, smaller than the other two. There is no slit in the top for dropping in coins, and the box was most probably used for keeping money previously collected, the three locks being for the incumbent and the two churchwardens, so that the box could not be opened except

in the presence of all three. It is said by some people that this curious relic belonged to the mint at Bristol, which adjoined the church, and existed from 1643 to 1698. The box, however, would seem to belong to the second half of the sixteenth century. The accompanying illustration, from a photograph taken by Mr. Little, Narrow Wine Street, Bristol, gives a very good idea of this interesting, and—from the



Unique Money Box, St. Peter's Church, Bristol.

absence of any slit for the reception of money—apparently unique money-box.

A Paper was read by the Rev. H. Dukinfield-Astley, Hon. Editorial Secretary, upon "A Ramble round Thetford," a quaint and fascinating old Norfolk town, or perhaps it should be called city, for it was once an episcopal see. An air of unmistakable antiquity seems to pervade the place, as one wanders through the narrow winding ways and notices the many remains of ancient religious buildings now, alas! demolished,

but still bearing evidence, in their scattered fragments built up in modern dwellings, of the importance of the town in olden times. In the fourteenth century Thetford possessed twenty churches, besides numerous other religious foundations. Thetford is partly in Norfolk and partly in Suffolk, being situated at the confluence of the Little Ouse and the Thet. The local authorities of to-day do not appear to possess much regard for the antiquities of their historic town, as, in spite of protests, they have recently pulled down the old Guildhall. Thetford has a very ancient history, going far back into the dim and misty past, when the devious and winding ways leading down to the riverside were cut through the primæval forest by the old Euskarian or Iberian hunters of Neolithic days. In later times the powerful and warlike Iceni settled there; and when the Romans came and acquired the Iceni-ian realm they found the place pleasant to look upon, as it is to-day, and there they built a town, generally supposed, and, as Mr. Astley argued, correctly, to have been known as *Sitomagus*, an important station, thirty-one miles from *Venta Icenorum*, now *Castor* by *Norwich*, on the direct line of the *Icknield Way* to *London*, as *Antonine's Itinerary* describes it. The Roman remains as yet discovered at Thetford are neither numerous nor important, though there is little doubt as to the identification of the Roman town. The tradition of many an ancient battle fought between the Romano-Britons and Anglians, and afterwards between the Anglians and Danes, still lingers in the rustic mind. The great mound at Thetford, known as the *Castle Hill*, is said to have been thrown up by the Danes, whose occupation of Thetford was confirmed by *Alfred* in his treaty with *Guthrum*, and Thetford became so thoroughly Danish that it is noted as one of those places which never paid *Dane-geld*. It was in the reign of *William the Conqueror* that Thetford became, for a brief period, a bishop's see; and in 1091 the great *East Anglian* church builder, *Herbert de Losinga*, succeeded as third bishop. He did not, however, long remain at Thetford, as in 1094 he removed the see to *Norwich*. The later history of Thetford, with a full account of the various religious foundations, brought the Paper, which will be published, to a close.

In the discussion which followed the Paper, Mr. Gould remarked that the tradition assigning the erection of the great mound to the Danes is very probably correct; but these mound and court forts were erected by Saxons, Danes, and Normans, and belong to the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries.

Mr. Compton considered that undoubtedly Thetford was the site of a Roman station; but he thought that neither Thetford nor *Woolpit* is the successor of *Sitomagus*, but that that site is to be sought somewhere in the neighbourhood.

The Chairman said the Paper was an admirable illustration of the use to be made of archæological research during a day's outing in the country.

Mr. Astley, in replying, mentioned, as an undoubted proof of the post-Roman (to say no more) date of the mound and court forts, the fact that the Castle mound at Norwich, which tradition also ascribes to the Danes, stands on the very track of the Roman road from Caistor to Brancaster, as was ascertained during the course of some recent excavations, when the Roman road was discovered, at a depth of 14 ft. from the ground level, running exactly under the centre of the mound. A plan of Thetford Priory, several early editions of antiquarian works of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, bearing on the history of Thetford, and a fine series of drawings of the "Old Halls and Manor Houses of Norfolk," by the late Mr. E. P. Willins, illustrated the Paper.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 20TH, 1901.

W. DE GRAY BIRCH, ESQ., F.S.A., V.-P., IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the donors of the following presents for the Library:—

- To the Société des Antiquaires de le Morinie* for "Bulletin Historique,"
Tome x, 1900.
- „ Smithsonian Institution, for the "Seventeenth Annual Report
of the Bureau of American Ethnology. 1895-6," Pt. 2.
- „ George E. Tarver, Esq., for "Outlines of Christian History."
- „ Brussels Archæological Society, for "Report, 1901."

Mr. Patrick, Hon. Secretary, read some notes of a discovery made at Lancaster on the 13th inst., communicated by Mr. T. Cann Hughes. The discovery consists of two urns, probably Saxon. The larger was in a fragmentary condition, but the smaller is intact. They are both of imperfectly-dried clay of a reddish colour, and bear handmarkings. No ashes or coins were found. The urn and the fragments have been deposited in the museum in the Storey Institute, together with a tracing showing the exact spot where they were found. The locality, at the junction of Alfred and De Vitré Streets, is quite a new one, not at all in the centre of the town, but not far from the site of a former monastic establishment. The find is not otherwise important.

With reference to the recent Chaucer quincentenary, the Rev. W. S. Lach-Szyrma read an interesting Paper upon "Chaucer as illustrating English Mediæval Life." He said there were three great lights

illustrating mediæval English life—Wycliffe, Chaucer, and “Piers Ploughman.” The first takes the clerical standpoint, as a sort of English Savonarola, denouncing the vice, dissipation, and coarseness of the upper classes in Church and State in the days of Richard II, and suggesting the reforms which in his opinion were necessary. Chaucer takes the more congenial lay view of a satirist and poet. “Piers Ploughman” raises a jeremiad against mediæval defects and shortcomings, but in the allegorical mode so fashionable at the time. There are many points in which the personality of Chaucer resembles that of Dickens: both are humourists, both have a hearty hatred of humbug and hypocrisy; both stoop to depict the poor and the ignorant and vulgar, and both have vast powers of description. Chaucer, however, rises to a higher stage of elegance of description, and his imagination is of a far more gorgeous kind than that of Dickens. In Chaucer we have both the light and shadow of mediæval England. We see tournaments and pageants, fine knights and ladies in baronial halls, the rough middle-class burgher, the artisan in his rude humble home, and the peasant emerging from barbarism. The people of England have not really changed much since Chaucer’s day, the majority of the personages in the “Canterbury Tales” being still met with to-day. The author considered that an historic lesson was to be learned from the fact that, although costumes, habits, and fashions might differ, the “John Bull” of the end of the fourteenth century was very like his descendant of the end of the nineteenth. He wished that that fact could be more enforced in history lessons in schools. This Paper will be published.

An interesting discussion followed, in which Major Frere, Mr Kershaw, Mr. Compton, Mr. Patrick, and the Chairman took part.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 3RD, 1900.

BENJAMIN WINSTONE, ESQ., M.D., V.-P., IN THE CHAIR.

Mrs. Collier exhibited an ancient religious picture of Byzantine art, painted on panel and enclosed in an ornamental silver frame about 6 ins. square, with a curious filling of silver embroidery concealing the picture, excepting the heads and hands of the figures. It was an “icon,” and was brought from Moscow. She also exhibited a small shrine of bronze, inlaid with mother-of-pearl, presenting the singular feature of one foot of the Crucified being much larger than the other. This also came from Moscow.

Mr. Patrick, Hon. Secretary, read a lengthy Paper by Miss Russell on “The Structure and Probable History of some Rude Stone Forts in

Scotland." The forts more particularly dealt with were those of Craig Phadriæ, near Inverness, and Castle Finlay, between Inverness and Nairn. Craig Phadriæ is a fort of loose stones bearing no visible traces of vitrification, although it is probable that a real vitrified wall exists beneath the stones, forming a backbone, or core, to keep the larger rampart of loose stones in place. Castle Finlay is a much smaller fort, standing on a bridle path through the woods, which is locally said to be the old road to Perth. It is quite small, with—in proportion—a large loose stone rampart all round, in which the natives seem to find burnt stones. There is strong probability that Craig Phadriæ is really the castle on Loch Ness where St. Columba visited the King of the Picts.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 17TH, 1901.

W. DE GRAY BIRCH, Esq., F.S.A., V.-P., IN THE CHAIR.

The following members were duly elected :—

Ernest H. Winstone, Esq., M.A., Victoria Mansions,
28, Victoria Street, S.W.

Percy Scott, Esq., 2, Woodbridge Lane, North Finchley, N.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the donors of the following presents for the Library :—

- To the Royal Institute of British Architects, for "Journal," vol. viii, 3rd Series, 1901.*
- „ *Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society, for "Transactions," vol. xxii, 1899.*
- „ *Society of Antiquaries, London, for "Proceedings," vol. xviii, No. 1, 1900; "Archæologia," vol. lvii, Pt. I.*
- „ *Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, for "Journal," vol. xxxi, Pt. 1, 1901.*

Mr. C. E. Keyser, F.S.A., gave a most interesting exhibition of photographic lantern slides, illustrating the Norman tympana of English ecclesiastical doorways. There were over one hundred and seventy slides, besides a large number of bromide enlargements, arranged in series on the walls round the room. Mr. Keyser explained that he did not intend to give a lecture, or read a paper, but simply to offer a few remarks upon the subject of the views as each was shown, with the name of the building from which it was taken. The series ranged from the hatched and moulded tympana, through those on which birds, animals, trees, and other emblematic or allegorical designs are depicted, to the more distinctly ecclesiastical designs of the later Norman period. Dr. Brushfield's Paper on the Norman tympana of

Derbyshire was more than once referred to, but Mr. Keyser's collection covers the whole country; and it was noticeable that, without a note, not once did he fail to name without hesitation the place and county of each example shown. A very hearty vote of thanks was accorded Mr. Keyser for this exhibition, which has been given before several other societies, and for showing the collection of photographs, which is being continually added to, and which is certainly a magnificent one, and, of its kind, unique.

The following Paper on some recent discoveries in Lancashire was also contributed by Mr. T. Cann Hughes, M.A., F.S.A.

DISCOVERIES AT BLEASDALE, LANC.

Far from the busy haunts of men has been found one of the most interesting early burial-places in the North of England. In the year 1864, some British interments were found on Lancaster Moor, and a Paper on these was prepared by John Harker, M.D., J.P. (then Medical Officer for Lancaster), and was read by him before our Association on January 25th, 1865, and is printed and fully illustrated on pp. 159-161, vol. xxi, of our *Journal*. On February 21st, 1877, Dr. Harker read a further Paper on more British remains found on the site of the military barracks in Bowerham Lane, Lancaster.

But it was reserved for Mr. Shadrach Jackson to make the discovery to which this Paper particularly relates. His excavations commenced in 1898, and on November 3rd, 1899, he reported progress to the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society, of which he is a most energetic member. He has received splendid help from Mr. Kelsall, the occupier of Fairsnape Farm, where the remains were found.

Bleasdale was formerly a royal forest, but is now very sparsely populated, and is mainly known by the Bleasdale Reformatory for Boys, which is in the parish. The site where the remains are found is some miles north of Preston, on the right-hand side of the London and North-Western Railway line, going North, and five miles from it. The spot is surrounded by fells, the nearest being Fairsnape Fell, 1,674 ft. above sea-level. It is also near to Admarsh Church. The surroundings are weird moorlands. In the summer of 1898, Mr. Jackson's attention was drawn to a circle on the grass. It was in the form of a ring, upon the Admarsh Flats, about 24 yards in diameter, and only a few inches above the level of the field. Mr. Jackson shall now tell his own story:—

“I determined to investigate the circle, and with the valuable assistance of Mr. Kelsall, proceeded to dig across it. We did not at first find anything, and, as I will show afterwards, this was fortunate;

so we made a deeper excavation, and at a depth of about 4 ft. came upon five (tree) logs, placed in front of each other. These were in a pulpy state when found, but the wood contracted and hardened by exposure. Digging at various places in the circumference we met with similar results, and so concluded that the logs were continued round, although we thought at the time this might not be the case on the eastern rim, but that an entrance was left there. . . . I determined to make further research, thinking that such a structure would not be made without some purpose. With Mr. Kelsall's assistance, I again commenced excavating, this time in the centre of the circle. At a depth of about 22 ins. we were rewarded by the discovery of three cinerary urns."

By Mr. Jackson's courtesy, I am able to send a photograph of these herewith.¹ That on the right bears a very distinct likeness to those discovered by Dr. Harker in 1864. The small cup was found in the mouth of the larger urn, inverted: all were filled with charcoal and small particles of bone, and were, when found, imbedded in clay and soft, but hardened by exposure. This interesting discovery was reported on January 25th, 1900, to the Society of Antiquaries by Lt.-Col. Henry Fishwick, F.S.A., local secretary for Lancashire. He also referred to the fact that in 1889 a sepulchral urn was found at Inskip, in the parish of St. Michael's-in-Wyre (of which Col. Fishwick wrote the history for the Chetham Society). This place is about ten miles from Bleasdale, on the flat lands nearer Morecambe Bay.

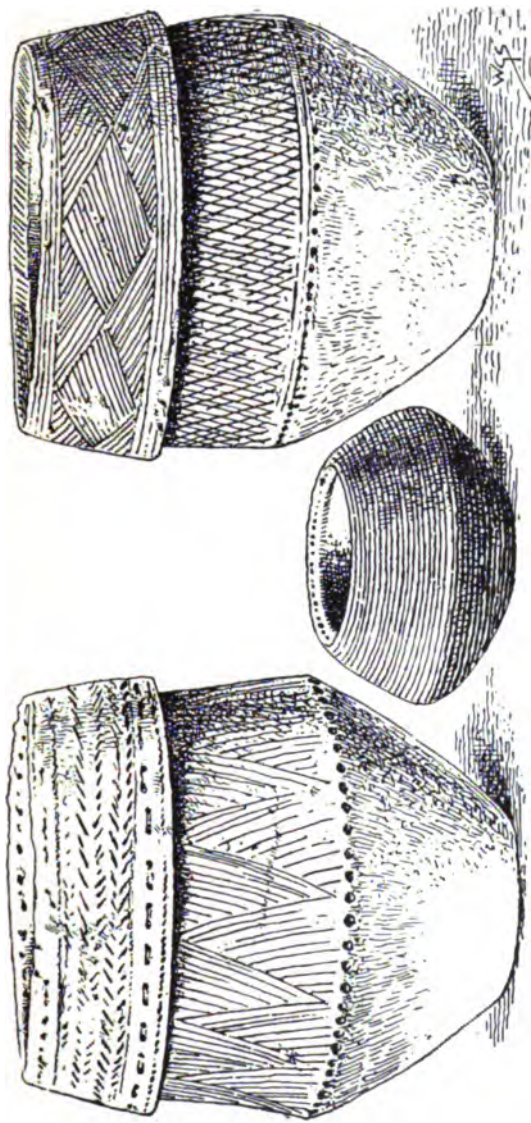
On October 16th, 1900, the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society met on the ground, which had been much more excavated, and Mr. Jackson repeated his Paper. Professor Boyd Dawkins (President of the Society); Mr. G. C. Yates, F.S.A.; Mr. Charles William Sutton (Free Librarian, Manchester), myself, and other antiquaries were present.

Mr. Jackson had, at Professor Dawkins' suggestion, detailed drawings prepared, and these were used on January 11th, when Professor Dawkins read an elaborate Paper before the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society, on the whole excavations. This will be printed and very fully illustrated in their Journal for 1901.

The following account appeared in the *Manchester City News*, on January 19th:—

"The President gave an interesting address on the recent discoveries at Fairsnape, Bleasdale, and illustrated the same by plans, photographs, and bronze implements. The group of prehistoric remains at Bleasdale

¹ This is here reproduced from a Block kindly lent by the Proprietors of *The Reliquary*, Messrs. Bemrose and Sons.



THREE CINERARY URNS AT BLEASDALE, LANCOS.

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY

ASTOR, LENOX
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

occupy a striking position on a knoll of boulders in the middle of an amphitheatre of moorland hills, about 650 yards due west of Fairsnape Farm. They consist of two circles made of timber; the outer being 150 ft. in diameter, and the inner 75 ft. The outer circle consisted of round logs of oak placed closely side by side. The inner circle is much more complex in its structure. It is formed of an outside ring of earth or vallum, and is composed of clay thrown out of the ditch on the inside. Within this was a low mound, now ploughed down, formed also of clay out of the ditch; and in an excavation carried down to a depth of 2 ft. below the old ground surface, a group of urns was discovered in a rectangular hole which had been filled with wood ashes. The two funeral urns contained calcined human bones. The only other human relic found within the circle was a mass of charcoal. There were no remains of the animals which had been eaten, or of fragments of domestic pottery, such as are usually found in prehistoric dwellings and burial-places. The flooring of the ditch is unique. It was carefully levelled. Its use is an open question. It may have been intended for a ceremonial procession at stated times in honour of the dead. The date of this remarkable burying-place is proved by the pottery to fall within the remote period, characterised by the use of bronze, in which cremation began to be practised in the British Isles. The urns are characteristic of the Bronze Age, and have been repeatedly met with in various parts of the British Isles. Examination of the timbers points in the same direction. They bear unmistakable proof that they were trimmed and cut into shape with bronze axes. This remarkable burial-place falls therefore into line with that large series of burial mounds of the Bronze Age, which lies scattered not only all over the British Isles, but over the greater portion of Europe. In other places, the material employed is stone. Then, in place of stone, wood was employed. In this respect the Bleasdale burial-place is unique."

The regular wooden platform of logs was most interesting, and the antiquarian world must thank Mr. Jackson for his work, and look anxiously for the full account to appear later. The remains have been placed in the Harris Institute, Preston, and the excavations closed up.

As illustrative of the whole subject, the fragments of urns and one "incense-cup" (like that at Bleasdale), found at the corner of Alfred and De Vitre Streets, in Lancaster, and already reported, are interesting. They are placed in the Storey Institute, Lancaster.

Mr. Patrick announced that the Congress this year would be held at Newcastle-on-Tyne, from Thursday, July 18th, to Wednesday, July 24th, under the presidency of Dr. Thos. Hodgkin, of Barmoor Castle, Beal, Northumberland.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 1ST, 1901.

C. H. COMPTON, Esq., V.-P., IN THE CHAIR.

The Ballot was declared open, and, after the usual interval, was taken, with the following result:—

President.

THOMAS HODGKIN, Esq., M.A., D.C.L., F.S.A.

Vice-Presidents.

Ex officio—THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, K.G., E.M.; THE DUKE OF SUTHERLAND, K.G.; THE MARQUESS OF RIPON, K.G., G.C.S.I.; THE MARQUIS OF GRANBY; THE EARL OF MOUNT-EDGUMBE; THE EARL NELSON; THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK, G.C.S.I.; THE LORD BISHOP OF ELY; SIR CHARLES H. ROUSE BOUGHTON, BART.; THE LORD MOSTYN; THE LORD BISHOP OF PETERBOROUGH.

DR. WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, F.S.A.
 THOMAS BLASHILL, Esq.
 OGCIL BRENT, Esq., F.S.A.
 ARTHUR CATES, Esq.
 C. H. COMPTON, Esq.
 WILLIAM HENRY COPE, Esq., F.S.A.
 H. SYER CUMING, Esq., F.S.A.
 Scot.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., D.C.L.,
 F.R.S., F.S.A.
 COLONEL GEORGE LAMBERT, F.S.A.
 CHARLES LYNAM, Esq., F.S.A.
 J. S. PHENÉ, Esq., F.S.A., LL.D.
 BENJAMIN WINSTONE, Esq., M.D.
 SIR ALBERT WOODS, F.S.A. (*Garber
 King of Arms*)

Honorary Treasurer.

CHARLES LYNAM, Esq., F.S.A.

Sub-Treasurer.

SAMUEL RAYSON, Esq.

Honorary Secretaries.

GEORGE PATRICK, Esq., A.R.I.B.A.

THE REV. H. J. DUKINFIELD ASTLEY, M.A.

Council.

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RICHARD DUPPA LLOYD, Esq.,
 F.R.Hist.S.
 W. J. NICHOLS, Esq.
 A. OLIVER, Esq., F.R.I.B.A.
 THOMAS PEACOCK, Esq., F.S.A.
 W. H. RYLANDS Esq., F.S.A.
 R. E. WAY, Esq.
 C. J. WILLIAMS, Esq.
 T. CATO WORSFOLD, Esq., F.R.Hist.
 Soc.

Auditors.

CECIL DAVIS, Esq.

R. H. FORSTER, Esq.

Rev. H. J. D. Astley, *Hon. Sec.*, read the following.

Secretaries' Report for the year ending December 31st, 1900 :—

“The Honorary Secretaries have the honour of laying before the Association, at the Annual Meeting held this day, their customary Report on the state of the Association during the year 1900 :—

“1. The number of Associates remains at about the normal standard. Twelve additional members joined in 1900, and several were removed by death or resignation. The results of the Leicester Congress in respect of gaining an accession of new members were disappointing, but a sub-committee of the Council has been appointed to consider the matter, and it is hoped that one consequence of their deliberations will be a determined effort to secure a considerable number of new Associates after the Congress shortly to be held at Newcastle. It should also be the earnest endeavour of every Associate to secure, in every possible way, more widespread interest in, and support of, the Association and its objects.

“2. Obituary Notices of the Associates whom we have lost by death will be found in those parts of the *Journal* set apart for that purpose.

“3. Many valuable presents continue to be made to the Library of the Association, and the Hon. Secretaries have good hopes that some definite steps may shortly be taken to make the books available for the use of the Associates.

“4. Twenty-five of the more important Papers which were read at the Buxton Congress, and during the winter session in London, have been printed in the *Journal* for 1900, which is illustrated with fifty-four plates and process blocks. The warm acknowledgments of the Council are due to those authors of Papers who kindly contributed to this end.

“The Hon. Secretaries are glad to announce that they have in hand a large number of Papers relating to the Leicester Congress, and Papers read during the present session in London. These have been accepted for publication in the *Journal* as circumstances permit.

“5. The Hon. Secretaries would again remind the local members of Council and Associates generally of the importance of laying before the meetings, and transmitting to the Editor from time to time, early accounts of fresh discoveries, or notices of any interesting researches. In this way alone can the stream of knowledge be kept fresh, and interest in the work of the Association be maintained in unabated vigor.

“Hearty thanks are due to all who have kindly contributed such notices during the year 1900.

“GEO. PATRICK
“H. J. DUKINFIELD ASTLEY } *Hon. Secs.*”

British Archaeological Association.

BALANCE SHEET FOR THE YEAR ENDING THE 31st DECEMBER, 1900.

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.
To Subscriptions	175	17	0
" Books sold	19	1	9
" Interest Post Office Savings Bank	1	8	10
" Leicester Congress	52	18	6
" Entrance fees	7	7	0
Printing bill unpaid, Dec. 31, 1900	256	13	1
Dec. 31. Balance at Bank	120	4	0
" " with Sub-treasurer	5	5	0
" " P. O. Savings Bank	56	14	9
" " Dr. Balance	98	8	10
	27	0	2
	283	13	3

EXPENDITURE.

By Outstanding liability, Dec. 31, 1899, since paid off	121	7	5
" Cash in hand	110	9	8
" Debit Balance, Dec. 31, 1899	10	17	9
" Printing and Editing <i>Journal</i>	162	5	3
" Illustrations to <i>Journal</i>	220	14	3
" Less Donations for same	5	17	6
" Delivery of <i>Journals</i>	14	16	9
" Miscellaneous Printing & Advertising	11	10	1
" Rent and Salaries	18	17	6
" Stationery, Postage, and Incidentals	47	8	0
" Stationery, Postage, and Incidentals	17	17	11
	272	15	6
	283	13	3

Audited and found correct, 22 March, 1901.

(Signed) Cecil T. Davis
T. Cato Worsfold } *Auditors.*

Mr. S. Rayson, Sub-Treasurer, read the following remarks on the foregoing Balance Sheet :—

“ I regret very much to report an increase in the debit Balance of the Association ; at the Annual Meeting last year it was reported to be £10 17s. 9d., now it is £27 0s. 2d. The falling off in the Annual Subscriptions will more than account for this increased indebtedness. Such a diminution as £31 1s. 0d. in the subscriptions (which must always be looked upon as the mainstay of the Association) cannot be regarded otherwise than with grave apprehension.

“ The co-operation of the Associates by enlisting new members is earnestly solicited, in order that the work of the Association may be carried on with unabated vigour and usefulness.

“ Donations towards the expenses of the Association are invited.”

While the Ballot was open, an interesting account of the exploration of a tumulus in Buckenham Fields, Norfolk, communicated by the Right Hon. Lord Amherst, of Hackney, was read by the Rev. H. J. D. Astley. This is published, pp. 183-188.

Mr. T. Cato Worsfold read a Paper entitled “ The Porta Nigra : a Treasure of Tréves,” which has been published, pp. 143-148.

An interesting discussion then followed, in which Mr. Blashill, Rev. C. H. Evelyn-White, Mr. Gould, Mr. Kershaw, and others took part.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 15th, 1901.

C. H. COMPTON, ESQ., V.-P., IN THE CHAIR.

The following members were duly elected :—

Henry P. Leopold Cart, Esq., 9, Rockmount, Upper Norwood, S.E.

Miss A. K. Walker, Woodbury, Sydenham Hill, S.E.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the donor, of the following presents for the Library :—

- To the Royal Archæologica Institute, for “ Journal,” vol. viii, No. 1, 2nd Series, 1901.*
- „ *Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, for “ Proceedings,” vol. x, 3rd Series.*
- „ *Smithsonian Institution, for “ A Select Biography of Chemistry,” 1492-1897.*
- „ *Derbyshire Arch. and Nat. Hist. Society, for “ Journal,” vol. xxiii, 1901.*
- „ *Cambrian Arch. Association for “ Archæologia Cambrensis,” April, 1901.*

The early colonization of Britain by highly civilized and refined immigrants formed the subject of a paper by Dr. Phené, who has travelled extensively in the Levant, Spain, and Italy, and has recently been studying some very ancient records referring to the early states in and around Etruria in the pre-Roman age. These states contracted with Carthage not to colonize a particular island, the name of which was carefully concealed under an anonym. By tracing the routes of certain tribes mentioned by Julius Cæsar and Diodorus Siculus, he had been able to find corresponding remains of such tribes, with identically the same place-name in each case, leading towards and into Britain, which all tended to show that the anonymous island was Britain. By a breach of the contract with Carthage the island had been so colonized, and enormous quantities had been accumulated of gold from Ireland and of many valuable products from Britain, leading to the inference that this secretly-conducted commerce had been heard of by Cæsar, who in consequence summoned the congress of merchants to ascertain the particulars; but, failing to obtain the information through the reticence of the merchants, invaded Britain and returned with "much booty," as related by Strabo. It is an interesting question whether this booty was gold. Several classical writers record gold as a British export. The paper was illustrated by several well-drawn charts and plans.

Mr. Allan O. Collard followed with some interesting particulars of the history of the very ancient body of "Free Fishers and Dredgers" of Whitstable, famous for its oysters from Roman times, for it was about the year A.D. 80 that they were first exported to Rome by Julius Agricola. The history of Whitstable is most closely interwoven with that of its fishermen, who have an ancestry reaching far back into the dim past. Some of the family names can be traced for centuries in the enrolment books preserved by the present Whitstable Fishery Company.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 5th, 1901.

THOS. BLASHILL, Esq., V.-P., IN THE CHAIR.

The following member was duly elected:—

The Right Hon. the Earl of Leicester, Holkham Hall,
Norfolk.

The following letter was read and entered on the Minutes:—

"Privy Purse Office,"

"Buckingham Palace, S.W."

"Sir Francis Knollys is commanded to express the King's thanks to the Rev. H. J. Dukinfield Astley, for his letter of the 8th

inst., and for the enclosed copy of the Journal of the British Archaeological Association.

“11th May, 1901.”—

The copy referred to is vol. vii, N. S., Part 1, March, 1901, containing the Obituary notice of Her Late Majesty, Queen Victoria.

Mr. I. C. Gould read some Notes, contributed by Mr. Ed. Fry, of Dover, on the recent finds at Dover and Walmer; and exhibited a photograph of the pottery discovered at Walmer. These will be published.

Dr. Winstone exhibited a pair of antique candlesticks, supposed to be Dutch, and some gold-mounted arrowheads as ornaments.

Mrs. Collier exhibited a photograph of a fresco from Lugano, Chiesa degli Angiori; also a photograph of an allegorical painting from Chaldon Rectory, Caterham.

Dr. Birch read a most interesting paper, “On the Life and Times of Alfred the Great.” Mr. Blashill, Mr. Gould, and Mr. Williams offered observations, and an unanimous vote of thanks was passed to Dr. Birch.

The Paper will be published.





Antiquarian Intelligence.

Florentine Villas. By JANET ROSS, (London: J. M. Dent and Co.):—It has been thought that a detailed account of some of the beautiful villas near Florence might prove a welcome addition to the history and art-lore of Italy; and Mrs. Ross (the authoress of "Italian Sketches," &c., &c.), who has spent many years in Tuscany, and resides at Poggio Gherardo, one of the historic Florentine villas, is exceptionally fitted to be the historian. Her book will treat not only of the villas, but of those who lived in them including, many of the greatest names in the History, Art, and Literature of the Renaissance; it will contain many incidents and anecdotes associated with the Medici, those patrons and preservers of much that is enduring in the Art and Letters of Italy; and other celebrated and some comparatively unknown families.

Ariosto and other poets sang the glories of the villas and their surroundings, renowned artists designed fountains, statues, and grottoes, ornamented with the figures of gods and strange animals, for the terraced gardens frequented by a brilliant company of lords and ladies, who strolled along the trellised walks amidst a wealth of flowers. Now, much of the glory has departed from these historic villas, and one at least has fallen from its splendour, and is now divided into tenements for the poor. But their interest ever remains, and will appear again in vivid pictures with fresh attractions in this book. For, while giving an accurate and complete account of their better days, with the history and associations not only of their illustrious owners but of the artists who were connected with them, our authoress also describes their present condition.

Zocchi's rare and interesting engravings of the villas as they were in 1744, are being very carefully reproduced in photogravure, and about sixteen of the finest medals in the Bargello have been photographed, to give the likenesses of the more renowned occupants of these villas and their friends; and a hitherto-unknown cast of the face of Lorenzo the Magnificent, taken after death, and lately discovered in Florence, has by special permission, been reproduced for this book.

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY.
ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.



Howden Church, Yorkshire.

Miss Nelly Erichsen has for some time been making careful and artistic drawings of the more prominent villas as they are to-day, together with some of the delightful detail which marks the personal feeling of their former occupants, and these will be reproduced as head-and tail-pieces in the text.

The first issue will be an *Edition de Luxe* printed on the finest hand-made paper, with the Zocchi engravings (proofs before letters) on India paper, and the drawings in the text specially mounted. Of these only such copies as are subscribed for will be printed, the maximum number not exceeding 100; each will be numbered, and the name of the subscriber printed in the allotted copy. The size of the book will be medium folio, and it will be bound in half polished morocco, with parchment sides, and artistically embellished with the Arms of Florence. The price of this copy will be £10 10s. net.

The Smaller Edition, limited to not more than 500 copies, will be an Imperial 4to, bound in buckram with gilt top, and will be published at £3 3s. net.

The publishers hope to produce the book during the present year, but as the reproductions of the etchings need careful manipulation, they cannot bind themselves too closely to any date.

A specimen of the photogravure reproductions can be seen at the booksellers.

List of Villas.—1, Palmieri; 2, Poggio a Caiano; 3, Cafagginolo; 4, Careggi; 5, Rusciano; 6, Poggio Imperiale; 7, Lappeggi; 8, Petraia; 9, Bellosguardo; 10, Castello; 11, Corsini a Castello; 12, Medicea; 13, Ambrogiana; 14, Pratolino; 15, Salviati; 16, Font a l'Erta; 17, Gamberaia; 18, Monte Guffone; 19, Castel Pulci; 20, Poggio Gherardo; 21, Le Selve; 22, I Collazzi.

Howden Church, Yorkshire.—Howden Church is justly celebrated, even in a country so rich in mediæval remains as Yorkshire is, as one of the most magnificent achievements of the Middle Ages.

Originally connected with the Abbey of Peterborough, Howden passed as early as the time of the Conqueror into the hands of the Bishops of Durham, who had a manor-house here. In 1267 the church was made collegiate, and the rebuilding of the structure was commenced on a grand scale by the erection of the transepts. The nave, with its beautiful west front, dates from the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth century, and was closely followed by the erection of the magnificent choir. The chapter-house, a veritable masterpiece of the art of its period, was built by Bishop Walter

Skirlaw (1388-1406), who also bequeathed funds for the erection of the central stage of the tower, which was completed in the time of his successor, Cardinal Langley. The belfry stage was added in the latter part of the fifteenth century.

The collegiate establishment was dissolved in the first year of Edward VI, and the confiscation of the prebends diverted funds which should have been devoted to the repair of the fabric into private hands. The nave and transepts continued to be used as the parish church, but the choir was abandoned early in the seventeenth century; the lead was stripped from its roof in 1634, and, as an inevitable result of this neglect, its vault fell in 1696. The vault of the chapter-house followed in 1750. At some later period, iron bands were added to strengthen the eastern gable of the choir; but little has been done since, either to the choir or chapter-house, to counteract the destructive effects of time and weather.

In 1896, the vicar and churchwardens instructed Mr. John Bilson, F.S.A., to report on the condition of the church. In his report he stated that "the choir and chapter-house most urgently require attention. They are necessarily much exposed to the weather, and in many parts the masonry is suffering severely from the effects of water finding its way into the walls through the open joints—defects which are indicated clearly enough by the growth of vegetation on the upper parts of the walls. Repairs are here the more necessary, because the east end and the chapter-house justly rank among the finest architectural achievements of their respective periods, and further injury to them would be most disastrous."

Howden is not a wealthy town, and the church has no funds available for the repair of the fabric. The parishioners maintain the nave and transepts, which are used for the services of the church; but the repair of the ruined parts of the church is beyond their resources. The vicar and churchwardens therefore appeal with confidence to the liberality of all those who care for the preservation of our ancient churches, to provide the sum of £2,000, to enable them to secure the choir and chapter-house against further disaster.

It need scarcely be said that nothing in the way of so-called "restoration" will be attempted. The object is to *preserve*, not to *restore*. Not a single old stone will be replaced by new, simply because it is decayed; indeed, no new stonework will be inserted at all, except in a few cases where this is found to be a necessity to secure the stability of the structure. The work which has already been carried out on the south wall of the choir is an example of the method which it is proposed to adopt for the remainder of the choir and the chapter-house. This

work was, on its completion, examined on behalf of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, and approved.

The undertaking has the cordial approval of the Archbishop of York. It is also approved by the Yorkshire Archæological Society, and the East Riding Antiquarian Society. It is hoped, therefore, that such a generous response will be made to this appeal as will enable the work of repair to be commenced at once. Subscriptions will be received by the Rev. W. Hutchinson, The Vicarage, Howden.

On a Tumulus in Buckenham Fields, Norfolk, explored August 1900, by Lord Amherst of Hackney.—Over a large part of Norfolk there is a deposit of sandy gravel, the finer part of which is continually being shifted to-and-fro, with a net result in favour of the prevalent dry winds: for, though the wind may blow, the sand will not rise when wet; nor will the soil travel unless the ground be broken, and the sod with its binding mat of roots be destroyed; while the effect of vegetation, and especially of grass, is to catch and hold the flying fragments of organic matter and the dust, and thus add to the surface soil. These sandy soils are called "breck sands," and the areas over which they occur are known as "brecks." The perpetual shifting of the surface has given rise to the jocular saying, that the ownership of the soil in Norfolk depends upon the direction of the wind. The effect of this wind-borne sand is to fill up hollows, raise mounds and ridges, and generally to efface all earthworks, tumuli, ditches, and other marks of human occupation.

Another very marked result may be observed in any district where this to-and-fro shifting of the fine particles is going on. The wind cannot move the stones and coarser material, which therefore settle down by degrees to the bottom, where they remain as a ridge or mound, and this forms an obstruction which arrests the blown sand, and originates a new accumulation on the same spot. Any heavier objects, dropped by nature or by man on such sand-hills, in their turn work down, as the fine particles are again blown away. Thus we find, when the swirl of the wind has opened a new basin-like hollow in the midst of rapidly-shifting sand-dunes, that remains of very different ages (flint arrow-heads, coins, etc.), have all settled to the bottom; while the polished surface of many of the stones shows that they were once at the surface, and exposed to the sand blast. Thus, in such a soil as that of the Brecks, we have to look out for layers of stone formed by this winnowing process, and for those which are due to the original mode of deposition of the false bedded sand and gravel, as well as layers spread out in connection with interments. Another point we must

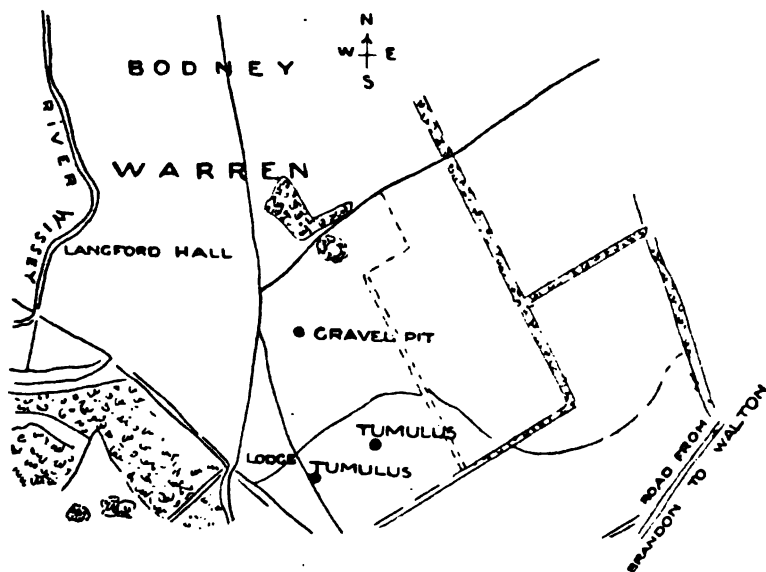
bear in mind is this : when land on which there is a tumulus is first broken up, the mound, especially if it be steep, is left untouched, and being covered with brushwood or other vegetation, catches the soil which now blows off the surrounding land more freely than before, and thus the surface soil of the mound grows. When once, however, the plough crosses the tumulus, its degradation goes on apace. These remarks are well illustrated by the present state of the great lines of bank and ditch, running north from the Brandon River to the Wissey, and from the Wissey to the Nar : each of them, with its fosses on the east, showing that this was a district which some ancient people took the trouble to cut off from the borders of the Fens by strong earth-works.

The condition of the two large tumuli on Lord Amherst's property, about seven miles north of Brandon, offers further confirmations of the above observations respecting the shifting of the surface. These mounds stand in the open fields north of the stream, which runs below Buckenham Hall, on light, dry, sandy ground a little over 100 ft. above sea level, in the south-eastern portion of Bodney Warren. The larger stands on the highest part of the ground, about a mile north-east of Buckenham Tofts Hall. This one is shown upon the 6-in. Ordnance Map. A little less than 500 yards south-west of this, and a little more than that distance due west of the lodge, there is another mound, now so much degraded that it escaped the notice of the Ordnance Surveyors.

When we visited the mound with Lord Amherst, we found some bits of pottery, thrown out by a rabbit from the east side of the larger mound, which were suspiciously like Roman ware ; but beyond the certainty, from its form and the surrounding geographical conditions, that the mound was artificial, we had no further evidence.

Having regard to the traces of early occupation of the district, shown by the holes sunk to obtain flint for neolithic implements, the opening to one of which is seen near the Hall not more than a mile off, and remembering, that in still later times the Peddar's Way was constructed to provide communication between the districts to the north and south, there was nothing improbable in our finding here a sepulchral mound of the Bronze, or Roman, or Saxon Age, or even one in which secondary interments of a later age had been made in a tumulus, which had been originally thrown up by one of the earlier races. Later on in the same year, Lord Amherst decided to open the larger tumulus, and most hospitably and considerately gathered a large party at Didlington Hall, of persons interested and experienced in such operations. Besides Lord and Lady Amherst and their family, the

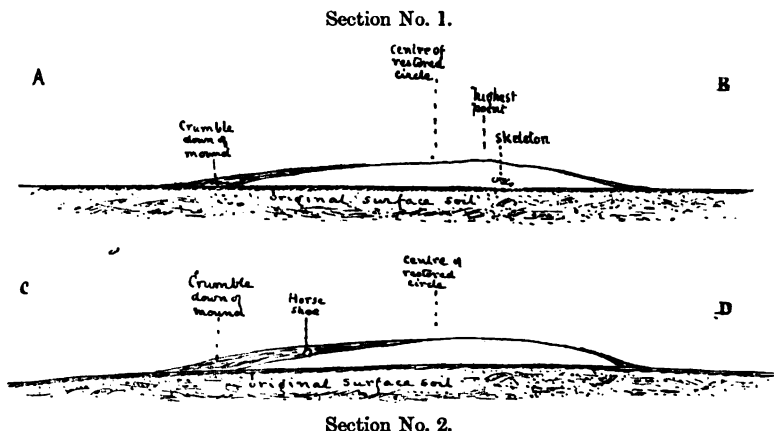
party consisted of the Baron and Baroness Anatole Von Hügel, Mr. le Strange, of Hunstanton, Mr. and Mrs. Basil Thomson, Professor Mahaffy, and Professor and Mrs. Hughes; and several visitors from the neighbourhood dropped in during the progress of the excavations. The work proved somewhat heavier than had been anticipated, in consequence of the tumulus having been thrown up on the brow of the slope, so that it deepened on its lower side more than was foreseen. It is often very difficult to make out which is the centre of a sepulchral mound, as the additions, whether of earth or stones, would be originally larger on the side where it was most easy to procure materials; and, in



after-ages, the crumbling down of the mound would be greater where it was helped by the slope of the ground. In this case the centre of the mound (see ground plan), as obtained by measurement from its inferred marginal outline, did not coincide with the highest point; nor did the position of the only interment which we found agree with either. We divided the mound into quadrants, separate parties undertaking each, and dug the whole face clean in front of us, down to the level of the undisturbed sand and gravel. In this way we made sure that nothing could be overlooked, and that we should not over-run any interment made in the original surface of the ground, and therefore below the level of the bottom of the mound. We provided also for the easy record of the exact position of any object found, by reference to cr-

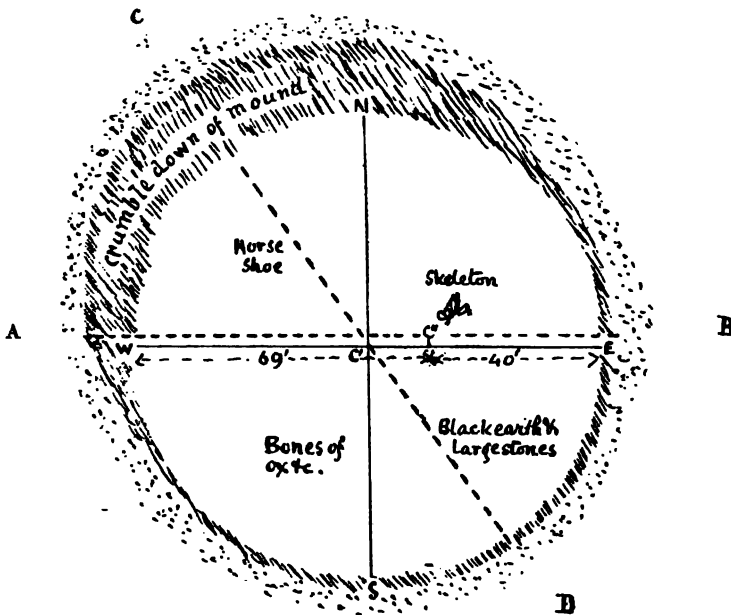
ordinates drawn to our measured lines through the centre. The care and liberality with which the work was carried out deserved a better fate ; but no secondary or contemporary marginal interment was found to reward our labour.

In the north-west quadrant an old horseshoe without calkins was found, raising our hopes that the Saxon remains might be near. But this was in ground much disturbed in rabbiting, etc. (see Section No. 2), and nothing more turned up. In the south-west quadrant some bones of domestic animals occurred in the soil, suggesting relics of the funeral feast, and so on ; but nothing came of that. In the south-west quadrant, from which the rabbit had turned out the fragments, which so much resembled Roman pottery, we were greatly



excited by finding a quantity of black earth and some large stones. This seemed very promising, especially to those who had on previous occasions found urns covered by, or inverted on, slabs of stone. However, nothing more was obtained ; and we sadly recollected how, in similar situations, we had seen that parts, or the whole, of a badly-burnt urn returned to earth, leaving but a dark line to indicate where it had been. In the north-east quadrant, however, in the afternoon of our last day, a skeleton was uncovered (see ground plan and Section No. 1), lying with the head pointing—not to the centre by measurement, but to the highest part of the mound, from which it was distant about 3 ft. in a north-easterly direction. The bones were not so well preserved as to render it easy to remove them without further appliances than we had by us, and it was decided to cover it up again undisturbed (except some of the smaller limb-bones, accidentally moved when first

discovered), and to leave it there, till perhaps the rest of the mound could be systematically explored. The skeleton was lying on its right side, with the knees drawn up and the hands raised to the head, which rested on the right hand. This posture indicated a British interment. The skull was too much crushed to enable us to examine its form satisfactorily, but it appeared to be a well-shaped mesocephalic head. The femur was $18\frac{1}{2}$ in. long, indicating a stature of about 5 ft. $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. The body lay at a depth of 5 ft. 3 in. from the surface of the mound,



A B.—Line of Section No. 1.
C D.— " " " 2.

C'.—Centre of restored Circle.
C".—Highest point of Mound.

and about 1 ft. 6 in. from the bottom of the made ground. Seeing, then, that the body did not occur in the centre nor at the bottom of the mound, but at a great depth near the centre, it seems quite possible that it may be a contemporary burial of secondary importance, and that the principal interment may be concealed under the deepest part of the mound, not yet explored. After Professor Hughes and others had left, a rather interesting discovery was made, of a circle of charred earth and ashes, some 6 in. in width, forming an almost complete ring round the skeleton, at a distance of about 2 ft. from it.

All who took part in this most interesting investigation concurred

in expressing their warm gratitude to Lord and Lady Amberst, for the way in which they had carried out the systematic and exhaustive examination of the evidence, undeterred by the absence of any finds of interest throughout all the first days of the work.

T. MCKENNY HUGHES, F.R.S.

The Stall-Plates of the Knights of the Order of the Garter, 1348-1485.
—Messrs. Archibald Constable and Co., 2, Whitehall Gardens, Westminster, beg to call attention to an unique and beautiful work which they are now issuing in Eight Monthly Parts, price 12s. 6d. net per Part, and dedicated by gracious privilege during her lifetime to Her Late Majesty Queen Victoria, Sovereign of the Most Noble Order of the Garter. The Parts already issued may be seen at all the leading booksellers, from whom full particulars, prospectus, and specimen plates may be had on application. The work consists of a series of full-sized coloured facsimiles, with Descriptive Notes and Historical Introductions by W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE, M.A., F.S.A. The edition is strictly limited, and only five hundred copies of the work have been printed. The object of the present work is to illustrate the earlier Stall-Plates, eighty-five in number, being the remaining memorials of the fourteenth and fifteenth century, of Knights elected under the Plantagenet Sovereigns from Edward III, Founder of the Order, to Richard III, inclusive, together with three palimpsest plates and one of later date, or eighty-nine plates in all. The Stall-Plates are represented full-size, and in colours, on Japan vellum, in exact facsimile of the originals, in the highest style of chromo-lithography, from photographs of the plates themselves. Each plate is accompanied by descriptive and explanatory notes, and the origin and general characteristics of the Stall-Plates are fully dealt with in an historical introduction. There are also included numerous seals of the knights, reproduced by photography from casts specially taken for this work.

The work, in a word, forms a most beautiful and invaluable addition to the records of heraldry during an early and important period of the nation's history. A special binding for the work when completed can be supplied at 21s. net, particulars of which may be had on application. It is proposed to issue a succeeding volume, illustrating the Stall-Plates of the Tudor Period (1485 to 1603).





THE JOURNAL

OF THE

British Archaeological Association.

SEPTEMBER 1901.

ZOOLOGY ON BRASSES, CHIEFLY FROM GLOUCESTERSHIRE EXAMPLES.

BY CECIL T. DAVIS, ESQ.

“Whoever gives a paire of velvet shoes
To th’ Holy Rood, or liberally allows
But a new rope to ring the couvre-feu bell,
But he desires that his great deed may dwell,
Or graven in the chancel window glasse
Or on his lasting tombe of plated brasse.”

BISHOP HALL’S FOURTH SATIRE.

Temple Bar, July, 1895, p. 411.



MONUMENTAL Brasses prove of very great interest to many classes: the architect, the artist, the chronologist, the genealogist, the herald, the palæographer, the general antiquary, all can turn to brasses therefrom to learn very much relating to their special branch of knowledge. Over and above their simple devotional character, which must ever endear them to Christian antiquaries, monumental brasses will ever possess a paramount degree of value and utility as evidence of costume, as a treasury of heraldic knowledge, as well as of the arts and customs generally of former times.

In this paper I have the pleasure of bringing before the British Archæological Association some notice of various

animals which may be found engraven on our old monumental brasses. And here let me say that no description will be given of those which appear as charges on shields.

The mediæval sculptor was very fond of introducing representations of animals into his compositions; and by the observing eye they will be noticed on misereres, capitals, gargoyles, &c., in our old churches. Wherever enrichment is found, there animal life will be delineated.



Fig. 1.—Lion, 1401, Dyrham, Gloucestershire.

The king of beasts figures largely on brasses. From time immemorial the lion has been symbolical of power and fearlessness. At Mycenæ there were lions at the gates, to tell incomers in plain unmistakeable language of the strength and courage leonine of that city. The lion often figures as a supporter of the feet of a knight or warrior bold; sometimes full face, sometimes looking straight ahead. The engraver has tried to throw a look of fierceness into its face, and the tawny mane and tufted tail are much in evidence. Sir Morys Russel is said to have been

the founder of Dyrham Church, wherein he lies buried (fig. 1).

Though the lion was of old a symbol of rank and power, and the embodiment of material force as exemplified by appearing on military brasses, yet it is to be found on the brasses of judges, who as delegates of the Sovereign were distinguished by emblems of power when sitting in court; and after death the lion appears on their monuments, as a fitting allusion to the power they had the privilege of wielding during their life. Sir John Cassey came of an old Gloucestershire family, and was appointed Chief Baron



Fig. 2 — Lion, 1400, Deerhurst, Gloucestershire.

of the Exchequer in 1389. His monument is in the Parish Church of Deerhurst (fig. 2).

The lion again appears as the winged lion, the symbol of St. Mark.

Next to the lion comes the dog, the personification of fidelity. Not that trash which Seneca so justly condemns: *Pretio parata vincitur pretio fides* (Fidelity bought with money is overcome with money), but of the kind "George Eliot" portrays in the *Spanish Gypsy*:—

"Faithfulness can feed on suffering,
And knows no disappointment."

Place aux dames, so let us consider first the dogs represented with ladies. They are often found as lapdogs, lying on the ladies' skirts and looking up into their mistresses' faces. A collar of bells, sometimes as many as eight, is around the neck. The dogs belong to a smooth-haired breed, with pendant ears and a curling tail (figs. 3 and 4).



Fig. 3.—Dog, 1392, Wotton-under-Edge, Gloucestershire.



Fig. 4.—Dog, c. 1400, Northleach, Gloucestershire.

Chaucer, in his description of the “gentle Prioress” says :—

“Of smale houndes hadde she, that she fedde
With rosted flesh or milk, and wastel breed ;
But sore wept she if one of them were deed,
Or if men smote it with a yerde smart.”

In that curious work on domestic economy, entitled the *Menagier de Paris*, written about the year 1393, the lady of the household is particularly recommended to think of the “bestes de chambre,” such as little dogs, insomuch as

these creatures not having the gift of speech, could not ask for themselves: "*Item, que par la dicte dame Agnes vous faciez principalement et diligemment penser de vos bestes de chambre comme petits chiennes car ils ne peuvent parler, & pour ce vous devez parler et penser pour eux si vous en avez.*"

At Deerhurst is an interesting example of a dog which is shown as a supporter for Lady Cassey's feet. It is evidently a favourite, for beneath is its name, "*Terri*" (fig. 5). The only other known instance in which the



Fig. 5.—Dog, 1400, Deerhurst, Gloucestershire.

name is given was on a brass formerly at Ingham, Norfolk, where the pet's name was "*Jakke.*"

At the feet of Richard Dixton lies a dog with uplifted head. The dog here represents the fidelity of a servant to his master (fig. 6). Richard Dixton was squire to the ill-starred Richard of York, father of Edward IV, and died in 1438. His will is printed in the *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society*.

Let us now turn to a late example, Philip Marner, a clothier at Cirencester, 1587. On a round cushion by his right side is seated a small dog, with a collar but no bells (fig. 7). The inscription speaks of his benefactions.

I propose next to deal with the sheep.

In the *Libel of English Policy*, written about 1436, reference is made to the wool trade of the Cotteswold district. The names Cotteswold and sheep have been joined together for many years, and the hills are still

famous for sheep with long wool. The Romans found sheep among the domesticated animals of the Britons, and soon appreciated the value of the wool by founding a factory; and the worth of the manufacture was quickly recognised by the Britons, of whom Tacitus remarks in *Agricola*, cap. 21, "*Inde etiam habitus nostri honor et frequens toga.*" From this time onwards English wool was esteemed as very fine and most suitable for making



Fig. 6.—Dog, 1438, Cirencester, Gloucestershire.

the most renowned fabrics. Our English cloth was surpassed by that woven in the Low Countries, but our raw material was the best, and the silky but tough fleeces of the Cotteswold sheep commanded a high price. A great quantity was exported to the Low Countries, and amongst the imports in return were the latten plates used for the memorials termed Monumental Brasses. This is

one reason why in Gloucestershire there exist so many of this interesting class of memorials within the churches of the wool-growing districts : witness Chipping Campden, Cirencester, and Northleach, and the town also on the



Fig. 7.—Dog, 1587, Cirencester, Gloucestershire.

hills but just beyond the borders of the county, viz., Chipping Norton, in Oxfordshire. Seeing that to sheep the departed worthies owed their wealth, no wonder then that on their monuments they placed representations of the sheep, and of the woolpack which was directly dependent on their flocks.

John Fortey, Northleach, 1458, has his right foot resting on a sheep, and his left on a woolpack. Rudder styles him a "wealthy clothier."

A woolman and wife at Northleach, c. 1485, have each the right foot resting on a sheep couchant, and the left on a woolpack. On the husband's woolpack is his merchant mark (fig. 8). It would be interesting to find out the name of this merchant. The engraving is of the period c. 1485, and the following names of about that



Fig. 8.—Sheep and Woolpack, c. 1485, Northleach, Gloucestershire.

date are taken from Wills proved in the P.C.C.:—1477, John Bussh; 1493, Thomas Hall; and 1496, John Newman.

John Taylour, Northleach, c. 1490, has the sheep standing on a woolpack, a shepherd's crook lying in front, and two crooks lying at right angles as a "mark" on the pack (fig. 9). It may be noticed that the modern crook is of the same shape as the ancient one. Further, it may be seen that the tail is not docked, as is now the custom on the Cotteswold Hills.

Thomas Bushe, Northleach, 1526. Here we have both

the woolpack and sheep as supporters, but the sheep is standing and has horns curled backwards (fig. 10). The same supporters appear beneath the feet of the wife, but reversed. A quaint rustic scene is shown in the pediment of the canopy:—a tree, possibly an oak, very conventional in its drawing, standing on a grassy mound, a sheep lying down near the trunk, and on either side of the mound is a sheep lying towards the centre; they are all horned and have long tails (fig. 11).

Anyone who has noticed lambs on a bright sunny day in spring may have seen such a glimpse of rural felicity very often; and I for one can enjoy the sight of the sportive lambs at play, and thus be refreshed with the



Fig. 9.—Sheep and Woolpack, c. 1490, Northleach, Gloucestershire.

thought that summer is at hand, and winter once more left behind.

There are two instances in Gloucestershire where the lamb is used as an emblem of our Saviour—the Lamb of God! Before the Cassey brass at Deerhurst was mutilated, a figure of St. John Baptist was represented between the gable and central pinnacle. Fortunately, rubbings of the brass are still extant before this portion was lost, and from one of these this illustration (fig. 13) is taken.

At St. Mary de Crypt, Gloucester, is the monument of John Cooke, an alderman, who was founder of the school well-known locally as the Crypt School. The centre pediment of the triple canopy is filled with St. John

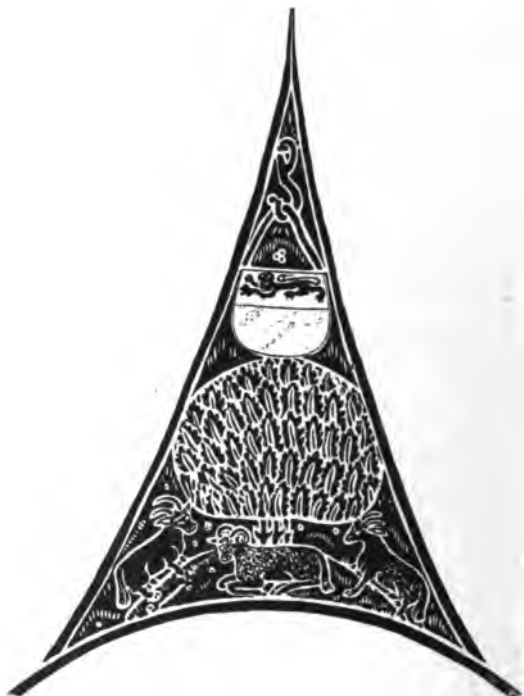


Fig. 11.—Canopy, 1526, Northleach, Gloucestershire.



Fig. 10.—Canopy, Sheep and Woolpack, 1526, Northleach, Gloucestershire.



Fig. 12.—St. John Baptist, 1544, St. Mary de Crypt,
Gloucester.

Baptist (fig. 12). The contrast in style between the two figures is very marked.

For other specimens, I now beg to call your attention to those which are represented as "breaks" in inscriptions.

The Fortey brass, Northleach, 1447, affords a capital illustration of this (fig. 14). Round the verge is an inscription, the spaces between each word being filled with various ornaments.



Fig. 13.
St. John Baptist,
1400, Deerhurst,
Gloucestershire.

✠ Sub (rose) pede (rose) morte (rose) jacens (rose)
Thomas (rose) ffortey (rose scroll)
| (quadruped) Et (cock) sua (leaf) sponsa
(boar) placens (hedgehog) Agnes (cinque-
foil) sibi (fleur-de-lis) consociatur (rose
and scroll-work) [Mercator dignus iustus
uerarq; benignus] (two dogs fighting)
Noscitur (cinquefoil) in (crab) signis
(blank) non (two fleurs-de-lis)
[gaudens fpe malignis] | Eccl'iarum
(castle) suar; (dragon) viarum (fabulous
monster) fit (?) Reparator (. . . .) | Criste
(goose) Suarum (leaf) sis (branches)
miserator (rose and scroll-work) [mille
quater centum] (an acorn between two
oak-leaves) quater (slug) £ (fighting cock)
septem (snail) monumentu (eagle displayed
and scroll-work) [primo dat, flamen
Deceni Jhs huc beat . . .]

Unfortunately it is not complete, and missing words have been supplied from the county histories.

The Rev. C. G. R. Birch, LL.M., has kindly sent me the following translation:—

“By death o'erthrown beneath your feet see Thomas Fortey lie,
A noble merchant, just and true, well known his kindly life
Dame Agnes too his spouse full sweet in like extremity.
Which found no joy in others' woe, no gain in baleful strife,
Churches and roads his bounty left in wise and full repair,
Christ, let Thy soul with pity melt before his humble prayer,
From Thy blest birth a thousand years, four hundred more also
And forty-seven eke had passed ere he Thy bliss did know.”

You may see a *slug* between “quater” and “£.” The

artist here represents one of the *Limacidae*, and even shows the mantle (beneath which is the shell) of the slug slightly raised. Between the next two words is a *cock* just ready to start fighting, an amusement not unknown in this country in those days. Following we have a *snail*, such as causes so much havoc in our gardens. This is succeeded by an *eagle* with outstretched wings. On the next line we commence with two *dogs fighting*, in which much spirit is shown; then we have a *crab*, or rather *crayfish*. On the next line a *cow* starts, followed by another *cock* in the act of crowing, and a little further occurs a *pig*. This is so well graven that one can almost fancy you can hear the well-known porcine squeal. The *hedgehog* has not come out so well in the drawing; and had the artist a hidden meaning when he placed a hedgehog between "*placens*" and "*Agnes*"?

I am very much inclined to think that the artist who designed this memorial must have sketched these animals from nature, for they are, in my opinion, very true to life, and not conventionalised or adapted in the least. He did not confine his attention to the *mammalia*, but also chose examples from what are termed the lower orders of life. He found his copies or models in the fields around, so that one is tempted to say that this brass was not engraved in a workshop situated in a crowded town, but out in the fields. One would not often see the animals he has drawn roaming about the streets. The *crayfish* is often found in the Cotteswold streams.

At Tormarton, John Ceysyll, 1493, is another instance



Fig. 14.—Devices, 1447, Northleach, Gloucestershire.



Fig. 15.—Devices, 1493, Tormarton, Gloucestershire.

of “breaks” (fig. 15). The inscription is round the verge, and is as follows:—

Grate (oak-leaf) **pro** (three leaves springing from a crown) **Anima** (cinquefoil) **Johannis** (two acorns) **Ceysyll** (double triangle), | **Quondam** (a clover [trefoil] leaf) **famulus** (leaf) **Reuerendi** (Tudor rose, boss) **d'ni** (leaf) **Joh'is** (a flowered square) **Sendlow** (heart), **militis** (rabbit), **qui** (quadruped) **quidē** (oak-leaf and acorn) **Johannes** (leaves) **Ceysyll** (bunch of three cherries) **suum** (lily blossom) **clausit** (cherry and leaf), **extremū** (conventional) **in** (ditto) **Vigilia** (cap) **Sancti** (rose) **Bartholomei** (hare) **Apostoli** (a pod bursting and revealing the seeds) **Anno** (leaves) **d'ni** (goose?) **Mill'mo** (a spread eagle) **CCCC**^o (bird flying) **lxxxiii**^o (goose preening her wings) **et** (goose with neck arched) **Anno** (crown) **Regni** (a rose barbed) **Regis** (leaf and double square) **Henrici** (a berry between two leaves) **septimi** (trefoil), **nono** (bell), **Cuius** (stringed instrument resembling a violin) **Anime** (pair of bellows) **propicietur** (apple?) **de' (■) Altissimus** (leaf), **Amen**.

In English it may be rendered thus: “Pray ye for the soul of John Ceysyll, formerly servant of the reverend Lord Sendlow, Knight, which John Ceysyll indeed closed his last day on the eve [August 23] of St. Bartholomew the Apostle, A.D. 1493, and in the ninth year of the reign of King Henry VII. To

whose soul may the most high God be merciful. Amen.”

After **Bartholomei** is a hare whose ears are rather conventionalised, but otherwise in this instance the designer has confined his attention to birds when he went to the animal kingdom for illustrations. We get one with outstretched wings, another flying, a third preening itself, and the next craning forward its neck, while another is standing sedately.

At Fairford we have a rare example of two brasses in the same church forming a memorial to the same persons. Possibly it was thought that it would be better to have one memorial on the floor to show the position of the grave, and the other on the wall, which should more prominently bring before those in the church the fact that Sir Edmond Tame and his two wives are buried here. At the end of the marginal inscription of the brass on the floor is "Amen," followed by a closed hand with index



Fig. 16.—Device 1534, Fairford, Gloucestershire.

finger pointing at a bird, which seems to be a lapwing or peewit, a bird common enough on the hills (fig. 16). At first we might think it was a charge taken from the armorial bearings, but neither Sir Edmond nor either of his wives has a bird on their coat-of-arms.

Mention has been already made of the symbol of St. Mark, a winged lion; here it might be added that a winged ox represents St. Luke, and an eagle is an emblem of St. John.

I add a few examples not taken from Gloucestershire brasses. William, Lord Zouch, 1447, is represented standing on two eagles or falcons, and by his wife are two lapdogs as before described. His monument is at Okeover, Staffordshire.

A civilian from Tilbrook, Bedfordshire, c. 1400, has one foot resting on a dog's haunch whilst the other is beneath the dog's head. The dog lying on his wife's skirt is larger than those usually shown on ladies' brasses. Notice the

pointed face of the hunting dog, as compared with the pug-nose of the lapdog.

At Digswell, Herts., is the brass to John Peryent and his wife Joan, 1415. Beneath John's feet is a talbot, and, in lieu of the usual dog, his wife has a rather unusual and spiny pet, a hedgehog.

At Great Tew is the brass of Sir John Wylcotes and his wife Alice, c. 1410. Here we have a hound beneath the husband's feet, and the usual lapdog at the lady's feet.

Two Sussex knights show the lions in different attitudes.

Thomas Seintlegier, of Otterden, Kent, 1408, affords a capital example of the hound; its collar is fastened somewhat similarly to the collars worn by the knights; and instead of an ornament, a ring for tying up purposes is pendent.

Illustrations of the foregoing may be seen in the Portfolio of the *Monumental Brass Society*.

Two late examples from Queen's College, Oxford, published by the *Oxford University Brass Rubbing Society*, are both dated 1616, and represent provosts.

On Dr. Airy's brass we have two bears destroying the children who mocked Elisha, and a unicorn drinking.

On Dr. Robinson's, three folds of sheep with three dogs watching same, three wolves prowling around attempting to enter the folds. This is the motto: "*Tamquam ligati, tamquam liberi.*" Another group represents Isaiah, ii., 6: "The wolf shall dwell with the lamb," with this motto: "Deadly feude extinct."

Sometimes the animals figured as supporters are taken from the crest of the family, as, e.g., a bear muzzled, Isleham, Cambridge, 1451; an elephant, Tong, Salop, 1467; a whelk, Wollaton, Notts., 1467; a boar, Sawley, Derbyshire, 1477; an elephant and castle, Wyvenhoe, Essex, 1507; and other examples may be quoted.

Note.—The illustrations are one-quarter of the original rubbings, and are reproduced from *The Monumental Brasses of Gloucestershire*. London, Phillimore & Co., 1899.





LUTTERWORTH.

BY GEO. PATRICK, ESQ., A.R.I.B.A.

(Read at the Leicester Congress, 1900.)



THE earliest mention of Lutterworth, so far as I have been able to ascertain, is given in *Domesday Book*, where it is called Luttresurde, and then belonged to Ralph Wayer, Guader, or de Waer, as the name is variously spelt, who was a Norfolk man by birth, and by his mother's side of British parentage. William the Conqueror created him Earl of Norfolk and Suffolk. He, however, proved ungrateful, and traitorously did his utmost to expel the King; but, finding his schemes of no avail, he joined Robert Curthose, Duke of Normandy, and became a crusader. He afterwards took the pilgrim's habit, and died, it is related, in great penitence. His lands were, of course, forfeited to the King, of whom Maino the Briton held Lutterworth as feudal tenant (at the time of the general Survey in 1086). According to the record, there were in Lutterworth thirteen ploughlands, which, with ten in Menstretton and two in Thorp, had been held by Earl Ralph. They employed nine ploughs, and were then worth £7. In the demesne¹ were three ploughs, two bondmen and one bondwoman. Six villeins, with seven bordars and twelve socmen, had four ploughs, and there were twelve acres of meadow. It would be interesting to be able to define accurately the relative conditions of these dwellers on the land.²

¹ The manorial residence and lands adjacent which the Lord reserved for his own use.

² The bondmen and the bondwomen were presumably slaves absolutely; but, according to Hallam, there were degrees of villenage,

The seven bordars seem to have been bondmen, who had to supply the lord with provisions. The twelve socmen were cultivators, more fortunate than others, who had by purchase been able to acquire freeholds, and they could not be removed. They are, in the words of the historian, the root of a noble plant, the free socage tenants, or English Yeomanry.

It is to Dugdale we have to look for the oldest account of Lutterworth; and Nichols, in his voluminous *History of Leicestershire*, goes at considerable length into the descent of the manor. I have consulted Burton, the earliest historian of the county, who wrote before 1622, and Nichols; and I find that the next proprietor of Lutterworth seems to have been Bertram de Verdon. Camden also describes Lutterworth "as a small market town, formerly, as report says, the possession of the Verdons; which only sheweth a faire church, which hath been increased by the Fieldings of knight's degree and ancient gentry in the shire."

In the reign of King John (1199 to 1216), a lady named Roise de Verdon, and her son, Nicholas de Verdon, founded an hospital, dedicated to St. John, which was for one priest and six poor men, and to keep hospitality for poor men travelling that way (Tanner's *Notitia*, fol. 243, *sub.* Lutterworth). The hospital was situated near the river Swift, but no remains of it exist at the present day.

Roise de Verdon died in 1247. In 1258, John de Verdon, her son, obtained a charter from the King for free warren for himself and his heirs in all his demesnes, including Lutterworth. From the Verdons the manor passed by marriage to the Ferrers' of Groby. Henry de Ferrers, knight, who died in 1387, held the manor and the advowson of the church, valued then at forty marks, and also the advowson of the hospital of St. John.

Burton says: "It appears from the escutcheons cut on stone on the East wall of the Chancel over the Great East window, to have been built by Lord Ferrers." By

and, though bound to remain upon the land, the villeins were free men, subject to certain services.

marriage again the manor passed from the Ferrers' to the Greys, ancestors of Sir Edward Grey, husband of Elizabeth Woodville, afterwards Queen of Edward IV. Upon the attainder of the Marquess of Dorset and Duke of Suffolk of this family in 1554, the manor reverted to the Crown, in whose possession it seems to have remained until the reign of Charles I, who, in 1628, granted the manor to the Mayor and Commonalty of London; the next year it was sold for £1,650 to Basil Fielding, Esq., a descendant of the old family of the same name, who were resident here in the fifteenth century, and whose memorials are in the church, who were ancestors of the present lord of the manor, the Earl of Denbigh.

A somewhat unusual bequest was made to the town of Lutterworth by Richard Elkington, of Shawell, who, by his will, dated May 29th, 1607, devised to the mayor, bailiffs, and burgesses of Leicester, as trustees, the sum of £50, to be lent in sums of £10 each, to five of the tradesmen of Lutterworth, for the term of one year, at 5 per cent. interest, the interest to be divided amongst certain poor persons. In default of applications the money was vested in land, which was sold under a decree of the Court of Chancery, and realised £1,000, that sum being (in 1835) lent in sums of £50 for three years at 3 per cent. interest (*Lewis' Topographical Dictionary*). Does this operate at the present day?

I now proceed to speak of the church itself, which possesses many very interesting features, irrespective of its associations with the great reformer, John Wickliff: those I will touch upon later. The church of Lutterworth is dedicated to St. Mary, and if any church existed here previous to the oldest portions of the present building, there are no evidences remaining above ground; and I have not met with any record or mention of a church here in Saxon or Early Norman times. The plan of the church consists of a nave with north and south aisles, chancel, and massive tower at the west end.

There is no west door, but there are north and south doors, the latter having a porch of modern date.

No part of the present building, I think, can be attributed to an earlier date than the thirteenth century, to

which period may be assigned the tower. The belfry stage, however, has been altered, the panelling and pinnacles being of later date. The nave arches and the chancel may also be of late thirteenth-century date. It would seem that early in the fourteenth century very considerable rebuilding was undertaken, and the present south aisle is of that period. A similar window to that of the east end of the south aisle was to be seen at the Friary, Reading, and is figured in the text-books by Parker as of about 1306. I am inclined to think the Early English church had no clerestory, but a roof of similar pitch to that of the chancel, though necessarily at a higher level. In the south wall of the chancel is one lancet window remaining, and the priest's door with trefoil head, the head being new. There are also a trefoil-headed piscina in the chancel, and in the north wall a square-headed aumbry, both of the Early English period.

This church affords some good examples of the various forms of window tracery; that at the west end of the north aisle being a typical example of what is known as convergent and divergent tracery, and as such is illustrated in Freeman's book—on "Gothic Window Tracery;" its date probably is from 1350 to 1360. In the south aisle at the west end, and in the middle of the side wall, are two examples of intersecting tracery of the date, probably, of 1325. Sometime in the fifteenth-century further alterations appear to have been taken in hand, at which time, I think, the present clerestory was added to the nave, and the chancel arch remodelled. You will notice it has no capitals or neckings, but the mouldings follow continuously round, from base to base; moreover, the jambs are flat and wide, and have a succession of traceried panels, indicative of a late period. It is almost impossible to define the exact date of these alterations or the nature of them, owing to the modern decoration on the walls; and it may be that the chancel arch is of the same date as the nave arcades and tower arch, altered in the fifteenth century to what we see now. The hagioscope on the north side of the chancel arch was probably cut through the wall at the same period. Mr. Neale says nearly all the fourteenth-century churches in

Leicestershire had clerestories added in the fifteenth century, Gaddesby being one exception. In an engraving of Lutterworth Church, dated 1792, there is no lancet window shown in the chancel, south side, and the porch seems to have been of timber with a thatched roof. The Guild of Lutterworth had a chantry within this church, founded by Edmund Muryall, to find one priest, called a Guild, priest to celebrate divine service within the parish church of Lutterworth, and to pray for the souls of the founder and others. The clear value of it was £2 3s. 10*d.* This chantry was situated at the east end of the south aisle, where a decorated piscina still remains. It has been said that a room existed over it, but of that there is no evidence remaining; but Nichols, quoting from the original certificate in the Augmentation Office, under the dates 1553 and 1554, says: "At that date the said room was void, and no priest there resident; nor is there any plate, jewels, or any other ornaments to the same belonging." The room may have been a portion of the church screened off for the priest's residence. In 1534 and 1535, the Rectory was valued at £34 13s. 4*d.* The tower of the church was originally surmounted by a lofty spire, but in a furious storm in 1703, the spire was blown down upon the roof of the nave, which was partly destroyed, and much damage done to the fabric of the church: so much so that a *brief* was granted to procure a national collection for the necessary repairs. Nichols also states that in 1761 the church was entirely repaired; new pews of oak, pavement of chequered stone, and everything new in church and chancel, except the pulpit. Perhaps it was at this time that the beautiful chancel screen which is known to have once existed, was destroyed; some remains of it may be seen preserved in the chancel. The rood-loft was approached directly from the interior of the church; the recess in the wall to the south of the chancel arch indicates the position of the stairs.

In the *Archæologia* for 1880 is a notice of the discovery of a glass bottle in the foundations of the west wall of the north aisle, which seemed to have been deposited there, quickly and with secrecy. The bottle was of seventeenth-century date, and its mysterious burial was probably

for a charm against witchcraft, or for the cure of certain diseases.

In the pulpit are preserved all that remains of the carved panels of what is said to have been the original pulpit used by Wycliffe: which is quite likely to have been the case, as they are elegant in design, and of the date of the fourteenth century.

Lutterworth Church is one of the many churches which still retains examples of coloured wall decoration, for almost every Early church at one time possessed more or less mural painting. These paintings are commonly, but erroneously, called "*frescoes*." I must emphasise that word, as these paintings are not frescoes. Fresco painting is a different process, requiring the colours to be mixed with lime and incorporated with the plaster, while the latter is wet. "Tempera" is the correct term to use in describing these and all similar wall decorations in our churches. There are remains of what may be late thirteenth or early fourteenth-century decoration on the arches on the north side of the nave. Over the north door is a curious painting of the fourteenth century. The meaning of the painting is not very clear; the three figures, which are full-size, may be intended to represent, as has been suggested, Richard II and his Queen, Anne of Bohemia, with John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, who claimed to be King of Castile. Apparently, they are engaged in hawking or hunting. The late Mr. Bloxam was inclined to think the two Kings were meant to be Edward II and Edward III, but he did not account for the lady. There have been several interpretations suggested, but none sufficiently conclusive. In the *List of Churches having Mural Decoration*, published by the Science and Art Department, this painting is called "Les Trois Vifs;" it is not, however, a correct illustration of this subject.

"Les Trois Rois Morts et Les Trois Rois Vifs" was a very popular subject in the Middle Ages, and was intended to impress upon beholders the vanity of earthly greatness and rank. The three Kings, in such a subject, are represented sometimes on horseback, sometimes on foot; bearing hawks on their wrists, and going forth in all

joyousness to the chase; they meet with three skeletons, who, like themselves, were kings in their day of life; the moral being that such as they are, will the Kings themselves soon be. This painting, there is little doubt, must often have been seen by Wycliffe. I am informed there was another over the south door, but it was so mutilated and undecipherable that, at the restoration some years ago, it was destroyed. I venture to think it was a pity to destroy it. With regard to the painting over the chancel arch of the "Doom, or Last Judgment," it is questionable whether it is earlier than the fifteenth century. There are some examples of this subject of an earlier date, but the majority belong to the fifteenth century; and, as I have already pointed out, to my mind the chancel arch and clerestory are to be attributed to that period: I consider it likely this painting was then introduced. The space over the chancel arch was the usual place for illustrating the "Doom," but occasionally it is found elsewhere. This example is lacking in several of the features usually accompanying this subject. I do not notice, for instance, St. Michael weighing souls, nor the condemned being dragged off to torment, nor the figure of the demon, nor the mouth of hell, usually represented by a huge fish. It is a very curious painting, and in very good preservation. The remainder of the decoration in the church is quite modern, of only a few years since.

The monuments in the church are not numerous, but the altar-tomb of the fifteenth century, beneath the arch in the north aisle, known as the Fielding monument, deserves attention, and the two brasses close by to members of the same family are interesting (Mr. Oliver will tell us something about them presently).

Noticeable as this church is for its architectural features, its chief and abiding interest is due to its intimate and personal connection with the illustrious churchman and earliest of the Reformers, John Wycliffe. It is to him, and through his close associations with the parish as its rector for rather more than nine years, that the quiet market-town of Lutterworth has obtained its world-wide celebrity. Mr. Lach-Szyrma's paper, on

"Wycliffe and his Times," clearly sets forth the history of the period at which Wycliffe lived, and his influence upon the Church of his day, and successive generations for all time.

The actual date of Wycliffe's birth is uncertain; he is thought to have been born in 1324. Leland, in his *Collectanea*, gives "Wycliffe" in Yorkshire as his native place, where a family of that name had been settled from the Norman Conquest. The first time we hear of Wycliffe, he (according to Mr. Moberly, in his *Life of William of Wykeham*) comes before us as "one of the King's clerks or chaplains at Windsor, under Langham, who, as Chancellor, had the especial management of the Royal Chapel. He was one of the acutest theologians of the day, with great dialectical skill and force, derived from the Oxford Schools." Camden speaks of him as "a man of a close subtil wit, very well versed in the sacred Scriptures, who, having sharpened his pen against the Pope's authority and the Roman Church and religious men (meaning by 'religious men' the mendicant friars), was grievously persecuted, etc." The Pope had revived the claim of homage and tribute from England, and demanded the payment of arrears. Wycliffe wrote a spirited rejoinder, and asserted that England was under no obligation whatever to pay tribute to the Pope. This was his first appearance in history; and, as Canon Pennington, in his *Life and Times of Wickliff*, says, "he comes before us only indistinctly through the mists of ages. Many facts relating to him are involved in obscurity, and are still subjects of controversy; and even when he comes forward prominently on the world's high stage, the notices of the scenes in which he acted are so meagre and unsatisfactory, that they convey to us only an indistinct impression of his form and features, as he moves amid the mighty throng of ecclesiastics, statesmen, and warriors."

Wycliffe was appointed to the rectory of Lutterworth by the King, Edward III, in April, 1375. The exact date of Wycliffe's appointment to the rectory of Lutterworth was April 7th, 1375, as is shown by an extract from the *Patent Roll*, 48 Edward III, Pt. I, No. 291, men. 23, as is mentioned in the *Transactions of the*

Leicestershire Architectural and Archæological Society, vol. viii. It was not in the Royal gift at that time, as it is now, but the King appointed, because the patron, Lord Ferrers, was a minor. Although we may see Wycliffe but indistinctly in the political history of his time, yet here, in quiet Lutterworth, and more particularly in the church, in which we can be certain that he worshipped, ministered, and was buried, he seems to come before us with reality. In the quietude of his study in the old rectory house, long since demolished, the "Morning Star of the Reformation," as he has been called, wrote many of his famous treatises, and completed his great work of the English translation of the Latin Bible. It was from Lutterworth went forth the clerks he had trained, his "poor priests," to Leicester, as a centre from which they travelled over the country, barefoot, with staff in hand, and clad in long russet gowns, or cassocks, down to their heels, on their mission of faith and love, to preach the Divine Word in every village and town. To quote again from Canon Pennington's book: "Tradition, too, informs us that every morning, after he had been engaged in the exhausting work of superintending the movements of that band of poor priests, this man, who shook the pillars of the Papacy, on whom the eyes of the King, the Pope, statesmen, prelates and priests were fixed, might be seen in Lutterworth in the active discharge of his duties as a parish priest." "He preached also to his flock by the silent eloquence of a holy life," as was admitted even by his enemies, for they could say nothing against him in that respect. Here then, and in such a manner, the last years of his life were passed. Here, in this church, he expounded those truths which have had such momentous results; and it was here, whilst engaged in assisting in the sacred office of celebrating the Holy Eucharist, that he was seized for the second time with paralysis. He was carried out of the church in a chair into the vestry, but he never spoke again; for his tongue, which had been so eloquent in proclaiming the truth of Scripture, was palsied, and he passed away on Innocents' Day, December 28th, 1384. For nearly forty-four years his body rested in peace in its grave in the chancel, until

that mournful day in 1428 when, in fulfilment of the decree of the Council of Constance, his remains were disinterred, carried out through the door in the south side of the chancel, down to the waterside by the bridge, and there burnt. His ashes were cast into the little river Swift; and thus it came to pass, in the quaint language of the old church historian, Fuller: "this brook ran into the Avon, Avon into Severn, Severn into the narrow seas; they into the main ocean; and thus his ashes are the emblem of his doctrine, now dispersed over all the world."

One would like to be able to believe in the genuineness of the so-called relics of Wycliffe exhibited in the church. Regard for archæological truth and consistency, however, oblige one to point out that the chair in the chancel, in which he is said to have been carried out when seized with his last illness, is, at the least, of some two centuries later date; also that the fine carved oak table at the west end, at which he is said to have worked and distributed food to the poor, is of the Jacobean period, and a fine example, but it could never have been used by Wycliffe. The same remark, I fear, applies to the two oak candlesticks. The embroidery now preserved in a glass case, and said to have been a portion of a vestment worn by him, is so fragmentary, it is impossible to say whether it originally formed part of an altar-frontal or a cope; the most that can be said is that it appears to be of late fourteenth-century date.





A GROUP OF TRANSITIONAL-NORMAN FONTS

(NORTH-EAST CORNWALL).

BY ALFRED C. FRYER, PH.D., M.A.



AN interesting group of nine Transitional-Norman fonts are met with in the north-east of Cornwall. They all possess a strong family likeness, and were doubtless constructed a few years before the close of the twelfth century. The upper part of the bowl is square, and each side is adorned with a long-petalled flower, which is occasionally called the "Passion-flower pattern." Two serpents encircle this geometrical figure, and at the angles of the bowl are four human heads.

These nine fonts may be seen at Altarnon (St. Non), Callington (St. Mary), Jacobstow (St. James), Landrake (St. Peter), Laneast (SS. Sidwell and Gulval), Launceston (St. Thomas the Apostle), Lawhitton (St. Michael), and at Warbstow (St. Werburga). They are not equally good and accurate in workmanship, and the stone employed in their construction, as well as their dimensions, varies considerably. The font in the church of St. Thomas the Apostle, Launceston, has a bowl with a depth of 13 ins. (inside measurement), while the one at Landrake is only 8 ins. deep. The depth of the outside of the bowls show great variation; the one at Laneast is 25 ins. in depth, while the one at Callington is only 15 ins. The diameter of the bowl at Callington is 19 ins., while the one at Launceston is 24 ins. The bowls at Altarnon, Jacobstow, and Lezant, have a circumference at the bottom of more than 90 ins., while the one at Laneast is only 66 ins. The stone from which these fonts were constructed is very different. The bowl and shaft at Jacobstow was formed out of one boulder of granite,

Polyphant stone was employed for those at Launceston and Lawhitton; while a freestone, brought from the quarries at Pentewan, near St. Austell, was used in the construction of the bowl at Laneast.

The bowls have all plain rims, with the exception of the one at Laneast, and the accompanying illustrations



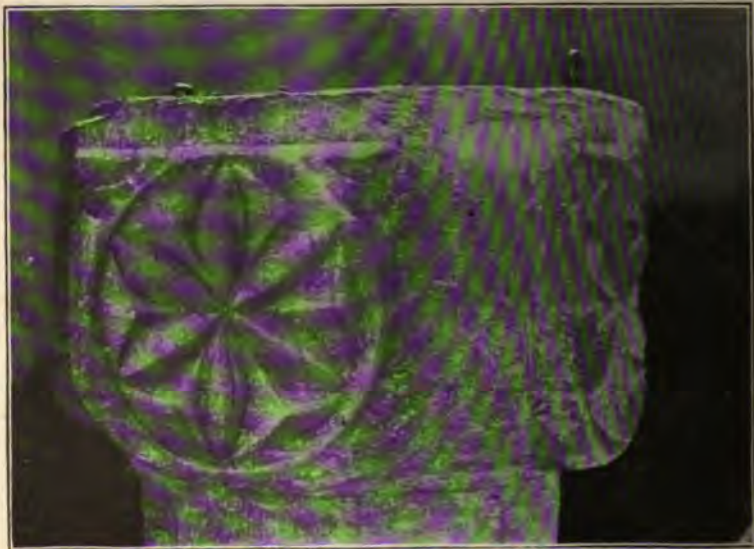
Callington.

show the ornamentation, Although the rims, with one exception, are unadorned, yet the bottom of the bowls at Altarnon, Callington, and Warbstow, are encircled with the cable pattern.

The heads at the four angles of the bowls are studies in themselves. Some are badly carved, like those at Landrake, Jacobstow, and Warbstow; while those on the fonts at St. Thomas the Apostle, Launceston, and at Altarnon, are well executed. The font at Altarnon has,



FONT AT WARBSTOW.



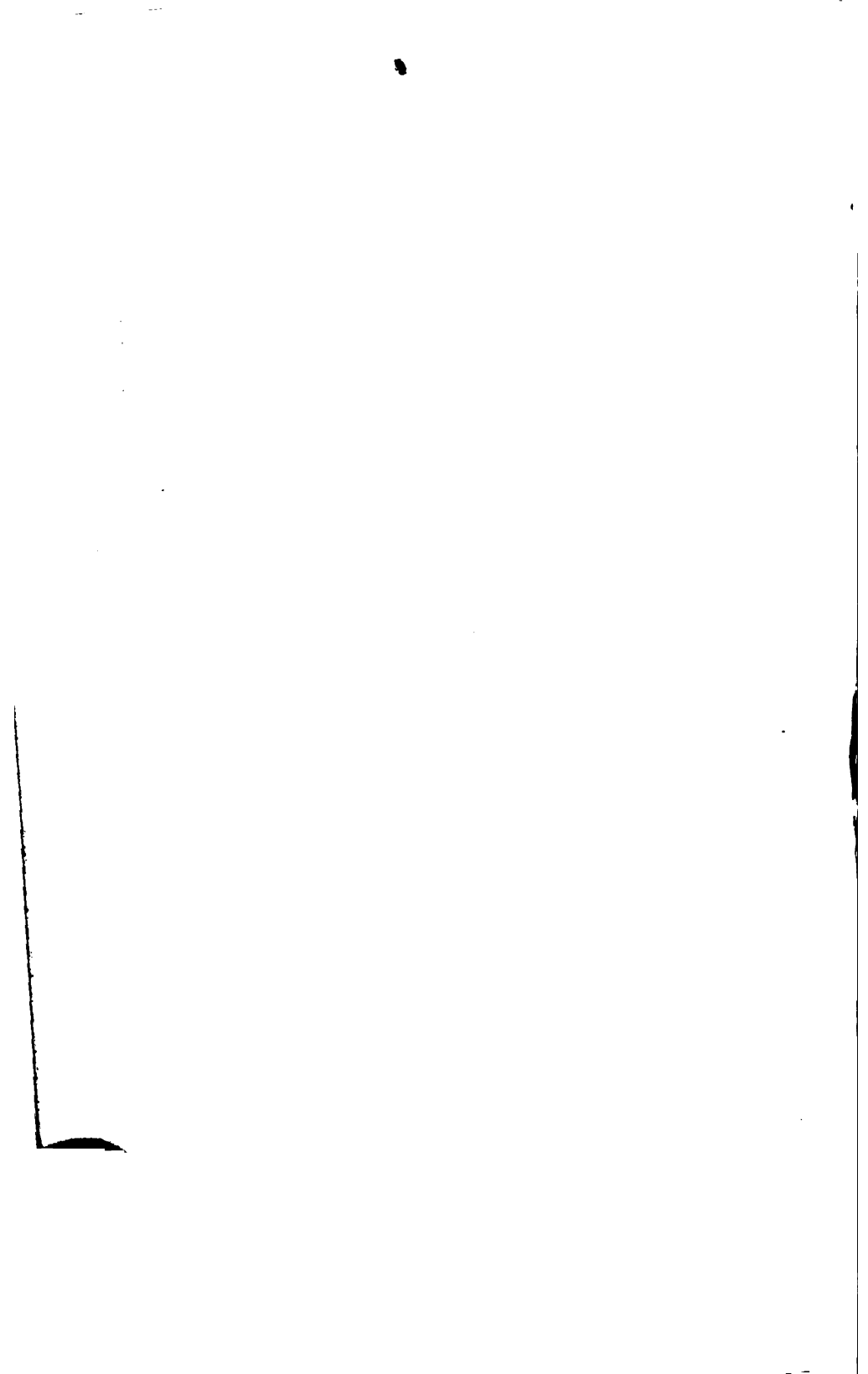
FONT AT LEZANT.



FONT AT ALTARNON.



FONT AT LANEAST.



at one time, been brilliantly coloured, and the faces are still flesh-coloured and the hair is black. All nine fonts have faces at the angles, with the exception of Laneast and the mutilated font at Lezant. At Lezant all the angles have been cut away; but at Laneast three of the angles are adorned with heads, while the fourth has a branch with seven leaves carved in low relief.

Two serpents—or, more correctly, one serpent with two heads—encircle the geometrical pattern, and are depicted upon all the bowls. They are represented with extended jaws and forked tongues. Those at Altarnon, Callington, Laneast, and Launceston,¹ are particularly well executed.

The geometrical pattern varies slightly. Eight petal-flowers are found on the bowls at Callington and Warbstow, while on the north face of the latter font, a four-petal flower is carved. All the other geometrical patterns are six petal-flowers. The only exception to the repetition of this flower-pattern is met with on the font in the Church of St. Mary at Callington, where the south face of the bowl is adorned with a conventional plant with three blades on each side of the stalk, and above it a small cross,² while the east face has two conventional plants with several leaves on each side of the stem.

Each bowl is placed on a low octagonal shaft resting on a large circular base. These pedestals are unadorned, with the exception of the one at Launceston, which is finely fluted, having foot ornaments at the angles of the plinth.

Several of the fonts have suffered mutilation. The fine bowl at Lezant has had the four angles sliced off, so that it now presents the appearance of an octagonal bowl.³ The lower part of the bowl of the font at Warbstow, and the west side of the bowl at Lawhitton, has the geometrical pattern cut away, and the east face has the bottom of the pattern seriously injured. The

¹ This font is illustrated in Paley's *Baptismal Fonts*, and in *The Histories of Launceston and Dunheved*, by R. and O. B. Peter, p. 359. The illustration in the first-named book is not quite correct, as the serpents encircling the geometrical pattern are not given, and there is no mention of the serpents in the letterpress accompanying the illustration.

² This ornamentation is enclosed in a semicircle, 20 ins. by 12 ins.

³ The corners have been sliced off about 16 ins. to 18 ins. deep, and 10 ins. to 14 ins. wide.

westernmost pillar of the south nave arcade at Lawhitton has been cut away on the west side; and it seems not unlikely that the bowl was damaged, in order to place it against this pillar.

The bowl and base of the font at Altarnon is carved out of one block of stone, which is unfortunately cracked. This is the only font which has been richly coloured; and at the top extending from each corner to the bowl is a groove, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide. It may be that these grooves held the four supports of a permanent canopy, possibly made of wood. This font, like most of the others, possessed a flat cover, for there are still the marks for the lock.

		Depth of Bowl. (Inside measure- ment.)	Depth of Bowl. (Outside measure- ment.)	Diameter of Bowl at Top.	Top of Bowl.	Circumference of the Bowl at the bottom.	Diameter of the Geo- metrical Pattern.	Remarks.
		Ins.	Ins.	Ins.	Ins.	Ins.	Ins.	
Altarnon (St. Non)		12	21	$23\frac{1}{2}$	36×35	91	15	This bowl was originally painted in brilliant colours
Callington (St. Mary)		10	15	19	$28\frac{1}{2} \times 29\frac{1}{2}$	75	$12\frac{1}{2}$	Conventional plants adorn the south and east faces of this bowl.
Jacobstow (St. James)		10	17	$20\frac{1}{2}$	$32\frac{1}{2} \times 33$	$90\frac{1}{2}$	13	The bowl and shaft are cut out of one block of granite.
Landrake (St. Peter)		8	22	20	30×28	71	13	This is a very shallow bowl.
Laneast (SS. Sidwell and Gualval)		10	25	$21\frac{1}{2}$	$29\frac{1}{2} \times 26$	66	$12\frac{1}{2}$	This bowl has an ornamental rim, 3 in. deep.
Launceston (St. Thomas the Apostle)		13	20	24	$35\frac{1}{2} \times 34$	$84\frac{1}{2}$	15	This font is one of the most perfect in the whole series.
Lawhitton (St. Michael)		10	22	21	30×31	73	$14\frac{1}{2}$	Two sides of the bowl are mutilated.
Lezant (St. Broeke)		12	19	$20\frac{1}{2}$	—	96	16	Before the bowl was mutilated, the top would measure 34×32 in. The angles have all been cut off.
Werbstow (St. Werburga)		11	16	20	33×33	82	13	The lower portion of the bowl is damaged.



WYCLIFFE.

BY REV. W. S. LACH-SZYRMA, M.A., VICAR OF BARKINGSIDE.

(Read at the Leicester Congress, 1900.)



If one wanted to know the social life of England in the age between Crescy and Agincourt, *i.e.*, the era of Edward III, Richard II, Henry IV., and Henry V (one of the most attractive ages of English history), I should recommend the study of Chaucer, Piers Ploughman, and, above all, of Wycliffe. These three give one a fair idea, which we may supplement by the multitude of archæological remains scattered all over England, by Shakespeare (who, however, saw the age through “renaissance spectacles”), and by the established histories. But the three contemporary writers are the most trustworthy guides. In Chaucer we have the view of a poet and satirist; in Piers Ploughman, the denunciation of a mediæval prophet; in Wycliffe, of a philosopher and a great preacher.

The first idea of the “man-in-the-street” about Wycliffe is that he was a religious reformer. So he was. But he was much more beside that. He was a political philosopher, an economist, a critic, a learned academician. Like Plato, Wycliffe was an idealist who formed grand ideal conceptions, that he never could have hoped to carry out. Like Plato, he thought of a society—an England such as he conceived England ought to be, and which he contrasted forcibly with the real England of the age of Richard II, just as Plato thought out in his *Politeia* an ideal Greek city (such as neither Greece nor any other land has ever known). Like Plato, again, he

is in some points quite modern—a man of the nineteenth, or, perhaps, of the coming twentieth century, discussing modern thoughts, but robing these thoughts in the forms of feudal England. The very subjects still debated in modern Europe—socialism, the lawfulness of war (on which Wycliffe might have been claimed, in some of his sayings, as a member of the Peace Society before the time), the lawfulness of serfdom (on which he spoke plainly), financial reform, the rights of labour, the elevation of the working classes, the evils of luxury—all these, and many more modern subjects are discussed by him in quaint middle-English or in ecclesiastical Latin. He is in some places an essayist and a leader writer: only he expresses his views more forcibly and vehemently than most leader writers or essayists of our day would venture to use, or respectable editor would care to publish.

The basis of Wycliffe's political philosophy was his theory of the *Dominium*. It was an application of the feudal idea to all property. He held that God was Supreme Sovereign and ultimate proprietor of all things on earth, and that men held their wealth and property as stewards during good conduct, and on condition of fealty and obedience to the King of Kings. Thus all things belonged, under God, to the good people of the earth; and the evil, as rebels, deserved to possess nothing. The logical consequence of this would be that a rich man would only hold property as long as he behaved well and kept the commandments. If he was a bad man his tenants need not pay him rent, nor, indeed, anything; he was a rebel and outlaw from the Divine-ruled society. The scheme was never worked out. It looked attractive to the enthusiasts of the Middle Ages, but it presented some practical difficulties, e.g., Who was to decide whether a man deserved property, or did not? or, again: What moral offences were to be included? If his tenants and debtors were, to be his judges, probably a severe view would be taken of him. Few of our writers are more severe on the wickedness of the rich than Wycliffe, or more lenient and merciful to the faults of poor men. In this he quite anticipates the views of the Christian socialists.

"All things belonged to God, and all men held of Him *directly*. Only the good could hold property of Him truly, and every good man possessed all things. The bad possessed nothing, although they seemed to possess" (*vide Trevelyan*, pp. 198, 199) is a summary of his theory.

Wycliffe was a Yorkshireman, born in the Richmond district in 1320. His career at Oxford was most illustrious. He was Master of Balliol, and, perhaps, Warden of Canterbury Hall. Until he was about fifty, however, his fame was confined to the university. He there ripened his bold theories in contact with some of the leading intellects of the age. In studying Wycliffe's writings and history, one feels how like in some things the Oxford of 500 years ago was to our modern Oxford of 1900. Wycliffe is a typical Oxford don, but also an outspoken progressist and a radical reformer. One seems, as one reads some of his writings, still to have the atmosphere of the common room of a college about one, and to hear some learned fellow talking about the deep subjects that for ages have moved mankind. It is true that his logical divisions and Aristotelian form, combined with a Platonic spirit, are antique. But even now Oxford has not given up the tradition of the schools, and Aristotle is to this day a leading philosopher for "Greats."

As I read of Wycliffe at Oxford, or read his academic treatises, I cannot but be reminded of another Master of Balliol, whose aspect was familiar to me in my undergraduate days, and who shocked not a few conservative thinkers as much as Wycliffe did in his time. I should like to draw a parallel between Professor Jowett and Wycliffe; but I suppose it will be out of place, for many reasons. The two men were wonderfully alike in some points. As one looks at the history of Wycliffe in Oxford, one cannot help marvelling at how tolerant the Oxford of the fourteenth century was. Wycliffe hit hard at many, both in Church and State; he attacked freely the most cherished institutions and ideas, he propounded notions strange, original, and alarming. Yet Oxford listened to and admired him. For many years

he was a chief leader of Oxford thought; and Oxford stood by him in many ways for some time. His was pre-eminently one of the great Oxford movements of the Middle Ages. We have had others since: the Methodist movement of Wesley's time, the "Oxford movement" of the middle of the nineteenth century. In 1374 Wycliffe received the Crown living of Lutterworth; it is a Crown rectory to this day. At first he must have spent much of his time at Oxford, and have left his benefice of Lutterworth to a curate. But the times were coming when Oxford could no longer hold him. It is true the University still admired her great professor and philosopher. But the students and Masters of Arts were not England, and the bishops and the great lords were not as tolerant as Oxford. His good friend, John of Gaunt—the leading subject in England, the near "relative to so many kings, though never a king himself"—went in person to Oxford to warn John Wycliffe of the coming storm. But the reformer refused to be silenced. He must speak that which he believed was true. He broke with the Lancastrians, and so John of Gaunt returned from his bootless errand. Wycliffe then developed his theological system (of which this is hardly the occasion to speak, for some of his teachings are even now topics of controversy). What his teachings were we can now easily find; for, in spite of the destruction of most of his works in England, they were preserved in Bohemia, and have been printed and carefully edited by competent scholars. We can easily find out Wycliffe's teachings on almost every subject, as he has written voluminously; and probably most of his writings, or nearly all worth preserving, are with us to-day.

In 1381 arose the great peasants' rising, of which Wat Tyler's achievements are the best-known episode. The feudal government of Richard II did not excel. It showed at first great weakness. London fell into the hands of the rebels for a day or two, the Archbishop of Canterbury (Simon Sudbury) was beheaded, and England was on the verge of anarchy, when at last the monarchy and nobility triumphed, and the mob was put down.

Wycliffe's great statement of his revolt against the Church was in 1380; the rising was in 1381. Archbishop Courtenay (Wycliffe's old foe) succeeded the murdered Sudbury. Church and State combined. The forces of order coalesced. Courtenay seized his chance. He summoned the bishops to Blackfriars, and had a formal condemnation of Wycliffe. Oxford, however, stood by him for a time. The University was one of the most independent in Europe. It had then no resident bishop. Lincoln was some distance off; Canterbury was further still. Oxford was to some extent an *imperium in imperio* (as it still is; but then with scarcely any rival). It appears that Wycliffe was not present at the Blackfriars trial of his doctrine, and was either at Oxford or Lutterworth at that time.

If Oxford had been united, the University might have resisted the King (Richard II) and Archbishop Courtenay. But the struggle between the seculars and regulars weakened it. The monks and friars were, of course, dead against Wycliffe, who had scathingly accused them. Robert Rygge, the Chancellor, was strongly in favour of the rights of his University, and therefore in favour of Wycliffe. But he did not accept his theological views, and was no Lollard. He simply defended liberty of debate in the schools.

Nicholas Hereford, one of Wycliffe's followers, by his sermon against the friars at St. Mary's, the University Church, brought things to a crisis. Archbishop Courtenay sent down Stokes, a friar, to reprove the Chancellor of Oxford. Great excitement followed. "Town and gown" united for Wycliffe, and Stokes was in danger of his life.

Chancellor Rygge went to London to defend himself. It was an imprudent act. He had better have remained safe at Oxford till the storm was past. The Primate and the bishops frightened him. He apologised, and was forgiven at the intercession of the famous William of Wyckham (the founder of New College, who was much interested both in Oxford and the Church). Rygge consented to suspend Wycliffe and Hereford from teaching. He returned to Oxford, and at the King's command banished Wycliffe from Oxford.

It is doubtful if Wycliffe was at Oxford or at Lutterworth during this stormy time. Probably he was in his quiet rectory, while others fought his battles. Here, at any rate, he remained for the last five years of his life. He took no part, it seems, in the struggle of Oxford for its liberties.

Here at Lutterworth, in quiet seclusion, he laboured night and day with his pen, and in teaching his disciples. His life was the life of a scholar, and he probably divided his time between writing books or pamphlets, and his ministerial duties to his parishioners. The church has, I believe, been but little altered since Wycliffe ministered there (but of that our Association can be the best judges); in any case, we can imagine the scenes of Wycliffe's last labours.

But his influence was not confined to his parish, although he rarely left it. His disciple, William Swyn Derby, did a good work at Leicester, and made it a centre of Lollardry. Aston followed him in the Leicester work.

Wycliffe's most faithful friend and follower, who lived with him in Lutterworth Rectory, was John Purvey, who did much for his work after his death.

It is curious that Wycliffe does not appear to have been disturbed by either the Church or the "secular arm" at Lutterworth. No one seems to have attacked him. Perhaps the authorities were afraid of bringing him before public notice, and thought he was less dangerous in his quiet Leicestershire rectory than he would have been in Oxford or London. In a way they may have been right. He was still a power in the land, and had thousands of friends and admirers all over England. At any rate, he was let alone in the learned seclusion of his rectory, where those remarkable books and treatises which were to shake Europe in their direct or indirect effect, were composed. Wycliffe's books are not read now, except by a few; but even to a modern reader they have a certain fascination when one gets into the way of reading them. The author is so much in earnest, so outspoken in some points, so strong in invective, and yet in others so profound, that one can excuse and understand the fascination he once possessed on men.

Here, then, in Lutterworth, the old man studied, and wrote, and taught in the quiet of his rustic rectory, until December 28th, 1384, when, during divine service, while the curate was officiating, the venerable rector was stricken in Lutterworth Church with paralysis. He was borne out to the rectory (somewhat as Archbishop Benson was carried out at Hawarden, not long ago). He survived two days, and then expired on the last day of 1384—Rector of Lutterworth, and in full communion with the Church to the very last. Considering how outspoken and daring he was, and how many of his followers (but a few years afterwards) were burnt, one wonders at the patience and toleration of the Church in the days of Richard II. One would have expected excommunication, if not persecution, to have followed Wycliffe. But it was not so. Church and State were both tolerant of the Oxford professor and of the venerable philosopher and theologian.

Taken as a whole, I regard Wycliffe as the most charming of our mediæval religious writers and philosophers, as he is one of the most voluminous. Few mediæval authors are so much in touch with modern thought, or treat so largely on the subjects—political, social and religious—which still are largely debated, not only in Oxford common rooms, but by educated thinkers throughout Europe. Some of Wycliffe's *bon mots* may sound crude and antique, but they are worth considering.

His remarks on the corruption of the poor by the evil example of the rich are not out of place nowadays. "Now cometh example of pride, gluttony, and harlotry, from lords' courts to the commons." I have heard the same sentiments often in East London, though in modern words. As for the retainers of the barons, Wycliffe calls them "Proud Lucifer's children, extortioners, robbers, and rievvers."

As to the great question of national independence, Wycliffe was a patriot. "The Realm of England ought to be one body, and Clergy, Lords and Commonalty members of that body." As the Chancellor of Oxford said, Wycliffe's condemned propositions "were true, though they sounded badly to the ear." Perhaps this

criticism is what most Englishmen would say if they read over Wycliffe's quaint, fiery, outspoken, but often too impetuous attacks on mediæval thought and society.

But I must dwell no longer on the great Rector of Lutterworth and Master of Balliol. His works are with us. The art of printing has multiplied them to an extent he never could have expected. Yet, though often talked about, they are not much read. Still, they deserve more study than they receive, even though to modern Englishmen they "sound badly to the ear." They grow on the student, and expose powerfully the seamy side of mediæval England.

Was Wycliffe a failure? When he died he seemed so. Driven from the University he adorned, shut up in rural seclusion in his country rectory, one might have written "Ichabod" on his tomb. But it was not so. Some of his theories and views are now generally accepted by Englishmen, and others are gaining in the modern world. The mediæval society he denounced has passed away, and the modern world is much more in accordance with his ideal than with the England of Richard II. Even the rise of democracy, and the decline of the power of the nobles (which ensued on the Wars of the Roses and Tudor despotism), was in accordance with his prophecies. With all his disappointment, and the trials of his times, the Rector of Lutterworth and Master of Balliol has triumphed in England.



SKETCHES SHOWING SIMILARITY, AND ALMOST IDENTITY, OF
 ROCK SCULPTURINGS ON CLYDESIDE DISCOVERIES TO THOSE ON
 ROCKS AND OBJECTS DISCOVERED IN CENTRAL AUSTRALIA.

BY
 MESSRS. SPENCER AND GILLEN.

The Clyde-side Discoveries were made in 1895.



Fig. 1. Nos. 1 to 6 are from Australia; Nos. 7 to 15 from Scotland.
 Bowling, in August, 1895. 15. Cochno rock carving; this cross was discovered by Mr. W. A. Donnelly, Artist, autumn
 prints are near there, but have no toes; those depicted have only four toes.



SOME RESEMBLANCES
BETWEEN
THE RELIGIOUS AND MAGICAL IDEAS OF MODERN
SAVAGE PEOPLES
AND THOSE OF
THE PRE-HISTORIC NON-CELTIC RACES OF
EUROPE.

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(Read at the Newcastle Congress, July 1901.)¹



THE title of this Paper is somewhat long, because, out of the whole vast subject covered by the ideas "Magic" and "Religion," I only wish to touch upon a small area; the extent of which area could not be expressed in any shorter form of words that I could devise, viz., the resemblances that may be found between certain ideas on the subjects of "Religion" and "Magic," which are still in full force among savages to-day, and those which, from their remains, may be adjudged to have been held by the prehistoric non-Celtic races of Europe.

Anthropology, the youngest of the organized sciences, is still to a considerable extent in a state of flux; and students are very much divided as to what is proved and what is *sub judice* in the investigation of the ideas of primitive man. This is especially true in the sphere covered by this Paper, and the question whether the idea

¹ This Paper is printed out of the ordinary course, as it is in substance throughout, and particularly in the "Appendix," my reply to a Paper in *The Reliquary* for April 1901, entitled "Is the Dumbuck Crannog Neolithic?", by Dr. Robert Munro, F.R.S.E.

of "a high god" or of "high gods" is to be found among low savages is once more being hotly debated. On the whole, I am inclined to think that those who, on very strong evidence, hold that such an idea does exist, will eventually carry the day against the school represented by Mr. Tylor and his followers. Some evidence on this subject will be adduced, in the course of the following pages, from the statements of recent travellers, and others who have been associated with savages.

However, amid much that is uncertain, one sure canon may be found in the statement that man's mental development—and this includes his moral and spiritual progress—has travelled along certain lines which are constant, and that therefore at each stage of that development certain definite marks and characteristics may be looked for; and, conversely, that where those marks are found, that particular stage of culture, progress, or development may be predicated.

For example, it is generally conceded that the Tasmanian aboriginal, now extinct, represented almost the lowest type of man conceivable; that is to say, therefore, the earliest; and we are accordingly not surprised to find that the weapons and mode of life of the Tasmanian corresponded in a remarkable degree with those of the Palæolithic peoples of Europe. His weapons¹ were of rudely-worked flints, or other convenient stone; he lived in caves, and was before all things a hunter, a fisherman: not a keeper of flocks and herds or a tiller of the soil.

In many respects, indeed, Palæolithic man in Europe was more advanced than the Tasmanian. Physically, he was a far finer man; and, to judge from his personal ornaments and his artistic abilities, he was considerably more intellectually endowed. The Tasmanian, through the isolation of thousands of years, had no doubt not even remained stationary at a stage long since attained, but had degenerated from it; still, if the phrase may be

¹ The stone implements of some modern savages are quite as rude (as those of the Drift or river gravel), and some even ruder, as, *e.g.*, those of the Tasmanians, which were only flaked on one side, and were held in the hand; never fixed in any handle.—H. Ling Roth, *The Tasmanians*, pp. 156-8.

allowed, on a rough generalisation, it is absolutely correct to say that he represented, down to modern times, the Palæolithic stage of culture.

The Esquimaux, the Digger Indians, and the Bushmen of South Africa are in very much the same stage still, or were, until the European wave engulfed them; and the Esquimaux, as is well known, exhibit a marked similarity in their artistic tastes: drawing, with remarkable skill, the seal, the walrus, and the polar bear, with which they are familiar, as the Palæolithic hunter sketched the reindeer, the horse, and the mammoth which he knew so well.

But, so far, the similarities are merely external. Palæolithic man, to judge by the evidence available, had no religion,¹ although, like the Tasmanians and the Esquimaux, and others, he may have had some vague notion of a kind of spirit world, in which dwelt the ghosts of his departed ancestors. But he neither worshipped nor cajoled. There was neither magic nor religion.²

It is when we come to the next stage that we first see signs of both; the former leading up to and running into the latter. This stage is described as the Neolithic, from the character of its implements, weapons, etc., and it represents in Europe the prehistoric non-Celtic population of Ugrian or Iberian stock, represented to-day by the Basques at one extremity of the Continent, and the Finns at the other; and, in our own country, by the Silures in South Wales (who were the remnant of the former Neolithic population, which had fled westward before the Celts, as, later, the Romanised Celts fled before the Saxons), and by the Picts in Scotland. In each case the blood of the conquerors was mingled with that of the conquered: in that of the Picts, Goidelic; in that of the Silures, in the first instance also Goidelic, though in later days they adopted the Brythonic tongue from, and intermarried with, their neighbours, the Ordovices, of North Wales.³

¹ See, however, Lang, *Magic and Religion*, p. 15.

² A recent correspondence in *The Times*, however, points to possible traces of totemism and phallic worship even in the Palæolithic Age in Europe.

³ The whole question of the racial affinities of the Neolithic people

A multitude of affinities may be found between this prehistoric Neolithic population of Europe, and modern savage peoples in all parts of the world ; but it is to the region of magic and religion that we wish to confine ourselves now. The outward development has not followed the same lines : the Neolithic Age in Europe gave way to the Bronze, and that again to the Iron ; whereas, in Africa, for example, the Age of Stone has, in the case of many tribes, passed into that of Iron without a break. But the mental and spiritual development is constant ; and by a comparison of the present ideas of savage tribes, where they have been untouched by European civilisation, with the relics of the Neolithic population of Europe, we find our canon absolutely correct ; the resemblances are striking but not unexpected, and it becomes possible and perfectly legitimate to argue from one to the other ; *i.e.*, from the ideas of modern savage tribes we derive the understanding of the meaning of their charms, amulets, idols (where existing), rock-drawings, etc. ; and are at the same time enabled to grasp the meaning of all such things which remain to us as the legacy of our Neolithic ancestors.

If we study the account which Messrs. Spencer and Gillen have given us of the *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, a congeries of groups of families, hardly worthy of being designated by the name of *tribes*, still in the

of Europe and of our Islands, has been recently most ably considered by Prof. Rhys in his book on *The Welsh People*, pp. 1-35 ; and the argument is developed from the linguistic point of view by Mr. J. Morris Jones, in Appendix B of that book.

The conclusion arrived at is that the Picts represent the Neolithic strain in Britain down to historic times ; and that they, together with those of the Neolithic population who were absorbed by the Goidelic invaders, belonged to the great Berber race, which travelled westwards along the shores of North Africa and through southern and central Europe, and were finally driven to the extreme west in Brittany and the British Isles. Their line of march is everywhere marked by the megalithic monuments, menhirs, dolmens, cromlechs, stone circles, and avenues which have been the wonder and admiration of all succeeding races. The subject is well worth study, and I confidently ask the student to consult Prof. Rhys's book. While on this subject I may also recommend the concluding chapter of Dr. Munro's *Prehistoric Scotland* ; with which, as modified by Prof. Rhys's more recent research, I am happy to be in agreement.

Neolithic stage, and that at a low point; or the account given us by the late lamented Miss Mary Kingsley of the West African nations, peoples relatively more advanced, but still, where untouched by contact with European traders or missionaries, in an early stage of mental development characteristic of the Neolithic Age, though they have many of them actually passed into the Iron Age; or the accounts given us by earlier travellers of the manners and customs, and the ideas, magical and religious, which these evince, of other races in widely distant parts of the earth, in Central Asia, Siberia, North and South America, and the islands of the South Seas, including New Guinea, what do we find? We find this: that, amid a vast variety of customs, and many grades of development, dependent on environment, intercourse with other peoples, or isolation, and differences of family, social and tribal arrangements, arising from the circumstance whether the particular race is still in the stage of animism, or has passed on to totemism or fetishism, there is a common groundwork of ideas which cannot be mistaken.

This common groundwork is, (1) in the earliest stage of all, when man for the first time grasps the notion that "there are more things in heaven and earth than are dreamt of in his philosophy," the thought that all nature shares a common life, and that all things, rocks and stones, trees and plants, birds and beasts and men, are interchangeable the one with the other, under certain conditions.¹

A survival of this early mythologic idea may be observed even to classical times in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.²

(2) Then, secondly, arises the notion that the earth, sea, and sky are inhabited by myriads of spirits, the animating

¹ What strikes a European observer (of West African fetishism) is the lack of gaps between things. To the African there is perhaps no gap between the conception of spirit and matter, animate or inanimate. It is all an affair of grade, not of essential difference of essence.—Kingsley, *West African Studies*, p. 109; see also *Spencer and Gillen*, pp. 124, 517, etc.

² This is the phase of primitive thought, prevalent among prehistoric and modern savage people, to which Dr. Tylor gives the appropriate name of "Animism." It may be described as "the distinctive philosophy of primitive culture."—Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, caps. xi-xvii.

principle of each several object, and, following from that, the idea that these spirits can assume at will any form they happen to choose.

Whence arose this idea of a spirit-world, lying invisible behind the world of outward phenomena, and capable of taking form and substance as each spirit willed, and interchanging at will;¹ and the further idea of a spirit-part in man, pre-existing, transmigrating, and continuing its existence after death, we cannot say;² but most probably the *dream* theory is the one most consonant with facts.

(3) Thirdly, following on this again, at the next stage we arrive at the idea of a spirit-world transcending man, peopled with good and bad spirits, the former capable of being propitiated, the latter capable of being circumvented; and as a still later development, the idea of a great spirit at the head of all, the ruler of all the lesser spirits, good and bad, and of man.³

Few modern savage peoples have arrived at this latest stage in the development of the spiritual idea; though even among the Australians there are traces of it to be discovered in *Byamee* or *Durumulan*, the all-seeing Spirit; and the Red Indians had their "Great Spirit," *Oki* or *Kiehtan*, the great Manitou, and the West Africans their *Anzambi* or *Nyambi*, the Creator, who has retired from all active interest in the world. But it is doubtful whether this stage was ever attained by Neolithic man in Europe.

The propitiation of the good spirits, or Spirit, we call

¹ "One of the fundamental doctrines of Fetish is that the connection of a certain spirit with a certain mass of matter—a material object—is not permanent." "In every action of his daily life he shows you how he lives with a great powerful spirit-world all around him." Connected with this is something that looks like ancestor-worship, and fear of the ancestor's ghost, who will injure you by his "touch;" but this "touching" propensity arises not from malevolence, but from loneliness and a desire for company. "A great chief's spirit is a thoroughly useful thing for a village to keep going."—Kingsley, *op. cit.*, pp. 110, 112, 113; cf. *Travels in West Africa*, pp. 447, 448.

² Cf. *Spencer and Gillen*, pp. 128-166.

³ Kingsley, *op. cit.*, pp. 95-114 *et seq.*, and *Travels in West Africa*, pp. 429-547; Langloh Parker, *Australian Legendary Tales*, 1st and 2nd Series; Lang, *Magic and Religion*, *passim*.

religion, the circumvention of the bad we call *magic*; and seeing that the evil spirits are close by, ever active, on the alert, malevolent and powerful, while the good spirits are weak or careless, the study of man's early ideas on the subject of religion resolves itself for the most part into a study of magic. It became far more important, from a practical point of view, to know how to avert by spells and magical rites the influence of the bad spirits over your person, your family, your crops, your various possessions, than to invoke the assistance of the good.

Hence the origin of witchcraft, and the power and status of the witch-doctor, medicine-man, or wizard.¹ His is the knowledge which no others in the tribe possess, and which is jealously guarded, and only passed on from one to another by painful initiatory rites, by means of which the novice is made free of the guild, and succeeds to the power possessed by his predecessors.

All the world over, in every race that we know of in prehistoric and historic times, religion passed through the stage of magic, which we still find, in larger or smaller degree, among modern savage peoples, before it finally

¹ A distinction must be drawn here. Witchcraft is of two sorts: (1) That potent power possessed by certain persons under the influence of evil spirits, by which they "bewitch" you, and cause all sorts of evil things—disease, calamity, loss of various kinds—to befall you; which power constitutes them "witches." (2) That spoken of in the text, and which belongs to the "priesthood" (for "doctor" and "parson" are combined among savages), by which the "witch's" spells are averted, and the diseases, calamity, etc., provoked by those spells, which set in motion the agency of the evil spirits, are cured or conquered, and the evil spirits themselves overcome. In West Africa, witchcraft No. 1 is hated—a witch is torn to bits; but this is only the surging up of hatred arising from terror. The mere keeping of a familiar power is not held vile in West Africa. Everyone does it. There is not a man, woman, or child, who has not several attached spirits for help and preservation from danger and disease. It is keeping a spirit for bad purposes only that is hateful; and the business of the Fetish Man is to guard the community from being bewitched.—Kingsley, *op. cit.*, pp. 136, 142.

In Australia the principal function of the Medicine Man or Wizard (besides the curing of disease) is to find out who has caused the death of any individual; for it is supposed that no one can die unless he has been bewitched. The idea of natural death is inconceivable.—*Spencer and Gillen*, pp. 522 *seq.*

emerged into the higher spiritual form which it has assumed among the more cultivated races of mankind.

The best explanation of the ancient Egyptian animal-worship is that it was a survival of totemism and savagery; and it was carried so far that beasts actually figure in the genealogies of the kings as their progenitors.

The religion of the Central Australian natives is totemistic, in many respects peculiar and elaborate; though resembling to a large extent, and in its essential principles, that of the American Indians and other totemistic races. It enters into all their social arrangements, which are remarkably complex and difficult to unravel, and which must be the result of long ancestral tradition. This is especially true of the Arunta tribe.

The religion of the West African tribes, described by Miss Kingsley, is pure "fetish."¹ But all alike have developed a complicated system of "magic," consisting in the use of charms, amulets, incantations, and various ritual observances.²

In saying this I do not imply agreement with Mr. Frazer's theory (*Golden Bough*, vol. i, pp. 77-79), that "religion is the despair of magic," i.e., that men imagined a god or gods to be propitiated with sacrifice and worshipped because magic failed. I look upon it rather as the result of contact with higher phenomena of nature than magic could touch, and as the outcome of the evolution of ideas in the higher races.

Besides, we must not forget that the results of the most recent investigations teach us, as already explained, that even the lowest races have attained so much of religion as is implied by the idea of a "Great Spirit," who is, however, too far removed even for worship, but who permits magic to have a useful effect in controlling the malignancy of the evil powers to whom nature is in bondage.

The late Prof. Robertson Smith, in his *Religion of the Semites*, showed how the Semitic peoples passed through

¹ The Ashantees are totemistic.—Bowditch, *Mission to Ashantee*, 1873, pp. 180, 181.

² Spencer and Gillen, *passim*; Lang, *Magic and Religion*, p. 250 Kingsley, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

the very same stages, and how the idea of the community and interchangeability of life between man and natural objects, or the god supposed to be represented by a natural object, and to dwell therein, one of the earliest of religious ideas, lingered, for example, in the mind of Jacob when he set up the monolith as the abode of the god of Bethel, and anointed it, and called upon Yahwé. And when, later, the religion of Israel had developed into monolatry, before it could yet be called monotheistic, drastic measures were needed to root out the remains of witchcraft from among the people. How difficult this was may be seen in the story of Saul and the Witch of Endor, and in the denunciations of the prophets against the "wizards that peep and that mutter." In an earlier part, also, of the history of Saul we find him "bewitched," and David playing the part of the "medicine-man." (1 Sam. xvi, 23.)

It remains for me to endeavour to prove that what has been said as to modern savage peoples, and as to the development of the religious idea, whether taking the form of totemism or fetishism, through the stage of magic, is true of the prehistoric, *i.e.*, the Neolithic, people of Europe, and of our own islands. In this latter case we take "pre-historic" to mean "pre-Roman" and "non-Celtic," though not here at a very remote period, nor *always* non-Celtic; for, as a matter of fact, in Britain the Neolithic inhabitants seem to have passed on their mode of thought, to a very large extent, to their Celtic—that is to say, to their Goidelic—conquerors and successors. In the course of our argument we shall also prove that certain implements and amulets, weapons and figurines, and rock-drawings, about which there has been much discussion, and which are confidently pronounced to be forgeries in certain learned quarters, are not by any means unusual—were, indeed, to be expected—are in all probability genuine; and that, as genuine, they are most interesting relics of a stage of culture for which a place *can* be very easily and naturally found in the civilisation of our islands; while, should they after all ever be *proved* to be not genuine—and the *onus probandi* lies upon their detractors—the line of argument adopted in this Paper

is not thereby in the smallest degree invalidated : it only possesses one proof the less ; one link in the chain of evidence is removed, but the chain can be made complete without that link.

First of all, let us take the subject of rock-drawings :¹ I give as the *frontispiece* to this Paper illustrations of a series of rock-drawings from Central Australia, compared with those discovered in the year 1895 in the neighbourhood of Dumbaie, on the Clyde.²

The subject of "cup-and-ring" marking on rocks (and on objects of use) is a very old puzzle ; thirty years ago Sir Jas. Simpson (*Ancient Sculpturing of Cups, Circles, &c.*) said : "They are archæological enigmas ;" but whereas others threw out all kinds of wild guesses, he made the luminous suggestion that they were in the first instance "decorative," but added that they were also "emblems or symbols, connected in some way with the religious thoughts and doctrines of those who carved them." Time has proved this idea correct ; and by means of the native Australian the problem may be considered solved.

¹ This subject is completely ignored by Dr. Munro in his Paper in *The Reliquary*, April 1901, notwithstanding that it was distinctly advanced by me in the Paper therein criticised, and further developed in Appendix D. In *Prehistoric Scotland*, however, Dr. Munro discusses the subject of "rock-drawings," under the heading of "Art of the Bronze Age," pp. 216-225, and gives numerous illustrations. On the other hand, in *Lake Dwellings of Europe*, Dr. Munro says, in describing articles of the Neolithic Age : "Among domestic utensils, in addition to pottery, are small cups and boxes made of horn." He gives illustrations of two of these (fig. 185, Nos. 12 and 18), and in each instance they are ornamented with cup-and-ring-marks ! In assigning the "rock-drawings" to the Bronze Age I am convinced he is mistaken, though the "cup-and-ring" symbol *survived* on weapons and other objects down to that Age. For example, they may be seen on many bronze spear-heads (see Geo. Stephens' *Handbook to Runic Monuments*, pp. 204, 205), and are to be found even on Roman altars, as on that at High Rochester, dedicated to Minerva, by Lucius Cæcilius Optatus. Lord Avebury is more correct in assigning these symbols, particularly when drawn on rocks or megalithic monuments, to the Neolithic Age (*Prehistoric Times*, 6th edit., revised, pp. 158, 159), or, as I prefer to say, to include the Australians and other modern races, they are to be assigned to peoples in the Neolithic stage of culture.

² Illustrations of the rock-drawings at Auchintorlie and Cochno (from which these are taken), and sketched on the spot, will be found in Mr. Bruce's *History of Old Kilpatrick*, pp. 320 and 324.

These rock-drawings are found all over the world, but in Australia alone have they a living significance to-day. Here in your own Northumberland you may find them. "On that moor of the Cheviot Hills which is near Chatton Park you may notice," says Mr. Lang, "engraved on the boulders, central cup-like depressions, surrounded by incised concentric circles.¹ In our own country they are found, not only on scalps of rock, but on the stones of "Druid Circles," from Inverness-shire to Lancashire, Cumberland, and the Isle of Man. They also occur on great stones arranged in avenues; on cromlechs; on the stones of chambered *tumuli* in Yorkshire;² on stone 'kists' or coffins in Scotland, Ireland, and in Dorset; on prehistoric obelisks, or solitary 'standing-stones' in Argyle; on walls in underground Picts' houses in the Orkneys and Forfarshire; in prehistoric Scottish forts; near old camps; as well as on isolated rocks, scalps, and stones. Analogous double spirals occur at New Grange, in Ireland, at the entrance of the great gallery leading to the domed chamber; in Scandinavia; in Asia Minor; in China and Zululand, in Australia, India, America, North and South, and in Fiji."³

Among the most notable are those at Gavr Innis, in Brittany, which are undoubtedly the work of a Neolithic people. These are not mentioned in Mr. Lang's exhaustive enumeration, but are similar to, though more elaborate than, those at New Grange. They consist of spirals, serpentine markings, and figures of hammers, axes, and other tools and weapons.

There are rock-drawings in South America which pre-

¹ "At Rowting Linn, Old Bewick, Morwick, and elsewhere, we find those mysterious cups and rings that were first prominently brought into notice by the late Mr. Geo. Tate, and as to the origin and significance of which it were still folly to be wise."—Bate's *History of Northumberland*, p. 6 (1895).

² Some of the finest in our country are to be seen near Ilkley, in Yorkshire—dozens of them.

³ Lang, *Magic and Religion*, 241, 242. The preceding passage is from Mr. Lang's article on "Cup-and-Ring: an Old Problem Solved," in the above book, which has just been published. It originally appeared in the *Contemporary Review*, and was written almost at the same time as my article referred to below. We worked independently the one of the other, and each arrived at the same conclusion. Mr. Lang's book only came into my hands *after* this Paper was written, and I had not previously seen his "Cup-and-Ring" article.

sent precisely the same features, viz., the cup-and-ring-markings, circles, etc., as those from Australia and at Cochno and Auchintorlie; and, indeed, as we have seen, these signs or marks are found in widely different parts of the world, and belong to widely-separated periods.¹ They possessed a tribal or totemistic, if not a magical, significance. The remarkable resemblance between some of the Australian drawings and those from Cochno, even to the representation of a human foot, was pointed out by me in the Appendix to my former Paper,² to which I would refer, and the whole subject was there discussed.

Here, I will only add that the Australian will tell you that the various cups-and-rings and spirals³ represent different totems: the plum-tree, the grasshopper, the witchetty grub, etc.; and that the "foot" represents a footmark left by one of his Alcheringa ancestors in the "long ago." Is it wrong, then, to argue from analogy that the same marks had the same, or a similar, significance in Scotland, and everywhere else, that they bear in Australia?

Doubtless the people of the Clyde district, even at the time when they thus adorned the rocks upon their hill-

¹ See *The Amazon and Madeira Rivers*, by Franz Keller, 1875, p. 66; and *Prehistoric Phases*, by Hodder M. Westropp, 1872, pp. 176-196, for an early discussion of the subject.

² *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, vol. vi, N. S., p. 184, App. C. These "foot-marks" are also found in Brittany. Two, apparently occurring as a pair, as in Scotland and in Australia, are figured in *Prehistoric Scotland*, Plate IV, fig. 19. These are on a stone in the dolmen of Petit Mont (Arzon), and are about $9\frac{1}{2}$ ins. long.

A footmark, known as the "footprint of Buddha," containing cup-and-ring-marks, combined with the Fylfot and Futhorc, is figured and described by Dr. Colley March in an article on the "Fylfot" in the *Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society*, 1886.

³ "In Australia there is good ground for believing that the concentric circle pattern is later than and developed from an original spiral."—Spencer and Gillen, *op. cit.*, p. 633.

"In this country the spiral seems to be later than the circle.—Lang, *op. cit.*, p. 249.

⁴ This depends, however, upon the *locality*. In certain places the drawings have "no meaning," but in others they have the meanings described. "The latter is always on what we may call sacred ground, near to which the women may not come."—Spencer and Gillen, *op. cit.*, p. 617.

sides, were more advanced in many essential respects than the Australian native to-day; but may not their mental and religious development have been at about the same stage? At any rate, it is a fact that tribal relationships are reckoned among the Australians on the female¹ not on the male side: *i.e.*, a man belongs to his mother's totem and to her branch of the tribe, not to his father's,² for his father may be quite uncertain. As Mr. McLennan puts it: "Maternity is a matter of fact, paternity a matter of opinion."

The same thing held good among the early Hebrews when they were in the totemistic stage, and indeed is true of every race in that stage.³ This is the meaning of Cæsar's much misunderstood statement about the Britons of his day, in which he has been supposed to describe "polyandry."⁴ Now, it is very curious that the same thing is distinctly recorded of the *Picts*, by Bede and other early historians, though the reason of it is sadly perverted. Bede says: "The Picts had no wives, and asked them of the Scots, who would not consent to grant them on any other terms than that, when any difficulty should arise, they should choose a king from the female royal race rather than from the male; which custom, as is well known, has been observed among the Picts to this day."⁵

Professor Rhys holds, on the grounds stated in the passage referred to in the previous note, that the Picts represent the Neolithic strain, mingled probably with that of their Goidelic conquerors, among the Scottish

¹ In the Arunta tribe descent follows the male line; but descent in the female line is the rule with the other tribes, and is most consonant with usual totemistic practice.

² This is the custom known as "*Mutterrecht*."

³ We find it among the North American Indians, and the custom is still extant in China and India. — See A. Lang, *Custom and Myth*, pp. 115, 261; McLennan, *Studies in Ancient Society*, pp. 74-82; Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, and *Journal of Philology*, No. 17 (vol. ix, 1880); Jacobs, *Studies in Biblical Archaeology*, pp. 64 *seq.*; Spencer and Gillen, *passim*.

⁴ Cæsar, *De Bello Gallico*, Lib. v, chap. xiv.

⁵ Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, Bk. i, chap. i. See Rhys, *The Welsh People*, pp. 36-74, where "the Pictish Question" is thoroughly discussed.

peoples; my suggestion, therefore, is that these rock-drawings are the work of the Picts,¹ and that they were in the totemistic stage of society when they executed them: whether this was still in full vigour, or only existed as a survival, as in Cæsar's day and Bede's, of course is indeterminable.

That no suspicion of forgery can be entertained here, I may add, what I have already pointed out elsewhere, that these Scottish rock-drawings were described and drawn in 1895; and that, further, some of them were known and described ten years ago; their Australian counterparts were not known before 1899.

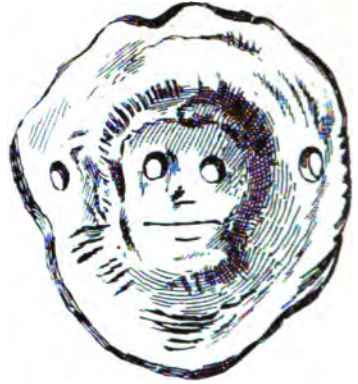
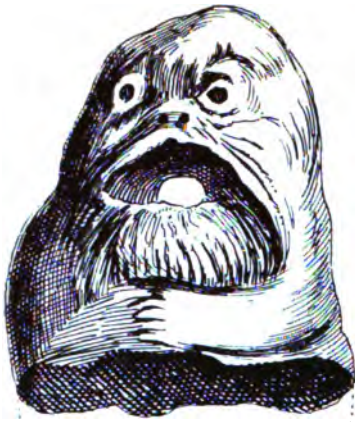
We come now to another class of objects, such as figurines made of cannel coal; slate and shale spear-heads, ornamented with cup-and-ring markings, and incised lines; oyster-shells, ornamented in the same way; and curious oblong stones, also similarly adorned. These were all found in the now famous Dumbuck pile-dwelling in the near neighbourhood of Dumbaie; and some of the oblong ornamented stones were also found at Dumbaie. These latter are now in the Edinburgh Museum. All of them have been pronounced forgeries, and as "having no place in any known stage of prehistoric Scottish civilisation." This was stated once more at the meeting of the Society of Antiquaries in London, on June 13th, 1901.

Along with these were found a variety of objects, which are admitted to be genuine.

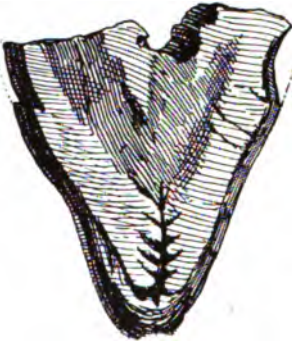
Now, is this the last word on the subject? I think not. As I said before, the *onus probandi* lies upon those who pronounce them forgeries. Let them produce the forger. Meanwhile, let us, for the sake of argument, treat them as genuine. Are they, in that case, as is implied, altogether unique and peculiar? Here again I answer in the negative.

¹ The reason why I insist on this point is, that though we find these rock-drawings in Celtic districts, yet they are characteristic of a pre-Celtic stage of culture. All the world over these rock-drawings are, as stated above, the work of peoples in the Neolithic stage, not in that of Bronze or Iron. Might not the name "Picti" be due to the fact that these people "adorned," not only their own bodies, but the rocks among which they dwelt, and the articles which they used? That they were "artists," in fact.





3. The oyster-shell from Dumbaie Hill Fort, excavated from crevice in the living rock, over which tons of *débris* had rested. When taken out, the incrustations of dirt prevented any carving from being seen; it was only after being dried and cleaned that the "face" appeared, as well as the suspension holes on each side.



1. Found by Edward Shippen, digger. Shale image from the Dumbuck Crannog Causeway, found broken in two; a lengthened search had to be made for one of the portions.



2. Found in the Crannog "well" by John Shannon, of Perthshire.



4. Found by Rev. George Lamb, of Old Kilpatrick. The smallest of all the shale images: found broken.

The above give a faithful record of these very quaint "images," found in the Crannog and at Dumbaie Hill Fort, and are drawn by Mr. W. A. Donnelly.

Fig. 2. Figurines from Dumbuck, and Incised Oyster-Shell from Dumbaie.

First let us take the figurines. These have been exhibited in many places; here I show some absolutely correct drawings of them—because much childish ridicule has been poured upon certain other drawings which appeared in the *Journal* of this Association, and which were certainly rough, but sufficiently accurate. To these I would also refer.¹

Now, as is well known, the Australian native was not advanced enough to make even any such rude figures—but similar ones, large and small, are to be found on every hand, among savage peoples of to-day, in a slightly more advanced condition. References are superfluous, but they can be given in abundance; indeed, it has been suggested that these particular figurines were intended for the West African market, and were dropped here instead.

In that case, however, the ingenuity of the forger, not only in making the things, but in placing them in the position where they would be most likely to be met with, if genuine, is one of the most remarkable circumstances about the matter.

But are these figurines unique as products of prehistoric times in Europe? I show here some drawings, out of many, of precisely similar figures, two of which are undoubted relics of the Neolithic Age among the Finns;² the other three are later, but of similar type; these are the more interesting from the affinity which I have shown to exist between the Finns and the Neolithic population of these islands. This is what is said on the subject by the Hon. John Abercromby, in his book on *The Pre- and Proto-Historic Finns*, to which I would refer every student of folk-lore, anthropology, and prehistoric archæo-

¹ "Enough to make a cat laugh," is the elegant phrase used in *The Reliquary*, April 1901, p. 144. I also exhibited, when this Paper was read, Mr. Donnelly's original sketches (cf. *Journal* of the British Archæological Association, vol. iv, New Ser., pp. 366-370; and see *History of Old Kilpatrick*, pp. 318 seq.; *Proceedings* of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, March 9th and April 13th, 1896, and *Report of the Helensburgh Antiquarian Society* for 1896).

² The ancient Finns were spread all over Central and Northern Russia, as well as in the country now known as Finland.



1.—Muzzle of a Dog or Bear, from Ladoga.



2.—Human Silhouette in Flint, from Volósovo.



3.—Two Human Figures in Bronze.



4.—Head and Shoulders of a Bear.



5.—Circular Bronze Disc, with Incised Ornaments.

Fig. 3.—Figurines and Amulets belonging to the Finns of the Neolithic and Bronze Ages. From *Pre- and Proto-Historic Finns*, by the Hon. Jn. Abercromby. Lent by Mr. David Nutt and Co.

logy. He is describing the Neolithic Age in Finland, as it is exhibited by the "finds" discovered in burial-places belonging to that age; and, after speaking of the weapons—chiefly flint arrow-heads of beautiful finish, and implements, axes, hammers, saws, etc., and very rude pottery—he goes on to mention various figurines of men and animals, which are similar to those found in Scotland at Dumbuck and Dumbaie, as follows: "Some of the carved work on the shore of Lake Ladoga is specially deserving of notice, as it may be supposed to possess a distinct ethnological value. One piece represents what is supposed to be the silhouette of a seal carved in bone, with short strokes on the surface to represent the fur. The *eye* is formed by a hole of suspension, and the plaque may have been worn as an amulet to bring luck to the wearer." Another represents a dog, and another was recognised by Dr. Tischler as "the figure of a man, without a shadow of doubt." "He considered these Ladogan carvings as belonging to the same category as the sculptured figures in bone and amber from East Russia and Galicia, and regarded them as the beginning of plastic art in the north and east of Europe. The main likeness consists in this: that the human figures in both regions have a hole of suspension under each *arm-pit*."¹ At Kolomtsi "one piece of bone was carved into the head of a bird; another represented the head of a man, with a pointed chin, a very long nose, and a head-dress in shape like a fez." He then continues: "Of particular interest are silhouettes of men, birds, and animals, chipped out of a piece of flint. The practice of chipping flattish pieces of flint into something approaching an animal shape is not confined to one locality. It is found in the Valley of the Oka, far to the north, near the White Sea, etc., in the province of Kazan, which shows a fairly wide distribution." He proceeds: "As it is difficult to believe that Neolithic man, in a low state of civilisation, when it is not certain that even the dog was domesticated, should take the trouble to hew out of flint and bone

¹ The *italics* are mine. In the Dumbuck examples the hole for suspension is formed by the *mouth*.

representations of men and animals merely to satisfy his artistic and creative instincts and faculties: some other reason must be sought for. It is more consonant with the extreme laziness of uncivilised man to suppose that he had a practical object in view; that the human and animal figures served as household gods, or as personal amulets to secure luck when fishing or hunting."¹

Secondly, as regards the slate and shale spear-heads, and oyster-shells ornamented with cup-and-ring markings, and diverging lines, less need be said. The spear-heads were never, probably, intended for war or hunting; but, taking into consideration the ornamentation, which is the same as that on the other objects and on the rocks, and bearing in mind what has been said as to these latter, they all fall into line as having had a magical or (if we choose to say so) a religious significance, and were objects used in the ritual of worship.² I think this is more likely than that these had a tribal or totemistic meaning, though the variety of ornamentation may imply that different objects belonged to the magic rites of different tribes or totem clans. As regards the material, it was close at hand and useful for the purpose; and I find slate or shale employed in Finland, as well as in Norway, in Ireland, and elsewhere.³

¹ *Pre- and Proto-Historic Finns*, by Hon. J. Abercromby; vol. i, pp. 63, 65, 71, 72. This exactly bears out the suggestion I made in my previous Paper, already referred to, and which I would reiterate here. A large number of similar figurines or "idols" are described and illustrated in M. Hoernes' *Urgeschichte der Bildenden Kunst in Europa*, to which I would here refer. They belong to the Neolithic Age, and are from all parts of Europe.

² The spear-heads, with their ornamentation of "cup-and-ring" lines, etc., may indeed have been themselves also of the nature of "Churinga." See below.

³ Evidence as to the use of slate in Neolithic times is accumulating on all hands. For example, (1) the following letter which I received from Mr. Mallett, the discoverer of the Neolithic cemetery in Cornwall, described in the present volume of the *Journal*, pp. 90-92, and which I have his permission to reproduce here, speaks for itself.

The slate implements found at Padstow belong to the Neolithic Age; and, while the majority may have been, and probably were, intended

Curiously enough, the discovery of the drawing of a boat with three rowers, surmounted with two crescents, for actual use, one, at any rate, is similar to those found at Dumbuck, in being ornamented with incised lines.

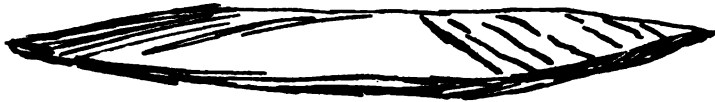
“Harlyn Bay, near Padatow, N. Cornwall,

“July 25th, 1901.

“DEAR SIR,—Mrs. H. Pears (of Malvern Link) has asked me to write to you respecting my growing collection of slate implements, found on the site of the prehistoric settlement from which this letter is indited.

“I have already classified more than two hundred ‘worked’ pieces of slate, comprising fighting weapons (hand-to-hand slate daggers): knives, prickers (double-pointed), spear-heads, arrow-heads, axes, scrapers and needles, all found at the level at which the ancient workmen lived.

“In your Newcastle lecture you referred to *incised* implements. One found here (a slate double-pointed pricker, of about 6 in. in length) has seven distinct parallel lines marked at one of the points, thus—



Some scientists, though the minority, still maintain that these pieces of slate have been fashioned by the action of the wind and sand, but my excavations go to prove that—

“(1) The remains have not been weather-worn, for countless pieces of rubble, found side by side with the implements, display no traces of ‘weather’.

“(2) ‘Weather’ tends to blunt edges and round points, whereas the implements have keen edges and sharp points, capable, to-day, of pricking and cutting with as much ease as when used thousands of years ago.

“(3) The relics are found at a depth of from 6 ft., 12 ft., to 16 ft. below the surface of to-day, between two distinct sand strata.

“(4) Slate is indigenous, flint is not; though flints are found in and about the cists, *worked*, in most cases.

“I am, dear Sir, yours faithfully,

“REDDIE MALLETT.

“P.S.—A visitor recently told me that he possessed a *slate* axe, identical in shape with one of mine, brought from New Zealand, and made by a Maori—an argument for the theory of *universality of ideas*.” See also *Harlyn Bay, and the Discovery of its Prehistoric Remains*, by R. Aslington Bullen, F.G.S.

(2) The following letter is also of interest. Observe the important statements with regard to Slate Implements.

“Henbury, Bristol,

“June 5th, 1901.

“DEAR SIR,— . . . For many years I have been collecting the Stone Implements which are turned up by the plough. I used formerly to despise the pieces of slate I often noticed on the surface of the land. I thought they were modern, and brought probably with manure in the course of dressing the land. But one day, a few years ago, I thought such an explanation of their origin as not reasonable or probable, so determined on the next occasion to examine the fragments of slate I came across in my researches, and at once discovered that these fragments were implements, many displaying notches for hafting. Briefly, flint and slate were the two materials in most common use in Neolithic times, slate the most common.

“I remain, yours faithfully,

“SPENCER GRO. PIERCYAL.”

(3) A considerable number of slate implements have been recently

and a cup-and-ring-marking on a perforated pebble, figured in Mr. Bruce's Paper on Dumbaie, is very similar to some of those on the rock-carvings figured by Dr. Montelius from the Bronze Age in Sweden. I will return to this presently.

It only remains for us to notice the "oblong stones," which are also, all of them, ornamented in a similar fashion to the objects already mentioned.¹



Fig. 4.—Illustration of *Churinga* from Dumbaie.

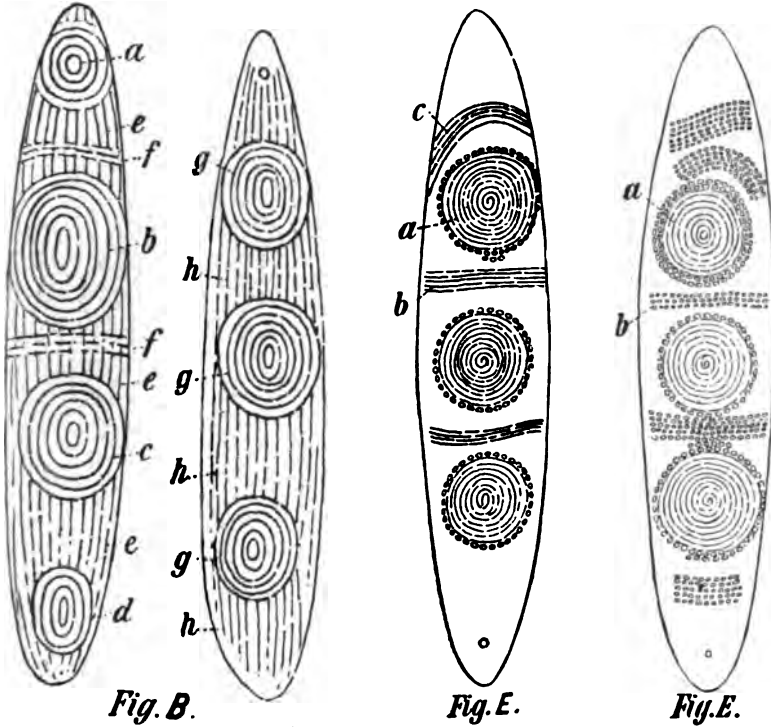
Here we go again to Australia, and we find precisely similar objects, having a definite place in the religious system of the natives, and used in the same locality where the rock-drawings are found. The moment I had an opportunity of studying Messrs. Spencer and Gillen's book, and of comparing these objects with the "Churinga" figured and described in that book, the idea occurred to

found by Mr. Jas. Neilson, of Glasgow, at Irvine, in Ayrshire; and

(4) Some very fine and unmistakable slate implements have been quite lately discovered by Mr. A. Selley, of Bristol, in a Neolithic settlement near Trevoze Head, North Cornwall.

¹ I give an illustration of one from Dumbaie here; others are figured in my previous Paper, *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, vol. vi, N. S., pp. 164-188, figs. 18, 20.

me that here was the solution of the whole difficulty; that in those Australian amulets with their living, present-day meaning might be found the explanation of these hitherto unknown and apparently inexplicable objects found at Dumbuie and Dumbuck; and that it would be more scientific to accept this explanation, than



Churinga of the Arunta Tribe, Central Australia.

Fig. B.—*Churinga Nangi* of the Honey-Ant Totem.

Fig. E.—*Churinga Nangi* of the Plum-Tree Totem.

For full description, see Spencer and Gillen, *op. cit.*, pp. 147, 149.

airily to dismiss the subject by saying, “No place can be found for them in prehistoric Scotland.”

Accordingly, the whole subject was fully discussed and explained in the Appendix to my Paper, read at Buxton in 1899, and published in 1900. To that Paper I would, therefore, again refer, and only add here that I am more than ever convinced that the arguments adduced by me

then, and by Mr. Lang at about the same time, and each independently of the other, are incontrovertible.¹

A curious custom, illustrating the use of stone implements for magical purposes, is referred to by Mr. Cato

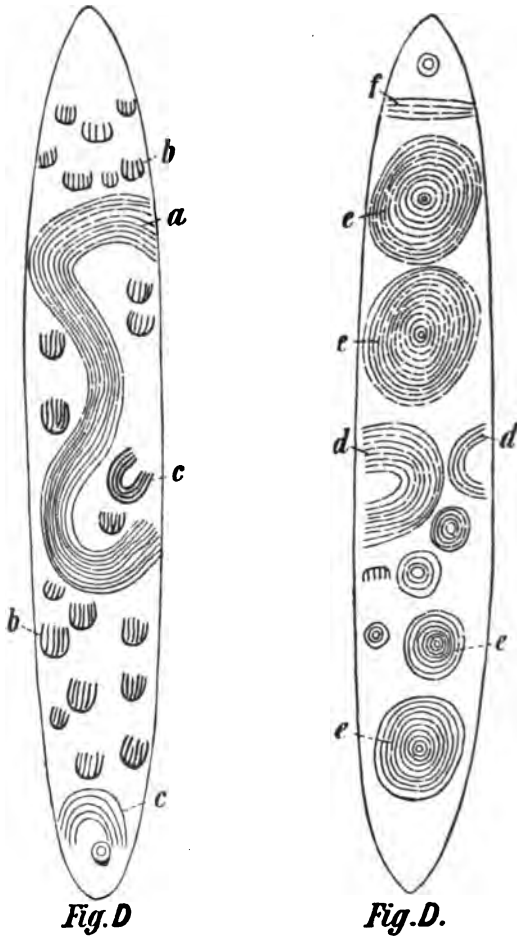


Fig. D.—*Churinga Nangi* of the Witchetty Grub Totem.

Worsfold, in his book on *The French Stonehenge*, recently published. This consists in the fact that in the Morbihan

¹ *Journal* of the British Archæological Association, vol. vi, N. S., pp. 182-184.

district of France stone axes are often found in the chimneys of dwellings unearthed. This was done to preserve them from being struck by lightning, and the Breton name for them is *Men Gurun*, or "Thunder Stones." "In connection with this custom," says Mr. Worsfold, "the learned Dr. G. le Closmadeuc, in a communication to the Société Polymatique du Morbihan, in 1873, writes thus:—'Dans la religion des Armoricaains primitifs' (i.e., pre-Celtic) 'qui ont construit nos dolmens du Morbihan le Celtoe en pierre ou mengurun etait purement et simplement un objet sacré, qu'on deposait dans le tombeau à coté du mort. Simulacre ou sorte d'idole à laquelle on rendait un culte, et qui se presente à nous avec sa signification eminentment religieuse de divinité tutelaire'."

It will be observed that in this Paper I have avoided controversy, and have rather preferred to bring forward positive evidence that the magical and religious ideas of our prehistoric and non-Celtic ancestors in these islands, as witnessed by the "finds" at Dumbuck, Dumbuie, and elsewhere, fall into line with those of the Neolithic people of Europe, and may be explained by a comparison with the ideas of modern savage races in Australia, America, West Africa, and other parts of the world. This being so, it goes to prove that, apart from positive evidence to the contrary, the "finds" are genuine, and that a place can be found for them in a definite period of Scottish prehistoric civilisation; this place, as I stated in my previous Paper, already referred to, is at a time when the inhabitants of the Clyde district were still in the Neolithic stage of culture, and were still ornamenting the rocks in the neighbourhood with signs distinctive of totem-relationship, and were also still employing objects significative of definite magical and religious ideas, as charms and amulets, and for the purposes of incantation and ritual; though, to judge from the pile-structures in which they were found, from the canoe, and from the holed pebble adorned with the representation of a boat, they had already received a tincture of Bronze Age culture. This may, very probably, have been at a rela-

tively late period, and one not far removed from the time of the Roman dominion.¹

This, again, would also explain the finding of a quern among the relics, along with other grinding rollers and pebbles of undoubted Neolithic workmanship.

My reply to the statements made, and the arguments adduced, in a recent Paper in *The Reliquary*, April, 1901, is to be found in the Appendix to this Paper.

I would only say here that my opponent, while concentrating all his energy and all his undoubted ability upon the arguments which concern himself personally, carefully avoids all reference to the positive arguments as to the rock-drawings, the *Churinga*, etc., which I brought forward more particularly in the Appendix to my former Paper, and which I have endeavoured more carefully to enlarge upon and develop in the present one.

One further remark only would I make, and I would

¹ In a letter to Mr. Bruce, of April 29th, 1901, Mr. A. M. Bell, F.G.S., Oxford, after a painstaking investigation and discussion of the "finds" at Dumbuck and Dumbaie, arrives at the following conclusions:—

- (1) The relics are genuine.
- (2) They are peculiar.
- (3) They are Neolithic; *i.e.*, they contain genuine implements of stone and horn, two of which resemble definite patterns of universal use.
- (4) They separate themselves from the ordinary Neolithic relics.
- (5) Being probably later.
- (6) Imitations of the human figure suggest Scandinavian rock-sculpture, and probably a late age.
- (7) Other representations suggest Roman influence, and are not unlike in artistic weakness to the imitations of Greek and Roman coins by the Celts of Southern Britain. In the "holed pebble" (see p. 246), particularly, Mr. Bell sees traces of the Roman influence. He says: "The rowers are not unlike the galley in a coin of Allectus, and the Open Hand is a common device of the coinage of Rome. The moon or star might be suggested by the *Julium Sidus*."

These conclusions are most interesting, for they are those of an independent student, and agree in the main with my own. The chief difference is that Mr. Bell sees traces of Roman influence which escaped me, and would therefore assign them to a period after the natives had come into contact with the Romans.

He may, very probably, be correct; but in the main contention he is at one with me: that these relics are the work of a people still in the Neolithic stage of culture, who had received a tincture of Bronze Age (and Roman) civilisation.

ask him to believe that it is not meant unkindly, viz., this. He would appear to have practically staked his scientific reputation upon the fact that these "finds" are not genuine: without, however, bringing forward one shred of evidence to prove them "forgeries."

Whereas it would not make one particle of difference to the position maintained by myself and others if they were *proved* "forgeries" to-morrow: as I said above, one link only in the chain of evidence would be removed, but the chain itself would be as strong as ever. Meanwhile, and until the proof of forgery is forthcoming, I still contend that the position maintained in this Paper "holds the field."¹

APPENDIX.

My reply to Dr. Munro's criticism in *The Reliquary* for April, 1901, of the arguments contained in my Paper in the *Journal* of the British Archæological Association for June, 1900, pp. 164-188, shall be brief; and, in replying, I will keep to the order of the arguments as they appear in the Paper.

(1) Dr. Munro says that he never used the word "forgeries." This is no doubt true; but, in speaking as he did in the *Glasgow Herald* and elsewhere of other articles as "the genuine finds," and in *Prehistoric Scotland* of some of the finds as genuine, he implied that the others were not genuine, and, if not genuine, they must be forgeries. There is no escape from this dilemma. When I used the words, "that all the finds are forgeries," I was alluding only to those under consideration, viz., the figurines or amulets of Cannel

¹ On the whole subject covered by this Paper the student may consult with advantage the monumental work of Dr. M. Hoernes, entitled, *Urgeschichte der bildenden Kunst in Europa von den Anfängen bis um 500 vor Christ: Zweites Buch:—Die Kunst im Zeitalter der jüngeren Wirtschaftsstufen: Animismus, Mutterrecht und Muttercult, Totemismus, Idolatrie*, pp. 79-117; *Drittes Buch:—Die Plastik der jüngeren Steinzeit und der Bronzezeit: Der Norden und der Osten*, pp. 249-257; and *Viertes Buch:—Die Zeichnung der jüngeren Steinzeit und der Bronzezeit: Felsenzeichnungen (c)*, pp. 374-382. The book only came into my hands after this Paper was written, and it is impossible, within its limits, to quote even extracts; but these passages will be found to bear out the views herein independently expressed in regard to the development of the religious idea, and the art of the Neolithic Age. The whole book is a remarkable example of the thoroughness of German scholarship.

coal, the inscribed stones and shells, and the slate weapons, all of which Dr. Munro includes among those for which "no place can be found in any known phase of Scottish civilisation." Dr. Munro's words are: "Among the genuine relics found at Dumbuck may be mentioned portions of deer-horn sawn across, a quern, some pointed implements of bone, like those found in the Lochlee Crannog, and illustrated by fig. 79 in "Ancient Scottish Lake-Dwellings," and a few polishers of stone: all of which unmistakably indicate the mediæval character of this curious structure. The shale and slate images and weapons, the perforated stone pendants, oyster-shells, and other objects, ornamented with cup-marks, concentric circles, etc., would be as much out of place as surviving remnants of the prehistoric civilisation of Scotland in Romano-British times as they are now."—*Prehistoric Scotland*, p. 441. In writing thus, Dr. Munro virtually claims to know all that can be known about the prehistoric civilisation of Scotland! But things are not of necessity "not genuine" because he has been hitherto unaware of them; or does he claim to have fathomed the ultimate depths of knowledge, or spanned its furthest heights?

Dr. Munro now says: "I never used the word *forgery* as applicable to any of the relics from the Dumbuck Crannog, but I have characterised some of the objects as not genuine relics of the people who inhabited it. Mr. Astley and others hold that, if not genuine, they must be forgeries. Well, so be it." As to the words "all" and "some," I have replied above.

Further on, Dr. Munro says: "As an objector to the validity of my argument, the *onus probandi* that the quern was known in the Stone Age falls on my opponent." This I reply to below; here I would say, once for all, what I have insisted on throughout the preceding Paper, viz., "As an objector to the validity of the curious and hitherto unknown objects found at Dumbuck, the *onus probandi* that 'they are not genuine relics of the peoples who inhabited it,' falls on my opponent." I would also remind him that the discoveries of Palæolithic weapons even, as a class, were at first similarly scouted by those who were prejudiced by "pre-Baconian" rubrics.

If these things are not genuine finds, *i.e.*, are forgeries, it is surely incumbent upon him to prove it. It is not incumbent upon those who hold that Mr. Donnelly, Mr. Bruce, F.S.A.Scot.,¹ etc., are reporting what they have found, to prove that these things are *not* forgeries. Surely, then, the more scientific plan is to take the finds as genuine until they have been conclusively proved to be the contrary, and to endeavour to fit them into their place in the life-history of man in Scotland. This is what is attempted in the Paper

¹ Mr. Bruce, in a letter to the author, of August 29th, 1901, says: "I cannot conceive what has caused Dr. Munro to take up the attitude he has. Everything we have found is genuine."

under discussion and in the present one, and even should these particular "finds" be subsequently PROVED to be forgeries, the arguments as to the general similarity of the stage of culture of man in the Neolithic Age in Europe, and the modern Australian and other savage races will still hold good, from the finds made in other localities, and from the universality of the cup and-ring markings on the rocks.

(2) Dr. Munro holds that the finding of a so-called quern at Dumbuck of necessity rules it out of the Neolithic period. As a matter of fact, the other grain-crushers found there are of the mortar and roller-pestle shape, familiarised to us by discoveries in Egypt and elsewhere, and characteristic of the Neolithic stage of culture. Only one article that could be called a "quern" was found, and I have suggested that that *may* have come there in later times. But, we may ask, why should this "quern" be accounted a 'genuine' "find" by Dr. Munro, when so many other things are held by him to be "not genuine"? The reason is not far to seek.

(3) We now come to the crucial point over which Dr. Munro spends the largest amount of space, and becomes forgetful of those amenities which surely ought to mark scientific discussion.

When the subject first came before the public, Dr. Munro's Paper in the *Archæological Journal*, Dec. 1898, on the rise of the land on the western and south-western coasts of Scotland (corresponding to a depression in the coasts of England at about the same period) had been recently published. In this he very strongly propounded his theory of the "25-ft. raised beach," and pointed to the present level of the MacArthur Cave at Oban, and to other localities, in proof that when man dwelt there in Neolithic days the sea flowed in, whereas now they are 25 ft. or more above the sea-level.¹ Having read that article, it occurred to me that herein lay the *secret* of the Doctor's opposition to the Neolithic theory of Dumbuck; and hence my remarks when Mr. Donnelly read his Paper before this Association, and my subsequent letter to the *Athenæum* referred to by Dr. Munro; and while we are on this point, may I add that I challenge anyone to read that article, and my induction from it, with an open mind, and say that the letter is unreasonable, much less a deliberate misrepresentation.

Dr. Munro's theory may not be so wide-reaching, nor cover so much ground as I gave it credit for; but that there was any "wilful" or "deliberate misrepresentation" I absolutely deny. When I came to write my Paper I realised that the *crux* of the matter lay in the words "subsequent to the appearance of man but prior to the Roman occupation;" and I rejoined that even on the truth of this 25-ft. raised beach theory, which I see no reason to doubt, Dumbuck might still be a Neolithic structure of a time not long prior to the Roman occupation. In my reply to Dr. Munro's

¹ See Note at end of Appendix.

letter to me of November 4th, 1900, I based my argument on his statements in *Prehistoric Scotland*, to show that they were substantially the same with those in his Paper in the *Archæological Journal*; but the book was published, as I state in the Appendix to my Paper, after that Paper was written, and has nothing whatever really to do with anything said therein. However, Dr. Munro now says that the "25-ft. raised beach" had nothing to do with his opposition to Dumbuck. Be it so; and I unreservedly accept his statement, and admit that I unintentionally misrepresented his views and the grounds of his opposition; but in that case he either admits that the theory does not extend to the basin of the Clyde, or else admits that the change of level took place at such a time subsequent to the appearance of man, but prior to the Roman occupation, as not to preclude the possibility of a Neolithic structure at the present level of the Clyde basin. This being the case, the Doctor's remarks in *Prehistoric Scotland* as to the probable position of a Neolithic structure in the Clyde are not to the point, as they premise more change than has taken place in the course of the last eighteen or nineteen centuries. As I have said before, it is not the date, but the stage of culture exemplified by Dumbuck, that is the important thing; and, in bearing this in mind, it must be remembered that not one particle of metal, nor one shred of pottery, even of the rudest kind, has been found there; and this must be taken in connection with the fact that the rock-markings in the neighbourhood, as well as those "finds" for which the Doctor can "find no place," have an unmistakable similarity to the undoubted products, elsewhere, of the Neolithic stage of culture.

(4) Dr. Munro now declares that he does not deny the existence of crannogs and pile-dwellings of Neolithic construction in the British Isles "as a general proposition," notwithstanding the fact that both in *Lake-Dwellings* and elsewhere, as stated in my Paper, he maintains that they are an importation from the Continent by the Celtic races. Dr. Munro's words are:—"Taking all these circumstances into consideration (viz., those he has been considering), I repeat that, while we are justified in ascribing the remains of lake-dwellings [and in these he includes, by implication, marine and river structures], so far as they are at present known within the British Isles, to a Celtic source, I see no *prima facie* improbability against the hypothesis that the Celts derived their knowledge of this custom from the great system of Central Europe."—*Lake-Dwellings of Europe*, p. 494.

And, again:—"All these remains [viz., those he has been describing] are compatible with the opinion that they must be assigned to the early Iron Age, rather than to an earlier date. The absence of metals counts for very little."—*Prehistoric Scotland*, p. 424. And again, in *The Reliquary* article, p. 110, Dr. Munro asserts—and indeed the idea is carried out all through—"I do not

know of any crannog in Scotland that can be assigned to pre-Roman times."

But in *The Antiquary*, vol. vii, p. 67, his book entitled *Ancient Scottish Lake-dwellings*, 1882, is reviewed, and he is *quoted* or *referred to* as saying that at Lochlee, "hammer stones, heating stones, sling stones, stone anvil, whet stones, polished celts, *querns*, some *flint* implements, and spindle whorls, also bone and wood implements, a canoe, bronze and iron articles, were found all together. The evidence of the *Stone Age Man*, the *Bronze Age Man*, and the *Iron Age Man*, rests alongside of each other.' To the question, therefore," continues the reviewer, "as to the period of history to which these Scottish Lake Dwellings belong, Dr. Munro can only return a tentative answer. *He ascribes them to the early Celts, before the inroads of the Romans* and English. This appears to us to be a thoroughly legitimate conclusion to be derived from the evidence."

If this was not a fair inference, why did not Dr. Munro correct it at the time?

And how can he deny that some crannogs are pre-Roman, if he is correctly reviewed in ascribing Lochlee to "the early Celts before the inroads of the Romans"?

We will leave the Doctor to reconcile these conflicting statements as best he can.

Even supposing, however, that these statements were absolutely incontrovertible, instead of being mutually destructive, they neither of them preclude the possibility of the Dumbuck crannog being the work of a non-Celtic race, *i.e.*, probably of the Aborigines of Scotland, the Picts, ignorant of the use of metals, and with aboriginal superstitions still prevalent among them, at the date which I have suggested for it. They may have learnt how to build a crannog from their Goidelic neighbours. Moreover, the Doctor admits that such structures are to be found, belonging to the Neolithic period, though he endeavours to impugn the force of the evidence adduced by me, without seeing that this admission negatives both his previous propositions! Ballinderry he tries to rule out, but I cannot see why it may not have been continuously or intermittently occupied, like Lochlee, from the Late Stone down to the Iron Age.

I am quite willing to allow that he is right in his correction of my statement as to Gen. Pitt-Rivers' position in respect to the bone skates found in the Thames, in the neighbourhood of wooden piles. But, it being granted that pile-dwellings of the Neolithic Age are to be found in Britain, this correction does not prove that the Dumbuck structure cannot be of that age. To the evidence contained in my previous Paper (Appendix D), we may add the undoubted pile-dwellings in Wretham mere, near Thetford, Norfolk—not far from Brandon, in whose "Grimes' Graves" Canon

Greenwell found the abandoned tool of the Neolithic flint-worker *in situ*, and these pile-dwellings belong without reasonable doubt to the same age. Others might be mentioned, but enough has been said.¹

(5) Finally, Dr. Munro affirms, on the evidence of his own eyes and that of an eminent architect, that the Piles of Dumbuck have been undoubtedly fashioned with iron tools. On the other hand, it has been proved, as mentioned in my Paper, that every mark of cutting could have been made with equal nicety and finish by a stone tool. This being so, it is for the Doctor and his friends to *prove* that iron tools were employed, if they can: it being still borne in mind that no scrap of metal, bronze or iron, has been found in the locality.

Dr. Munro and his friends would, without doubt, have pronounced an equally emphatic opinion—so universally accepted—that the tool-markings and the cutting of the mortice and tenon-joints at Stonehenge were “the result of sharp *metal* tools.” But now, as I write, even these colossal works in hard stone are proved to have been fashioned by the despised Neolithic axe. How simple, after this, was the sharpening of the Dumbuck piles; and yet it is on the theory of the impossibility of any such thing that Dr. Munro throws down his sheepskin and challenges “the final *coup* to the Neolithic theory of Dumbuck.” I accept the challenge—so may it be. Let the evidence now forthcoming of the higher stage of Neolithic culture, as disclosed at the great monument, be the “*coup*” to my contention of the origin of the ornaments and work at Dumbuck, or to the pre-Baconian theories of all those who would deprive the Neolithic race of even the very rudiments of ornament, art, or hewn architecture.

There remain one or two minor points which may be briefly referred to.

On p. 109 Dr. Munro denies that his opinion was “a hasty judgment”; but, on p. 110, incidentally mentions that he visited the crannog on October 12th, 1898, and communicated his opinion “openly expressed in writing,” *on the following day!*

Page 112. Dr. Munro objects to my “generalisation” as to the *flora* contemporary with Palæolithic Man. Mr. A. M. Bell, F.G.S., Oxford, however, says in the letter of April 29th, 1901, referred to above: “It may interest you to know that I am now engaged in sifting some evidence of the *Flora* and *Coleopterous Fauna* contem-

¹ By a curious coincidence, the very same number of *The Reliquary*, April 1901, which contains Dr. Munro’s Paper, also contains the account of the discovery by the Rev. J. W. Kenworthy, Vicar of Braintree, Essex, in the brick-earth of the district, of lacustrine remains, “which in their way are quite as important as the recent discovery of similar remains near Glastonbury.” Mr. Kenworthy divides the brick-earth into five layers, of which No. 2 is labelled “Neolithic” (?). In this layer wooden piles were found, which point to the probability of the settlement having been a Lake-habitation in that age.—*The Reliquary*, April 1901, pp. 121-123.

porary with Palæolithic Man in this Thames Valley. One of the trees was a *pine*, probably the *Scotch fir* of our own Highlands."

Page 113. Dr. Munro asserts that the "ornaments of jet, amber, and bone" mentioned by me, "can be definitely assigned to the ages of Bronze and Iron." This cannot be the case. The only ornaments of jet found by Bateman (*Ten Years' Diggings*) comprised specimens from about fifteen different interments, and all, with one exception (bronze), were in connection with flint relics alone. In one case, two sandstones, *with cavities worked in them*, were found. Jet-rings, too, were found of the Neolithic period.

Bateman also shows jet beads and bone "draughts," clearly Neolithic, adorned with cup-and-ring-marks, from Derbyshire.¹

In conclusion, if the Dumbuck crannog and the relics from Dumbaie do not belong to the Stone Age, they must belong to the Age of Bronze or Iron. Accordingly, I challenge Dr. Munro to find something of bronze and iron there, and then controvert the stone and other relics which have been found.

Can we imagine that a crannog, or pile-structure of the Iron Age, or, to use Dr. Munro's phrase, "mediæval," would only contain stone relics? The later the relics, usually, the more abundant they are, because they were probably there when the place was flooded or deserted. Again, why is there no vestige of pottery, not even of the rude kind of which the Stone Age was capable, to say nothing of later (or mediæval) examples?

Here I will take leave of Dr. Munro. I regret that he should have thought it necessary to import personalities into the discussion, and if I unwittingly misrepresented him, or his views, on any point, I equally regret that.

As matters stand, and until conclusive proof of forgery has been discovered, or until the use of metal tools has been proved to demonstration, it seems to me that those have the most regard for the teachings of inductive science, and the most logic on their side, who take the facts as they find them, and try to fit them into their true place in some, it may be, hitherto unknown, but none the less real, "phase of prehistoric Scottish civilisation."

For myself I have no *parti pris*, no theory whatever. All I have endeavoured to do is to marshal the facts and let them tell their own tale.

NOTE to p. 253.—Mr. James Neilson, of Glasgow, however, writes thus as regards the MacArthur Cave: "*Re* the Oban bone-cave. It is ridiculous to say men dwelt in there when the sea flowed in. How could they? It must have been dry, *i.e.*, at its present level. I saw the 'finds' out of the Oban cave. The antiquaries wrote of a 'shell-bed': now this term is only rightly used for a naturally deposited bed, while this was a rubbish heap, a sort of kitchen midden. The shells, too, were of recent type."

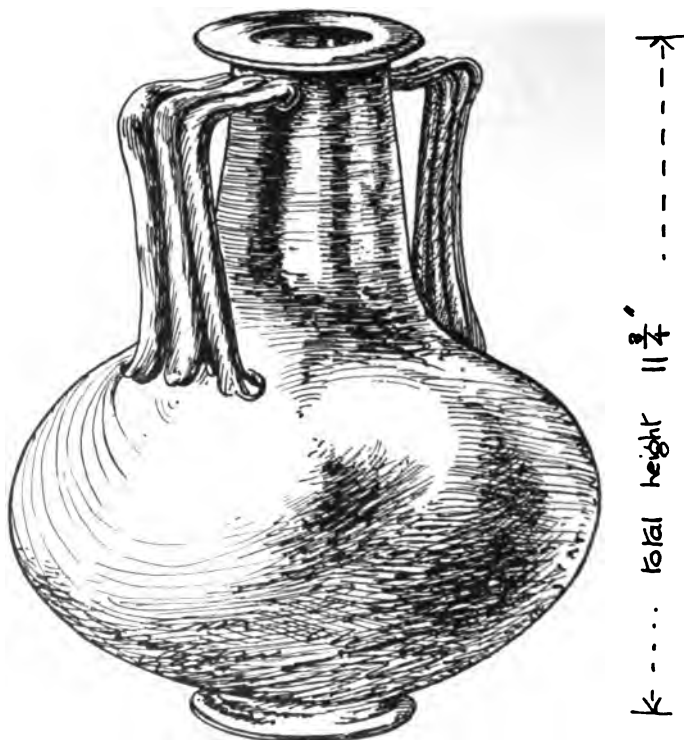
¹ Cf. p. 236, note 1, lines 8-11.



Antiquarian Intelligence.

Account of Roman Remains found at Walmer, Kent.—These Remains were no doubt *in situ*, and date back to some time in the third cen-

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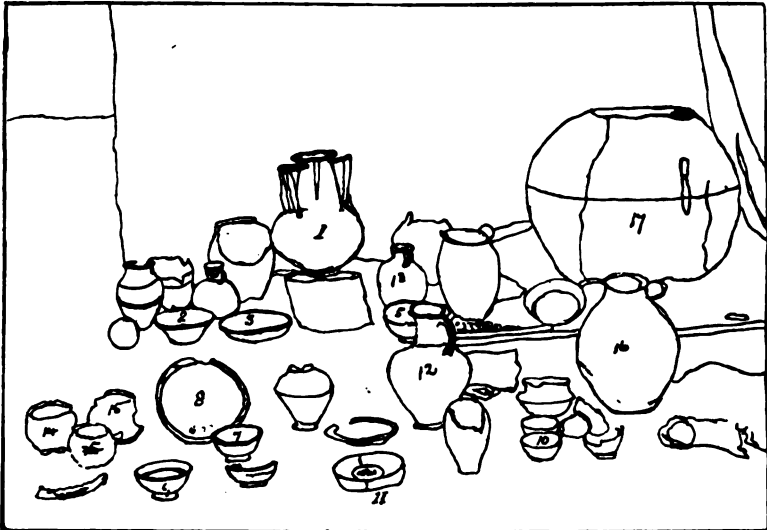
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Glass Vessel found inside *Amphora*, and containing Fragments of Bone.

ture. It is curious they should have escaped being unearthed till the present time, being only some 18 ins. or 2 ft. below the surface. The



ROMAN RELICS UNEARTHED AT WALMER LODGE.

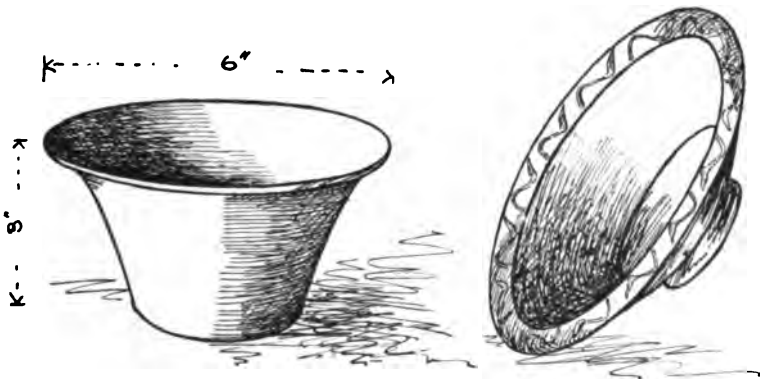
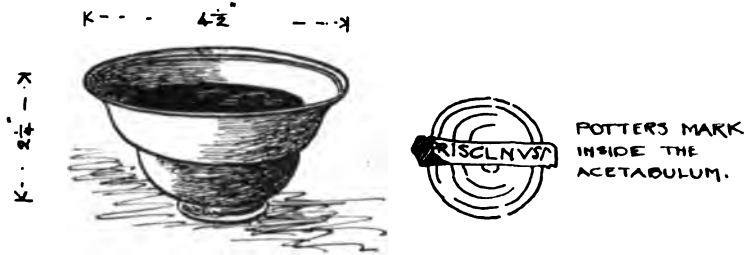


Reference.

1. Glass bottle 12 in. high.
 - 2 to 11. Samian Ware, all quite plain, some with maker's name.
 - 12 to 17. Red Pottery, no doubt made from the local clay; 17, they say, contained the glass bottle filled with calcined bones, and some of the Samian ware.
- The remainder is dark gray or black pottery from the Medway district.

ground has been cultivated, but no trenching has taken place; now the landscape gardener comes in, and for his trees and borders thoroughly trenches his ground: hence the occasion of this find.

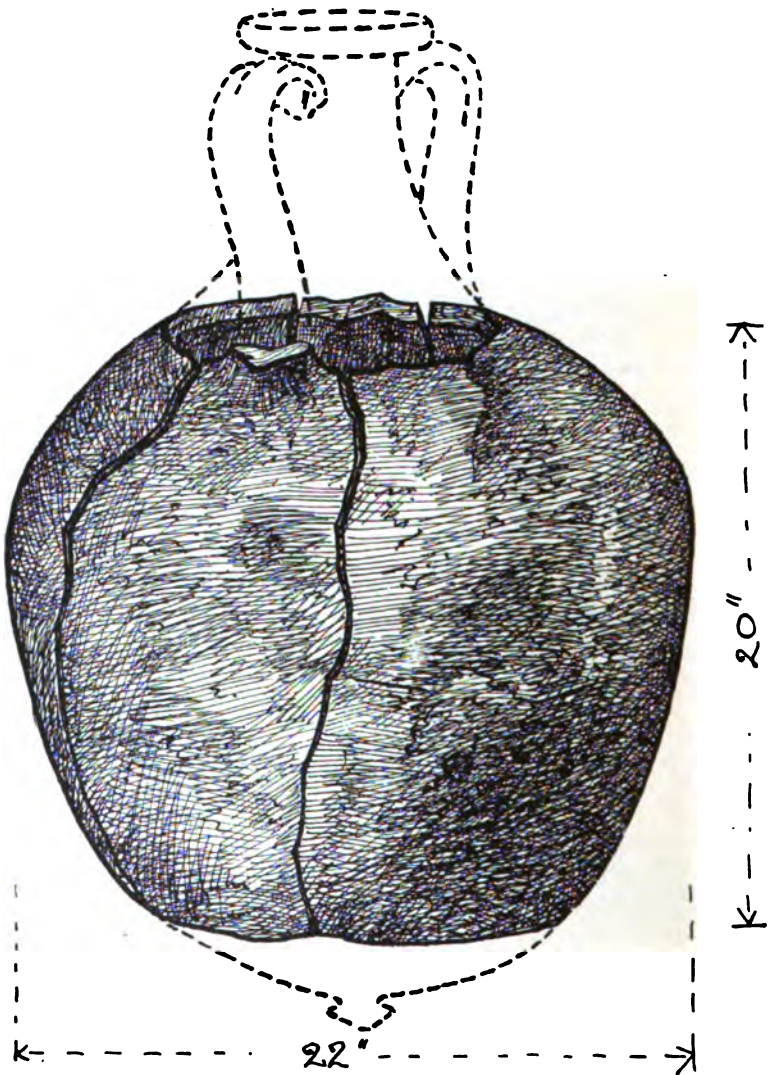
After the first piece of pottery was found, Mr. Walker carefully turned back the soil himself, and consequently no piece of this valuable find was in any way damaged. The site of these two separate finds was in the grounds of Walmer Lodge, some 18 ft.



SAMIAN WARE
RED GLAZED

above high-water-mark, and about 600 ft. inland. Excepting the grounds belonging to this property (about four acres), the land towards Walmer Castle is low and marshy, and protected from the sea by a high bank of shingle. From this the land rises gradually to 100 ft. on a subsoil of chalk to Upper Walmer. On the slope towards the sea, coins and isolated pieces of pottery have been found, and would lead one to imagine a Roman Station on the hill. It commands a view of the estuary there leading to Richborough Castle, which in a straight line would be some six miles away.

One peculiar feature of this find is the quantity of utensils discovered, mostly in good condition and principally of Samian ware



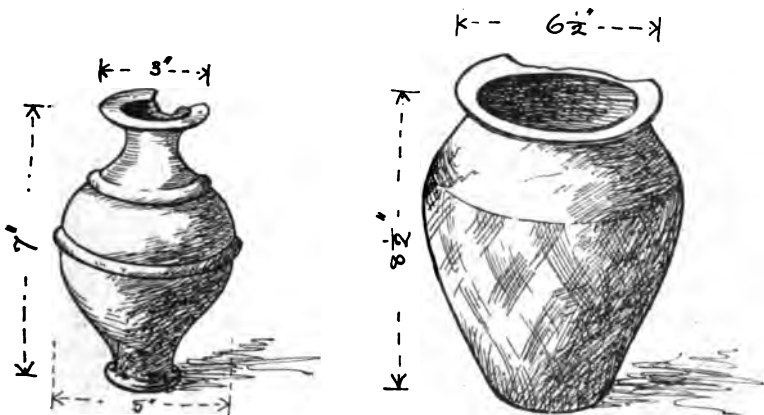
Large Amphora, of Light Red Clay, unglazed, very thick.

but nothing ornate, except the plate with a running leaf-pattern on the border. "Generally, the Samian pottery found in Kent is very ornate with *bas-reliefs*, but seldom in a sound condition; as if broken

in use, and then thrown on the rubbish heap. Also, the burial places I have seen excavated generally contain a quantity of the gray Medway and dull red pottery; seldom any Samian ware."

As I have before mentioned, these finds were hardly covered with 2 ft. of soil, and in the handsome glass vessel were found the charcoal and bones, but no coins; this glass vessel, to protect it from the pressure of the soil, was enclosed in the large *amphora* or wine jar, the top portion of which was broken away for the reception of the glass urn. The only piece of metal of any kind found was a bronze *fibula* or shoulder-brooch.

There might have been Roman villas on this site, but if so, they would have been very unprotected; consequently the suggestion arises



Grey Ware.

that any residence would probably have been on the slope, and that this was only a burial place; in further trenching more remains may be found.

On the slope to the village of Walmer, to judge from coins and pieces of pottery, there was, no doubt, a station with residences.

The question remains, why such a wholesale burial? the contents being mostly domestic articles, with a preponderance of Samian ware, one would almost say the household stock was buried. Or was it, in a hurried removal, buried only for future use, one of the burials having no signs of burnt bones or charcoal? All the bones and charcoal were contained in the glass urn.

I met with great courtesy from Mr. Walker, who represents the firm of Mawson Bros., landscape gardeners, of Windermere, who are carrying out the work for Mr. Och, a diamond merchant in the City. I understand Mr. Och has given orders for great care to be taken of

this find, or any more that may turn up; and when the house is completed, will have a special case to contain them, and the sites where they were found defined.

EDWARD W. FRY, A.R.I.B.A., Dover.

The Benedictine Abbey of Pershore, Worcestershire. By F. B. ANDREWS, A.R.I.B.A. (Pershore: Fearnside and Martin).—This is a very interesting monograph on a great abbey, written from an architectural point of view for the most part, but not wanting in a very lucid sketch of the history of its fortunes and misfortunes. The illustrations are numerous and well chosen, and the author is to be congratulated on the attractive way in which he has prepared his treatise upon so important a theme. The remains range from early Norman to latest Gothic; and thus they constitute an instructive example of English monastic architecture, which Mr. Andrews has judiciously described and reproduced in his plates and views. The low price at which this handsome work is sold (3s. 6d.), ought to ensure its success; and for the numerous examples of details which it contains, it should stand at the right hand of every ecclesiologist and church antiquary.

Itinerary of King Edward I throughout his Reign, 1272-1307. By HENRY GOUGH, Barrister-at-Law (Paisley: Alex. Gardner). 2 vols.—Royal Itineraries have always formed an attractive study with historical antiquaries. The late Sir Thos. D. Hardy prepared one of King John with much painstaking and research. Thirty years ago the Rev. C. H. Hartshorne compiled the *Itinerary of Edward I*, the result of an examination of a large number of public records. This Itinerary has now been re-compiled from an independent examination of the records by Mr. Gough, by the desire and at the cost of the late Marquess of Bute, our former President. It is a subject of regret that neither Hartshorne, nor the present compiler, used a fully complete series of records. Of twenty-six records used by Hartshorne, twelve do not appear to have been employed by Gough, who, however, used fifteen not referred to by Hartshorne. Hence, to some extent, neither of these Itineraries is complete without the other. It is not a little surprising that Mr. Gough makes no mention of Hartshorne's labours. The work before us is certainly a more scholarly production than Hartshorne's. There is an introduction and calendar prefixed, notes are given throughout the work, and the places are identified with accuracy. Probably Hartshorne was hampered by want of space, which prevented his doing full justice to his task, and the portions of

the King's wanderings which took place in foreign parts are weak and full of blanks; whereas Mr. Gough has been able to fill up many hitherto unrecorded dates in this respect, and thus throws new light on an obscure part of the King's life. There are some passages in which the antiquary must choose between the two editors, for example, in the year 1288:—

July 14, Oleron (Gough).
 July 24th, York (Hartshorne).
 Aug. 4th, Oleron (Gough).
 Aug. 22nd, Westminster (Hartshorne).
 Sept. 3rd, 5th, Urdos, in Valencia (Gough).
 Sept. 10th, 15th, Jacca, in Aragon (Gough).
 Sept. 25th, Montaner, in Bearn (Gough).
 Sept. 26, 27, Oleron (Gough).

 Nov. 25th, 28th, Bellegarde, in Gascony (Gough).
 Dec. 1st, Westminster (Hartshorne).
 Dec. 6th, Bellegarde (Gough).

.
 1289 Feb. 2nd, Abbos, in Gascony (Gough).
 Feb. 3rd, Westminster (Hartshorne).

These, therefore, are conflicting, and some explanation is required before either can be accepted as evidence for the King's presence in the places at which his public acts are dated. The Itinerary, as given by the two editors for 1287 and for the month of July, 1296, may, likewise, be compared with advantage. The value of these Itineraries is very great, as they enable workers among the original documents of Edward I and II, which hardly ever have the date of the Christian era expressed in them, to distinguish between the acts of these two kings. In this behalf the services of Mr. Gough will be fully recognised. We hope he may be led to continue his labours into the reign of Edward II, whose peregrinations were quite as widespread as his father's. But we shall expect that he will not ignore the labours of Hartshorne in that field as well.

History of the Parish of Buxhall in the County of Suffolk, including the Parish Registers from 1558 to 1700. Edited by W. A. COPINGER, LL.D., F.S.A., with full-plate illustrations and specially drawn Parish Map, containing most of the ancient field names. Royal 4to, tastefully printed on fine paper and bound in cloth or art linen, gilt top. Price to Subscribers, 15s. 6d. nett; the price will be raised on publi-

cation to 25s.—The work will contain a History of the Parish from a period anterior to the Conquest, the Church, the Rectory, the Parsons, the Four Manors, the Mansion House of Fasborne, and other halls and houses. The title to nearly every house in the Parish will be traced back about four hundred years. Extracts from wills, accounts, and early documents (including Subsidy Rolls of the time of Elizabeth and Charles I) will be given. The Court Rolls of the Manor of Buxhall, from the time of Henry VIII, will contribute to the value and authority of the history. The devolution of the Manor will, in fact, be traced and deduced without break from Saxon times. The MSS. in the British Museum, the Bodleian, and other University and College libraries have been drawn on for much of the historic data appearing in the volume. Thorough search has been made in the Charter, Close and Patent Rolls; and various other official documents in the Public Record Office have been examined, with the result that this work will be found to contain matters of interest for those having no particular connection with the parish of Buxhall. Many interesting facts are also noted in relation to the adjoining parishes of Finborough, Onehouse, Shelland and Rattlesden, and even to the important town of Stowmarket.

The Illustrations will all be full-page drawings 8 ins. by 5½ ins., and the Parish Map, which is of large size, will contain many of the field names as given in a Survey made a hundred years ago.

Two hundred and fifty copies only will be printed, and names of Subscribers should be sent at once to Messrs. H. Sotheran & Co., 140, Strand, London.

Antiquities at Savernake.—A discovery of flint implements of much interest has lately been made on the estates of the Marquis of Ailesbury, at Knowle Farm, on the borders of Savernake Forest. A gravel pit was opened a short time ago close to the farm buildings, and the implements have been found in this at various depths below the surface of the ground, some embedded in coarse gravel and silt, and others in dark red clay, and at a depth in some instances of 8 ft. to 10 ft. from the surface. The ground is at least 450 ft. above sea level, and it would seem that at the particular place where the gravel occurs two or three streams must have met which had had their courses through the forest, and were making their way to the valley of the Kennet, some three or four miles to the south-east. There is now no stream of water in any part of the forest; and besides this there is nothing to indicate in the present configuration of the ground the source from whence the water, by means of which the valleys were eroded, could have come. It

is only by imagining an entirely different face to the country (such as might have been if the valleys had been eroded before the formation of the Pewsey Vale, some three to four miles to the south-west) that we can conceive an origin for the streams in these forest valleys.

Between two hundred and three hundred implements have already been found, many of them of beautiful workmanship, while others are very rude and apparently unfinished. Whether these latter belong to the earlier "Eolithic" period, and have been washed out of earlier beds of gravel and deposited with implements of a later date (as appears to have taken place on the plateaux in Kent) is a point to be decided hereafter; but it is very difficult to imagine these rude implements to have been manufactured by the same race of people as have made and finished with so much care those apparently lying by their side. Most of the implements are of very superior flint, extremely hard in texture; one or two may be of chert, and one appears to be of "Sarsen" stone, and they bear a marked similitude to those found at St. Acheul in the valley of the Somme. Many have been rolled and have lost all their sharp edges, while others appear to have been made on the spot, and had but little use before they were embedded in the stiff clay where they are now found. Some are very finely polished, as if from the constant rubbing of blown sand, and have an appearance as if coated with glass. They are of all sizes and shapes, some from 5 ins. to 6 ins. long, generally of a rough, unfinished type; others 3 ins. to 4 ins. long, of the common spear-shaped form; others of the well-known ovoid form; and others pointed as if to be used as drills. One or two Palæolithic implements have been previously found in the locality; but the occurrence of them in such numbers as these at Knowle is quite new to the district. No other remains have as yet been found; but considerable interest attaches to the working of these gravel-pits, which will probably remain open for some time.

Interesting Discoveries in Derbyshire.—Few places command a more delightful view than is secured from the broad grass-grown highway that runs from the top of "Sir William" in Derbyshire, through Great Hucklow, descending thence in the valley to Tideswell. The most favourable part of this height is the well-known Barrel Inn at Bretton; this inn, in fact, practically forming the village of Bretton, for there are only one or two cottages besides in the neighbourhood. It can be reached from Grindleford by climbing the straight steep road to the top of the hill known as "Sir William," thence by level road extending about a mile and a-half, from which an extensive view of the country for many miles is open. Or Bretton can be reached readily

from Eyam by a tolerably easy path up the hillside, from the lower main road to Foolow and Tideswell. Travelling from "Sir William" to Bretton, the view on the right stretches away to the hills of Hathersage, Bradwell, and the Peak district, with a few scattered hamlets between, while on the left the wide sweep of country from Eyam to Tideswell is plainly displayed; and beyond are glimpses of the farther land reaching to Chapel-en-le-Frith, with just sufficient habitations to give human interest to the scene without marring the natural beauty of the landscape. Although the railway to Grindleford has made this region more accessible, yet it has not so nearly approached it as to make any marked change in the slow march of time, which seems to have left the natural features of this district untouched through many centuries.

That it has been inhabited for thousands of years there is indubitable evidence to prove, and possibly the inhabitants are fewer now than they were before the Christian era. Mr. Bateman, in his book on the "Antiquities of Derbyshire," gives many instances of the discovery of antiquities which have remained since the days when the Ancient Britons roamed over the hills and valleys of Derbyshire; and their occupation of the district is conspicuously shown by the barrows or tumuli, and stone circles, which still exist. Many of these have been investigated by the antiquaries of time past. Mr. John Wilson, of Bromhead Hall, recorded the finding of Celtic antiquities in the neighbourhood one hundred and fifty years ago, and many barrows were afterwards opened by Mr. Thomas Birds, of Eyam, in 1827 and 1829; Mr. John Oxley of Leam Hall; Major Rooke, Mr. Samuel Mitchell, of Sheffield, and others; and there are many still remaining for the investigation of antiquaries.

From time to time the labours of agriculturists in the field bring to light evidences of a dead past, which the ancient Celtic races took such great pains to preserve. Quite recently, Mr. Francis Middleton, of the "Barrel Inn," Bretton, has unearthed some Celtic antiquities of exceptional interest. On one of his fields was found a well-formed tumulus, or grave-mound, of considerable size, the diameter being over 20 yards, while the original height was about 12 ft. Some years ago, a gentleman from Sheffield made an excavation into the mound from the top, but, unfortunately for him, ceased his labours before he reached the original level of the ground. Mr. Middleton made use of this excavation for the purpose of securing stone, continuing it further down, and at the bottom he discovered a chamber that had been cut out of the original rock. This was 3 ft. deep, 3 ft. 6 in. long, of somewhat oval form, but—rather strangely—there was nothing in it. The entire mound is composed of undressed stones of various sizes,

some very large, with earth between them. In later excavations for stone in this mound Mr. Middleton came across three other chambers that had apparently been formed for interments, though whatever had been originally within had evidently decayed, or had not carefully been sought for. In January, 1899, he found in the tumulus a well-formed stone hammer, which is now in the possession of a gentleman at Eyam. About the same time he unearthed a small cup which had originally two handles, one of which had been broken off. This cup is 2 in. in diameter, $1\frac{3}{8}$ in. deep outside, and nearly $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. inside. It is rudely formed of rather light-coloured clay, apparently mixed with sand, with a slightly-moulded bottom. At first sight it suggests one of the cups known as "incense cups," belonging to the Celtic period, from examples of which it differs in having handles. It is also thinner than Celtic pottery generally, not being more than $\frac{1}{8}$ in. thick. That it belongs to the Celtic period there is good reason to believe, on account of the other things associated with it in the mound, though there are many cases of Saxon burials on the upper part of an ancient British burial mound. Whichever period it belongs to, it is an exceedingly interesting object, not the less so because it is somewhat puzzling to the antiquarian.

But much more striking and important object was discovered in this grave-mound in the present year, coming to light after being buried for probably twenty centuries. This is a vase belonging undoubtedly to the Ancient British period. On the north-east side of the grave-mound is a chamber covered over by two heavy stone slabs, one of them measuring 6 ft. in length, and the other 3 ft., the chamber being nearly 9 ft. long. The slabs are 9 in. thick, so that they are of very great weight. Within this chamber was found this vase, or food vessel, with a dried-up substance in it something like paste. Careful search would probably have disclosed some human remains, calcined or otherwise, and these may yet be discovered, as it is more than probable that this was the chamber in which the remains of some great chief were placed, judging from the general magnitude of the mound and the substantial protection afforded to the tomb by the huge slabs of stone. The vase would be placed with some food in it for the use of the dead on his journey to his future home. Throughout the ages it has lain in the tomb the vase has suffered no damage, and it has been taken out in a perfectly good condition, being one of the finest British vases ever discovered, with a richness of ornamentation very rare on these primitive vessels. It is $4\frac{3}{4}$ in. high, 6 in. in diameter at the top, and $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. at the bottom, formed by hand of a light-coloured clay tinged with red. There is a flat-moulded lip 1 in.

wide, slightly sloping to the inside, and projecting on the outside, with a gently-curved neck $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide below it. Following this a sunk moulded band, $\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide, in which there were originally four pierced knobs at equal distances round it, but only one of these remains: the loss of these knobs being the only imperfections, and they in no way interfere with the regularity of its form. From the sunk band the vase tapers regularly to the base, the general thickness of the pottery being about $\frac{1}{4}$ in. The whole of the outer surface of the vase, even on the lip, is covered with a series of zig-zag lines, forming what is styled the "herring-bone" pattern. All these lines are incised, and along each of them is a series of dots, covering the whole vase with a curious network of ornament, which is quite unusual on Celtic pottery, for ordinarily there is only a band of ornament in the upper part of the body. In this respect the vase is strikingly rare, and it ranks amongst the finest and most beautiful examples of Celtic pottery in existence.

A few flints were also found in this grave-mound, and it is very probable that in due course other objects will be discovered in it, for the exploration of the tumulus is far from completed. It is expected that all these antiquities will ultimately find a home in Sheffield.

NOTE.—We have taken the foregoing account of recent discoveries in Derbyshire from *The Buxton Chronicle* of August 30th, 1901: not only because it is well written as a whole, but principally because of the account given of the finding of the vase said to belong to the "Ancient British Period." The writer is a little hazy in his use of the terms "Celtic," "Ancient British," etc., and does not seem to realise the existence of a pre-Celtic period. What he describes so well is an undoubted and very fine specimen of a vessel belonging to the Neolithic period, and, as such, it is specially interesting, and will, we trust, be preserved with due care.

ERRATA.—P. 107, l. 2, *dele* "Friars," and *read* "monks belonging to the Order of Austin or Black Canons." P. 124, lines 12, 13, *for* "Richard Dowsett" *read* "William Dowsing."



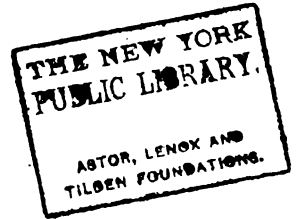


THE JOURNAL

OF THE

British Archaeological Association.

DECEMBER 1901.;



ROMAN ROADS IN LEICESTERSHIRE.

BY COLONEL BELLAIRS, V.D.

(*Read at the Leicester Congress, 1900.*)



THE Romans who held England for four centuries, held it not so much by military force as by good government; the few remains of their occupation of the country show that peace reigned in the land south of Hadrian's Wall. There was evidently ample means of communication by land and water throughout the country, and trade flourished. Stone is found to have been used in places at a great distance from where it was quarried, and oyster-shells invariably found in the remains of Roman houses in the Midland Counties show that transport was available to the sea. In this town of Leicester, what few stones we have remaining of the Roman period came chiefly from Derbyshire, and may have been transported either by road or water: there is no doubt the latter method of intercommunication must have been much more open in the days of the Romans than it is now. We know that the Danes and Norsemen, who never were far away from their ships, penetrated into the very

heart of the country; and they most certainly, when they ravaged this town and county, came up from the sea by the Trent and the Soar. They destroyed this city of *Ratæ* by fire, leaving only the Roman walls standing; part of which are standing now. These walls were adopted by the Saxons and Normans, and formed to some extent the defences of the town at the siege by Charles I, in the early days of the Civil War. The Roman city of *Ratæ* was built in the form of a military camp, a parallelogram, of such a size as to be capable of holding two or three legions (the estimated area is between 40 and 50 acres), and formed the headquarters of an army which held the centre of the country south of the Trent secure from the invasions of the Brigantes and more northern tribes. A military station of this importance would require roads of communication with the outlying camps and stations, which stretched across the country from *Deva*, or Chester, on the west to *Lindum*, or Lincoln, on the east; also with the stations in the rear of this line of fortifications, and with the capital of the country which was then *Camulodunum*, or Colchester. Of these roads several still exist in this county, including two of the main roads mentioned in the *Itinerary* of Antoninus: the Watling Street, which forms a large part of the western border of the county, and the Foss Way, which crosses the county from south-west to north-east, and proceeds through *Ratæ* to *Lindum*. The Romans gave no names to their roads in Britain; the names Watling and Foss are Saxon, and the name of another road in this county, "The Gartree Road," is also Saxon; it was converted into "Via Devana" about the beginning of this century, as a distinguishing name, but it is rather misleading.

The Watling Street enters Leicestershire from the south, where it crosses the River Avon at or near the station called in the *Itinerary* "Tripontium;" from thence it proceeds to another station, in the *Itinerary* called "Vennonis," or "Bennonis," now High Cross. Here the road is met by the Foss Road, which crosses it; and there was at this point no doubt a station of consequence, as shown by the numerous mounds and indications of

foundations which exist. The site of the station Vennonis is no doubt correctly fixed at High Cross. It is stated in the *Itinerary* to be 9 *m. p.* from Tripontium, and, measuring from the modern Tripontium bridge over the Avon, it is 8 English miles, which (taking the *passus* to be 5 ft.) makes 10½ *m. p.* The station, however, was not on the river, but is placed about a mile nearer High Cross. No Roman camp or fort was ever bisected by a river, nor the defensive walls ever placed close to the banks of a river; they were generally on high ground, near the bend of a river, so as to be protected on two sides, leaving a space between the fort and the stream, generally a marsh. From High Cross the Watling Street deviates to the left a little, and proceeds in a direct line to Witherley, where it crosses the river and leaves this county on its way to Atherstone, near which place, in the parish of Mancetter, is the Roman station of the *Itinerary* called Manduessedum, which is there stated to be 12 *m. p.* from Vennonis. On the Ordnance Survey it measures 10½ miles, being a little over 11 *m. p.*, but the earthworks there, and the name Mancetter, leave no doubt that this is the site of the station.

Before arriving at Mancetter, the road is crossed by another road of Roman formation (mentioned later) called "The Fen Lanes," which road runs from here through Fenny Drayton, and past Bosworth Field to Leicester. The Watling Street, in its course in this county, is still used as a highway, and is in thoroughly good repair, and seems to retain its original width; there is nothing to show that it ever was paved, but it may have been so in parts. I do not think there is any other instance of a Roman road (or any other road) being a county boundary: which seems to prove that the road existed before county boundaries were fixed.

At High Cross (*i.e.*, Vennonis), the Foss coming out of Warwickshire from the south-west proceeds north-east to Leicester (The Roman *Ratis*, or *Ratæ*). This road, at this point like the Watling Street, deviates from the direct line at High Cross, bearing more eastward, perhaps to avoid some of the swampy ground in which the Soar takes its rise. At High Cross, the road crosses part of the

backbone of England; all the watershed on the west falls into the Severn through the Avon; and on the east it falls into the Humber through the Soar and Trent. For the first two miles from High Cross, this road is only a field road; it is then joined by the main road from Coventry to Leicester, and runs on quite straight, retaining in most part its original width and ditches as far as the entrance to Narborough, crossing the Soar at a bridge called Langham Bridge, a small mediæval bridge of pointed arches, with recesses on the piers on one side, but widened on the other by arches of brick. The Roman road then disappears in the fields, then again is used as a road for a few hundred yards, only to be again lost in the fields. It next appears as a grass field-road, and again joins the Coventry or Narborough Road, where the parishes of Enderby and Lubbesthorpe meet about three miles from Leicester, and proceeds straight to that town, crossing the river at Bow Bridge, and enters the Roman town by the West Gate or Jewry Wall. The distance from High Cross to Leicester is ten and a quarter English miles: about 11 *m. p.* The 6th *Iter* of Antoninus gives the distance as 12 *m. p.*, but there is no doubt that the stations or camps of Vennonis and Ratis are correctly placed at High Cross and Leicester. Following the Roman road through Leicester, it would leave the camp by the Roman East Gate, which would be very near the "Porter's Lodge Inn" in Bond Street: perhaps a narrow foot-passage from this street to Church Gate marks the site of the gate. From thence it proceeded in a straight line to where the "old Cross" stood, near the repository, and then proceeded on the Melton road to "Roundhill," where there was formerly a large barrow, marked on the early Ordnance Survey, but which was levelled (about 1840); an urn now in the Leicester Museum was found buried in the mound. It was not far from this spot that the Roman milestone now in the Museum stood; when it was first discovered it was intended to be converted into a garden-roller; but awaiting the insertion of iron pins at each end, it was accidentally seen by an archæologist, through whose influence it was presented to the Leicester Corporation,

who set it up in Belgrave Gate, at the "old Cross," as marking the ninety-eighth mile from London: where the exposure to the weather nearly obliterated the inscription, and it was none too early placed in the Museum. It is a question how many of those milestones there were. Were they placed at each *mille passuum*? if not, why was one placed "*a Ratis II*?"

From Roundhill the Foss turns a little to the left and takes a more northerly direction, crossing the river Wreake at "Lewin Bridge," a little beyond which another tumulus still exists; and then it proceeds by Ratcliffe on the Wreake to "Six" or "Segs" Hill, where it leaves the county. The road about here shows its original width and its ditches for a considerable distance. At this place it is crossed by another Roman road of importance (after mentioned), which in my opinion marks it as the station called in the *Itinerary* "Verometo," which is placed on the Ordnance Survey at Willoughby, in Nottinghamshire, about two miles further on. But judging from the distances (there are two mentioned in the *Iters*), Six Hills is much more likely to be the station. In the 6th *Iter* the distance between "Verometo" and *Ratis* is given as 13 *m. p.*, and in the 8th *Iter* as 12 *m. p.* On the Ordnance Survey it measures $11\frac{1}{6}$, making about 12 *m. p.* The site at Willoughby measures $13\frac{3}{4}$ English miles from *Ratis*, or about 14 *m. p.* From Six Hills the road proceeds to Lincoln, to which city it is easily traced, and is a good turnpike most of the way; but the sites of all the stations between *Ratis* and Lincoln have never been positively identified.

The Roman road crossing the Foss at Six Hills is a well-defined road, and in parts still used as such, and often shows its original width. It apparently comes from the direction of Boston, on the Lincoln coast, and enters this county at Croxton Kerrial; for a short distance it forms part of the highway from Melton to Grantham, skirting Croxton Park; it is still used as a road at Goadby Marwood. From there by a lane called Long Dyke Lane, and other continuing roads, it goes to Six Hills, and from there by a lane called Pawdy Lane proceeds to Barrow-on-Soar, where many sepulchral and other Roman re-

mains have been found. It then crosses the forest by Beacon Hill, and seems to make for Wall, a station on the Watling Street. One of the most remarkable roads, not mentioned in the *Itineraries*, is—as already stated—named in this county the “Gartree Road.” This is still used as a road, and is in some places in good condition, in others only a bridle-road; it is part of a Roman road which connected Colchester with Chester, and was named by Mr. Carte, one of our early archæologists, the “Via Devana.” It enters this county at Medbourn, in the south-east, where many Roman remains are found, including a fine Roman pavement, an illustration of which has been given in the *Transactions* of this Association. It then proceeds by Slawston and Cranoe over a hill called Crossburrow Hill, in an almost straight line to Leicester, which it enters by way of the “New Walk,” to the Roman South Gate, which must have been very near another misnamed way called New Street, which is really a very old street, crossing the site of the Grey Friars’ monastery. The two villages on this road, called Great and Little Stretton, show it to have existed at the time of the Saxons. From Leicester this road emerged from the Roman North Gate, which is perhaps now represented by a passage called City Wall Street, crossed the river to the east of the present North Bridge, and proceeded perhaps by the Ansty Lane to Coalville, where some remains of it were to be seen; it passed near Ashby de la Zouche, and forms part of the road from there to Burton, where it crossed the Trent, and, I think, proceeded through Needwood Forest by Uttoxeter, Newcastle-under-Lyme, and Nantwich, to Chester. On its way from this county to Colchester it crossed Rockingham Forest, through Godmanchester, and from thence by Cambridge to Colchester (Camulodunum).

There is another very marked road of the Roman period, previously mentioned, and one which has other historical interest: being the route taken by King Richard III on his march from Leicester to Bosworth Field. This road left the Roman camp of Ratis by the West Gate, now existing, called “the Jewry Wall,” and then over Bow Bridge, by the street now called King

Richard's Road, on to the Hinckley Road. It proceeded through the forest or "chase" of the Earls of Leicester, but not exactly on the present road. The ditches are seen occasionally a little off the roadside, and no doubt it proceeded to the roadside hostelry called "The Red Cow;" from thence through fields by the Forest Farm and Forest House, past a house called Roe's Rest; from thence to Peckleton, where it is very narrow; then through Kirkby Mallory Park till it joins the before-mentioned Fenn Lanes a little north of Dadlington. The Field of Bosworth, formerly called Redmoor Plain, lies a little off these lanes, which proceed onward to Mancetter. King Richard marched from Nottingham to Leicester on his way to Bosworth, and must have come thence by a road, probably Roman, which crossed the Trent at Thrumpton or Barton Ferry, and from thence on the east side of the Soar by Barrow to Leicester; and there seems to have been a road also on the west side of the Soar from Leicester, crossing the Trent at Cavendish Bridge or Sawley. The road from Leicester to Welford, which was during mediæval times, and till about the end of last century, the high road to London, has in many places distinct appearances of a Roman road, though now much diverted from a straight line; and there are several cross-roads in the county not near Leicester, which, from their ample original width and deep side ditches, I have no doubt were used in the days of the Roman occupation.





CHAUCER, AS ILLUSTRATING ENGLISH MEDIÆVAL LIFE.

BY REV. W. S. LACH-SZYRMA, M.A.

(Read March 20th, 1901.)



IN my last Paper read before this Association, in connection with our visit to Lutterworth, I said that the three great lights illustrating English mediæval life were :—

1. Wycliffe.
2. Chaucer.
3. Piers Ploughman.

1. Wycliffe takes the clerical standpoint as a sort of English Savonarola, denouncing the vice and dissipation and coarseness of the upper classes in Church and State in the days of Richard II, and suggesting what reforms were, in his opinion, needed.

2. Chaucer takes the more congenial lay view of a satirist and poet.

3. Piers Ploughman raises a Jeremiad against mediæval defects and shortcomings, but in the characteristic allegorical mode so fashionable in his time.

Since our Congress of 1900, England—or at least cultured England—has been doing honour to Chaucer. The Quincentenary of his death at St. Saviour's, Southwark, was a memorable event, and the old parish church of "The Tabard" is now decorated with a Chaucer Window. The "Father of English Poetry" deserves a memorial there as well as at Westminster; for it is only fair to say (as many critics do), that he was the first Englishman who wrote real poetry capable of being

appreciated in modern times. The service at St. Saviour's, and the unveiling the window by the Poet Laureate, are events I shall never forget. They were most impressive.

In regarding their works as contemporary witnesses of the England of the fourteenth century, I may characterise these three writers thus:—

1. Wycliffe denounced the vices of mediæval England.

2. Piers Ploughman lamented the vices of mediæval England.

3. Chaucer satirized the vices of mediæval England.

But in each author we have an archæological and contemporary record of what the thoughts, fashions, foibles, of our forefathers were. In Chaucer especially, the England of Edward III and of Richard II seems to live before us. Watson says, that in the prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*, Chaucer gives "such an accurate picture of ancient manners, as no contemporary nation has transmitted to posterity." This is "a large order," to use an Americanism, but I think it is correct. Neither Dante, nor Boccaccio, nor the old French authors (for you remember Rabelais is a century later), gives us such a picture of life in all classes as Chaucer. In this way, Chaucer is not unlike Dickens. He introduces not only mediæval lords and ladies, with their retainers and menials, but cooks, tavern-keepers, sailors, millers, tradesmen of divers kinds. If a young person wanted to know what English society was like in the first half of the nineteenth century, I should say read "Read Dickens." If a student wanted to realise the England of the fourteenth century, we might say "Study Chaucer; supplementing your reading with Wycliffe and Piers Ploughman, and the numerous archæological remains we have of the period just before the Wars of the Roses—a rather rich period in Church-building."

There are many points in which the personality of Chaucer is like that of Dickens. Both are humorists, both have a hearty hatred of humbug and hypocrisy; both stoop to depict the poor, the ignorant, and the vulgar; both have vast powers of description. But Chaucer rises to a higher stage of elegance of description, and his imagination is of a far more gorgeous kind than

that of Dickens. On the other hand, he is far more coarse. It is also said that Dickens is not fair to the upper classes and to the aristocracy in his sketches (which are really mere caricatures of fashionable defects). Chaucer is clearly (both by his historic record, and the evidence of his writings) a courtier, accustomed to the society of kings and nobles, and much entranced by the gorgeousness of the feudal monarchies which he has seen in England and France. The bright side of chivalry glitters around you at times, as it does in Froissart, and as the English public know it in Sir Walter Scott's reflection of it from a distant period. But also Chaucer depicts the coarseness, the treachery, the hypocrisy, the sham, the roughness of the Middle Ages.

If we put on Chaucer's spectacles, we not only see tournaments, or mediæval pageants, or fine knights and ladies in baronial halls, but the rough middle-class burgher, the artisan in his rude and humble home, the peasant emerging from barbarism. You have both the light and shadow of mediæval England.

May I summarise the chief points in which Geoffrey Chaucer corrects the common ideas (which many people have derived, probably from school histories of England) as to the state of this country five hundred years ago?

I.

"The people have not much changed really." Most of us must have met, among our private friends, a majority of the personages in the "Canterbury Tales."

I have known "the Knight," though not in armour and bearing a lance (by-the-bye, he does not do so in the "Canterbury Tales"). Have we not met him in an English retired military officer? shall we not see him in many of the senior officers coming from the Transvaal?

"He loved chevalrie,
 Trouthe and honor, freedom and courtesy.
 Full worthy was he in his lordës war,
 And thereto had he ridden no man farre
 As well in Christendom as in Heathenesse,
 And ever honored for his worthiness."

It is a slightly antique reproduction of the retired British cavalry officer.

2. "The Squire" is a familiar object as the young subaltern or undergraduate. The chief difference is, that of few we now meet can we say they are

"Lowly and serviceable ;
And carved before his fader at the table."

Here we have the mediæval touch.

3. "The Prioress," in spite of her profession, is rather a typical English lady, especially in the old weak points so often quoted :—

"French she spake full faire and fetysly
After the school of Stratford-atte-Bowe,
For French of Paris was to her unknowe."

Not a few of our lady friends, who try school French in Paris, find that this criticism, is in substance not yet out of date.

"She would weep if that she saw a mouse
Caught in a trap, if it were dead or bledde
Of smalë houndës had she that she fedde
With roasted flesh, or milk, and wastel bread."

I have often met "the Prioress" in modern costume.

4. The "Clerk of Oxenford" is a capital type of an Oxford Don "in plain living and high thinking."

"Of study took he most cure and most heed,
Not oo word spake he more than was need ;
And that was said in form and reverence,
And short and quick, and full of high sentence.
Sownynge in moral virtue was his speech,
And gladly would he learn, and gladly teach."

May Oxford never be without such sons !

I am sure you may mēt the "Clerk of Oxenford" any day in Term, in many a college quad ; only happily less poor and "lean" than his mediæval prototype.

6. "The Serjeant of the Law, ware and wise," is to be often met at the Inns of Court.

"No where so busy a man as he there n'as,
And yet he seeméd busier than he was."

7. Of the poor "Parson of a Town" I need not speak.

He is one of the grandest ideals of clerical life in English literature. Some say Wycliffe was meant, but I hardly think so, for Wycliffe was a scholar and philosopher rather than a working clergyman. It is a good sign of the times when one who has been like the "poor parson" should be made a bishop.

So we might go through the list. There is scarcely one that we have not met, save perhaps "the Doctor of Physic," whose practice seems very different from that of our day. And what is the historic lesson we can learn from this? That costumes, and habits, and fashions may differ, but the "John Bull" of the end of the fourteenth century is very like his descendant of the end of the nineteenth. The descendant may be more polished, and more free, and perhaps wealthier, but he evidently belongs to the same family. This is a great lesson to learn, and I wish it were more enforced in history lessons at our schools: for children are often taught to look on the mediæval Englishman as a being quite strange and foreign to the people he meets at home or in the streets. In Chaucer we merely find our friends dressed up as it were for an Old English Fair: the same people in slightly different costume.

II.

"Was this England of the fourteenth century better than the England of to-day?" The question is often asked by moralists, and I will not dare to reply. Perhaps it is hardly within our province as an archæological society to try to solve the question.

But certainly both Chaucer and Wycliffe give a very black representation of mediæval morals. Unfortunately, Chaucer mars his usefulness to posterity by his outspokenness on this subject. Like most old-fashioned Englishmen, he "called a spade a spade," and the dark tales he depicts are shocking to modern sensitiveness and revolting to our sense of decency.

But is not this alone sufficient to show that, after all, the England of to-day—bad though it is—is not quite so bad as the England of Richard II?

The worst is, as a matter of evidence, that Wycliffe says, in more decorous but still in awful language, very much the same thing. Beneath the gorgeously of feudal pomp, society was rotten, vicious, and degraded. There was a need of some reformation, and Chaucer himself felt it, and the common sense of England awoke to the need after his death. The leaders of the Gothic revival of sixty years ago, who dwelt on the superior merits of the Middle Ages to modern times, could hardly have read Chaucer, or what he says about what he saw and knew. He depicts a society more corrupt in many ways than the England of to-day. If we are shocked at the improper stories he tells in plain language—and I can hardly excuse him for it, nor does he in his later writings consider himself blameless—we should remember that these tales are related by professedly religious people on a pilgrimage, which should be regarded as an act of devotion. I question if Dickens ever depicted hypocrisy more general and barefaced than that of Chaucer's "Canterbury Pilgrims."

III.

"Is our age pre-eminently an age of sham and hypocrisy, or was the England of the fourteenth century as bad as the England of to-day?"

Most moralists answer the first—that such shams as exist now were never known before our time, and the "Man in the Street" believes them. But Chaucer tears aside the veil from mediæval hypocrisy and sham in a merciless manner. He introduces us to hypocrites as shameless and as false as the Stigginses, Chadbands and Pecksniffs of Dickens's pages, and it may be of our own time. The "Alchemist Canon," "the Wyf of Bath," "the Sumpnour," and "the Pardoner" and "Friar" are worthy rivals of the Deputy Shepherd, or Mrs. Varden, or Gradgrind.

IV.

"Is the humour of the English of five hundred years ago different from that of the England of to-day?"

It may have been coarser, but Chaucer's fun is much

the same as that of Dickens, of Leech, of the better comic winters in the nineteenth century. French wit and Italian wit, cutting, sarcastic, veiled in "*double entendre*," is very different. An Englishman finds a difficulty in laughing at foreign jokes, even if he clearly sees the allusions. Chaucer, after five hundred years, can easily raise a laugh. I contend that he gives the best comic description of mediæval England in our language. The *Ingoldsby Legends* may seem very funny, but they are founded on modern notions of what the Middle Ages were, and are not always accurate. Chaucer laughs at the follies and humbug which he actually saw in the generation between Crescy and Agincourt. The *Ingoldsby Legends* may be unfair, but Chaucer no doubt relates what he knew. Sir Walter Scott has not much to say on the comic side, and Dickens's "Comic History of England" is unworthy of him. In some sense Chaucer is our Old-English Aristophanes. Few books represent better the seamy side of ancient Athens than that great comedian's. Much of his genius is reproduced by our great mediæval wit. If it had not been for Aristophanes, we should hardly have realised what home-life in Athens was like; and how much of the sordid and absurd there was even in the age of Plato and Phidias.

V.

"Was there not more French influence on English society in Chaucer's time than now?"

The question is more difficult than it seems. No doubt Chaucer learnt much of his poetic art from French troubères and troubadours, whose tales he borrows and puts into English dress. The civilisation and culture of the upper classes (many of whom were of Norman families) were French. Still, the lower and middle classes were distinctively English; and it is probable that French influence, although fashionable, did not reach so much downwards in the nation as it does now.

The whole topic of the influence of France on English society, from the Norman Conquest to the present day, is one of considerable interest, and might form a subject for an elaborate essay. It may hardly come within our

bounds; but I may say in passing that the rural districts of Germany have more illustrations to offer of English social life in the reign, say of Queen Anne, or even of Queen Elizabeth, than the rural districts of England now show; and much of this change I attribute, not so much to nineteenth-century progress, or twentieth century, if you will, as to French influence. I have heard German society, as it is to-day, truly defined as more "like England under George II than England is now."

At any rate, in Chaucer's time French influence was strong, and his writings are influenced by mediæval France as well as England. But we must not exaggerate this point. Chaucer travelled—had lived in France—and French thought and sentiment, and fashionable modes of expression, influenced him, and the English fashion of the time supported him in his Frenchified tone. For some years there are reasons to think he was a prisoner-of-war in France (1360); and probably he mixed daily with Frenchmen. This may account for some of his Gallican style.

One point in Chaucer is conspicuous and can hardly be disputed. He was the first of English poets that wrote what can appeal to the feelings and ideas of modern England as real poetry. The men before him were rhymesters who hardly appeal to any modern sentiment, and are only interesting to us from an archæological, or literary, or philological standpoint. Indeed, the same may be said of the writers of the period of the Wars of the Roses, and even of the early Tudor epoch. Who studies now Lydgate, Bradshaw, Barclay ("Ship of Fools"), Skelton?

It is only when we come to the Elizabethan Age, and the period of Marlowe, Shakespeare, and Ben Jonson, that we reach the true epoch of English poetry. Chaucer is thus the true "father of English poetry," as he has well been called.

Finally, although there is much that we may regret—as he himself seems to have regretted it—in what Chaucer wrote, yet he is important to an archæologist as a contemporary recorder of what mediæval England was like. I cannot agree with those who complain of Bowdlerised

editions. We may take the good and leave the ill. Still, Chaucer was a great man and before his age. Many of his pithy sayings are as true and telling now as they were five hundred years ago. Though he was a poet of the age of Crescy, and died before Agincourt, still in many senses he is a modern, and some of his remarks apply to the twentieth century as truly as to the England of the fourteenth century. In this we feel his true greatness; for he wrote, not merely for his own period, but for modern England, and his quaint remarks are as true now as ever. This is the real test of intellectual greatness. One of the most characteristic instances is Plato, who is a greater power now, as I believe, in modern Europe than perhaps he ever was in the two thousand years that have elapsed since his time. Many of his thoughts are modern, and quite up to date. So to a less degree is Chaucer a mediæval Englishman: and yet still, in his wise and epigrammatic sayings, a depicter of character and a teacher of clever thoughts, the first writer of true English poetry, who was called to his rest just five hundred years ago.





ST. NICHOLAS CHURCH, LEICESTER. ✓

BY C. LYNAM, ESQ., F.S.A.

(Read at the Leicester Congress, 1900.)



THIS church at present consists of a nave (with a clerestory) and north and south aisles; a central tower, north transept, chancel, and south chapel, which latter is an eastern extension of the south aisle. The north transept, with a strip of the north aisle, forms the organ chamber and

vestry. There is also a south porch.

Besides the entrance from the south porch, there is another south doorway in the south chapel, opposite to the south-east pier of the tower.

The font is placed at the west end of the south aisle, at the east end whereof there is a separate altar, in addition to that in the chancel. On the south side of the chapel are sedilia, with three seats of one level, and piscina recess. At the east end of the south arcade of the nave there is a small recess, about 14 ins. square; also a new credence table in the north wall of the chancel.

The architectural history of this church cannot be detailed except by dealing with it wall by wall, so many have been the alterations carried out from time to time. The restorations of recent years also render this imperative, and anyone not knowing the particulars of these restorations may be trapped by the attempts so skilfully made to follow the character of the ancient works.

Before entering on such a detailed architectural examination, it will be useful to refer briefly to the writings of some of those who have already dealt with the subject.

First of all, John Nichols, in his *History of Leicestershire* (published in 1795, and dedicated to "His most Sacred Majesty George III"), expresses his opinion of the church, as it then existed, in the following terms: "This church has little to boast of in respect of architecture; its walls are immoderately thick, the pillars and arches that support the roof are heavy, and consequently an impediment to the preacher.

"The tower and south-west entrance of the church have very evident marks of the remains of very early Saxon architecture, almost bordering upon the Norman era.

"The steeple, being in a very dilapidated state, was taken down about ten years ago, and the poverty of the parish (with the consent of the Bishop) has not suffered it to be rebuilt.

"The tower belonging to the steeple is now covered over with a good roof, and ornamented with four pinnacles, one at each angle, with an iron spindle rising from the centre of the roof which supports a weathercock."

Then Nichols has a line or two about the Jewry wall, and says: "the bells are the oldest in Leicester," giving as the inscription on one of them "Goldfield Nazarenus Rex 1656," which should really read "I. H. S. Nazarenus Rex. G. Oldfield, 1656."

Nichols further relates that: "The chancel is used as a vestry, and a chapel at the east end is now the site of the altar. Also there were formerly three aisles, but about the year 1697 that towards the north was taken down in consequence of its ruinous state."

In a word or two about the condition of things at the end of the last century, this writer further states: "The parish is small, and formerly unable to maintain a preacher, for which reason it was usually held by the Vicar of St. Martin's; but of late years, by the beneficence of Queen Anne, the liberality of the Corporation, and the contributions of the parishioners, it is regularly provided with a separate vicar. In 1650 the only return made was 'the same man that hath St. Martin's.'"

We shall all agree that the statements made by the great historian, Nichols, are interesting to us at this hour;

and remembering that he wrote in the "Sacred" Georgian era, we can understand the bias of his architectural opinions. Allowance must also be made for him that he did not see the building as we view it now, but in all probability every part of the internal facings were covered with (shall I say "sacred"?) plaster or whitewash. Here let me say a digressive word or two on the long-fought question of the removal of whitewash and plaster. Let me ask, looking round at the variety of materials and workmanship which the removal of plaster has revealed, and at their various periods of construction, should you prefer to them the dull, monotonous, speechless face of a wholly plastered interior? If original plaster—laying strong stress on the term *original*—could indeed and verily be shown to us, then on the score of unreserved obedience at the shrine of archæology, one would bow the head and leave it; but we do not know here that original plaster or whitewash have been removed, and, therefore, we may unite in confessing our heterodoxy, and giving thanks to those who have preferred to expose for our benefit the natural materials and the varied forms of construction, which gratefully meet our eye on every side.

To return: there is another learned author who in time back expressed an opinion on the architecture of this church, Dr. Lyttelton, Bishop of Carlisle; who says, when writing about the Jewry Wall—"I observed a good deal of Roman tile worked up in the adjoining church, which is a structure *purely Gothic*, and not above *five hundred years old* at the farthest." Here again we should remember the difference which restoration has made to the fabric since the good Bishop wrote. But it is time we came to a period nearer to our own day, and bring to mind that this Association in 1862 held its first Leicester Congress and visited this church; and one of its members having a great reputation as an ecclesiologist, and being specially clever in hitting off the varied characteristics of mediæval architecture almost at a glance, gave his views upon this subject, which, coming from Mr. Edward Roberts, were published in our *Journal* for 1863.

It is due, all round, that Mr. Roberts's views should be before you in brief, and therefore you will perhaps excuse an extract from his paper. He writes: "This church formerly consisted of a nave with aisles and a chancel; the north aisle having been taken down since the end of the seventeenth century, and the nave arches filled in. The round-headed small openings in the exterior, arched as they are in Roman bricks, recall Brixworth Church. It is, however, certain *that the old materials only were used*; and *probably* these windows and the walls are not earlier than the time of Henry II, and perhaps towards the end of his reign. Internally, some of the arches have been thrown together in modern times. There are remaining specimens of almost all the periods of Gothic architecture, and some singular attached as well as detached shafts at the east end, which overhang considerably. The nave arcade is very massive and imposing, with its circular arches and heavy piers."

After this we may look at the building itself. He would be a bold man who entered the lists with Edward Roberts in the field. He it was on whom Sir Gilbert Scott relied, when delivering his lectures on mediæval architecture at the Royal Academy, for the description of Brixworth Church, Northamptonshire. He it was to whom some of us at least have listened with amazing wonder, at his display of quick and accurate acumen in his intuitive descriptions of mediæval work. With all reverence, then, we quote him, and all but absolutely follow him; but he himself was a bold man, and we do not dishonour him in summoning up courage to traverse his dictum, at least as to the date of the north nave wall. But, before taking this step, let it be said I am not aware of any new light having been thrown upon what Mr. Roberts expressed since the period at which he wrote.¹

¹ Since my examination of the church, a History of it, by the Rev. T. W. Owen, has been shown to me, but opportunity of reading it has not been afforded to me.

INTERIOR.

That this structure is of intense interest to the archæologist and historian all will agree. Its architecture, construction, materials, and varied dates, go to make up a relic which is indeed precious to every one who interests himself in the past of this our country.

The feature of acutest interest perhaps may be said to be the north wall of the nave. This embodies an arcade of two bays, two small and peculiar openings above the arches, and a clerestory, giving light from three two-light windows, palpably of a date at least four centuries later than the work beneath it.

If we would get at the dividing line in the height of this wall, a glance at the nave face of the central tower will do much to disclose the division. On this wall the raking lines of the early roof are still distinctly to be seen. Tracing these down to the flank wall, and allowing for the timbers of the roof and for a probable alteration of the first wall, when the raising of it took place, there may be discerned the actual dividing line along this flank wall of these two dates in the height of this wall.

A careful examination of the rubble facing also discloses a difference in the character of the workmanship. The upper part has more of the nature of coursed work, and the stones are purposely selected, to some extent, for horizontal bedding. That the two main arches are of Norman workmanship no one will debate. Their semi-circular form, ashlar voussoirs and pier jambs, moulded imposts, and rubble filling in to the soffits, tell unmistakably of their style. Now we come to the two small openings above the arches. There has evidently been a considerable amount of introduced material about the jambs of these openings, and also to a lesser extent about the arches themselves. One almost sees the workman, with his bucket of grout and brush, giving antiquity to the look of his new material, inserted to appear like the old work as much as possible. But, speaking generally, these arches may be regarded as genuine.

That they are formed of Roman brick, picked up at hand for the purpose, there can be no doubt; but the point is, did the same men who turned the great arches below construct these two rude openings? Mr. Edward Roberts recalls to us the corresponding arches at Brixworth, Northants., and it happens that a month or two ago I was at Brixworth, and made the sketch of one of the arches there, now shown to you. Looking at this and the work before us, we shall, I think, agree entirely with Mr. Roberts in putting the two examples of Brixworth and this in strong alliance; but whilst Mr. Roberts said that probably these are of Norman date, he pronounced the Brixworth work to be Saxon.

Let us consider the probabilities of this point. The Normans were accomplished builders, both constructionally and artistically; their style of architecture is as pronounced as either Greek or ancient Roman, and their design is always truly artistic, though of massive character. Now look at this wall, and in imagination take off the late top part, bringing it to its original level; and let us settle for ourselves whether or not the two openings and the two arches are by the same designers. For my part, I have no hesitation in saying *No*. The work of the arches and that of the tower (of which more presently) do accord, but these and the little openings distinctly differ. These openings were originally windows. Take away the great arches and make the wall solid at its reduced height, and do we not get a flank familiar to those who have studied very early Norman and Pre-Norman work? With regard to these former windows, it will be noticed that their glazing or shell line would be in the midst of the wall, which of course is one of the characteristics of Saxon date. I call to mind, however, two instances of this class, one in Essex and the other in Suffolk; but in both these cases ashlar stone was apparently unprocurable, and the line for glazing was formed of rubble, as here. In Norman work, as a rule, the glazing line is as near as possible to the outside face, with wide splays inside, so as to catch the most light from the outside, and spread it broadly within.

There is one characteristic in this wall, which is in

the direction of a Norman rather than a Saxon origin, which is its considerable thickness. As a rule, the Normans built massively, whilst the Saxons were content with solids of less dimension. The kind of rubble necessitated here might, however, modify this predilection.

This wall has detained us a long time, but I hope its treatment here has not been without some degree of interest. The remaining features will be got through more quickly.

Being in the nave, let it be said now that the south side originally, in all probability, corresponded with the north; the responds, east and west, now alone remaining as representative of the ancient work. It was a bold engineering idea to span these two piers by one arch, as it is now seen: but architecturally it is a mere monstrosity; and the sight of it (if such could be had) by the original designer and builders of the church would assuredly drive them crazy.

It will be noticed that the late clerestory windows differ materially in their character; those on the north side have foliated lights, whilst the south are larger and plainer, and without cusps. The mullions and tracery on the south side are insertions of recent date.

Coming now to the central tower, it will be seen that it is, as appearing from the interior, wholly of good, bold Norman character. Each of its four sides has its pier and double order and semicircular arch, with a bold impost moulding at the springing, and following the plan of the piers throughout. This moulding consists of the usual broad fascia and V groove, with a hollow on the soffit. The only visible base is on the south side of the two south piers, and is a simple square projection. The whole work is built of coursed ashlar, with broad joists. The Norman builders would not trust to rubble walling in this part of their church. A large amount of the original diagonal tooling remains on the facing, and several ancient mason's marks may be seen in the form of a simple triangle. There is a broad projecting buttress on the south side of the south-west pier, and on the north side of the north-west pier. No stair-turret appears to have existed, and the present access to the

upper stages of the tower is by steep steps from the north transept, and through an opening in the north wall, and further steps upwards to the bell chamber.

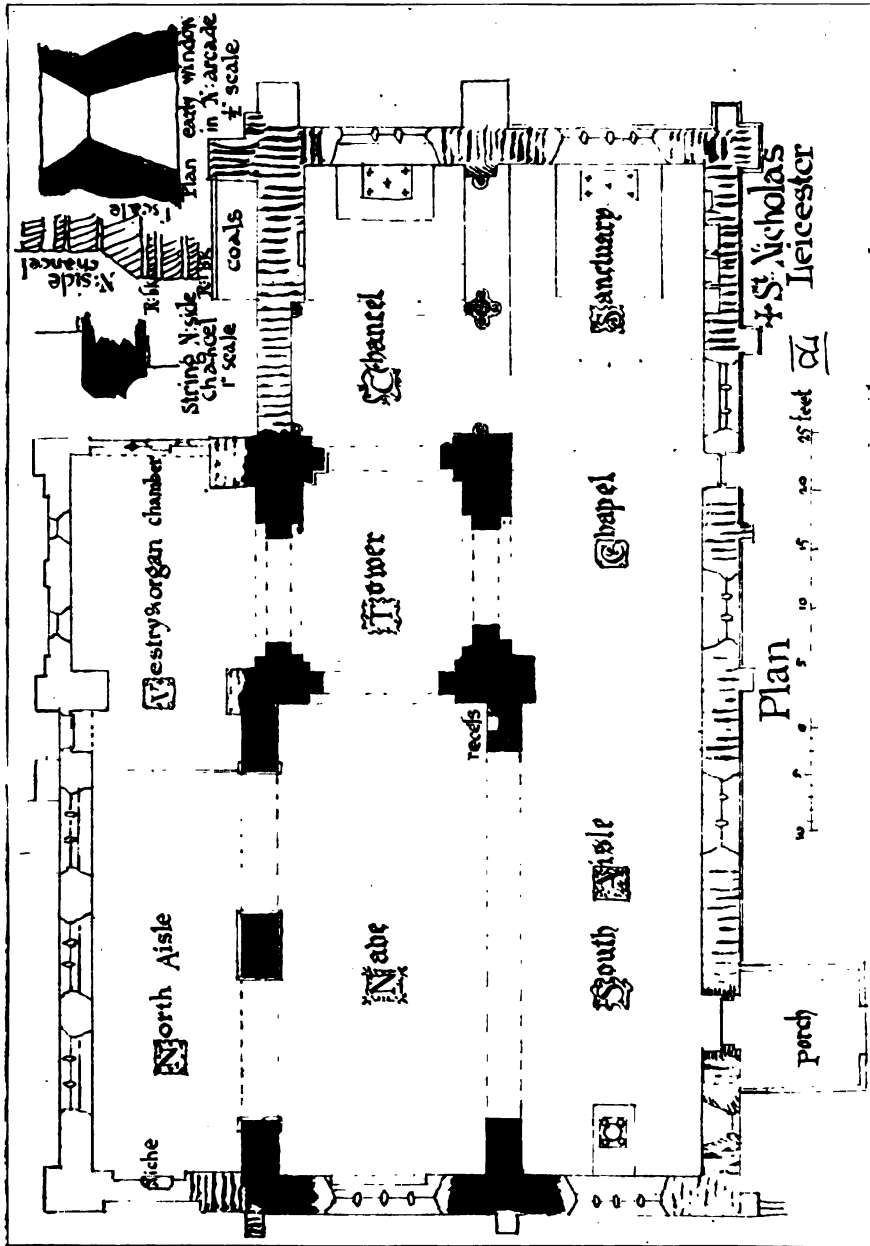
On plan the two western piers are alike, but they differ from the eastern piers, and these from one another.

The outer faces of the tower above the arches are mostly of ashlar, but there are in them sundry patches of rubble work. On the eastern face is an opening, apparently of modern construction.

Immediately above the crown of the arches, there runs on the inner faces a projecting stringcourse along each inner face, and above this a blind arcading on all sides, of five arches, having shafts, square in section, with chamfered bases, and imposts carrying semicircular arches, constructed of small voussoirs with a soffit of about 12 ins. in depth. The filling-in to the arcading is of rubble work. Within a foot of the summit of the arches a modern floor is placed, which puts this very effective arcading into complete darkness. Whether this was originally lighted it is not easy to determine.

Coming now to the chancel, it will be seen that here the main details present another period of work, the next in point of date to Norman, as seen in the blind arch in the north wall, and the two bays of the south wall; and if Mr. Roberts was right in fixing the Norman work here as late in the reign of Henry II (1154-1189), this Early-English in the flanks of the chancel followed it, at all events within some twenty years or so: that is to say, this Early-English work cannot be later than the reign of King John (1199-1216). It will be agreed, I think, that the architecture here is of exquisite design, and perhaps exceptionally so, as found in a small parish church like this.

Mr. Roberts remarks on what he terms the "overhanging" in the shafts of the respond piers, and certainly their treatment is not a common one. Looking at the way in which the small detached shafts are dealt with, in relation to the larger engaged shafts, one feels that there has been an alteration in the design—that when the architect had built his clustered central shaft, he thought his responds something inconsistent, and brought



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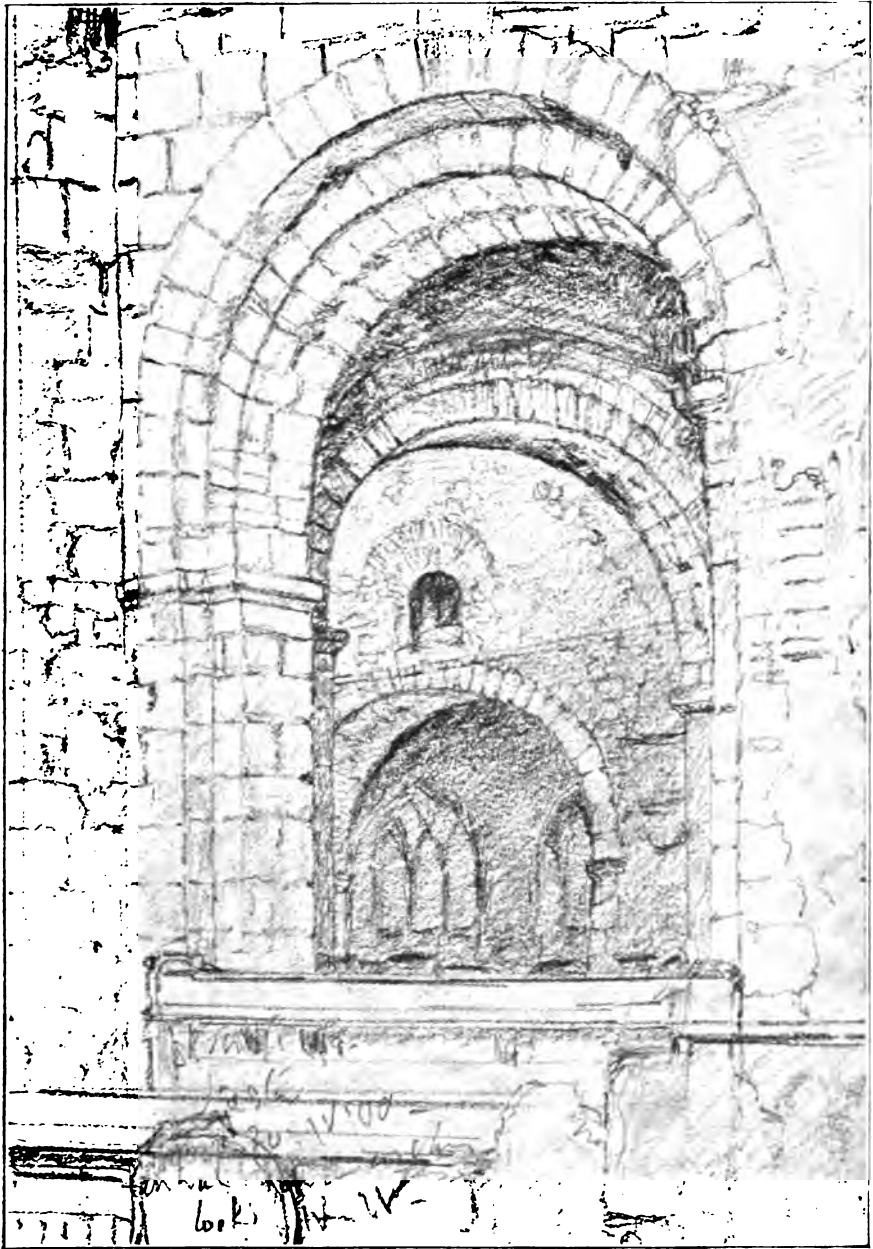
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PART OF N. WALL OF NAVE.

[C. L., del.]

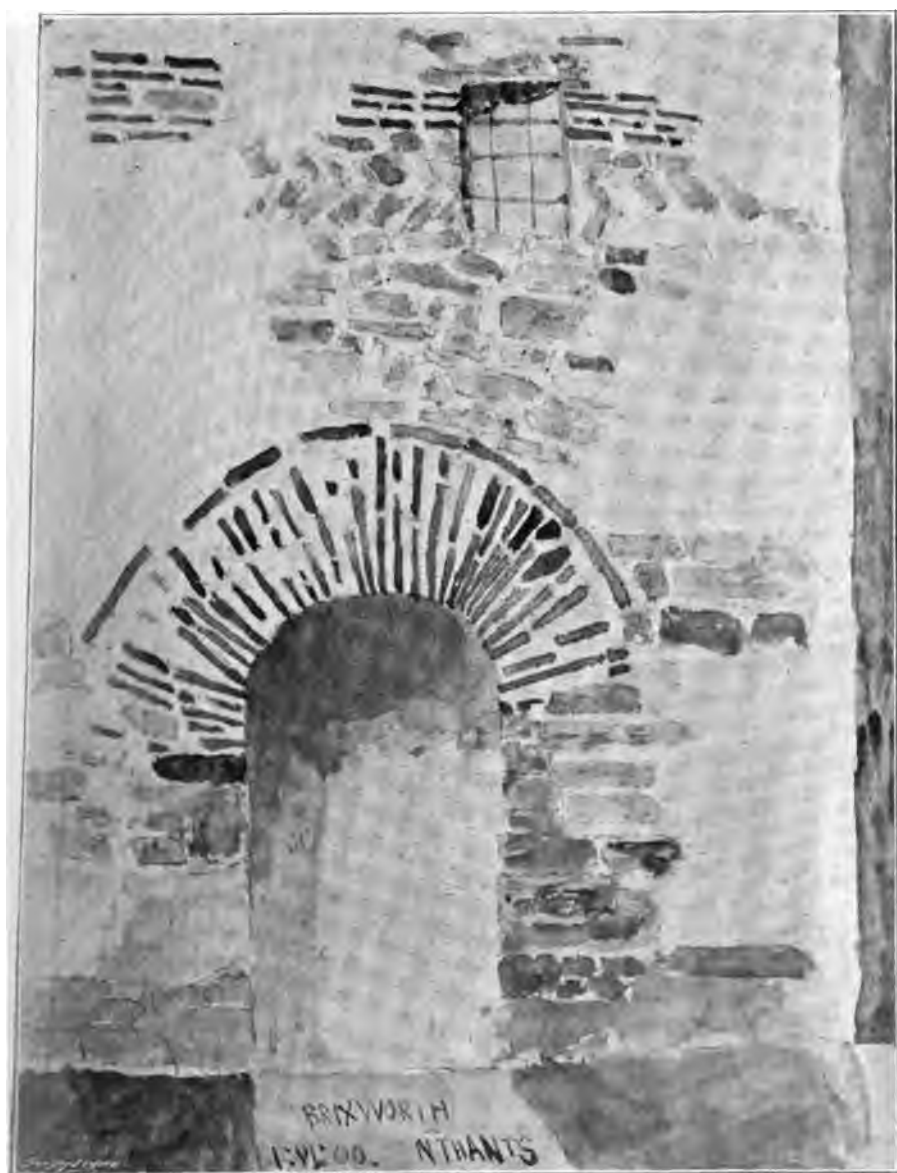
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SOUTH SIDE OF TOWER, LOOKING N.W.

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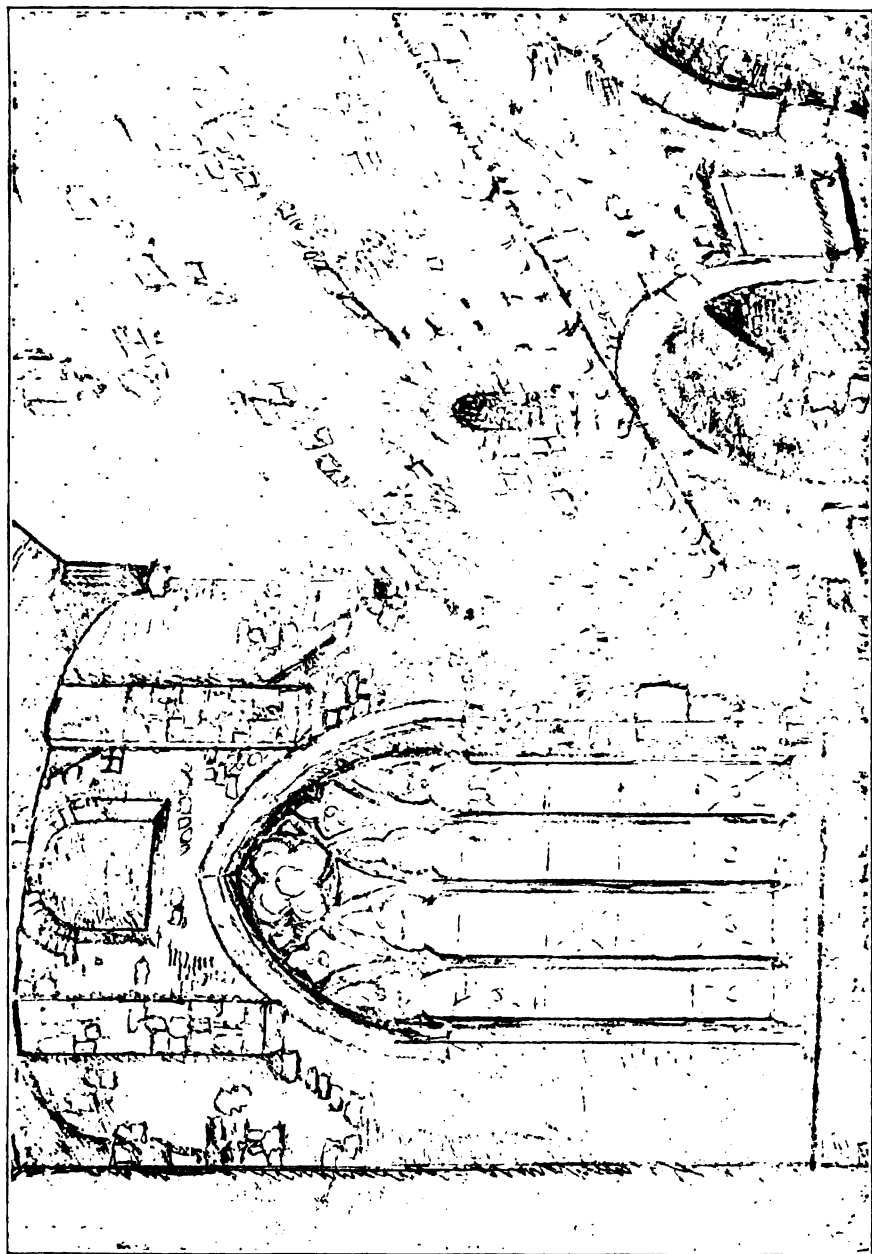


BRIXWORTH
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8. OF TOWER, BRIXWORTH.

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them into harmony with his main pier. No doubt, in those days he might do this without the fear of breaking a contract, or even of creating a dreaded "extra."

There is a clever touch of design in the way the outer order of the Pointed arches is received by the clustered shaft. For this, a small shaft with cap and base is continued up the wall, thus getting over a difficulty with excellent effect. Whether the walls of the chancel are coeval with the Early-English work, or whether that represents insertion, it is not easy to say; but the proportion of its length is rather that of the Norman than the Early-English builder. The walls are probably of an earlier date. The only window here is a large three-light one at the east end, which is of recent insertion. The presence of the northern arch and the south arcade indicates that at their date a chapel on both sides was existent; that on the south being the larger of the two.

To turn now to the south chapel and aisle, it may be said at once that all the mullions, sills, and tracery of the windows are of recent date, but the inner jambs and arches are mostly original of the Decorated period. Beneath the level of the sills in the chapel runs a continuous string-moulding. The inside jamb of the east window of the chapel has a shaft with moulded cap and base, which carries a moulded inner arch to which there is a hood-moulding. The rubble walling is probably of Decorated date, but the south wall has been raised from about the level of the window heads, and the east wall shows that the pitch of the roof has been lowered, part of the original raking-line of the gable still remaining. The south doorway to the chapel is of recent date.

The west wall of the south aisle has sundry peculiarities. Its thickness has been reduced at the level of about half the height of the mullions. In the north-west angle there is some indication of the nature of pier and arch, as of an arcade. The raking-line of the old gable is also apparent. Near this wall there are the wide splays of a single-light window, which suggests an earlier date for this part of the south wall; and in the south doorway,

near to this window, we have unmistakeable work of Transitional character, from Norman to Early-English. This is a finely proportioned opening, with a bold impost at the spring, decorated with the nail-head ornament; and a semicircular arch, which has a flat hood-mould enriched with the chevron on its face. On the whole, this feature is of admirable design, and in date would perhaps come in between the Norman tower and the Early-English of the chancel. This doorway and its neighbouring lancet-window suggests that the western part of the south-aisle wall is of early date.

The roof-timbers of the nave appear to be of the date of the clerestory, and are the oldest to be seen in the church.

In the modern part of the west wall of the north aisle has been fixed a niche of considerable dimensions, of late Perpendicular period, carried on elaborately-carved corbelling, and having buttressed jambs and projecting canopy, very much enriched, and showing the Tudor rose in its traceried soffit.

Of ancient glass there does not appear to be a fragment, nor of any important monumental remains; but the ledger-slab of slate, under the pulpit, to the wife of Gerrard Anderson, should be mentioned, and the mural tablets.

In an ancient and well-framed cage in the tower there hang three bells, inscribed as given by Mr. North, as follows:

1. L.H.S. Nazareus rex 1656 G. Oldfield.
2. God save His Church Henry Smith Richard Hunt Wardens 1710.
3. Celorum Christe platiat tibi rex sonus iste 1617 (with shield).

Mr. North translates this last inscription as follows:

"Be Christ the King of Heaven
Pleased when this sound is given."

EXTERIOR.

Of the exterior the most striking feature is the square tower rising from the midst of the church, in a manner that makes one wonder what its supports can be. Then

we get its strange mixture of brick and stone, producing at first sight a jumble of patchwork; but on closer examination we perceive that there is brickwork *and* brickwork, one ancient, the other modern: the ancient for the most part lying in what is known as herring-bone fashion: the modern, a mere ugly cover to a former and ancient double-storied arcade; the lower series having had five arches, uniform in size; the upper, formed of one central arch with two side arches subdivided into two, having the effect of an interlacing treatment. Above the upper arcade runs a strongly-projecting corbelled cornice, surmounted by a plain parapet, not original. The angle pinnacles and weathercock may be taken as those of which Nichols speaks as lately put up in his time. One pictures this tower as it originally stood, rising from the ground and above the gabled roofs of the nave, chancel, and transepts, with its completed architectural forms of shaft and arch and receding faces, with all its charm of light and shade and studied proportions, and one wonders who could have the heart to obliterate this beautiful wall-veil with the common material of the common brickyard. This, of course, is only taking an architectural view of things. No doubt other considerations had to be taken into account; and we must also remember that perhaps the sacred Georgian æra prevailed at the time of the monstrous transformation. And it may be that the advance in clockmaking wished to advertise itself over the simple sundial on the southern face of the south aisle.

But, be these things as they may, we have by this sketchy review disclosed to ourselves something of the architectural art which reigned on the four sides and summit of this ancient tower, as designed by the skill of the Norman architect.

The band of Roman brick herring-bone work seems to have run round the walls immediately above the ridges of the four limbs of the cross, and to have served as an ornamental start for the walls, as seen above the roofs. It runs through the thickness of the walls, and was therefore a bond-course of Norman, not Roman, fashion. The lines of the rakes of the roofs are seen externally on

the east and north sides, and on the west inside; but nowhere on the south side.

On the east face of the tower there are distinct marks of two pitches of roofs, above the present one. The original Norman external north-east quoin of the tower still exists from ground to cornice under the parapet; and it is remarkable that there are no visible traces of connection between the north transept and the tower.

It is doubtful also whether there is any indication of an abutting wall for the chapel north of the chancel. These circumstances lead to the question, whether this north chapel ever was finished? There can be but little doubt that the filling-in of this archway is of early date, from the character of the rubble work and the use of Roman brick.

The north wall of the chancel has a moulded string at its eastern part, of Late Norman work, and the wall is reduced at the level of the top of this string. In this flank wall Roman brick is much used. Early English buttresses (repaired at a later date) remain at the north-east angle of the chancel.

The rubble facing of the north clerestory is very rough, and some parts of the late, but quaint, cinquefoil heads of the windows are much perished. Along this wall there is a set-back coped with slates.

There is a small portion of the ancient rubble facing in the east gable of the chancel, but for the most part this end and that of the south chapel have been re-faced.

On the south wall of the chapel there are three fragments of an original string, but the facing has been renewed.

The upper part of the south aisle wall appears to have been carried up at a later date than the lower part, which retains some original stones of a slightly projecting chamfered plinth. None of the ancient dressings to windows are left in any part of the church, except those already noticed in the clerestory to the nave.

The south porch was once of timber-framed construction. Its outer and inner trusses still remain, also the wall-plates, rafters, and ridge. All, except the rafters (which appear to have had panelling beneath

them) are tenderly moulded; and projecting below the ends of the ridge-piece are carved heads forcibly expressive. The loss by the removal of the wall framings can hardly be estimated, but we are warranted in saying that this porch must have been of great architectural beauty of fifteenth-century workmanship.

At the south-west corner of the south aisle there is an original fragment of wall and buttress. At the west end, the south aisle gable has been re-faced, and that of the north is new. In the centre of the nave gable the outline of a large semi-circular arch and jambs remains, and the original rude and massive quoin stones are still in place at the south-west angle. This wall is original, and probably of the date of the early openings and wall on the north side of the nave.

Of the churchyard, Nichols records that the then present Vicar, the Rev. John Anderson, secured a fence for its enclosure, which freed it from the nuisances to which it was subject. Within its present boundary there are two fragments of large Roman pillars, about 2 ft. in diameter. Also a fragment of a moulded Roman cap and base to smaller columns, and a large weather-worn stone, circular moulded in one part. This, and some of the other stones have lewis, or mortice-holes on the top.

It seems to have been a fashion in Leicester to make the "head-stones" of graves of slate, and there are many in this churchyard, some with the lettering beautifully cut. The oldest that caught my eye is dated 1707. The mediæval "smalls" linger here to late times, and the freedom of the elaborate ornamentation on many, and the various panellings, are not to be regarded as destitute of art.

Whatever may have been the nuisances which had to be suppressed in Nichols's time, the present state of this churchyard is one that any parish might be proud of.

In conclusion, let me be allowed this one remark. The town of Leicester has its roots deep down in a remote antiquity, but its stem and branches are still strong and vigorous. So it must likewise be said of this little fabric of St. Nicholas Church. It has an early history—no one

knows its real age—but the aim and purpose of its origin are still fulfilled in daily practice and unwavering faith. Witness also the present good condition of the church and churchyard, and the existence of the capital residence of the present Vicar; and contrast these with the record of squalor and void as given by Nichols at the end of the last century.





THE EARLY LORDS OF BELVOIR.

BY W. A. CARRINGTON, ESQ.

(Read at the Leicester Congress, 1900.)



THE history of the early Lords of Belvoir is somewhat involved. It has generally been accepted that Robert de Todenî was the first Lord of Belvoir. On the other hand, it is maintained by a recent writer on the subject, that William de Albini, son of Niel of St. Sauveur, Viscount of the Cotentin, Lord of the Isles of La Marche, etc., held Stackthorne (Stathern, Co. Leicester) and Belvoir before Domesday, in right of his wife Adeliza, daughter of Osulf *fil.* Fane, Lord of Belvoir, *temp.* Edward the Confessor; who married, secondly, Robert de Todenî. However this may be, it is unquestionable that Robert de Todenî built the Castle of Belvoir, and founded the Priory there.

He was rewarded by the Conqueror for his services with grants of many lordships; and his great barony, as entered in *Domesday*, included lands in thirteen counties, comprising eighty manors altogether; the chief of which lay on the borders of Lincoln and Leicester, in six of which Osulf (the reputed father of his wife Adeliza, in right of whom Robert held the lordship of Belvoir) is recorded as having previously held them.

Robert de Todenî is supposed by some to have been the standard-bearer to William I, or to have been a relation of that individual; but this is refuted by one of the ablest known writers of Norman history, who says: "There is no question at all about the standard-bearer. Ralf de Todenî, or Toeni (now Thesny) was hereditary standard-bearer of Normandy, but declined to carry the standard at the battle of Hastings, that his hands might be freer for the fight. The authority for both statements is Wace's *Roman de Rou.* Ralf received a barony in

England, of which the *caput* appears to have been at Flamstead, Herts. Robert de Todei, the Lord of Belvoir, had nothing to do with the standard. It can only be a blunder of some late antiquary to assert that he had. It is not even known for certain what relation he was to Ralf."

The Castle of Belvoir was built on what was probably the site of an ancient British encampment; and a charter has been preserved, with a seal attached of green wax, bearing, perhaps, an approximate representation of the castle, as it was originally built. The castle appears there as an embattled elevation of three tiers, the two upper of which have on the face a succession of Norman arches and buttresses. On the opposite corners of the battlements there are two representations of men's heads facing each other, behind one of which rises a staff, with a flag. The whole is surrounded by a massive outer wall. The seal upon which this representation is found is that of William de Albin III, attached to a charter of confirmation of the grant of a meadow between Bottesford and Muston, to Hugh de Charmel, a distinguished knight, who had the keeping of Belvoir Castle under the said William. He wore the emblazoning of the Albinis, counter-changed; *gules* a fess ermine, between two chevrons *or*.

Robert de Todei, after erecting the castle, founded at the foot thereof, in 1077, a priory for four Benedictine or Black Monks, which, by a subsequent stipulation with his friend Paul, Abbot of St. Alban, became a cell of that monastery. Robert endowed the same with ample revenues for the maintenance of the monks, who were to pray for the souls of Count Robert de Mortaigne, Earl of Cornwall, half-brother to the Conqueror; of Robert de Todei, the founder, and Adeliza, his wife; and for the soul of the King; as well as the souls of their parents and children. Not being able to complete the work he had begun, he assigned the privileges of patron to the Abbot and fraternity of St. Alban's, upon condition that they should complete his design, and that the bodies of himself and his wife should be buried at St. Alban's, or in the church of St. Mary's Priory at Belvoir, if they died in England.

He promised that he would endow the church of St. Mary's Priory with a tenth of all his lands, including four carucates of land (each carucate containing about one hundred and twenty acres of plough land), with the meadows pertaining to the same, near the castle, and twenty acres of land near the church, for offices and buildings for the monks and their dependants, with free and undisturbed possession; also the tenths of his vineyards, and a site for a mill; the tenths of all his villis, with the firstfruits of all that was titheable, etc.

On the death of his wife Adeliza, Robert de Todení gave one carucate of land at Sapperton (Co. Lincoln) to the church of St. Mary, for the benefit of her soul.

The total yearly revenue of all the grants to the Priory of Belvoir, by him and his successors, at the time of the dissolution of the monasteries, would be represented, at the present value of money, by from six to eight thousand pounds.

Robert de Todení died in 1088, and was buried on the north side of the chapter-house of the Priory. His remains continued undisturbed till December 6th, 1726, when a ridged stone coffin was dug up upon the site of the old chapel, with an inscription in French, and in Longobardic characters of lead, noticed by Dr. Stukeley, who records: "that his bones lie in the same trough underneath." The inscription is: "Robert de Todení le Fundeur," whose sculptured memorial tradition asserts to be the small figure in mail armour, of speckled marble, affixed to the north wall of the chancel of Bottesford Church, but which is more probably that of William de Albiní III, who died in 1236.

According to Dugdale, Robert de Todení had, by his wife Adeliza, four sons: 1, William; 2, Berenger; 3, Geoffrey; and 4, Robert, and a daughter Agnes, who married Hubert de Rye; but, according to a later authority, Berenger was the eldest son; 2, William; 3, Robert; 4, Geoffrey, and another daughter, Adeliza, who married Roger Bigod; and that Robert de Todení was succeeded by his second son, William de Todení, who held Belvoir *temp.* William II, which was held after him by William de Albiní Brito, who was not the son of

Robert de Toden by his wife Adeliza, but the son of William de Albini, the former husband of Adeliza, who was deprived of the lordship of Belvoir, which was afterwards held by Adeliza de Toden, daughter of Robert de Toden, and sister of William, Berenger, Geoffrey and Robert—half-brothers to the said William de Albini Brito. It appears from the Pipe Roll, *temp.* Hen. I, that Adeliza de Toden, who married Roger Bigod, Viscount of Norfolk, gave 200 marks to Henry I for the lordship of Belvoir, the inheritance of the Albinis. Cecilia, daughter and heiress of Roger Bigod by Adeliza de Toden, his wife, heiress of Belvoir, married William de Albini, called I, son of Roger de Albini, son of William de Albini by Adeliza, who married, secondly, Robert de Toden.

According to the last-quoted authority, William de Albini I is stated to have married Cecilia Bigod, daughter of Roger Bigod; yet it is elsewhere said that he married Maud, daughter of Simon de St. Liz, Earl of Huntingdon.

William de Albini Brito not only confirmed previous grants to the Priory, but added considerably to them. He died in 1135, and was buried on the north side of the Priory chapter-house, leaving two sons, William and Ralph. He was succeeded by his eldest son,

William de Albini II, who is said by one authority to have married Maud, daughter of Simon de St. Liz; she has however, been assigned by another as the wife of William de Albini I; but, from the Register of the Priory of Belvoir, Adeliza was his first wife and Cecilia his second: which is partly confirmed by a charter still extant, in which two sons of William de Albini II occur, viz., William and Ralph; and in which also Cecilia, the second wife of William de Albini, is described as the mother of William. William de Albini II died in 1168, and was buried in the church of the Priory. It would appear from a charter of Ralph Brito, brother of the last-named, that he held the lordship of Belvoir, but whether before or after William is not evident. William de Albini II was succeeded by his son,

William de Albini III, who accompanied Richard I at the head of his army into Normandy in 1195. He was also one of the twenty-five barons who witnessed the signing of Magna Charta by King John, in 1215. He died at Uppington in 1236. There are preserved in the muniment room at Belvoir several very interesting charters of this William. One is a grant, already alluded to, with the consent of William, his son and heir; of Matilda, his wife; Cecilia, his mother; and of Ralph de Albini, his brother, of the church of Redmile, to the church of St. Mary at Belvoir, for the welfare of his soul, and of the souls of all his ancestors and parents, etc. A seal is attached, on which is a representation of William de Albini on horseback.

The third Albini is said to have been a great hunter and game preserver, which is to some extent corroborated by another charter of his, granting to the church of St. Mary at Belvoir, the thorns and trees growing in his warren of Belvoir; with an express reservation, to him and his heirs, of hares, pheasants, and partridges. *Temp.* John.

William de Albini III married, firstly, Maud, or Margaret, daughter of Odonelle de Umphraville; and, secondly, Agatha, daughter of William Trusbot, of Watre, Yorks. He died May 6th, 1236, at an advanced age, and was buried at Newstead. His heart was deposited under the wall opposite the high altar at Belvoir Priory, with this inscription (now in Bottesford Church): "Hic Jacet Cor D'ni Willielmi Albiniaci cujus corpus sepilitur apud Novum locum juxta Stan'fordiano." William de Albini III was succeeded by his son,

William de Albini IV, or Will. de Belvoir, the last lord of the House of Albini. He married: 1, Albreda de Bisset; and 2, Isabella, living 29 Hen. III. By his wife Albreda he had a daughter only, Isabel: who, at his death in 1247, was under age, and a ward to the King, who bestowed her in marriage on Robert de Ros, Baron of Hamlake. Will. de Albini IV was buried before the high altar at Belvoir; his heart at Croxton.

Robert de Ros was the representative of a family of great importance in Yorkshire. He was fifth in descent

from Peter de Ros, who, by marriage with Adeline, daughter of Sir Walter Espec, became possessed of large estates in Yorkshire and elsewhere.

For about two hundred and fifty years after the death of William de Albini IV, Belvoir, with many manors in various counties, remained with the family of Ros; when Edmund, Lord Ros, dying in 1508, without issue, his estates were divided between his sisters and co-heirs. Eleanor, the elder, married Sir Robert Manners, of Ethale, co. Northumberland, through whom Belvoir, with other possessions, became the inheritance of the present family.

The following extracts from the Patent Rolls, *temp.* John, supply further very interesting information, chiefly relating to the family of Albini of Belvoir.

26 Sep., 3 John.

Grant to Ralph de Albini that he may enter upon the land which he holds of Will. de Albini, from the time he entered it, for six years following.

by Peter de Rufibus (Bishop of Winchester).

4 John.

The Countess of Warenne is Pledge for Will. de Albini, &c., concerning the deed for which they were taken.

21 Novb., 5 John.

Know ye that we have allowed whatever Will. de Albini may do concerning the sale and entrance on the lands and rents of Robert, the son of Walter, by the seal of the said Robert, for his redemption from the prison of the King of France—saving our service.

Teste me.

13 Feb., 7 John.

The King to Alberic de Vere, Earl of Oxford. We command you that without delay ye deliver to William de Albini, Robert, the son of Robert de Ros, the hostage which ye have in custody.

T. me apud Quarreburg.

14 Dec., 17 John.

Item. Agatha Trussebut, wife of William de Albiny, and William de Beauveer, son of the same William have letters of conduct lasting until Thursday next after the feast of St. Lucy.

Given at Farnham.

29 Dec., 17 John.

The King to his constable of Beauveer, saluting. Know ye that Hugo de Charnell, Rob. fil. Will., Gerard de Fanacourt, Thom. de Lincoln, Will. de Staunton, Hugo de Lehalm, Will. de Caskingthorp, Will. Pantulf, Rau. Morin, Walter de Ho, Bartholomew de St. Hillary, Will. de Stodham, and Will. de St. Paul, Knights, who were in the castle of Beauveer, have come to our fealty and service, and likewise the under-written servants, viz., Gervase de Wiverton, Gervase de Hunc-thorp, Rad. de St. Paulo, Walter de Hotot, Walter de Montovire, Rob. de Huntendon, Rob. de Uffinton, Will. de Barkeston, Will. fil. Will., Drogo de Wyvill, John de Saxendale, Rob. de Hotot, Henry Ruffus, Will. de Hordby, Henry de Brompton, Henry Janitor, Stephen de Middelton, Rob. le Bret, Hugh Avenel, Peter de Hundesby, Rad. de Coleston, Henry de Osevill, Andrew de Muston, Rob. de Seggrebroc, Adam Clericus, Geoffrey de Marting-wost, Roger de Miese, and Alex. de Tanton.

And therefore we command you that you maintain, protect, and defend them, and all theirs, doing nothing to them or theirs, or permitting injury, harm, or loss to be done. But them, and their arms, and all their harness, which are in the Priory of Beauveer, ye permit them to have in peace, and without impediment.

Et in hujus, &c., vobis mittimus.

Teste me ipso apud Newerc.

17 John.

John Rex, to the constable of Beauveer. We send to you our beloved and faithful brothers, Alan Martell, and William de Pratellum, that they may see our castle of Belvoir, and its provisions and garniture, and may hear your account concerning the tallages taken by you in your bailiwic. Therefore we command you that ye render to them an account of the aforesaid, showing to them the provisions and garniture of the castle, and whatsoever money ye can deliver to them to bring to us.

In testimony of which, these our letters patent we send to you.

Teste me apud Lincoln.

17 John.

Our Lord the King has received in his safe conduct, Agatha, wife of Will. de Albini, Will. his son, and their servant, in coming to London to our Lord the King, to confer with him with the Master of the Knights Templars in England, and the Prior of the Hospital of Jerusalem, and in staying or delaying with the Lord the King with him concerning the delivery of William de Albini, and in returning to London, as long as to the Ephiphany.

5 Jan., 17 John.

Agatha, wife of Will. de Albini, and Will. de Beauver, son of the same Wiliiam, and all his whom with him they brought, have

the same letters from the fast of Epiphany, to the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

Apud Tresk (Thirsk, Yorks.)

William de Albini the III was imprisoned by John, and the safe conduct given to Agatha Trusbut his wife, and to his son William de Belvoir, was extended more than once, in order that they might collect the money demanded for his ransom.

5 Feb., 17 John.

The King to all his bailiffs in whose bailiwics William de Albini has lands and tenements, saluting. Know ye that we have consigned to our beloved and faithful Oliver de Butevill and Robert Peverell, the whole land of William de Albini, with all the appurtenances, to keep as long as it pleases us. Wherefore we command you that ye permit them to have the aforesaid custody in peace; no person being permitted to injure or molest them &c.

T. me ipso apud Gyseburn..

22 Feb., 17 John.

Agatha Trusbut, wife of Will. de Albini, and all of hers whom she brought with her, have letters of safe conduct from Ash-Wednesday until the middle of the forty days of Lent. Lincoln.

2 March, 17 John.

Rex. Omnibus &c.

Know ye that we have received in our Chamber on Wednesday, next after the feast of St. Matthew the Apostle, in the 17th year of our reign, at Bedford, by the hands of Geoffrey de Buteville, and Robert de Harestan, clerks of William Gernun £331 and 10 Shillings of Tallages taken around Beauveer, and that they may now be quit, these our letters patent we have caused to be made to them.

T. me apud Bedford.

The following seems to be the dispersion of the garrison of Belvoir on the restoration of William de Albini :

7 June, 18 John.

The King to Hugh de Charneles, and to all others, Knights and servants, who were in the Castle of Belvoir with William de Albini and came to their fealty, saluting.

We command you that ye go into our service with our beloved and faithful William Gernon, where he shall order you, and that ye be to him in these things which he shall say to you to our faith and advantage.

Teste me apud Devisas.

18 June, 18 John.

William de Buteford, chaplain of William de Albini, has letters of safe conduct in going by the whole power of our lord the King for the redemption of his lord, for the time required, from Lord's Day next before the feast of St. John the Baptist in the 18th year of our lord the King, for the ensuing 3 weeks.

T. the King at Warham.

Same date.

William de Beauveer has letters of safe conduct to come to our lord the King to place himself as a hostage for his father, Will de Albini, Nicholas de Albini, William de Buteford, Chaplain, of the said Will. de Albini, and Agatha Trussebut, wife of the same, have similar letters.

Same date.

The King to all &c. Know ye that we have ratified and allowed that Agatha Trussebut, wife of Will. de Albini may sell and mortgage as much of the lands of her lord the said William as may be sufficient for his redemption.

Teste me ipso apud Warham.

THE CASTLE, ETC.

The Castle built by Robert de Toden appears to have survived until the era of Thomas, Lord Ros, whose estates, in consequence of his adherence to the House of Lancaster during the Wars of the Roses, were, on the accession of Edward IV, confiscated; and Edward rewarded one of his adherents, William, Lord Hastings, commonly called "the Bastard," with the honour, castle, and lordship of Belvoir, with the park and all its members, consisting of Woolsthorp, Barkston, Plungar, Redmile, Harby, Bottesford, Normanton, and Easthorpe; with the advowsons of their churches, and the rent called *Castle-guard*, throughout England, at that time an appurtenance of the Castle. When Lord Hastings came to inspect the Castle—his contemplated residence—he was suddenly attacked by a Mr. Harrington, a friend to Lord Ros, and driven away. Incensed by this opposition, Lord Hastings came with a strong force, and so injured the Castle that it fell to ruin. The timber of the roof, stripped of the lead with which it was covered, rotted away, and the soil between the walls grew full of elders, in which state it

remained until it was partially rebuilt by Thomas, thirteenth Lord Ros, created Earl of Rutland in 1526. Lord Hastings carried the lead from the Castle to Ashby-de-la-Zouch, where he built extensively. This Earl received an augmentation of his arms, by reason of his descent from a sister of Edward IV. He died September 20th, 1543, and was buried in the middle of the chancel of Bottesford Church, where there is a beautiful alabaster tomb to his memory, on which lie the recumbent effigies of the Earl and his Countess, Elianor.

The rebuilding of the Castle was completed, in 1555, by his eldest son and successor, Henry, Earl of Rutland.

It appears, from the accounts at Belvoir for the years 1540 and 1541, that, on the spoliation following the dissolution of religious houses, quantities of timber, stone, lead, slate, etc., from the Abbey of Croxton and the Priories of Belvoir and Thurgarton, were used in the rebuilding of the Castle: full details of which, with the operations at the Castle, are given in detail in the Volumes for those years.

Owing to the attachment of John, eighth earl of Rutland, to the Parliamentary party, the Castle was taken possession of in 1643 by the adherents of Charles; and it suffered a series of bombardments by the Parliamentary forces from the end of November, 1645, to the end of January, 1646, resulting in its surrender to the Parliamentarians, February 3rd, 1646; and subsequently, in 1649, the Castle was demolished by an order in council. After the restoration of the monarchy, the Castle was rebuilt by the same Earl. In the year 1664 much work was done at the Castle, and the accounts contain numerous charges for materials, wages to masons, plumbers, carpenters, painters, labourers, etc. In the year 1668 it was completely finished, and adorned with gardens, plantations, etc.

The fabric remained until the beginning of the last century, when the fifth Duke, father of the present noble owner, conceived the design of rebuilding it. The work was continued from 1801 to 1816, and the structure was advancing towards completion, when, on October 26th, 1816, a fire broke out, resulting in the total de-

struction of the north-east and north-west fronts, entailing the loss of a large and valuable collection of paintings, many by Sir Joshua Reynolds; and a portion of the plate. The work of restoration was recommenced March 10th, 1817.

The cost of rebuilding the Castle from 1801 to 1816 amounted to £118,555, and from 1816 to July, 1829, a further sum of £81,987 was expended.

Stained glass of four windows in gallery of the Guard Room, executed by Wyatt.

On the first are the arms and scroll of "Robert de Todeni;" in the second light of the same window, the arms and scroll of "William de Albini."

The second window contains representations of two knights in Barons' coronets and mail armour, with shields and scrolls, memorials of "Robert de Todnei le Fundeur," and "D'Albini." The former holds a standard, on which appears, *gules*, two lions passant guardant, denoting the office of standard-bearer.

In the third window are representations of knights with similar coronets and armour, commemorating "Walter Espec.—Fidem semper regibus servans; behind whom is some drapery, with the cognizance of Scotland, in allusion to his valour in the Battle of the Standard, in 1138; and Robert de Roos," on whose tabard of *argent* is a cross-moline, *gules*.

The fourth window contains the shields and helmets, etc., of Robert de Todeni and De Roos.

The arms of Todeni are *gules*. an eagle displayed within a bordure *argent*; of Albini *or*, two chevrons with a bordure *gules*; of Belvoir *azure*, a catherine-wheel *or*.

The following is a translation of a writ to the Sheriff of Lincoln, and of an Inquisition touching the metes and bounds of the warren of Belvoir, 36 Hen. III. :—

Henry by the grace of God King of England Lord of Ireland Duke of Normandy Aquitain and Earl of Anjou To our Sheriff of Lincoln Greeting We Command you That by Oath of Honest and Legal men of your County by whom the Truth of the matter may

the better be known you diligently enquire by what Metes and Bounds William de Albiniaco the Father of Isabel, the wife of Robert de Ros (whose heir she is) have had warren at their Manor of Belvoir and the appurtenances to the said Manor And by what Metes and Divisions We have had that Warren while the said Isabel was under age and in our own Wardship And that without delay you send to Us the Inquisition thereon distinctly and openly made under your Seal and the Seals of those by whom it shall be made And this Writ. Witness ourself at Clarendon the Third day of July in the 36th year of our Reign.

An Inquisition made by precept of our Lord the King by what Metes and Divisions William de Albiniaco the Father of Isabel the Wife of Robert de Ros (whose heir she is) and his predecessors have had Warren at their Manor of Belvoir and the appurtenances to the said Manor and by what Metes and Divisions our Lord the King hath had that Warren whilst the said Isabel was under age and in the wardship of our Lord the King by the oath of these under written of the County of Lincoln, to wit, Henry de Galevill Bartholomew de Gassingthorp Hugh de Boby Nicholas de Lundenthorp Gilbert de Denton Simon de Bonevill Robert Bassett Robert de Steynwich Walter de Denton William the son of Alan, Alvered Crespin Alan the son of Ralph Adam de Graunt Alein de Cauz and Thomas de Fauncourt Who upon their oath say that the said William de Albiniaco the father of the said Isabel and his predecessors have had Warren at their Manor of Belvoir and the appurtenances to the same Manor by these Metes and Divisions to wit From the water of Dyvene where the Water Mill was wont to be which is called Holdmylne between the field of Gnypton and Wullsthorp and so to the Greenway between the field of Gnypton and Wullsthorp unto the Gate of the Tanhouse of the Lord of Belvoir and so unto the of the Lord of Belvoir and so unto the top of the hill of Blakeburg towards the south and so descending unto Leicester way and so by the same Leicester way unto the way which leads from Eyton as far as the town of Stake-thirne and so through the middle of the town of Stakethirne unto the Church and from the Church unto the way which leads to the gate of Robert Maynard and so to the tanhouse of the Prior of Haverholm towards the north and so by the said way descending unto the brook of Redlonde and so unto the brook of Barkeston towards the east and so descending by the same brook unto the bridge of Mannebrigg and so from Mannebrigg by the way of Brigate and so from Brigate unto Redmylthorp and so from Redmylthorp unto the top of Slehtenge towards the north and so unto the top of Kaldewellsike towards the west and so unto the tanhouse of the Prior of Belvoir and so surrounding the Priory of Belvoir unto the way which leads to Belvoir unto the bridge of Wulesthorp and so by the water of Dyvene unto the said old Mill

which is called Holdmynne where they began the firste Mete and Division of the said Warren. They also say on their oath that our Lord the King hath had the aforesaid Warren at the Manor of Belvoir and the appurtenances to the same Manor by the same Metes and Divisions aforesaid whilst the said Isabel was under age and in the Wardship of our Lord the King.

Translation of an extract from the Charter Rolls. 27 Edw. I.

The King to Archbishops, etc. Know ye that we have and by this our Charter have confirmed to our welbeloved Isabel de Ros that she and her heirs for ever may have free Warren in all her demesne lands in Bottesford and Redmile in the county of Leicester Woolsthorp in the county of Lincoln and Orston in the county of Notts. whilst those lands shall not be within the Metes of Our Forest, So that none may enter those lands to chase in them or take anything pertaining to the said Warren without the licence and pleasure of the said Isabel and her heirs upon forfeiture to Us of ten pounds. Therefore We will and firmly command that the aforesaid Isabel and her heirs for ever may have free Warren in all her aforesaid demesne lands whilst those lauds shall not be within the bounds of Our Forest, So that none may enter those lands to chase in them, nor anything take which pertains to the same without the licence and pleasure of the said Isabel and her heirs for ever upon forfeiture to Us of ten pounds. Witnesses: Venerabilis Patribus A. Denelm', W. Coventr' et Lych' Ep'is, Joh'e Warrenna Comite Surr', Humfro' de Bohun Com' Hereford' et Essex', Guydone de Bello Campo Comite Warr', Joh'e de Wake, Willmo' de Ros de Helmesle, Will'o le Latimer seniore Roberto de Clifford, et alijs

Date. per manum N'ram apud Ebor' xvj die Novemb'

Lord Robert de Ros died in 1255; Isabel his wife, daughter and heiress of William de Albini IV., died in 1301.

Translation of a Writ, and Inquisition Post Mortem, taken after the death of William de Ros. III.

Edward, etc. To his Beloved John de Windesore his Escheator in the County of Leicester Greeting. Whereas William Roos of Hamelak who held of us in Capite is dead as We are informed We Command you that without delay you take into your hands all the Lands and Tenements whereof the said William was seised in his Demesne as of Fee in your Bailiwick the day whereon he died, and them safely keep until We shall command you otherwise And that you diligengly enquire by the Oaths of honest and legal men of your Bailiwick by whom the truth of the matter may the better be known, how much Land the said William held of Us in Capite as well in Fee as in Service within your Bailiwick the day

whereon he died, and how much of others, and by what Service, and how much those Lands are worth in all Issues, and what day the said William died, and who is his next heir, and of what age. And the Inquisition thereof distinctly and openly taken You do without delay send to Us into our Chancery under your Seal and the Seals of those by whom it shall be made, and this Writ. Witness Ourselves at Westminster the Third day of December in the Twenty-sixth year of Our Reign over England, and over France the Thirteenth.

An Inquisition taken before John de Windesore Escheator of our Lord the King in the County of Leicester at Redmylde on the 20th day of January in the year of the Reign of King Edward the Third after the Conquest the Twenty-sixth according to the tenor of the Writ of our Lord the King sewed to this Inquisition By the oaths of William de Ledebury, William Geffrey, Richard le Clerk, Thomas le Potter, Simon de Stoke, Richard de Langar, John le Noble, Roger de Muston, John de Rous, John the son of Ralph, William de Grelleye, and Henry Braunche, Who on their oath do say that William Roos of Hamelak deceased held in his Demesne as of Fee on the day he died certain Lands Tenements and Rents with their appurtenances in the Vale of Belvere in the said county of Leicester of our Lord the King in Capite as parcel of the Barony of the Castle of Belvere, to wit, at Redmyld one Capital Messuage, which is of no yearly value beyond Reprises, but there is a certain Dovehouse which is of the yearly value of Twelve pence And there are Five Oxgangs of arable Land whereof two parts are (for sowing) of the yearly value of 26s. 8d., and the third part, residue thereof, nothing worth, because it lies every year waste and in Common, But there are Eight Acres of Meadow, which are of the yearly value of 8s. and lie in Common after the Hay is carried off, And there is a certain Park whose Pasturage is worth by the year 3s. 4d., besides feeding the Deer, And there is no underwood, And there is a certain Thorny ground called the Warren of Beauvoir whose soil and pasturage belongs to the Towns of Statherne, Plungarth and Barston, and of no yearly value, for that if the thorns are cut away they cannot grow again by means of the cattle of the aforesaid Villages feeding there, And a certain Windmill which is of the yearly value of 10s. And there is of yearly Rents of Assize of free and customary Tenants 9*li* 6s. 8d. payable at the terms of St. Michael, the birth of our Lord, Easter, and St. John the Baptist, by equal portions. There are no Pleas and Perquisites of Courts because the Courts and Views are by custom there always holden at the Town of Beaver in the county of Lincoln, And there is a certain custom which is called Palfrey Silver and ought to be levied yearly out of the towns of Bottesford, Normanton, Herdeby, Claxton, Muston, Howes, Barkeby, Queneby, and other Hamlets in the said county of Leicester, and amount to the sum of 4*£*. a year and

ought to be paid yearly to Roger Beler Tenant of the Hundred of Framelond in the county aforesaid, to the use of the King within the farm of the said Roger for the Hundred aforesaid. There are there no other Profits. But they say that the said William died in parts beyond the Seas before the feast of St. Michael, but on what day the Inquisition knows not. And they say that Thomas Roos of Hamelak, Brother of the said William Roos of Hamelak deceased is Brother and next Heir of the said William, and was of the age of fifteen years at the feast of the Birth of our Lord last. In Testimony whereof the said Jurors have to this Inquisition put their Seals.

William de Ros III, in 1352, accompanied Henry, Duke of Lancaster, to fight against the Saracens; but died the same year, in the twenty-sixth year of his age, on his journey to the Holy Land, and was buried abroad.

ROYAL VISITS TO BELVOIR.

Four visits of King James I to Belvoir are recorded in the Household Accounts. The first occasion was on his triumphant progress from Edinburgh to London, "hunting" as a contemporary writer says, all the way he rode. It appears from the accounts that the Earl of Rutland went to Worksop on the 20th April, 1603, to meet the King, and on the 25th of the same month he accompanied the King to London. Nichols, in his *History of Leicestershire*, says that James stayed but one day at the Castle, and from thence to Burleigh, where he stayed three days. It seems, therefore, that the Earl of Rutland joined the King at Burleigh on the 25th, and attended him on his journey to London. James, with Henry, Prince of Wales, visited Belvoir for the second time on the 7th of August, 1612, but this visit was of short duration, as he was entertained by the Earl of Rutland in London on Sunday, 9th August, where probably the Earl of Rutland accompanied him from Belvoir. The King visited Belvoir again in 1614, and apparently arrived there on the 29th July, and remained there until August. The fourth, and probably the last, occasion on which James was entertained at Belvoir was in August, 1621, accompanied by Charles, Prince of Wales, then in his twenty-first year.

It is related of King James "that he divided his time betwixt his standish, his bottel, and his hunding; the last had his fair weather, the two former his dull and cloudy." He was also very partial to cock-fighting; and indulged in this pastime twice a week.

King Charles visited Belvoir in July, 1634, and in August, 1636; and during the Civil Wars slept one night at Belvoir, 5th August, 1645, when the Castle was held by the royal forces under Sir Gervase Lucas.

EXTRACTS FROM THE HOUSEHOLD ACCOUNTS.

Entertainment of King James at Belvoir in April, 1603.

It'm in Aprill, paid to xi Cookes sente downe to Belvoyre, for their charges—iiij <i>li</i> . xiiijs. viij <i>d</i> . / hire of their horses—vii <i>li</i> . vs. ...	... xj <i>li</i> . xviijs. iiij <i>d</i> .
Paied to Allen Wallis Cooke of London, and xj. others for there paynes com'ynge to Belvoyre to worke againste the Kinges com'ynge ...	lx <i>li</i> . xjs. iix <i>d</i> .
Paied to M'r Warrea, his man and diu'se other bringinge tentes to his L. againste the Kinges com'ynge to Belvoyre ...	xxxvijs. v <i>d</i> .
Paied to iiij bakers of Grantham heelpinge to bake in the Backehowse xxs., and to John Warner for fyve days carringe breade to the Castell xij <i>d</i>	xxjs.
Paied to S'r Thomas Cave his man bringinge and fetchinge plate to Belvoyre w'ch was borrowed againste the Kynges comynge ...	vs.
Paied to M'r John Warren of Marson for viij wethers bought of hym againste the Kynges com'ynge to Belvoyre at xiiijs. the peice ...	cxij <i>s</i> .
Paied to M'r Akelande of Grantham for the lende of iiij ^{xxvi} dozen & halfe (86½ dozen) of Pewter Vessell againste the Kinges com'ynge to Belvoyre ...	iiij <i>li</i> . vjs. v <i>d</i> .
Paied to Sampson Scoffeyld of Wollisthorpe for xiiij days to sett vpte Tentens and lattinge downe agayne & makinge tente pynesagainste the Kynges com'ynge to Belvoyre at iiij <i>d</i> . the day... ...	iijs. v <i>d</i> .

Paied to diu'se pore women of Bottesforthe for vj ^{xx} cvj. (126) bottells of Russhes gotten againste the Kynges com'ynge to Belvoyre at ijd. the bottell	xxjs.
Paied the xx of Aprill to M'r. Charles Hargill for the defrayinge of his L'pp Charges goinge to meyte the Kyng at Worsope	xli.
Paied the xxv of Aprill to Charles Hargill to defraye his L'pp charges goinge to London w'th the Kyng	iiijxx (80£)
Paied to Richard Nicholls Rydinge to Meyte a carriage w'ch browghte Tentes and other necessaries from London againste the Kynges comyng to Belvoyre	vjs. viijd.
It'm 12 Apr. 1603, Sugar bar, vj lo. w't 128lb.—viijli. xs. viijd./ Sug' bar, ref. vj lo. w't 75 lb.—vjli. vs/ powder of Sug' 224 lb. xij/i. ijs.—viijd./ ij barrelle, ijs. viijd./ Raisons sol—(Raisins of the sun) 112 lb.—lxjs./ Allegantes a fraye—w't 91 lb.—xxxs. iiijd/ ij bages—viijd./ Pruynes—112 lb.—xxvijs./ ij. bages—viijd./ Currantes—168 lb.—iiij/i. iijs./ pepp' 30 lb.—iiijli. xs./ L' mace (large mace)—iiijli—liijs. iiijd./ L'. Cynamon—iiij lb.—xxvjs. viijd./ L'. ginger—iiij lb.—vijs./ nutmeges—iiij lb.—xxiijs./ Cloves—iiij lb.—xxiijs./ Dates—vj lb.—xxiijs./ Almondes—xij lb.—xvjs./ Rice—xij lb.—vjs./ Olyues—iiij gall. and j bar—xijs. vjd./ Capres—j bar—xs. vjd./ Candy oyle—ij l'r. bottles—xxvs./ Sampier—j bar—iiijs. viijd./ pickle lymondes—vs. viijd./ pickle barberries—j bar—ixs. vjd./ Caperons—j bar—vijs. vjd./ Cocombres—j bar—vjs. viijd. Anchoves—j bar—vijs. iiijd./ pickle oysters—iiij bar—xs./ figes—vj/i. ijs. vjd./ the hampre, straw, packthred, iiij lockes and portage—xiijs. vjd./ sent to Belvoyre against the Kinges comyng ...	lvjli. ix.
It'm, 23 April, geven to the K. warderobe men at Belvoyre—xls./ to the groomes there—xs./ to the garde there—xls./ to the Trumpetters—xls.	vjli. xs.

1612. *Aug. Second Visit of King James, with Henry, Prince of Wales.*

Expences at Belvoyer for the entertaynment of the Kinges mai'te there w'th the prince the preparation whereof did begin the 26th July 1612 and continued till the 7th of August then next

following w'ch was the day of the Kings coming, and there continued till moonday after being 6 whole meals in w'ch space was spent as followeth, viz. :—

Beeves—xv, whereof vij oxen. iiij steers, and iiij Heffers	...	...	...	xv
Muttons	...	...	...	cxvj
Lambs	...	...	...	xxx
Wheate	...	...	...	xxvj q'tes.
Rye	...	...	...	j qr. iiij st'r.
Beer	...	...	...	iiij ^{xx} xv hogs. (95)
Ale	...	...	...	iiij hogs.
Sacke	...	...	...	j hog.
Reinish wine	...	...	...	ij vessells
White wine...	...	...	...	j hog.
Clarett	...	...	...	vj hogs.
Venyger	...	...	...	j hog. di
Vergis	...	...	...	j hog. di
Fresh Acates (Victuals)	...	...	...	lxli.
Cookes and Laborers	...	...	...	xxiiij $\frac{1}{2}$ l.
Lightes	...	...	...	xx doz.
Oates	...	...	...	xv q'tra.
Pease	...	...	...	ij q'tra.
Barly	...	...	...	iiij st'r.
Rabittes	...	...	...	ccciij (304) cupple
Lordship Store—				
Lings	...	...	...	xxiiij
Haberdins (salted Cod)	...	...	...	xxxvj
Carps	...	...	...	xvij
Brems	...	...	...	xl
Tenches	...	...	...	xvj

Belvoyr, Expenses of Spice at the Kings being ther, viz. :—

Sugar	...	...	...	vj loves
Sugar powd.	...	...	...	cxiiiij $\frac{1}{2}$ l.
Raysons Soll'	...	...	...	xl.
Allegants	...	...	...	li.
Corance	...	...	...	xl $\frac{1}{2}$ l.
Prewns	...	...	...	xxli.
Pep'	...	...	...	li.
Mace	...	...	...	iiiij $\frac{1}{2}$ l.
Ginger	...	...	...	xl.
Synamon	...	...	...	iiiij $\frac{1}{2}$ l.
Cloves	...	...	...	iiiij $\frac{1}{2}$ l.
Nuttmeggs	...	...	...	ixli.
Dates	...	...	...	xl.
Ryse	...	...	...	xxli.
Sugar Candy	...	...	...	j qr.
Almonds	...	...	...	xij $\frac{1}{2}$ l.

Oyle	...	...	...	j barell
Caphers	...	...	...	ij barrells
Olives	...	...	...	iiij barrells
Cowcumpers	...	...	...	ij barrells
Sampher (Samphire)	...	...	...	ij barrells
Bolbouys	...	...	...	x
West far bacon (Westphalian)	...	...	...	x gammon
Oysters and Anchovies	...	...	...	vj barrells
Hartechoakes	...	...	...	vj doz.
Dryed Neats tongues	...	...	...	ij doz.
Quinces—j barr. cont.	...	...	...	ciij
Lard	...	...	...	cvj <i>li</i> .
Oringes	...	...	...	ij c.
Potato roots	...	...	...	xx
Sturgion	...	...	...	ij legges
Redd herringes	...	...	...	lx
Waxe lights	...	...	...	c
Musk Mellons	...	...	...	o
Lenmons	...	...	...	lx

*A Note of Presentes sent you' Lo : sp against ye Kinges Comm'ye and
being at Belvoir, viz. :*

				Rewardes.
ffrom Grimthorpe	...	j stagg	...	xxs.
ffrom Linkthorn	...	j stagg	...	xxs.
ffrom Mr. Chaworth	...	j kid	...	0
ffrom Lo : Lincoln—stag i	...	Bucks = ij	...	xx
ffrom ye King	...	j stagg	...	vjs.
ffrom S'r Phillip Teritts	...	Bucks ij	...	xxs.
ffrom S'r Wyllya' Wraye	...	Bucks ij	...	xxijs. vjd.
ffrom Lo : Willowby more	...	j stagg	...	xxs.
ffrom Mr. Sturly of Knath more	...	j stagg	...	xxs.
ffrom S'r Anthony Mildmar	...	ij Bucks	...	xxijs. vjd.
ffrom S'r Thomas Bruduell	...	j Buck	...	xs.
ffrom S'r Lewis Watson	...	j Buck	...	xs.
ffrom Lo : of Huntingtons	...	j stagg	}	xls.
ffrom Lo : of Huntingtons more	...	ij Bucks		
ffrom Lo : Willowby of Knath more	...	ij Bucks	...	xxs.
ffrom S'r Xp'o Hotton	...	ij Bucks	...	xxvs.
ffrom Garadon p'ke	...	iiij bucks	}	Lo : Store
ffrom Croxton p'ke	...	ij bucks		
Staggs	...	...	...	vij
Bucks...	...	...	...	xxv
Kid	...	...	...	j
ffrom S'r Peeter Lee on flatt Oxe a Tame Stagg	}	...	...	v <i>li</i> .

	<i>P'sentes.</i>	<i>Rewarδες.</i>
ffrom S'r Tho : Grantham—		
Pewettes	... xij	
Gulles...	... iiij	
Brokettes	... vj	
Churs...	... xij	
Baninges	... xviiij	
Stintes and grundes	... 3 doz. 6	vis. viijd.
ffrom S'r Willyam Pellam—		
Snightes	... ij	
Corlews	... v	
Grey plovers	... iiij	
Stints	... iiij doz. vj	
Knots...	... xviiij	
Banings	... ij doz. iiij	
Grundes	... iiij	
Brokettes	... iiij doz. xj	
Reves ...	... ij	
More Chitts	... xvi	
Dotterells	... vj	vjs. viijd.
ffrom S'r George Maners of		
Haddon	... poots	... iijs.
ffrom S'r Willyam Armyne—		
Turkeys	... x	
Chickings	... x	
Swans...	... ij	
Herns...	... j	
Corlew	... j	
Godwitts	... iiij	
Cheeses	... iiij	... vs.
ffrom Mr. Wood of Lably	... veale j	... xijd.
ffrom S'r Edmund Bushe—		
Muttons	... vj	
Lambs	... iiij	... vjs. viij
ffrom S'r Henry Pagnam—		
Muttons	... vi	
Lambs	... x	... xxijs. vjd.
ffrom Lord Willowby of Knathe—		
Gulls ...	... v	
Pewetts	... vj	
Knots...	... x	
Brokettes	... }	
Stints }	
Churs }	
Banings	... }	... 8 doz. vj
ffrom S'r John Thorney—		
Mallards	... viij	
Teels ...	... vj	
Salmonds	... ij	
Herns...	... iiij	
Pegions	... 4 doz. vj...	... xs.

ffrom Mr. Markham of Sydebrooke—		Rewardest.
Pears	ij basketts...	vjs.
ffrom p'son Sharoke ...	Capons ij ...	xijd.
ffrom Mr. Blewett ...	Plombs ...	{xijd.
	li.	
p'visions of fowle ...	40	
for p'sents	19 8 6	
Rewards for ye Kings Hous-		
hold servants... ..	117 16 8	
for ye gard and footmen	16 13 4	
for ye wayts of Lincoln ...	4 0 0	clvijl. xvijjs. vjd.
Charges of Cookes and laborers.		
Paid to ix London cookes for xvj dayes at 5s. the		
day for each man and xls. for ye charges of		
each man		liiijl.
Paid to vj inferior cookes of London 16 days at		
2s. 6d. the day and their charges ...		xijl.
Paid to a scallder from London 16 dayes at vs.		
the day and his charges—xls.		vjl.
Rewardest to Cookes and the Kinges seruants.		
Payd to cuntry Cookes and laborers from sundry		
places		xxiiijl.
Summe of rewards for the Kinges and Princes		
seruants w'th the charges of Cookes and		
laborers		ccxxxiiijl. xs.
A banquet for the Kinges Princes and my Lords		
table w'th presentes for the Cookes ...		cxxli.
The King at Belvo'r 3 dayes.		
Payd the xxiiijl. of Aug. 1612, for p'vicons of		
freaashc acates boughte against ye Kinges		
Ma'ties cominge to Belvor, bought by the		
Caterrers: from ye second daye of Aug. to		
the xvth of the same		lixli. xvijjs.
Payd the xth day of Aug. 1612, for sev'all		
sorrtes and pvc'ons of foule bought agaynst		
his Ma'ties Cominge to Bellvoyr ...		xijl. iijs. viijd.
Payd the xjth of Aug. 1612, for sev'all sorrtes		
of fowle against his Ma'ties Coming ...		vli. xij. xjd.
Payd the xjth daie of Aug. 1612, by Willi'm		
Suttle of Boston, for dyvers p'vic'ons of		
fowle, and of fysche, bought agaynste the		
Kings Ma'ties cominge to Bellvoyr ...		xvli. viijs.
Payd ye xjth of Aug. 1612, by Willi'am Suttle		
of Boston for sev'all sorrtes of fowle,		
agaynste ye Kinges Ma'ties Coming to		
Bellvoyr		vjl. xvijjs.
Gyven the xth of Aug. 1612, to sev'all p'sonnes,		
that broughte p'senns to his Ld'ppe, when		
ye Kings Ma'tie was att Bellvoyre ...		xixli. viijs.

The King entertained in London.

It'm paid to Mrs. Sawle : for all the banquetting stuff and sweetmeates served on Sunday, 9 Aug. 1612, At the Kinges : the Princes : and the Lordes tables and ells where ; and for sucketts¹ for the kytchin, w'th xxs. to her men and xs. for his Charges to London the kitchen being xv^s. cxxij*li*. xixs.

Numerous other entries occur in the Accounts relating to this visit.

"And presently after, instead of *suckets*, twelve raw puddings. I speake not one word of drinke all this while, for indeed he is no drunkard ; hee abhorres that swinish vice."

Taylor's Workes, 1630.

1614. Aug. *Third visit of King James to Belvoir.*

Expences there in August 1614, the King being there and feasted by my lord one meale and his Lo: shipp. keeping a table vj meales as followeth, vidz.

Beefes	...	...	...	v.
Muttons	...	...	...	xxij.
Rabbitts	...	...	vxx. and xij. (112)	Cupple.
Spice	...	...	...	xx <i>li</i> .
A Banquet	...	...	...	x <i>li</i> .
Beer	...	...	...	xxxj. hog.

freash Acattes and other p'vic'ons for ye Kinge.

Payd in Aug. 1614 for dyvers p'vic'ons w'ch was boughte for the Kynges Comeinge to Belvoyre xli*ij*. xixs.

Payd in Aug. 1614, for p'rovic'ons of fowle and of fyshe boughte also for ye Kinges Coming to Belvoire xliii*ij*. xijs.

Rewardesto Cooke and other Laborrers given at Belvoire when ye King was there.

Gyven in Aug. 1614, to Cookes, for their laboure and paynes taken at Belvoyre when the Kinge was there xxv*ij*. viijs.

Delyverd to Peetter Crosland for my Lo:des rydeinge chardges, when his Lo:pe wennt to meette the Kinge li.

(other entries.)

¹ Sucket, a conserve, or sweetmeat.

1621. *Aug. The fourth and last visit of King James to Belvoir, with Charles, Prince of Wales.*

fowles for ye Kinges Comeinge		
P'd the 29th of Julie 1621, to Jo : francklinge		
Cateror for seu'all Kyndes of fowle	...	x/i. xiiijs.
To ye Kinges and Princes Cookes		
Given the 5th of August 1621, by Mr. Sexton by my Lo'des Comand, to the Kinges and the Prynces Cookes at Beluo'r when ye Kinge was then there	... ..	xli.
Given for p'sentes brought to Beluiore against the Kinges Comeinge in Aug. 1621	...	vij/i. iijjs.
Given in Rewardes to Cookes and other Laborro'es at the Kinges being at Beluo'r	... ..	xxxv/i. js.
P'd the 10th of August 1621 to ye Carier of Melton for ye bringing downe of 5 Boxes of sweete meattes	... ..	xxijs. viij <i>d</i> .
P'd Samuell Unwin the 22th of Sept. 1621. A Bill of Chardges of p'vander att Warssoppe when the Kinge was at Roughforthe for his Lo: ps horses	... ..	iiij/i. xv <i>s</i> .
P'd a bill of freshe Acattes, and other p'vic'ons boughte against the Kinges Coming to Belvore	... ..	xxiiiij <i>li</i> viij <i>js</i> ,
P'd another bill of the same, by John franckling, Cateror	... ..	xxxvii/i. xvijs.

THE PRIORY.

According to Nichols, the Priory consisted of a tower, nave, side-aisles, and choir. On the north side were the cloisters, in the centre of which stood the Chapter House. On the south of the Presbytery was St. Nicholas' Chapel. In the angle between the south aisle and the choir was St. Osyth's Chapel. The chapels of St. Nicholas and St. Mary were built by William Heron, Prior from 1340 to 1361. No remains of the Priory now exist beyond some building materials, including a few worked stones, used, after the dissolution of the monasteries, in the erection of the Dove-cot, now standing on the site of the Priory; but during some recent excavations on the site of the Priory, the foundations, floors, etc., of what appears to have been the domestic part, a number of mediæval encaustic tiles in five designs were found, also the top stone of an old English

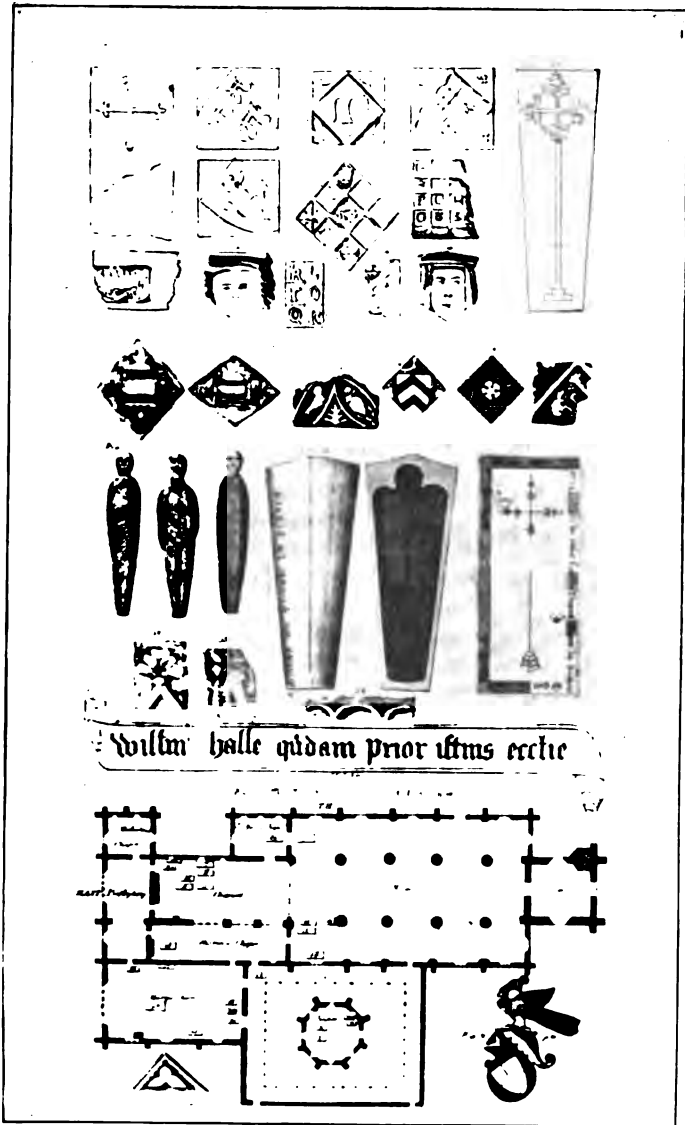
quern of millstone grit from Derbyshire, Celtic wheel-made pottery of the Roman period, the broad end of a Roman bronze stylus, a bason wrought in limestone, either a holy-water stoup or a domestic mortar, etc. These are preserved at the Castle.

The following information was obtained from a Register of the Priory of Belvoir, formerly in the possession of Thomas, Lord Brudenel.

NOTE.—The figures refer to corresponding figures on the accompanying Plate, reproduced from the original in Nichols' *History of Leicestershire*.

"In the Chapter House to the North were deposited: 1, Robert de Todenii the founder; and near him, 2, William Albini I, or Brito, before the door of the Chapter House; 3, Symon de Ropeley, and near him, 4, Oliver Deincourt on the South.

"In the old Church before the Cross, lay, 5, William de Albini II, or Meschines; and near him, 6, his wife, Adeliza, on the South; and, 7, his second wife, Cecily, under the wall of the old Church. Under the wall facing the high altar to the North, 8, the heart of William de Albini III, whose body was buried at Newstede, by Stamford; before the high altar, 9, William de Albini IV, whose heart was at Croxton; 10, the bowels of Robert de Ros, who died 14 Kal. June, 1285, and was buried at Kirkham, lay before the high altar at Belvoir, near the body of William de Albini IV. On the South, 11, in the west part near the Chapter House, Odinell de Albini; and near him, 12, Maud Umfraville, his mother; and near him to the North, 13, Albreda Biseth, his wife; between her and the wall of the Chapter House, 14, Richard de Staunton, rector of the said Church; 15, the bowels of Maud de Vaux, William's wife, lay in the wall of St. Mary's Chapel; 16, Maud, wife of James Ros, lay in the wall between this chapel and the Presbytery, sumptuously carved; 17, Roger de Gravelle, rector of Woolsthorp, under a south wall of the said Chapel; 18, Thomas Waute in the Cloister which separates the Chapels of St. Catherine and St. Mary. In the middle of St. Mary's Chapel, towards the steps, lies, 19, William de Belvoir, that worthy Prior; and near him, on the North, 20, William his brother and successor, and 21, Lambert, sub-prior. At the door of St. Osythes Chapel lies, 22, Roger, brother of the said Prior; and lower down, 23, his nephew; 24, Gilbert Suttere lay, at the end of the high altar of the Parish Church to the South; and, 25, his wife Margaret under the South window of the said Parish Church. The burial-place of William Hall is not mentioned in the Registers; nor 27, 28, 29, the memorials of three Priors unknown. Margaret, Lady Ros was buried at Belvoir, 1439."



Willm' halle qudam prior istms ecclie

BELVOIR PRIORY : PLAN AND MONUMENTS.

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ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

Nichols, in his *Leicestershire*, observes:—

“From the foregoing list I am convinced that the Priory Church of Belvoir was the Parochial also. If these two Churches were not the same, the Parish Church was at least a part of the Priory Church. The repeated use of the old church would imply that the Parochial Church was made to serve the Priory, and was indeed the ‘*ecclesia Sanctæ Mariæ juxta Castellum*,’ which Robert de Toden had originally founded.”

Nichols, writing towards the end of the eighteenth century, says:—

“Many of the antient lead coffins are still carefully preserved in two old vaults at Bottesford. Some of these, modelled as in Plate, Figs. 1, 2, 3, had an inscription upon a brass plate, soldered to the breast. The body of one was observed to be perfectly round, tapering from the shoulders to the feet; another was quite square, tapering in the same manner. A third (the middlemost) showed the belly, the knees, the calves of the legs, and particularly the feet standing up. The lead over the body seemed to fit very tightly, and over the head, face, and neck it also fitted very well, though the nose and cheeks might not be quite so protuberant as these figures may lead one to suppose; but it was partly fitted to the face, and the deficiency supplied in some measure by engravings for the eyes, mouth, ears, &c.

“In digging among the ruins, May, 1791, were discovered some cornices and capitals of pillars, with several paving-tiles, stones, coats-of-arms, &c., as represented in Plate, Fig. 4-20, and Fig. 1-4.

“In the Chapter House of the Priory, the coffin of Robert de Toden, the founder, was dug up in 1726, and twice again, in 1792, when the founder’s skull was found in a perfect state of preservation, wanting only the under-jaw and the teeth of the upper. At the right hand lies a coffin of the same materials: this is that of William Albini I, or Brito.

“From the site of the Lady Chapel many very large flat stones have been taken out, particularly two with crosses, represented in Plate, Figs. 23 and 24.

“Prior William Halle, who succeeded in 1452, was also buried near his brethren, as is evident from a flat white stone, with an inscription on a scroll, Fig. 25.

“At the head of Toden and Brito, and in the same line, did lie a white stone, 7 ft. long by 3 ft. broad, with an inscription, in some parts worn out. The inscription on this stone implies the juxtaposition of Symon Ropesley and Oliver Deincourt.

“The stone assigned to William de Heron answers to Dugdale’s description—that he lay in the middle of the Lady Chapel, near the

steps; near the Prior lay his brother, successor, and namesake, William de Stennington. This Prior built the Chapels of St. Mary and St. Nicholas, and planted 1,000 trees round the Priory, etc."

The following selection of benefactions to the Priory, translated from the originals in Latin, in the muniment room at Belvoir, etc., may be of interest:—

33 Hen. I (1132), Grant from Will. de Ros, lord of Hamlake, to the Priory of Belvoir, of a croft at Belvoir, lying between Peacock Croft and Long Croft, in exchange for two acres of meadow lying in Bever Warren, in a place called Redmildhaugh. Teste Johanne de Ros, Milite.

Grant by Robert de Thoteneia (Todeni) to God and the Church of St. Mary at Belvoir, and to the monks there serving God, for the welfare of his soul, and the souls of his father and mother, and all the rest of his friends; also the souls of all his predecessors, of thirty sticks of Eels, arising out of the reut of Eels for his Mill in Auburn (co. Linc.), which they shall receive yearly, at the feast of St. Matthew, and his brother Lord William de Albeneia¹ confirms this gift, &c. Witness, Geoffrey, the Clerk of Auburn, Will. de Albin, Roger Bigot, Iwen de Chaveni, Helias de Albin, Geoffrey de Chaveni, Malger de Nicole, Aschetil Cocus, Will. Armiger, Geoffrey Janitor, Hugh fil Malger, Peter, his brother, Hervy fil. puer, Thom. fil. Ric., Hilger the Clerk, Walter de Flamstede.

Seal. An eagle displayed.

Be it known unto all men, both present and to come, that I, Luke de Crasmesnil, give, and by the impression of my seal, do confirm to the Church of St. Mary of Belvoir, and to the monks there serving God; the land which Yrsel de Crasmesnil, for the welfare of her soul, is known to have given to the said monks, in Denton, in perpetual alms; to be possessed free of all service. That is to say, the tenures and services of these seven men, whose names are: Ralph the Priest, Will. the Clerk, Ralph, fil. Ancha, Ailmarius fil. Levenot, Roger fil. Ancha, Coleman fil. Sitic, Ylfchetil fil. Uc cha. Witnesses:—Martin, Presbyter of Denton, Reginald de Jarpunvilka, Geoffrey de Tiboltot, Ralph de Pentun, Will. Cocus, Will. Armiger, Ric. Clericus, Ric., Nephew of Brian, Hilger Clericus, Geoffrey Pistor, Hen. Juvenis.

Date apparently from 1130 to 1150.

Know all men, both present and future, that We Iwen de Albeneio, and Geoffrey de Chavenni, my brother, have given to the Church of St. Mary, of Belvoir, and to the monks there serving

¹ Will. de Albin I, died 1155. Temp. 1130 to 1150.

God, for the repose of our souls, and the souls of our uncle, Will. de Albini, and Will., his son, and the souls of all our parents and ancestors, the Church of Plungar, with all things appertaining to it, in free alms. We have offered this donation upon the altar of the Blessed Mary, standing in the Convent of St. Mary at Belvoir, before a certain Crozier. Witnesses: Will. de Albini, and Will. his son, Hugh fil. Margery, Will. Pincerna.

Seal. A full-length figure of Iwen de Albini, draped behind from head to foot, with a falcon perched on the wrist of the right hand. Undated, but probably Hen. I, or Stephen.

To all the sons of the Holy Mother Church, Ralph Brito sends greeting. Know you that I have given to God and the Church of St. Mary at Belvoir, and to the monks there serving God, a toft in Stakethurne, which is in my Lordship, near the water, for the welfare of my soul, and my wife's, and the souls of my father and mother, and my ancestors, in pure and perpetual alms, freely and quietly, and free from all secular service and exaction.

Witnesses:—Hugh Sacerdote, Roger de Snipton (Knipton), Walter de Knipton, John de Albini, Nigro, Walter de Herebi (Harby), Hugh, his son, Rob. de Hovis, Thurstan, Walter fil. Alvin, Simon, nephew of the Prior, Ric. Dispensar, Ric. fil. Will., Ralph Nobill, Simon fil. Alexander, Rob. de Caintwo.

Date, apparently Stephen.

William de Albini II endowed the Priory of Belvoir with certain lands; and in 1165, on the aid granted to Hen. I, for marrying his eldest daughter Maud to the Emperor, certified the King that he then held of him thirty-two knights' fees under the old feoffment, whereby he was enfeoffed in the time of Hen. I., and six and a-half, whereby he was enfeoffed since the beginning of Hen. II's reign. Of these fees, Ralph, his brother, held of him 15; Robert Poher, 5½; Simon de Roppesley, 3; Simon de Bosco Rahara (Borhard), 3; Ralph Cheinduit, one; William de Vaus, one; Ralph de Hotot, one; Ralph de Brandon, one; Aelard de St. Cere, two; Robert de Chaworth, one; Iwan de Albini, one; Geoffrey de Chaveni, one; Robert le Briton, one; Ralph le Briton, one; Elias de Albini, one; and Hugh de St. Vedars, one half.

Will. de Albini II. died 1168.

To all the faithful of Christ, to whom this present writing may come, William de Albyniaco, the third, sends greeting in the Lord. Know you all that, for the peace of my soul, also of my ancestors and successors, I have given and granted, and by this, my present Charter have confirmed to God, and the Church of St. Mary of Belvoir, and the monks there serving God, in pure and perpetual alms, the thorns and all other trees growing in the following place in my Warren of Belvoir. Namely, at Oggeberdeswell, descending as far as Granthamegathe, so far as the way

extends, and from the said Oggeberdeswell, as far as the path extends from the land of Gervase de Armhale, near Filpolsic. To have and to hold freely and quietly, without impediment, saving to me and my heirs, the hares, pheasants, and partridges. I truly the aforesaid William de Albyniaco the third and my heirs this donation and confirmation of this my present Charter to the aforesaid monks of Belvoir will warrant against all men for ever. To perpetuate this present grant and confirmation I have affixed my seal to this present writing.

Witnesses :—Lord Will. de Insula, Rob. de Albini, Ralph de Trihamton, Roger Bozon, Will. de Kaskinthorp, Thom. de Wynebys, Will. de Barkeston, Fulke de Hotot, Rob. de Hotot, Ralph de Berchedon, and many others.

Will. de Albini III died 6 May, 1236, at an advanced age.

(To be continued.)





Proceedings of the Association.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 6th, 1901.

DR. W. DE GRAY BIRCH, F.S.A., V.-P., IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the donors of the following presents to the Library :—

- To the* Smithsonian Institution, for the "Annual Reports" of the National Museum for 1897 and 1899.
- „ Smithsonian Institution for "Annual Report," 1899.
- „ Smithsonian Institution for the Bureau of Ethnology "Annual Reports," seventeenth and eighteenth.
- „ Royal Institute of British Architects for "Journal," 1901, Parts 3 and 4, and Calendar, 1901-2.
- „ Sussex Archæological Society for "Collections," vol. xliv, 1901.
- „ Wiltshire Archæological Society for "Magazine," June, 1901, and "Wiltshire Inquisitions," Part viii, 1900.
- „ Essex Archæological Society for "Transactions," vol. viii, Part II, 1901.
- „ Cambrian Archæological Association for "Archæologia Cambrensis," vol. i, New Series, Parts 3 and 4, 1901.
- „ Royal Archæological Institute for "Journal," June and September, 1901.
- „ Royal Societies of Antiquaries of Ireland for "Journal," June and September, 1901.
- „ Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society for "Transactions," vol. xxiii, Parts 1 and 2, 1901.
- „ Société des Antiquaires de la Normandie for "Bulletin," vol. xxi, 1899.
- „ East Herts Archæological Society for "Transactions," vol. i, Part I, 1901.

The following members were duly elected :—

Thos. Hodgkin, Esq., D.O.L., F.S.A., President, Barmoor Castle,
Beal, Northumberland.

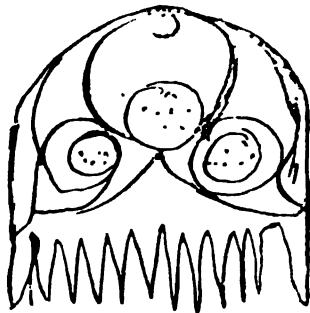
Rev. Edward R. Parr, The Vicarage, Chertsey.

A. R. Goddard, Esq., B.A., 2, Cornwall Road, Bedford.

Alf. Denton Cheney, Esq., Lympne, Hythe, Kent.

Miss Winstone, 53, Russell Square, W.C.

Mr. John Bruce, F.S.A.Scot., exhibited many of the "finds" from the new crannog which he has recently discovered on the south side of the Clyde, at Langbank, opposite Dumbarton. The majority are of the usual type, the most curious and interesting being a small bone comb, with special ornamentations of Late-Celtic style on one side. He also exhibited the stone implement from Dumbuck inserted in a bone handle, which has been called a "knife," but which is more probably a "skin-scraper;" this he discovered himself, and vouched for its genuineness, as he did for all the other much-controverted "finds" from this crannog.



Small Bone Comb found at the Langbank Crannog, on the Clyde.

Full size. The ornamentation is lightly incised on the comb, or scratched. (See p. 80, Munro's *Prehistoric Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1899, W. Blackwood and Sons.)

In the course of the discussion which followed, the Rev. H. D. Astley thanked Mr. Bruce for his kindness in bringing so many of his "finds" at the new Langbank crannog, together with careful plans and drawings, for exhibition at the opening meeting of the Association for the Session of 1901-2. He drew attention to the fact that the majority of the implements, and the manner in which the antlers and bones of red deer and other animals were cut, were of clearly Neolithic type; while the ornamentation on the little comb, the finding of which has been already recorded, is as clearly Late-Celtic. In connection with this, he went on to point out a confusion in the use of the term "Neolithic." As employed by some anthropologists, it designates a

particular "age," bounded by definite dates, which may have come to an end in Western Europe somewhere between 1500 and 1000 B.C. In this sense none of the Clydeside discoveries are "Neolithic."

But the more correct use of the term is to designate a particular "stage of culture" in the evolution of the human race, and in this sense the "Neolithic stage of culture" still exists; *e.g.*, among the native races of Australia, and many other savage peoples in all parts of the world.

In this sense, therefore, it is perfectly justifiable to say that the Clydeside discoveries are the work of a people in the "Neolithic stage of culture," and at the same time to suggest, from various indications afforded, that they are due to the Pictish inhabitants of that part of Scotland at a time not far removed from the date of the Roman occupation, before or after.

Mr. Gould, in the course of some interesting remarks, pointed out that more than one of the implements on the table were as clearly of Palæolithic type as the majority were Neolithic. This might be due to carelessness on the part of the primitive artificer, or to a "survival" of type.

Mr. Bruce mentioned that the excavations at Langbank were now suspended until the spring, but in due course a full report of the results would be presented to the Glasgow Archæological Society.

Mr. C. H. Compton exhibited two copies of the Court Roll of the Manor of Stoke Newington. One, dated May 18th, 13 Geo. I, 1727, being an admission of Mary Lascelles to a messuage, is in Latin, and ends "*fecitque fidelitatem.*" The other, dated July 9th, 1740, is an admission of Mary Ingram to a moiety of certain hereditaments held of the same manor; it is in English, and ends "but her fealty was respited." This is the usual form in copyhold admissions since that date.

Mr. Compton then read the following:—

NOTES ON THE SITES OF ST. MARGARET'S AND ALL SAINTS'
CHURCHES, LEICESTER.

In the concluding report of our Congress at Leicester last year, in the *Journal* for last June, p. 157 of the present volume, it is stated that the present Church of St. Margaret, Leicester, was founded by Robert Bossu, second Earl of Leicester; and that All Saints' Church was also founded by him in 1199. These statements conflict with those relating to this subject in the paper on the Abbey of St. Mary de Pratis in the same number, p. 93 *et seq.* The facts are, that St. Margaret's Church was a prebend of Lincoln Cathedral, and was specially exempted from the grant of the Churches of Leicester by Robert,

Count de Mellent, the father of Robert Bossu, when he rebuilt the Church of St. Mary de Castro, and founded a Society of Secular Canons, to whom he gave the other churches of Leicester ; and Robert Bossu only transferred the endowments of St. Mary de Castro to the Abbey of St. Mary de Pratis on his founding it as a monastery of Regular Canons in 1143.

The Church of All Saints was one of the churches particularly confirmed by Robert de Mellent to the Secular Canons of St. Mary de Castro ; and on the foundation by Robert Bossu of St. Mary de Pratis, he transferred this Church with the other endowments of the Secular Canons to the Regular Canons of St. Mary de Pratis.

The date of Robert Bossu's death is variously given 1167-68-69,¹ but certainly not later than the last of those years ; he could not, therefore, have founded, or even rebuilt, All Saints' Church in 1199.

Mr. Compton also read the following :—

NOTES ON THE PARISH REGISTERS OF ALDINGBOURNE CHURCH,
SUSSEX.

In the course of my recent vacation rambles I visited the Parish Church of Aldingbourne, four miles east of Chichester, and inspected the Parish Registers, which are in a very good state of preservation. They commence with the year 1558. The earliest book contains entries of births, marriages and deaths, down to 1778, and are in Latin till 1635, when there is an entry that Daniel Thompson, Clerk, B.A. in Pembroke, Cambridge, was inducted. After this, the entries are in English till 1637, and thereafter in Latin.

This book is bound in vellum, recently. The first marriage was 30 October, 1558, and the first burial 30 Martii, 1558.

The Chalice and Paten, the latter forming a cover to the Chalice, are of silver, the Paten bearing the date 1558.

Mr. Compton then read a paper on "The President and Council of the North," which was followed by an interesting discussion, and will be published.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 20TH, 1901.

DR. W. DE GRAY BIRCH, F.S.A., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

Michael Ferrar, Esq., of Little Gidding, Ealing, was unanimously elected to a seat on the Council.

¹ Our Editorial Secretary, in his Notes on the Leicester Congress, puts the date of Bossu's death 1167-9. See *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, vol. vi, N. S., p. 361.

At the Council Meeting previously, Dr. Bireh was unanimously elected Hon. Treasurer of the Association, in succession to Mr. C. Lynam, resigned.

The Rev. R. I. Woodhouse exhibited an iron vessel, shaped like a cream jug, weighing 6 lb. 10 ozs., bearing evidences of a hinge at one time existing, which was found at Merstham, in Surrey, not a great distance from the neighbourhood of the Sussex ironworks, at which it may have been made. He suggested that it may have been intended for pouring in molten lead. He also exhibited a clay or terra-cotta money-box, considered by Mr. Gould and others to be early seveneenth-century work.

Miss Dobson brought for exhibition some brass and bronze coins, the finest being a brass of Lucilla, daughter of Marcus Aurelius, 147 A.D. Others were coins of Probus, Tetricus, and Galienus.

Mr. Patrick, Hon. Secretary, made an exhibition on behalf of Mr. C. Lynam, and read some notes he had prepared, in description of a fine series of photographs of the recent excavations and discoveries at Arbor Low, in Derbyshire.

Mr. Andrew Oliver showed some curiosities from Russia, including a brass "icon," in three compartments, a brass figure of St. Michael, with an inscription in Greek at the back, and a plaque of mother-of-pearl, engraved with the "Nailing to the Cross."

Mr. Thomas Fisher exhibited a large stone, of which he gave the following description:—

This stone (porphyry) was recently unearthed in Threadneedle Street, E.C., 20 ft. below the surface. It is supposed by Dr. Kingdon that it may have formed part of the old Walbrook Bridge. Another suggestion is that it was a pebble from the Thames foreshore, as there are traces of limpets on it.

Among various suggestions made at the Meeting as to its origin, one was that it might have formed part of the ballast of a vessel from the east coast of Scotland, where porphyry is indigenous.

The Rev. H. J. Dukinfield Astley exhibited two photographs, sent by Mr. Garside, of Stockport, illustrative of some "finds" made during recent excavations at Rowarth, in Derbyshire. The locality where the "finds" were made is locally known as "The Ringstones," and this tradition points to the possibility of there having been at one time a Stone Circle there, but of this there is now no trace. One photograph shows a very fine example of a Stone Celt, of the usual type, in excellent condition; the other represents an object bearing some likeness to a stone seat, to which the name of the "Druid's Chair" has

been given ; but it appears more probable that it is nothing more than a portion broken off a drinking-trough for cattle.

Mr. Astley also read a letter he had received from Lady Algernon Gordon Lennox describing some interesting discoveries recently made at Broughton Castle, Banbury. These consist of "traces of what must have been four magnificent early fourteenth-century windows, one of which has the remains of the tracery in it, which must have lighted the hall, and reached to within 3 ft. or 4 ft. of the floor ; besides these there are six doorways, most of them in a perfect condition, with the hinges still in position." Windows and doorways alike were all concealed by a thick covering of plaster.

On behalf of Mr. W. J. Andrew, of Whaley Bridge, Mr. Astley also exhibited a very fine example of a cinerary urn, still containing cremated ashes, which is thus described in the

Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum,

Vol. vi, Pt. III.

Inscriptiones urbis Romæ Latine. No. 22,698.

"Urna cineraria VISC ; In hortis Iustinianis Ptol. ; *Gallerie Giustiniani* SEG.—Apud equitem Piranesium MAR.—Roma exportandam curavit d'Este sculptor an. 1791 VISC.

L . MVNIVS . PPRISCVS (sic)

ALLIÆ PRISCÆ FILIVS

ARTEMÆ . NEPOS

Ptolemaeus sched. I, 97 (inde Mur. 1714, 7) ; Seguier Paris, f. 99 ; Marini sched. Vat ; E. Q. Visconti in schedis servatis apud Petrum Herculem nepotem.

Lin. 1 sic Ptol., pro priore P exhibent L. Seq., L. F. Mar. Visc ; errore quadratarii littera P bis posita esse videtur.—3 ARTEMÆ visc."

(The first line clearly reads : L . MUNIVS . L . F. PRISCUS, as stated by Marini and Visconti.)

According to the accepted and correct reading, the father, mother and aunt of Lucius Munius Priscus are mentioned. Mr. Andrew suggested that, as the inscription appears to be late, L. Munius Priscus may have been a man of some rank, and that was why d'Esté "removed" him. Can he have been a relative, on the female side, of PRISCUS ATTALUS, who was proclaimed Emperor of Rome by Alaric in A.D. 409, and died in exile ? And could Alaric be the father of Allia ?

The names "Munia" and "Attica" occur in Insc. 22,702 and 22,704.

No. 22,702 has

avis	avis
MVNIA	ATTICE

Descripti . Fr . Vellori in litteris Gorio missis , in quibus nota diei interiit , cod . Marncell A 63 (inde Gori monum Livixæ , pp. 177 and CLXVII) , etc.

No. 22,704

D . M .

MVNIAE MODESTINAE . VIRGINI
 INNOCENTISSIME . QVAE . VIXIT . ANN . XIII
 M . VII . D . III . MVNIVS . MODESTINVS ET
 MESSIA . FLACCINA . PARENTES
 CONTRA VOTVM . FILIAE
 DVLCISSIMAE
 MEMORIAM . A . FVNDAMENTIS . FECER
 ET . LIBERTIS . LIBERTABVSQ . POSTERIS Q .
 EORVM .

Mr. Astley drew attention to the fact of the *aunt* and *mother* being mentioned as well as the father ; and referring to a number of inscriptions from Britain containing similar statements, asked whether we might take this as being an example of the late survival of the custom of *mütterrecht*, which is connected with primitive totemism ? The British examples, chiefly of Caledonians and Picts, are thus explained by Prof Rhys in his book on *The Welsh People*. In any case, it is interesting to find such prominence given to the female relatives in a Roman inscription, and it was for this reason chiefly that Mr. Andrew had sent the urn for exhibition. The Chairman thought it rather probable that L. Munius Priscus was a freedman, whose mother and aunt were of higher social rank than his father, and that he may have been the heir of his aunt, who was perhaps a person possessed of some property. The urn had probably found its place originally in a columbarium.

The Paper of the evening was by Dr. Plowright, of King's Lynn, and was read in his absence by Mr. Astley. It dealt exhaustively with the archæology of woad, from the earliest times down to the beginning of the nineteenth century. It was well illustrated by drawings and photographs of woad mills and implements connected with its manufacture, both in this and other European countries, and copious references to the chief books on the subject.

In the discussion which followed the Paper, Mr. Forster, Mr. Gould, Mr. C. J. Williams, and others took part; the Chairman remarked that woad was at first called "glastum" or "glast"—Glastonbury, or with the Saxons Glastingbury, having a reference to it; and at Bridgewater, in Somersetshire, there used to be a large trade carried on in woad.

It is hoped this Paper will be published in a future number of the *Journal*.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 4TH, 1901.

DR. W. DE GRAY BIRCH, F.S.A., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

The following Members were duly elected :—

Rev. R. T. Woodhouse, Merstham Rectory, Redhill, Surrey.

E. A. Webb, Esq., Cookham Dene, Chislehurst.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the donors of the following presents for the Library :—

To the Société Archéologique de Bruxelles for "Bulletin," Part II, 1901.

„ *Stockholm Society of Antiquaries for "Proceedings," 1897-1899.*

A Paper, which will be published, was read by Mr. A. R. Goddard on "The Underground Strong Room at Richborough, Kent."

An interesting discussion followed, in which the Chairman, Mr. Mill-Stephenson, Mr. Gould, Mr. Compton, and others took part.





Antiquarian Intelligence.

Oliver Cromwell.¹—One of the strongest evidences of the fascination which the conflict of first principles exercises over the human mind may be found in the perennial interest which an account of the great struggle in England in the seventeenth century never fails to evoke. The fact that no less than four such accounts have been published during the last twelve months, and that they bear upon their title-pages the names of such writers as Mr. John Morley, the philosophic historian, Mr. Theodore Roosevelt, the hero of the Roughriders of Cuba, and now, through the vile stroke of the assassin, President of the United States of America, Dr. S. R. Gardiner, the close-reasoning investigator of all that concerns the history of the seventeenth century, and Mr. Charles Firth, the able writer of Cromwell's life in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, is sufficient proof that a lively and increasing interest is taken in the subject by cultured Englishmen and Americans; and, it may be, that this interest is enhanced by the circumstance that the same historic fight is being practically waged at this moment on the battlegrounds of South Africa—the fight between tyranny and freedom, between the upholders of the right of freemen to be self-governing citizens of a well-ordered state, and those who would make men the subjects of a mere arbitrary rule.

We propose to consider each of these accounts in turn. With the main facts of Oliver Cromwell's life, and the salient points in the great struggle, we will assume that our readers are familiar.

The story of the development of the farmer, or—as his humbler neighbours loved to call him, the lord—of the Fens, into one of the greatest military geniuses that any age or country has produced, and that finally seated him, in all but name, upon the historic throne of

¹ *Oliver Cromwell*, by the Right Hon. JOHN MORLEY, M.P., D.C.L., LL.D. (London: Macmillan & Co. 10s. net.)

Oliver Cromwell, by THEODORE ROOSEVELT. Illustrated. (Westminster: Archibald Constable & Co. 10s. 6d. net.)

Oliver Cromwell, by SAMUEL RAWSON GARDINER, M.A. D.C.L., LL.D., Ph.D., &c. With Frontispiece. (London: Longmans, Green & Co. 5s.)

Oliver Cromwell and the Rule of the Puritans in England, by CHARLES FIRTH, M.A. Illustrated. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 5s.)

Britain, is of surpassing interest ; and, as we turn the pages of these four notable volumes, we can see the picture growing before our eyes, and are enabled, in no small measure, to discern for ourselves the hidden sources of the greatness of the man, of whom it was truly said, "A larger soul hath seldom dwelt in a house of clay."

To take, first, Mr. John Morley's *Oliver Cromwell*. In this study we have, as might be expected, a reasoned philosophic dissertation, the style limpid and clear as a pellucid stream, full of that "lucidity" which Matthew Arnold praised as the special quality of the French language, and which might be looked for in the biographer of Voltaire, Rousseau, Diderot, and others of the great French writers of the eighteenth century. Mr. Morley is not content with bare facts ; he must view them in their correlation with one another, and he must dive below the surface to seek their hidden sources and origins. He is, in himself, the exemplification of that "historic sense" of which he writes : "It has been truly said that its rise indicates a revolution as great as any produced by the modern discoveries of physical science. It is not, for instance, easy for us, who are vain of living in an age of reason, to enter into the mind of a mystic of the seventeenth century. Yet, by virtue of that sense, even those who have moved furthest away in belief and faith from the books and symbols that lighted the inmost soul of Oliver, should still be able to do justice to his free and spacious genius, his high heart, his singleness of mind." Throughout his book Mr. Morley keeps true to his text ; and one can only regret that he should have ever been tempted to relinquish the quiet glades of literature for the thorny ways of contemporary politics ; and wonder whether, if he stood at the same distance from the events of to-day that he does from those that he is chronicling here, he would not take the same calm, dispassionate, abstracted view which the exigencies of public life make impossible for him now. In the opening sentences the author shows us at once, at what an immeasurable distance we stand from the old one-sided unhistoric judgment of the actors in the mighty tragedy of the Civil War, which was presented to us, as the heritage of the Restoration writers, even in the days of our youth : in which all who fought and died on the King's side, including the King himself, were represented as heroes and martyrs, all who were on the side of the Parliament were hair-brained enthusiasts, hypocrites, and rebels ; while in the first revulsion from these views, Carlyle and Macaulay went just as far wrong, from an historical point of view, in the other direction. Human nature is wonderfully complex, and absolute right is found in no one set of men, or even of principles, anywhere on earth. "Of the earth, earthy," must be written on all alike.

Mr. Morley's sketch of the conflict of the principles involved in the rival systems of Calvinism and Arminianism, of Anglicanism and Dissent, which preceded the conflict between the adherents of these antagonistic opinions, is a masterpiece, as is also his series of portraits of the various actors in the scene. Charles himself, and Cromwell, Strafford and Laud, Pym and Hampden and Elliot, and the host of names that throng the memory as one thinks of the period, each and all have full justice done them, and stand out for ever on the page of history. We are especially glad to be able to say this of Laud, for whom one might have looked for scantier justice at the hands of one so far removed from his standpoint as Mr. Morley. Charles I, with his æsthetic temperament, his love for the arts, his real honesty of motive from his own point of view, but withal his weakness of will in dealing with the problems of the time, which is the secret of all his tergiversation and deceit—in a word, the idealist, the Hamlet of the seventeenth century—is well balanced by the figure of Cromwell: stern, practical, full of common sense, caring nought for "baubles," but seeing clearly what he means to have, and going straight ahead for it. The only thing that Cromwell did not see was whither he himself was being led, and where he would find himself at the end of the troubles. Doubtless he was ambitious, but it was for the cause of God and of "His poor oppressed people," as he understood it, and it was an honest ambition. Nothing is clearer than that Cromwell's rise was unexpected and almost unwished by himself. "Sir," he said to the French Ambassador, "no man rises so high, as he who knows not whither he is going." Cromwell was no hypocrite; the cause of God must prevail, and the best man must come to the top, and if he is the best man—well, then, he will take, and he will hold, the highest place. All this is plainly unfolded by Mr. Morley in his description of Cromwell's negotiations with his Presbyterian opponents in Parliament; in the circumstances that led to the forming of the new model army; and to his continuance in command after the Self-denying Ordinance, which included all other members of either House, was passed; in his negotiations with Charles after Naseby; and in all his dealings with his own Parliaments after he was proclaimed Protector for the first and second time.

It was the very irony of history, but it was inevitable, that Cromwell was compelled to treat his Parliaments exactly as Charles himself had dealt with each of his, until the Long Parliament met!

The secret of Cromwell's rise is to be found in the fact, as Mr. Morley points out, that from the first he saw that the decisive arm in the war would be cavalry, and that he set himself deliberately to

perfect that arm, in which the Parliamentary forces were at first very deficient, until it became a match, and more than a match, for the cavalry of the Cavaliers. This may be seen in his often-quoted remarks to Hampden: "'Your troops,' said I, 'are most of them old decayed serving-men, and tapsters, and such kind of fellows; and their troops are gentlemen's sons, and persons of quality. Do you think that the spirits of such base and mean fellows will ever be able to encounter gentlemen, that have honor and courage and resolution in them? You must get men of a spirit, and of a spirit that is likely to go on as far as gentlemen will go, or else, I am sure, you will be beaten still.'" Hampden thought the notion good but impracticable—"Impracticable" was a word as unknown to Cromwell as "impossible" to Napoleon. He goes on: "I raised such men as had the fear of God before them, and made some conscience of what they did, and from that day forward they were never beaten." This is the simple truth. Commencing with his troop of sixty men, raised from the Eastern Association, and going on till he had a thousand picked men under him, Cromwell's regiment of Ironsides was the rock against which the warriors of Charles beat in vain. Prince Rupert was Cromwell's only great opponent in the field; but, whereas the impetuous Prince never learnt how to keep his men in hand, and rally them after the charge, and bring them back to the support of the sorely-pressed infantry in the centre, Cromwell never let his men go. First, at Marston Moor, and afterwards on many a stricken field--at Naseby, at Dunbar, at Worcester, after the charge and rout of the cavalry opposed to him--Cromwell gathered his men together, and returned to decide the fortunes of the day, by that attack on flank and rear which snatched the fruits of victory out of the very jaws of defeat.

We must not dwell on Mr. Morley's most true remarks upon the undoubted blot on Cromwell's character of the massacres at Drogheda and Wexford in the course of his Irish campaign, and of the disastrous results of the "Cromwellian settlement" of Ireland. Nor can we further pursue the history of the Commonwealth and Protectorate. Cromwell failed, in spite of seemingly unexampled success, just because he was so great. There was no one after him to take his place; but the principles for which he fought lived on, and reappeared after apparent eclipse. England to-day enjoys to the full the blessings of that toleration which Cromwell praised, but which even he was never strong enough to put in practice, because it was too far in advance of the spirit of the age; and she enjoys it as the outcome of those principles for which Cromwell lived, and fought, and died. As Mr. Morley truly says: "The greatest names in history are those who,

in a full career, and amid the turbid extremities of political action, have yet touched closest and at most points the wide ever-standing problems of the world, and the things in which man's interest never dies. Of this far-shining company Cromwell was surely one." In parting from this book, we cannot hesitate to express our meed of thanks to the author; and would only add that he would possibly have made it even a better book than it is, if he had left a little more to the imagination of the reader, and allowed him, rather more than he has done, to form his own judgment on men and things.

Mr. Roosevelt's book transports us into quite a different atmosphere from that we have been breathing hitherto. We have no longer to deal with the calm and unemotional philosopher, but instead we seem to breathe the breezy air of the prairies, and we feel also that we have to do with a man who has himself taken part in the stern arbitrament of war.

The author points out truly that in Cromwell we behold a man who was ahead of his age—that so far from Carlyle's verdict being correct that the "Puritanism of the Cromwellian epoch was the last glimpse of the Godlike vanishing from England; conviction and veracity giving place to hollow cant and formalism . . . the last of all our Heroisms"—the epoch of the Puritans was the beginning of the great modern epoch of the English-speaking world; and that the whole history of the movement which resulted in the establishment of the Commonwealth in England will be misread and misunderstood, if we fail to appreciate that it was the first modern and not the last mediæval movement, strictly akin to the men and principles that have appeared in all similar great movements since: in the English Revolution of 1688; in the American Revolution of 1776; and the American Civil War of 1861.

This is Mr. Roosevelt's text, and through all the stirring scenes of battle, and the more sordid conflicts of hot-headed partizans in and out of Parliament, he keeps it steadily in view. That which makes this book all the more interesting to an Englishman is the circumstance that we are enabled to see the events of the time here through the eyes of a cultivated American; and throughout the book Mr. Roosevelt is perpetually drawing attention to the parallels or contrasts to be found in the course of American history, particularly in the events of the Revolution and the Civil War. Cromwell as the apostle of toleration is his hero. He quotes with unmeasured approbation Cromwell's letter to the Parliament after the storm of Bristol: "Presbyterians, Independants, all have here the same spirit of faith and prayer; the same presence and answer; they agree here; have no

means of difference ; pity it is that it should be otherwise anywhere ; and for brethren in things of the mind we look for no compulsion but that of light and reason." He only blames him that he did not go far enough, and apply his principles to Anglicans and Roman Catholics also ; and, further, that, when the supreme power fell into his hands, he preferred to become the dictator of a military government to exercising the self-effacement and moderation which led Washington and Lincoln in after days, and under other circumstances, to lay the foundations of a stable Republic. But he owns that Cromwell, surrounded as he was by men to whom the very name of toleration for any but their own opinions, whether in religion or politics, was abhorrent, could hardly have acted otherwise than he did, and he remains his hero in spite of all.

It was hardly to be expected, perhaps, that Mr. Roosevelt should do justice to Charles and his advisers. Their standpoint is too far removed from his manly independence of mind, and his sturdy opposition to any authority that rests on compulsion. But in describing Laud as "a small and narrow man, and a bitter persecutor, whose tyranny was of that fussy kind which without striking terror, often irritates nearly to madness," he shows that he has still something himself to learn of that spirit of toleration whose praises he so loudly sings, when it is to be applied to those who believe in the unity and continuity of the Catholic Church, and whose religion is helped by the decent observance of the forms and ceremonies of worship.

In spite of his feeling that Cromwell would have done better if he had been strong enough to avoid personal rule, his verdict is that "on the whole, England and Scotland fared well under Oliver ;" but that, on the other hand, Ireland fared badly ; and with this verdict we cannot disagree. In England, Cromwell stood for religious liberty, as far as he was able ; his Irish policy was, perhaps inevitably, one of bitter oppression ; but, as a set-off to this, he made England respected abroad as she had not been since the days of Elizabeth, nor was for long afterwards.

Altogether this is a delightful and an exhilarating book, which no one who desires to see how Cromwell and the England of his day appears to the most progressive of Americans, should fail to peruse. The course of the war is specially well described, and the battle scenes exhibit the touch of the master-hand of one who has himself faced death on the field.

Dr. Gardiner's book gives, as the author says, "within a short compass a history of Oliver Cromwell from a biographical point of view. Commencing with the account of his early life, and dealing

with each event in turn as it tends to mark the growth of his mind and character, we have here unfolded by a series of masterly touches, the finished portrait of Cromwell: the lineaments well defined; his greatness and his littleness; his strength and his weakness; the fine features and the blotches that marred them, all are brought out with the firm and unerring stroke of the master. Here we see Cromwell as the Opportunist, over and over again allowing himself to be led by circumstances, instead of boldly acting as the master of his fate, and bending circumstances to his will. This is seen in his behaviour during the squabbles between the Presbyterians and Independants in Parliament, which led to the formation of the new model army; it is seen in his negotiations with the King, which nearly wrecked his standing with both parties; in his conduct during the proceedings which led to the King's trial and death; in his negotiations with David Leslie prior to the battle of Dunbar, when—fortunately for him—the folly of his enemies cut the Gordian knot and threw the victory into his hands; and lastly, in his continued efforts to combine military rule with Parliamentary forms after he became Protector. More than once in the course of his career, a deep disgust with things as they were, and with the men with whom he had to deal, tempted him almost to throw up the sponge, and take ship either over sea to the New England Colonies, or even to take up arms on behalf of the Protestant cause in Germany. But through it all we see the underlying purpose to do God's work, and to help forward the triumph of "His poor afflicted people."

In a fine passage, describing the motives which led to Cromwell's consenting to the death of the King, Dr. Gardiner lets us see these conflicting elements in his character.

"The situation, complicated enough already, had been still further complicated by Charles's duplicity. Men who would have been willing to come to terms with him despaired of any constitutional arrangement in which he was to be a factor, and men who had been long alienated from him were irritated into active hostility. To remove him out of the way appeared to be the only possible road to peace for the troubled nation. Of this latter class Cromwell made himself the mouthpiece. *Himself a man of compromises*, he had been thrust, sorely against his will, into direct antagonism with the uncompromising King. He had striven long to mediate between the old order and the new. Failing in this, Cromwell finally allied himself with those who cried out most loudly for the King's blood."

And Dr. Gardiner's final verdict is: "The man—it is ever so with the noblest—was greater than his work. In his own heart lay the

resolution to subordinate self to public ends, and to subordinate material to moral and spiritual objects of desire. He was limited by the defects which make imperfect the character and intellect even of the noblest and wisest of mankind. He was limited still more by the unwillingness of his contemporaries to mould themselves after his ideas. The living forces of England—forces making for the destruction of those barriers which he was himself breaking through, buoyed him up. As a strong and self-confident swimmer, he was carried onward by the flowing tide." With this verdict all will agree.

Mr. Firth's book forms one of the series of the "Heroes of the Nations," and is largely based upon his article in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, but all students of the period will be glad to have it in this more accessible form. Its subject is defined by the sub-title, "The Rule of the Puritans in England." We have not to do here so much with Cromwell, the man, as with the development of his career in the triumph of those Puritan principles which he embodied and enforced.

Incidentally Mr. Frith points out that his success as a Cavalry leader was largely due to the fruits of study during the quiet years at St. Ives and Ely. The tremendous struggle known as the Thirty Years' War was then being fought out, and "some of the best accounts of the battles and mode of fighting of Gustavus Adolphus were published in England; and between 1630 and 1640 few books were more popular than *The Swedish Intelligencer* and *The Swedish Soldier*. It cannot be doubted that Cromwell read these narratives, and absorbed from them that knowledge of military principles and military tactics which supplied for him the place of personal experience." There is no doubt that he was a military genius, and that that genius was equal to every duty which fate imposed upon him. Cromwell, like Gustavus, was the organiser of the army he led to victory; and, like him, an innovator in war—Gustavus in tactics, Cromwell in strategy. This book is specially distinguished for its clear account of the various battles of the Civil War, of which there are many good plans. There are also many fine portraits and illustrations, and a good index. Mr. Morley's book also has a good index, but in this Dr. Gardiner is deficient. Mr. Roosevelt's book is particularly well produced: the type is large and clear, there are numbers of beautiful illustrations and portraits, and the index is unusually full and easy of reference.

We heartily recommend each of these books, for each is indispensable to a full understanding of Cromwell and his times from the standpoint of the most modern research; but each of our readers, if he cannot procure all, must choose the one most suited to his own tastes.

Mr. Morley is for the scholar ; President Roosevelt for the man of action ; Dr. Gardiner for the student, and Mr. Firth for the intelligent reader.

An Account of the Remains of a Roman Villa discovered at Brislington, Bristol, December, 1899. By W. R. BARKER, Chairman of the Museum Committee (printed for the Committee of the City Museum by W. C. Hemmons, St. Stephen's Street, Bristol, 1s.)—This little *brochure* contains a most interesting and complete account of the finding of a Roman Villa, near Bristol, in the year 1899, under quite unexpected circumstances. The remains were discovered in a field on the northern side of the present Bath Road, near to the Arno's Vale Cemetery, in the course of the construction of a new road, preparatory to building operations ; and as soon as the news came to the knowledge of the members of the Clifton Antiquarian Club, they formed a small committee with the object of carrying out a thorough exploration. Unfortunately, the new road had cut through two of the principal rooms of the Villa before the nature of the remains was realised, and much damage was done to a very beautiful tessellated pavement in one of the rooms. Another pavement, also of beautiful design, was, however, found in another room, and these are both now in the City Museum. The Villa seems to have been of considerable size, and to have been the residence of a Roman gentleman of means.

Numerous coins were found, ranging from Victorinus to Constantius II, a period of about a century.

A complete plan of the Villa is given, and of the two pavements, as well as of that in the passage between the two principal rooms ; a coloured plate of the centre of the pavement, which was cut through by the new road, is reproduced from a beautiful drawing made by Mrs. Flora Bush before it was disturbed ; and there is a view of the hypocausts, which are in good preservation. Some of the most remarkable "finds" were taken from the well, including three complete skeletons and portions of another. Full details are given, and a complete list of all the "finds," which include, besides the coins, stone and flint implements, pottery, glass, ornaments, etc. Most of these are figured on a series of plates. Altogether, this is one of the best accounts of an interesting discovery, and the most scientifically arranged, which it has been our lot to see.

The Welsh People : Chapters on their Origin, History, Laws, Language, etc. By J. RHYS, M.A., and D. BRYNMÓR JONES, LL.B. (2nd Edit. T. Fisher Unwin, 16s.)—This work contains a reprint of several

extracts from the Royal Commission on Land in Wales and Monmouth, with addition of new chapters, and some part written by Mr. F. Seebohm, the well-known author of *The English Village Community*. The book is readable, interesting and attractive; its size prevents its being more than a series of essays upon prominent historical and social points, rather than a record of all that can be said upon the several subjects of which it takes cognisance. The ethnology of the Goidels, Brythons, Picts, and other ancient peoples who have passed in successive waves of occupancy over this remote corner of Britain, must be read in connection with Prof. Rhys's *Celtic Britain*, and the statements compared or contrasted with what is recorded in that work. The Roman period, the era of the Cymry (six pages), and that from the time of Cadwaladr to the Norman Conquest, A.D. 664-1096, occupy three chapters of more tangible history. To these succeed a review of the principal aspects of the "Ancient Laws and Customs," to which the reader may add much contained in Mr. Hubert Lewis's *Ancient Laws of Wales*, of which we gave a notice at the time of its publication. The next chapters are devoted to the history of the period 1066 to 1282, the Legal and Constitutional History; the History of Land Tenure; the Religious Movement; the Educational Movement; the Language and Literature; and Rural Wales at the present day. It will thus be seen that there is a wide choice of topics for the reader's delectation. From the manners of the people as revealed by the ancient laws and customs to the existing manners described in the concluding chapter, how profound a fall, what a gulf of deterioration, what a divergence of ethics!—due naturally to the corrupting extraneous influence which, under the name of civilisation, destroys the Arcadian—shall we say Utopian—manners of all the primitive races of man. The book will repay perusal, as it gives a very succinct account of many things the general reader will be glad to know more about, removes many current erroneous impressions, and represents the Welsh under their true and most pleasing aspects.

Some Feudal Coats-of-Arms. By JOSEPH FOSTER, M.A. (J. Parker and Co., Oxford.)—This is a new departure in the way of teaching heraldry. Hitherto, the enquirer has had to be content with the *Armory* of Burke or of Berry, and the *Ordinary* of Papworth: works excellent in themselves, but not without serious shortcomings. In this work the author records a vast number of coats-of-arms, never as yet entered into the general text-books; and has given illustrated proofs of his statement by a series of two thousand zinc etchings from the Bayeux Tapestry, Greek vases, seals, armorial tiles, effigies,

brasses, and Rolls of Arms, liberally displayed as borders on every page of a large quarto book. Mr. Foster lashes the College of Arms with unsparing criticism now and then; we fear he has not always been received with pleasure by the working staff of that Corporation. On the other hand, he speaks well of the officials of the British Museum, where he appears to have met with universal assistance and sympathy. Of hard work, to which the production of this valuable book testifies, Mr. Foster has not stinted anything, and the result is a reliable book which must take its place in the foremost rank as a worthy companion of the productions of Burke, and Papworth, and other kindred heraldries, now put in the shade to some extent by the gleanings in new fields which the author has entered on. We hope he will perfect his work by the preparation of an *Ordinary*, or dictionary of arms arranged in order of their bearings, whereby so many heraldic antiquities and objects may be attributed to their proper family ownership. Such a work could not be in better hands.

History of Neath Abbey from Documents in the British Museum, the Record Office, at Neath, etc. By W. G. DE BIRCH, LL.D., F.S.A. (J. [E. Richards, Neath).—This is a companion volume, as far as arrangement and appearance goes, to the *History of Margam Abbey*, recently written by Dr. Birch. It treats of the varying fortunes of the well-known and historical Cistercian Abbey of Glamorganshire, not far from Swansea, and is illustrated with numerous views, plans, seals, and other artistic relics of this once powerful Monastery. The work will be ready at Christmas and a few copies remain after supplying subscribers at the price of £1 1s., to be had on application to the publisher as above. We hope to give a full review of this work in a future *Journal*.

Scottish Architectural Details. By JOHN W. SMALL, F.S.A.Scot. (E. Mackay, Stirling).—Mr. Small is a past-master in the art of representing Scottish antiquarian architecture with thorough feeling and simple accuracy. He rightly declares that there is not the least doubt of the value of sketches and measured drawings of good examples of old work, and he points to the success of such labour as a sure indication of their useful character. The elegant work before us, filled with drawings of ecclesiastical and domestic art, relics in stone, wood, and metal work, sketched, measured, and re-drawn for the stone by the author, with a short description of each object, makes a veritable album of reference to the architect desirous of imparting

true Scottish detail and effect into his designs, and a most interesting collection of archæological examples, calculated to improve and perfect the judgment of the antiquary in questions dealing with Scottish remains of the mediæval period. Scotland, from one end to the other, is a storehouse of architectural beauty; most of her abbeys and castles are mines of native wealth, on which the observant student can draw without reserve for inspiration and reflection. Mr. Small has culled some of the choicest gems from this quarry. It would need a dozen such books as his present one to exhaust all that is good in this respect; but we cheerfully render the artist-author his due meed of praise and thanks for so judiciously chosen and so faithfully reproduced a series of Scotland's finest fragments of the best period of her architectural production.

Discovery of Norman Arches in St. Mary's Church, Chatham.—An interesting discovery has been made in pulling down the nave of the parish church of St. Mary, Chatham, for the purpose of rebuilding, some beautiful old Norman arches in the west wall having been brought to light. The work has been temporarily stopped, in order that a special fund may be raised to preserve these and other remains of the old Norman church. From the resemblance of the work to portions of Rochester Cathedral, it is believed that it dates back to the twelfth century, and evidence exists that the Norman church of which it formed part remained standing until the second half of the eighteenth century.





Obituary.

GEO. LAMBERT, F.S.A.

WE have to record, with deep regret, the death of Mr. Geo. Lambert, F.S.A., which took place on September 12th last, in his seventy-eighth year, after a prolonged period of failing health. Mr. Lambert became a life member of the Association in 1870, and for many years was an active and zealous member, as his contributions to the *Journal*, and his various publications on archæological subjects, abundantly prove. He was a frequent attendant at the Congresses, during which his great knowledge of the history of the gold and silversmiths' art, and his correct judgment of the workmanship of the old craftsmen, enabled him without hesitation, on many occasions, to assign to the true date some ancient mace or piece of corporation plate, or regalia, set out for the inspection of the members of the Association at these meetings. The information he was always ready to give upon such matters, and upon church plate at the churches visited, was most valuable, and was always gratefully acknowledged by the several custodians and the associates generally.

Mr. Lambert was one of the most prominent gold and silversmiths in London, and his business in Coventry Street, Haymarket, one of the most celebrated. He was well known in City circles, and had filled many important offices. He was apprenticed to the Goldsmiths' Company in 1837, and filled the office of Prime Warden in 1887, of which circumstance he had a deep appreciation, as being the only apprentice who had attained that distinction for several centuries. Mr. Lambert was a liveryman of many City companies, and a generous supporter of their charities, and a liberal benefactor to the several societies connected with his own Guild of Gold and Silversmiths. Mr. Lambert was an early member of the Volunteer Force, and had attained to the rank of Major V.D.

JOHN REYNOLDS.

DEATH has removed from the ranks of archæologists many well-known individuals during the past twelve months, and our Association has to mourn the loss of several of its members: but Mr. John Reynolds, of Bristol, whose sudden decease in August last we very greatly deplore, was not actually an Associate at the time of his death, as he retired from the Association some few years back. He originally joined, however, in 1875, and for many years was a well-known frequenter of the Congresses. He was an enthusiastic archæologist, and a most diligent worker, and contributed many valuable papers, some to our *Journal*, but the majority to the Bristol and Gloucester Society, of which he was a prominent member. As an authority upon conventual arrangements, and particularly of those of the Cistercian Order, he was thoroughly to be relied upon; while his knowledge of mediæval architecture was considerable. Mr. Reynolds was one of the founders of the Leland Club, a private society formed for the express purpose of making tours and excursions to places of archæological interest in England and on the Continent. He was never happier than when arranging the details of such a tour, and in personally conducting the party; and these meetings were much enjoyed by all who took part in them. At the time of his death he was engaged in arranging a tour of a few days to Furness Abbey, Cartmell Priory, Carlisle, and other places, to commence on the 26th of September; but, alas! on August 24th, very suddenly indeed, he passed away, at the age of sixty-five years.





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