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DECEMBER, 1917.

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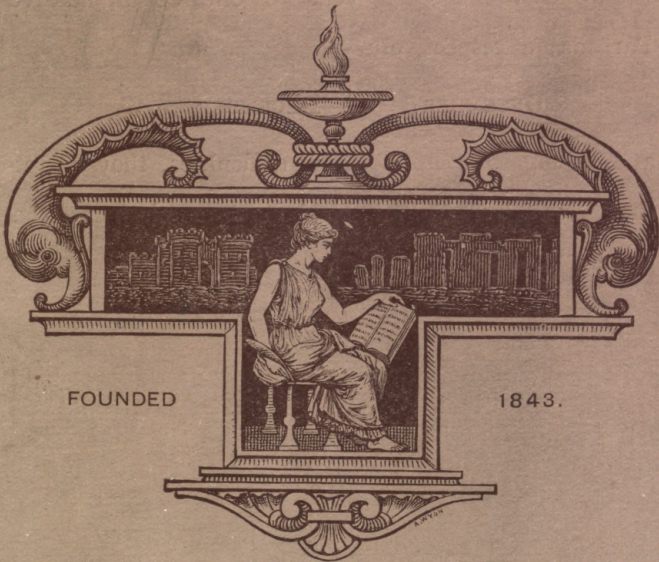
THE JOURNAL
OF THE
BRITISH



ARCHAEOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

FOR THE

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



London:

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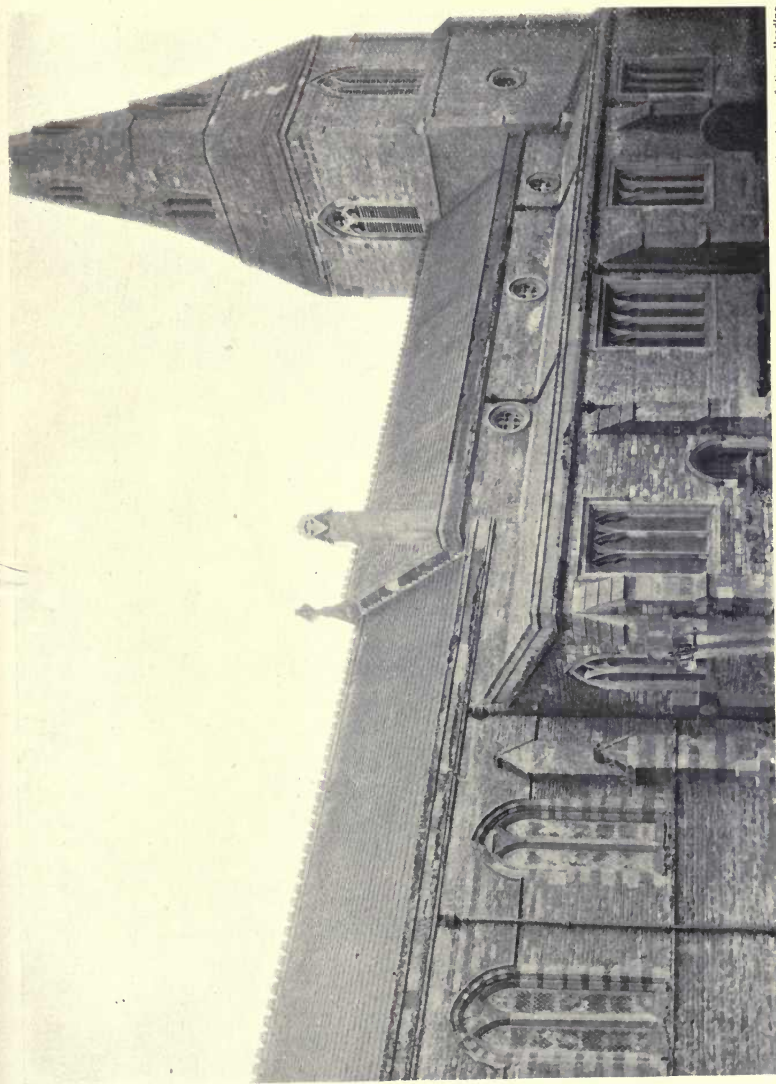
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FROM THE SOUTH.

Fig. 1.



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FROM THE NORTH.

Fig. 2.

SEATON CHURCH.



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THE CHANCEL.

Fig. 3.

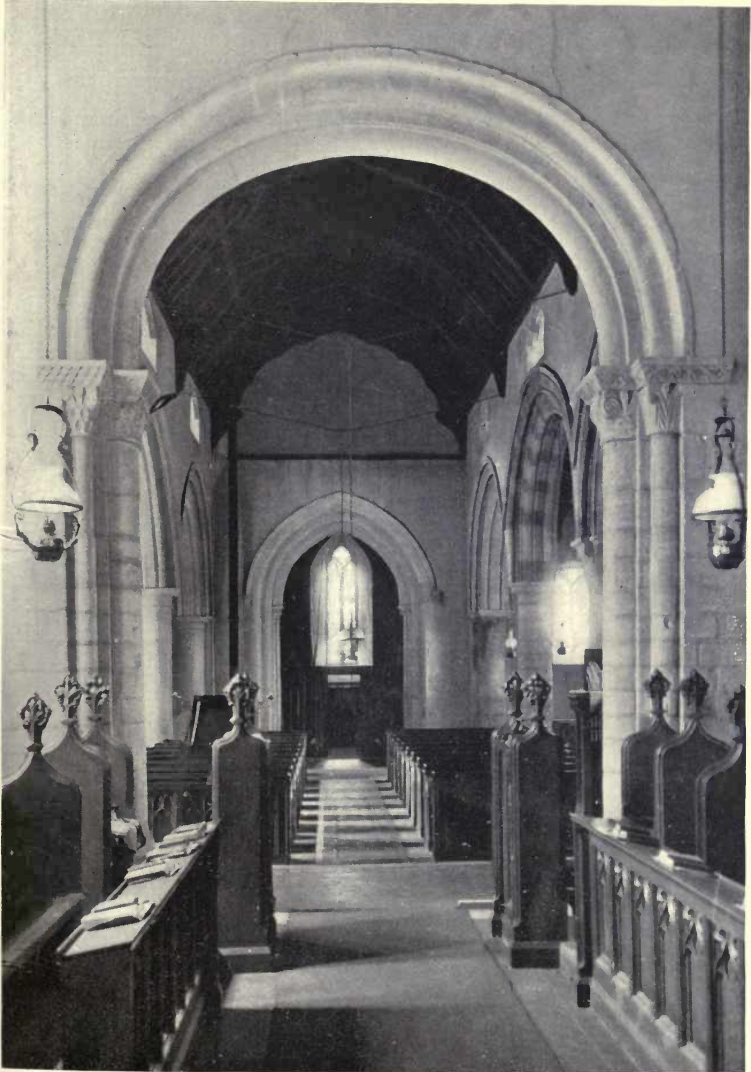


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THE SEDILIA AND PISCINA.

Fig. 4.

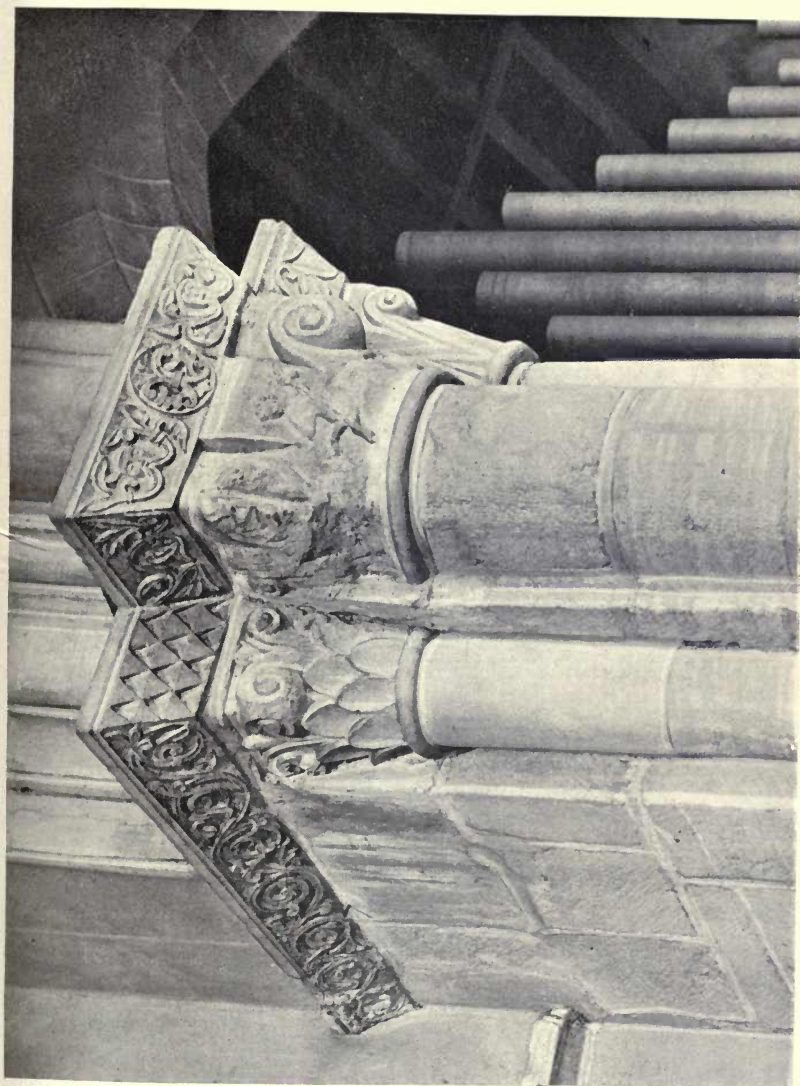
SEATON CHURCH.



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Fig. 5.

INTERIOR LOOKING WEST.



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CAPITALS OF CHANCEL ARCH, NORTH SIDE.

Fig. 7.



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CAPITALS OF CHANCEL ARCH, NORTH SIDE.

Fig. 8.



Walton Adams & Sons, Mead, N.J.

CAPITALS OF CHANCEL ARCH, SOUTH SIDE.

Fig. 9.



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NORTH NAVE ARCADE.

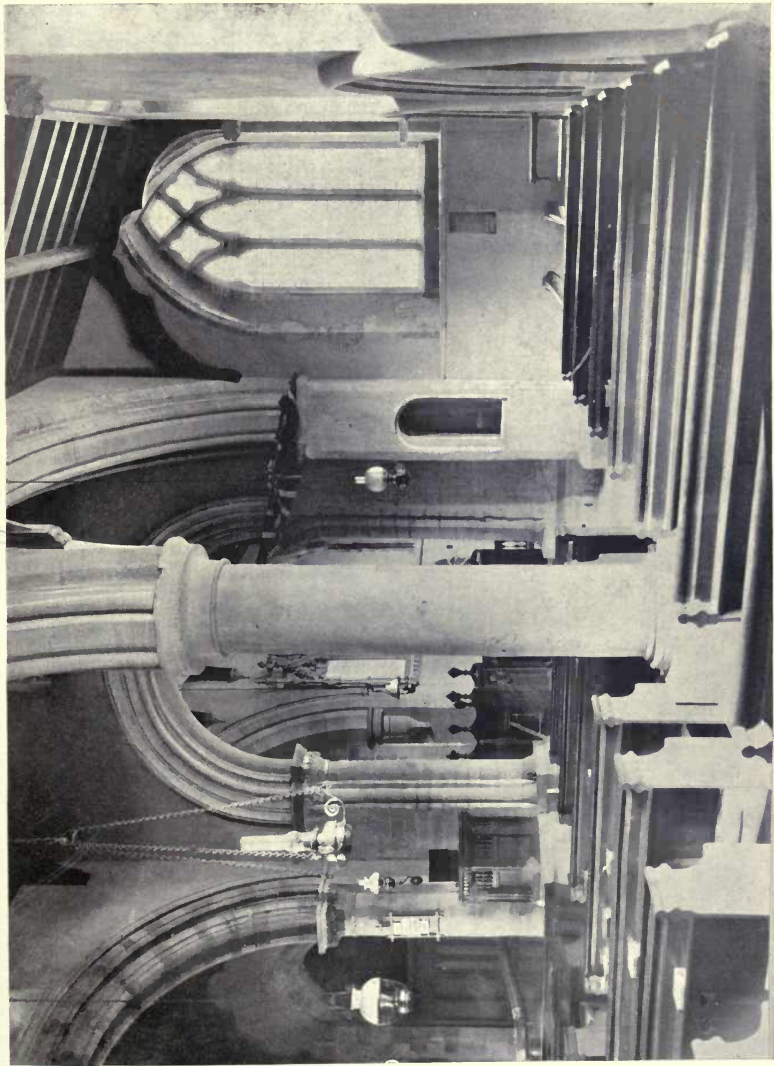
Fig. 10.



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SOUTH NAVE ARCADE.

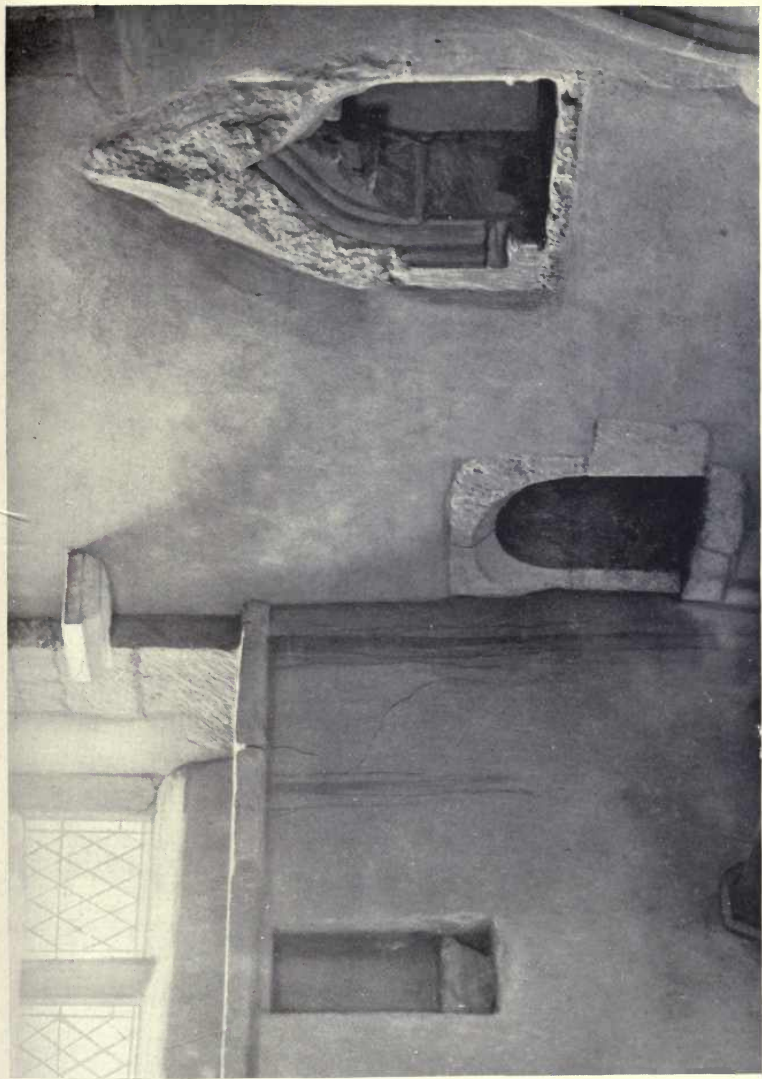
Fig. 11.



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THE SOUTH AISLE.

Fig. 12.



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Fig. 13.

EAST END OF SOUTH AISLE.



SEATON CHURCH.



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Fig. 14.

THE SOUTH DOORWAY.

SEATON CHURCH.



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Fig. 15.

CAPITALS OF SOUTH DOORWAY, EAST SIDE.

SEATON CHURCH.



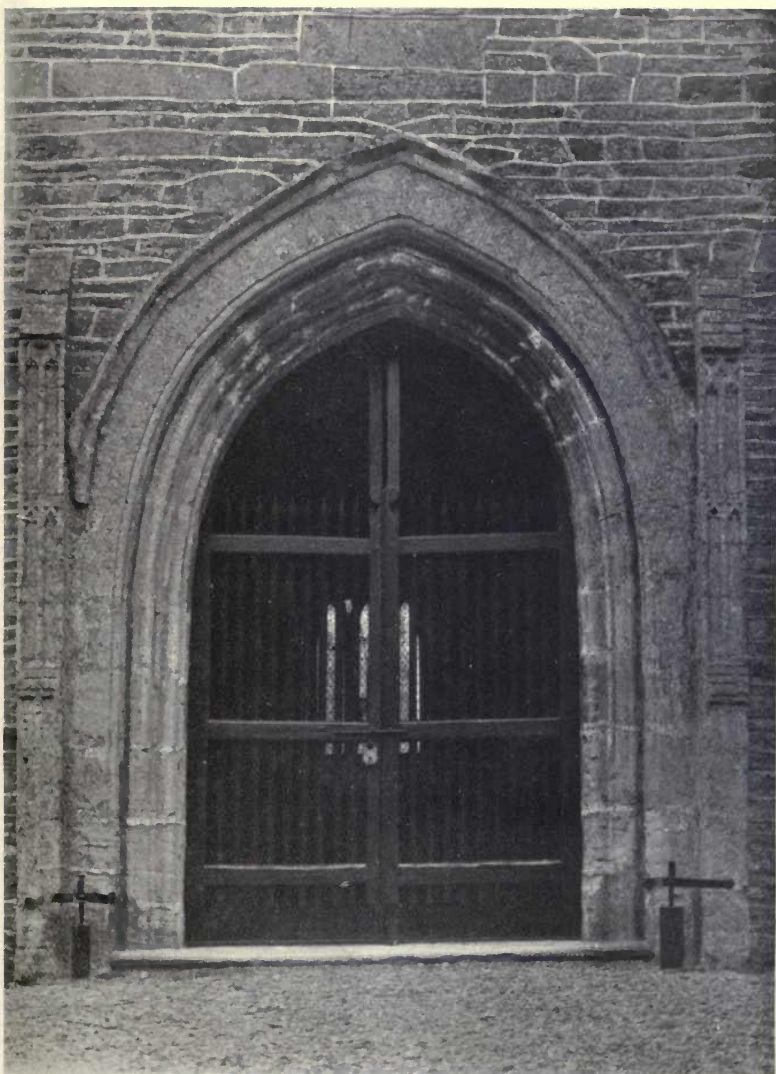
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Fig. 16.

CAPITALS OF SOUTH DOORWAY, WEST SIDE.



SEATON CHURCH.



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Fig. 17.

THE SOUTH PORCH.



SEATON CHURCH.



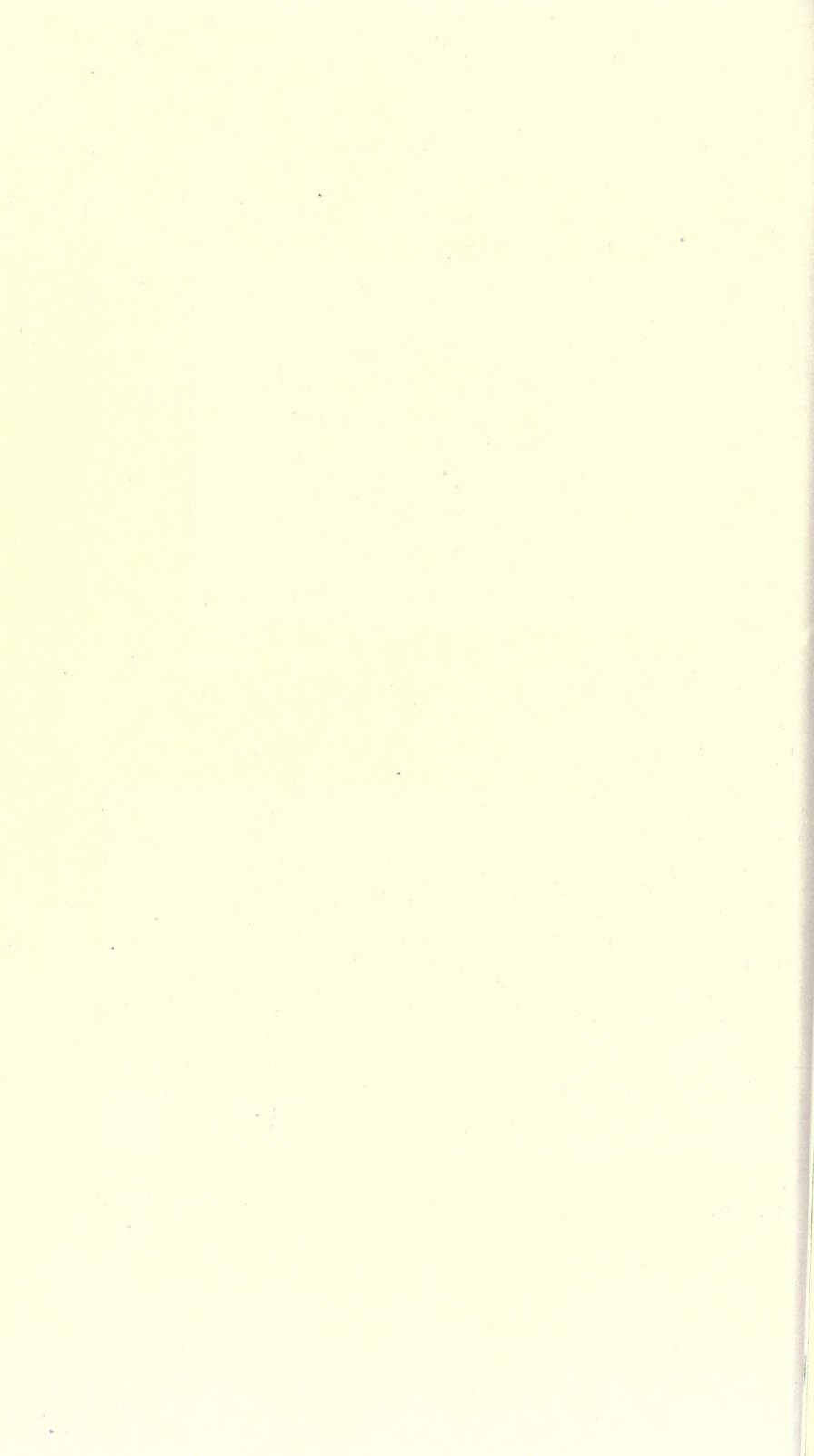
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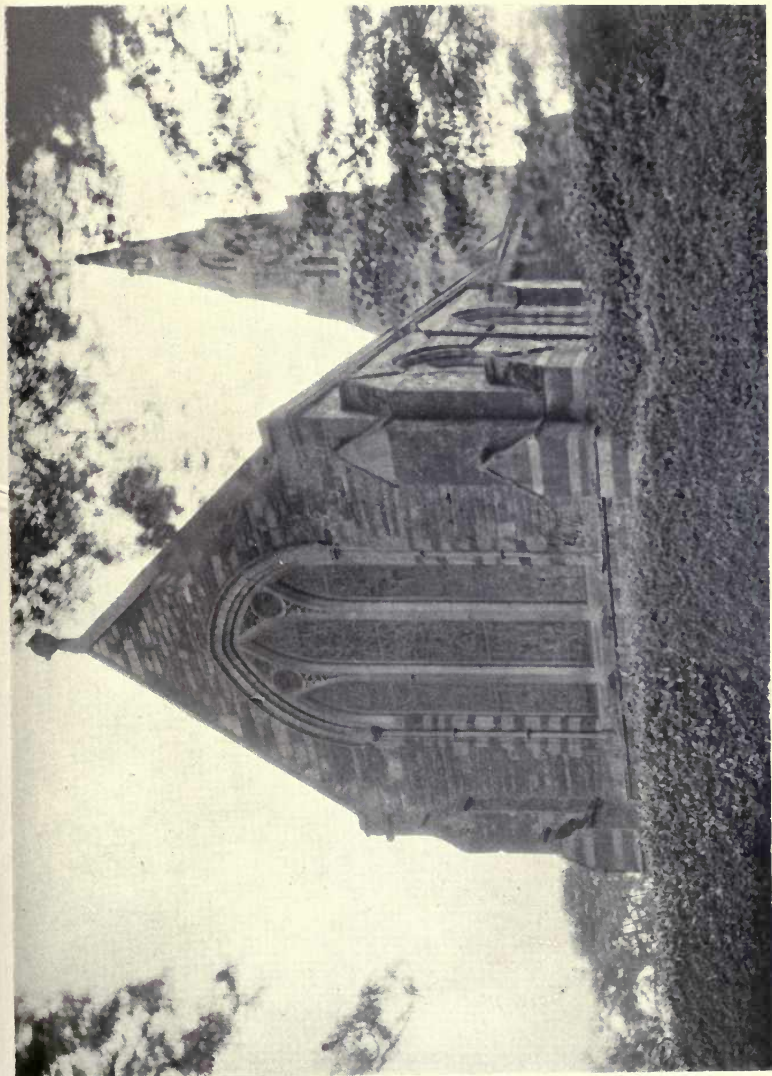
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ANCIENT CHEST.



Fig. 18b.

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PORTIONS OF CROSS COFFIN LIDS.





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FROM THE EAST.

Fig. 19.



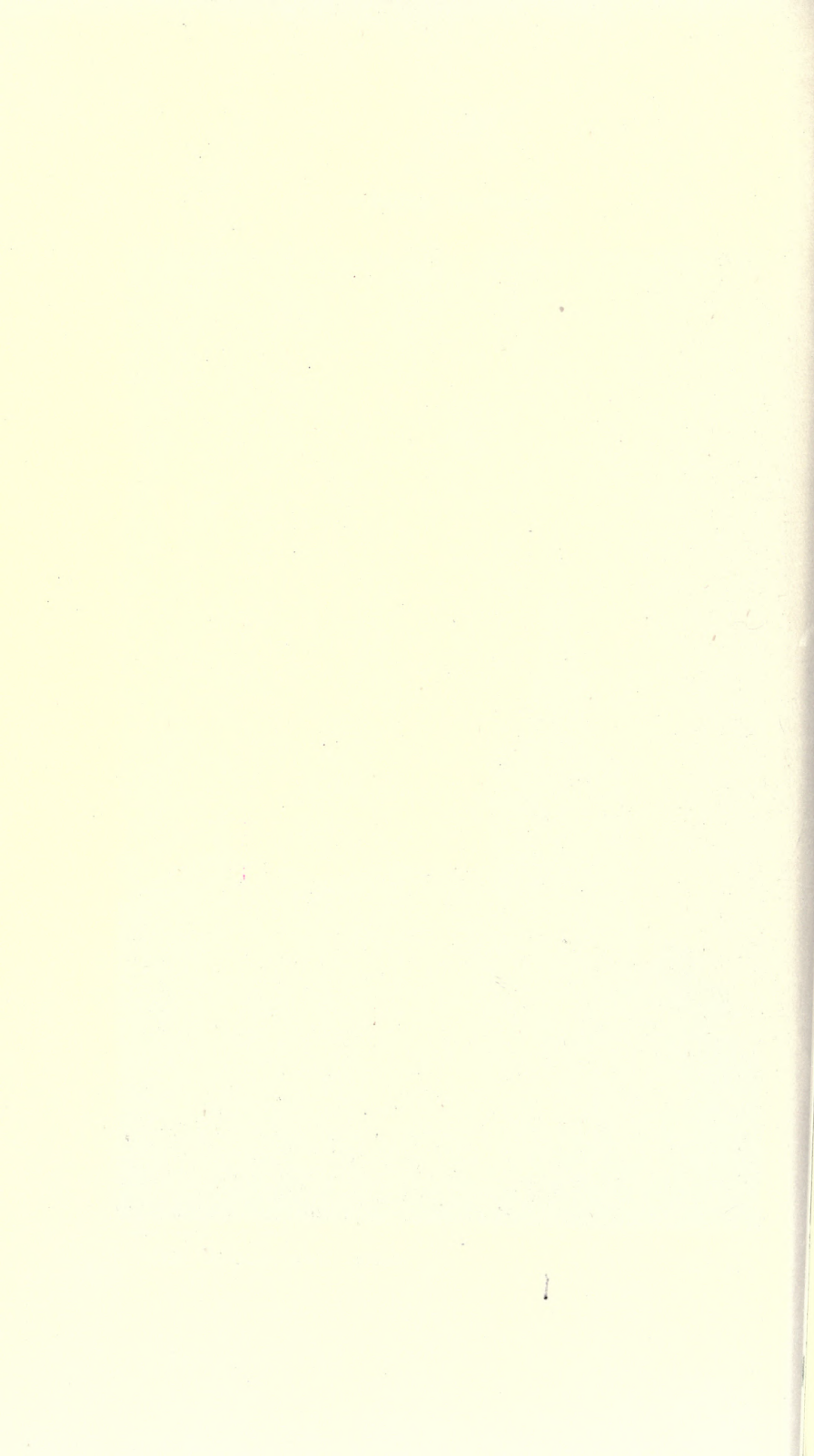
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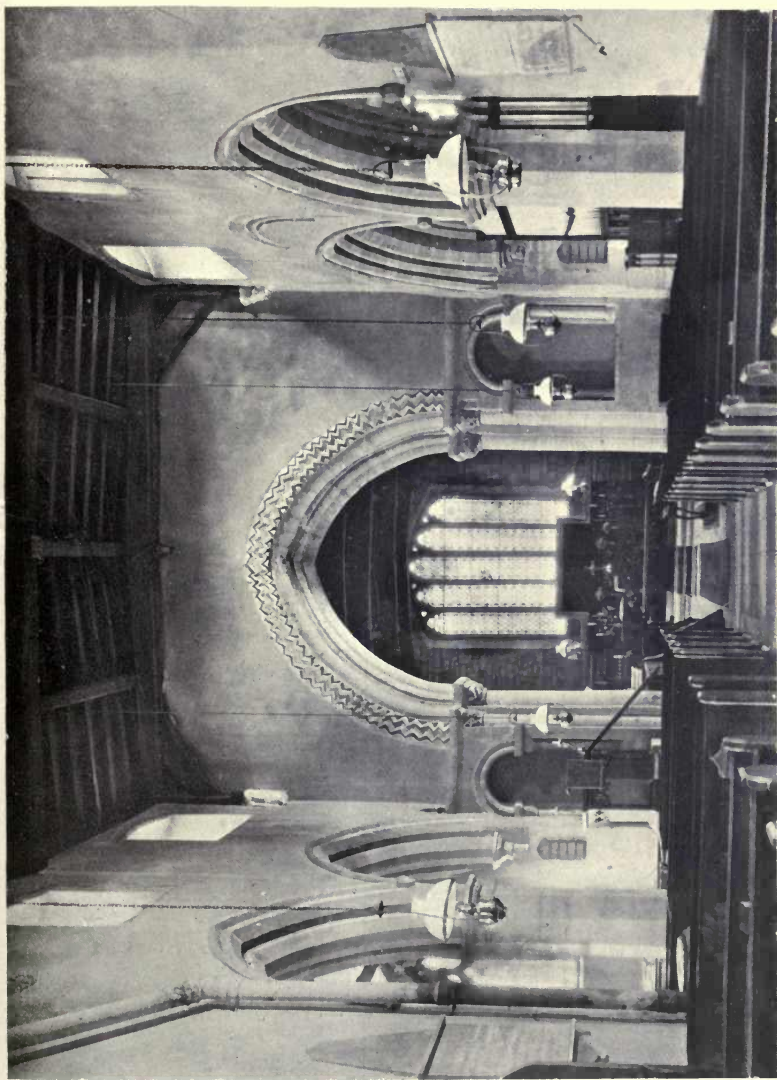


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Fig. 20.

FROM THE SOUTH EAST.

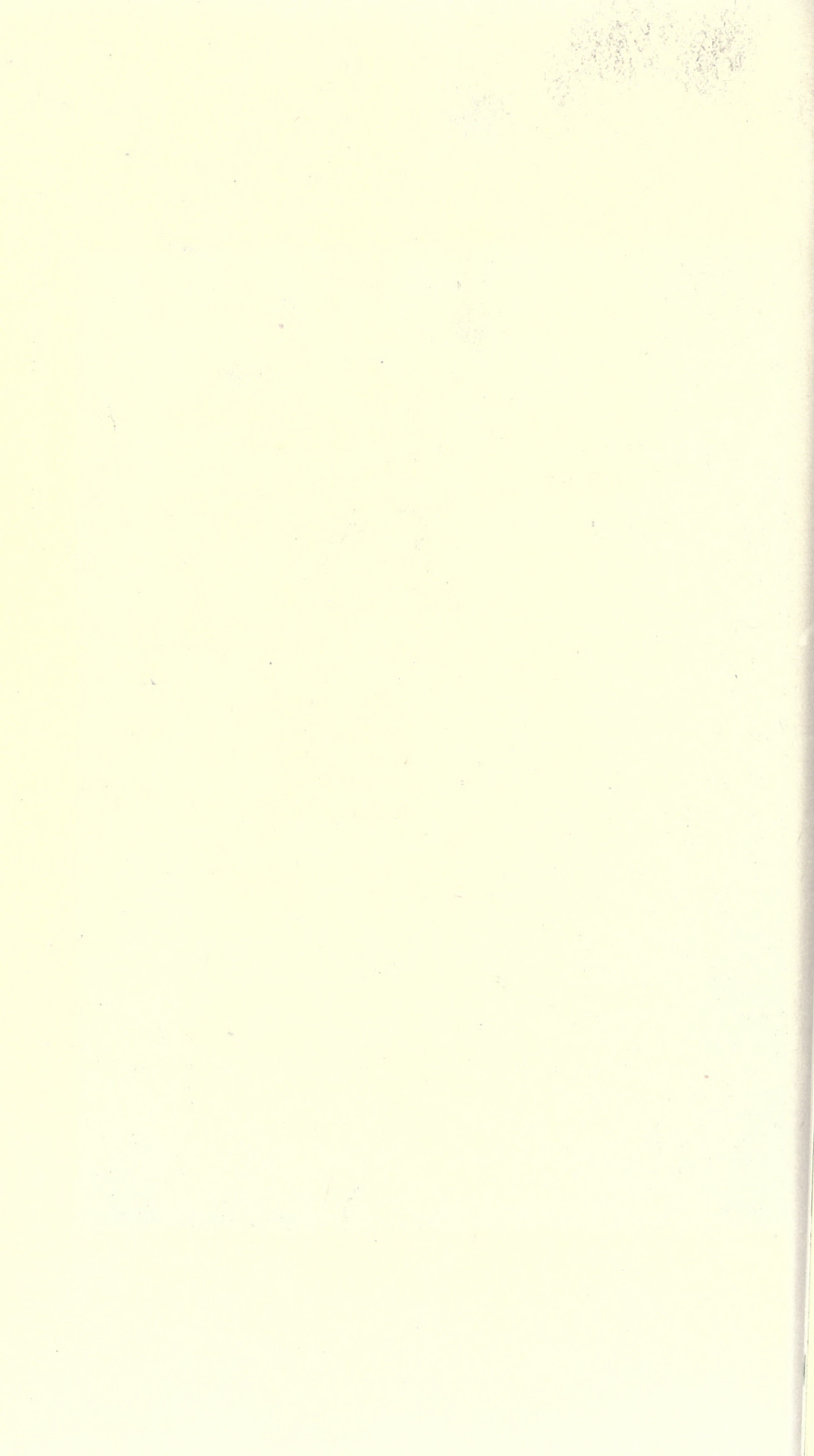


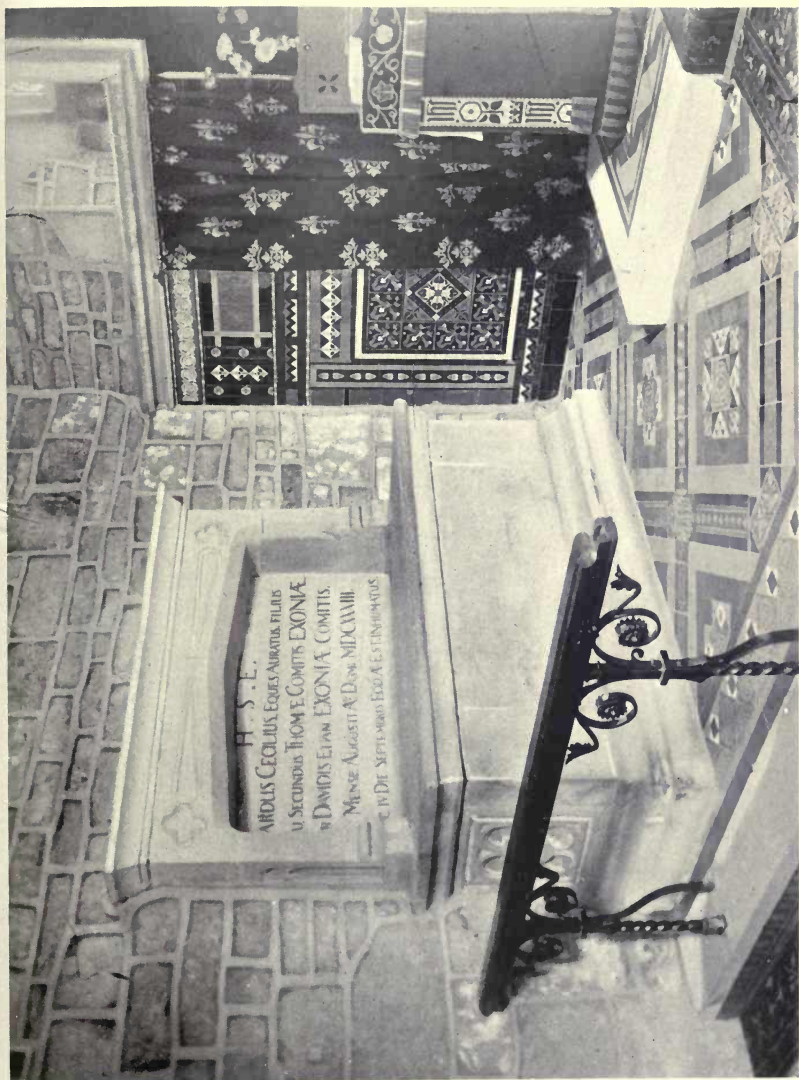


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INTERIOR LOOKING EAST.

Fig. 21.

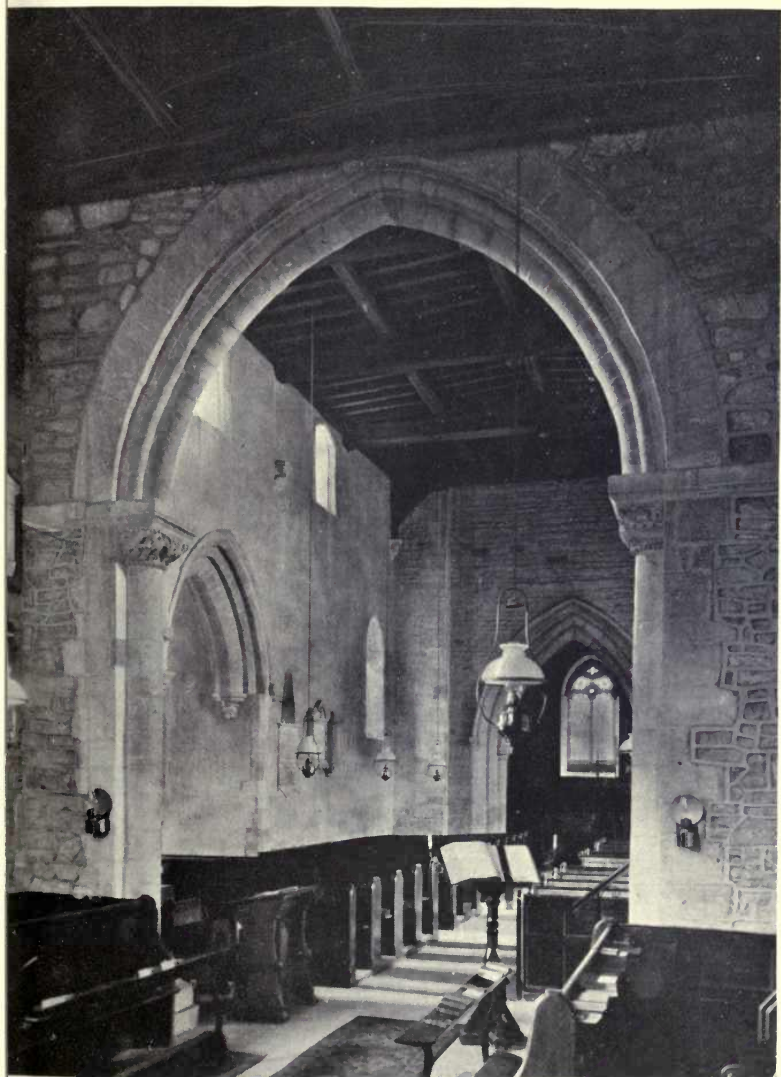




H. S. E.
ARDUS CECILIUS EQUES ALMANTIS FILIUS
VI SECUNDIS THOMÆ COMITIS EXONIAE
et DAVIDIS ETIAM EXONIAE COMITIS
MENSE AUGUSTI A DOME MDCXVIII
CIVIS SEPTIMO REGIAE ESTINENSIS



WAKERLEY CHURCH.



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Fig. 23.

INTERIOR LOOKING WEST.



WAKERLEY CHURCH.



Fig. 24.

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THE CHANCEL ARCH.



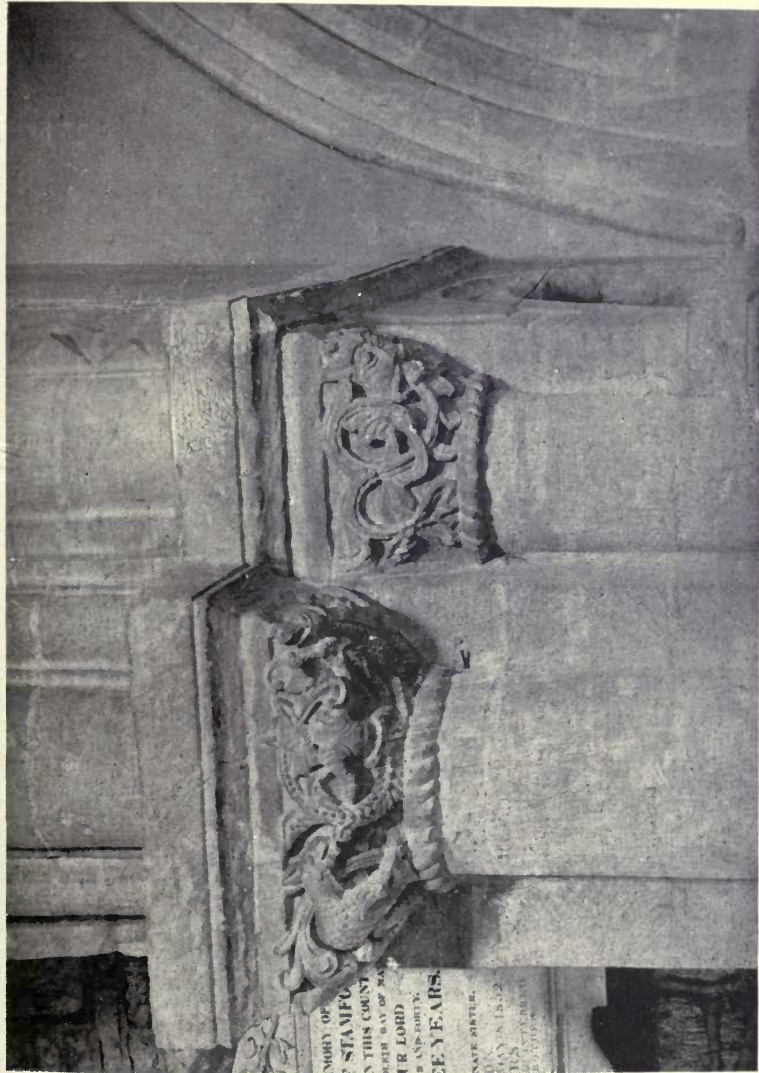
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Fig. 25.

CAPITALS SOUTH SIDE OF CHANCEL ARCH,
AND ARCHES TO SOUTH CHAPEL.



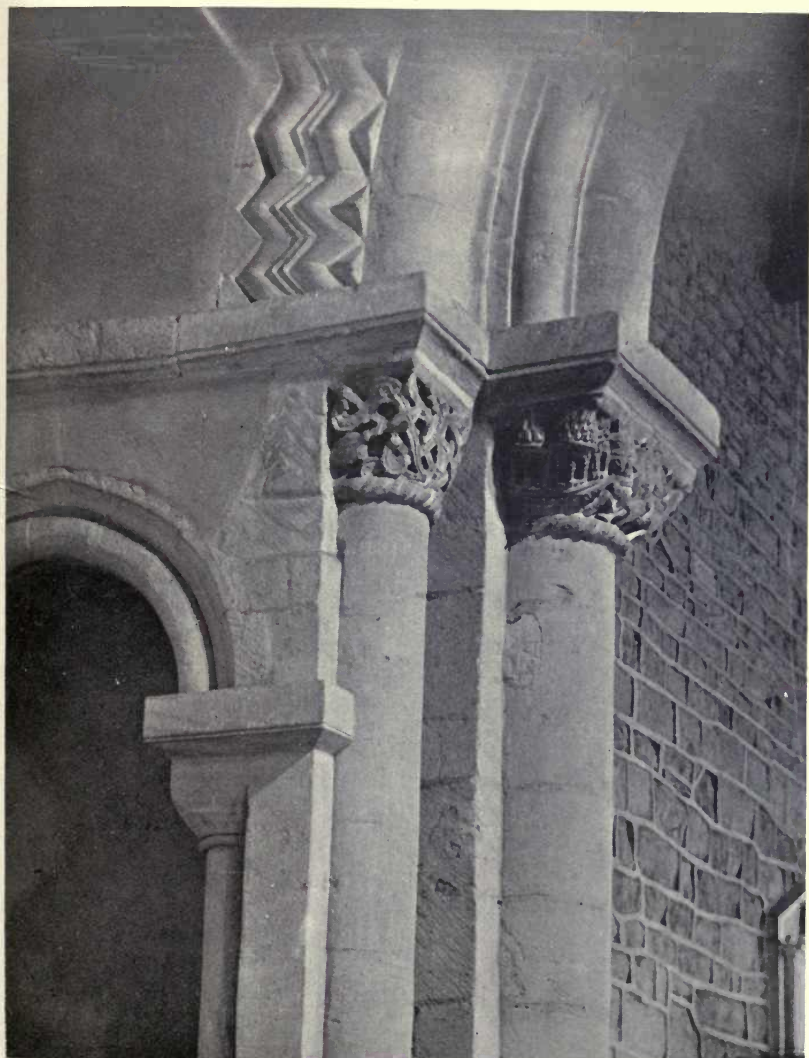
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CAPITALS OF CHANCEL ARCH, SOUTH SIDE.

Fig. 26.

MEMORY OF
STAMFORD
IN THIS COUNTY
DEER BAY OF 1500
UR LORD
AND FORTY
EYF. ARS.
NAVE ARTURE.
ON
1500 IN 1502
1505
BY THE
OF THE

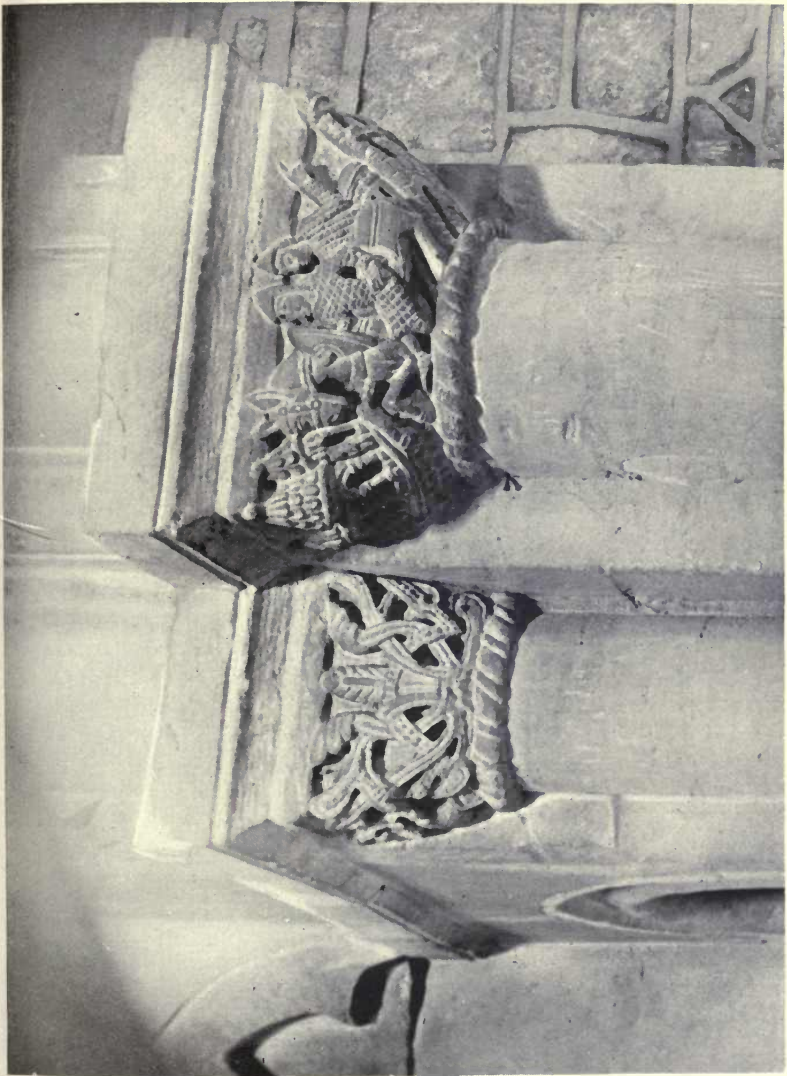
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Fig. 27.

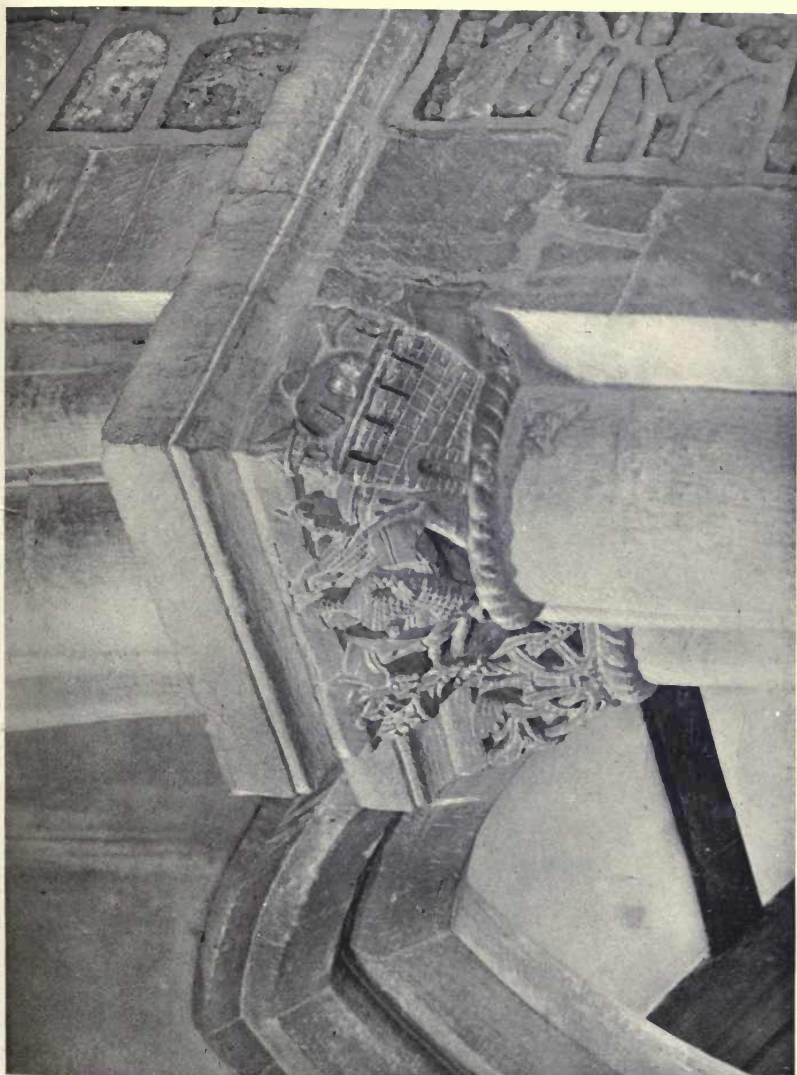
CAPITALS OF CHANCEL ARCH, NORTH SIDE.



Walton Adams & Sons, Mead, L.

Fig. 28.

CAPITALS OF CHANCEL ARCH, NORTH SIDE.

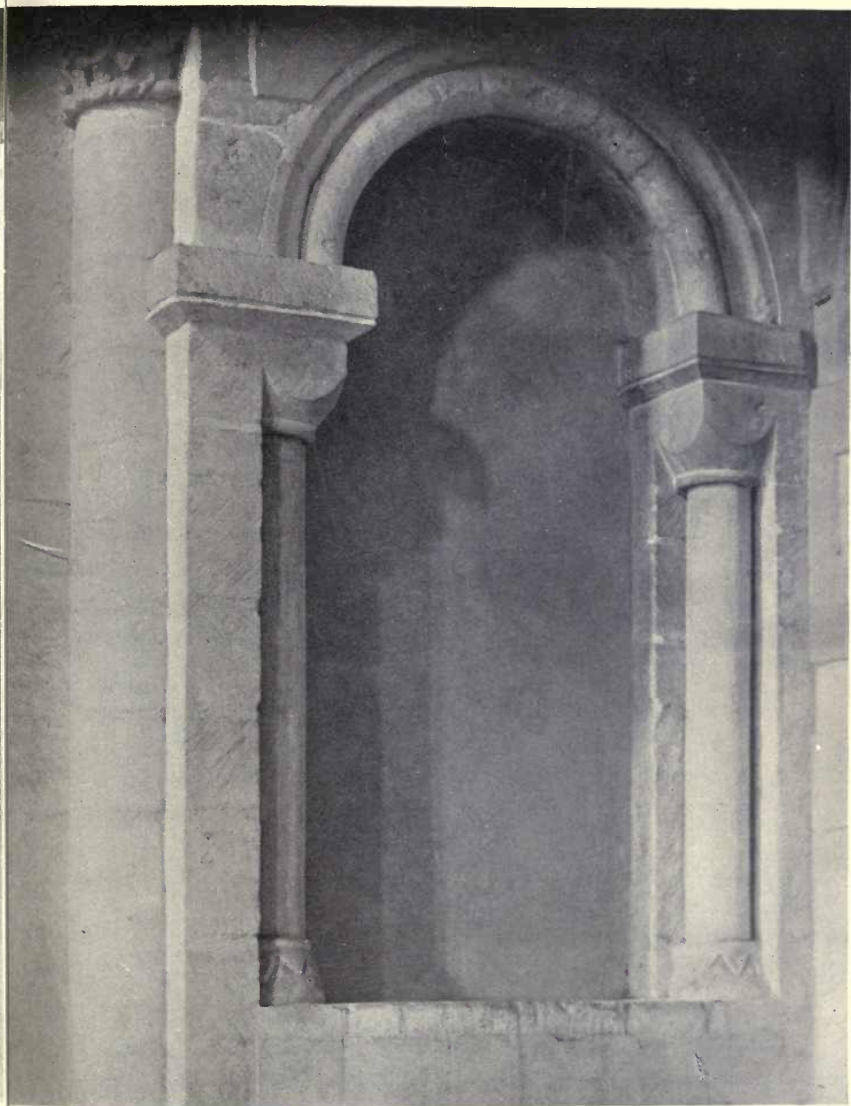


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CAPITALS OF CHANCEL ARCH, NORTH SIDE.

Fig. 29.

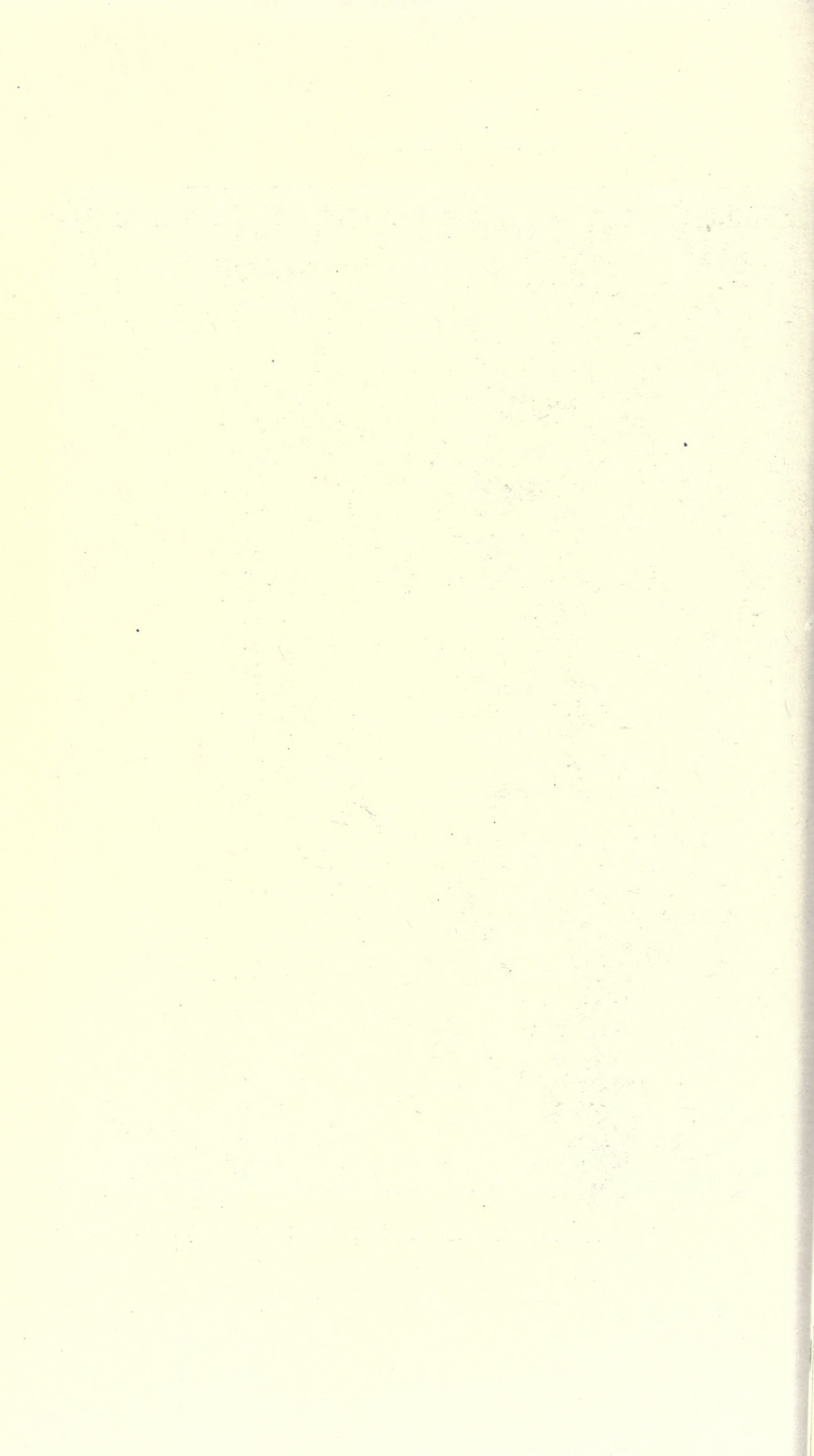
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F. 30.

ARCHED RECESS, SOUTH SIDE OF CHANCEL ARCH.



WAKERLEY CHURCH.

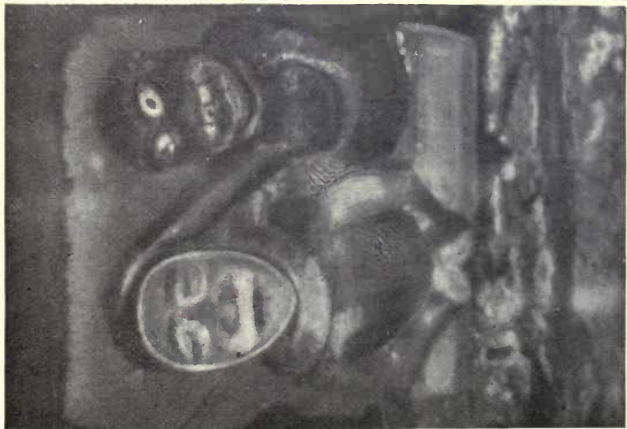


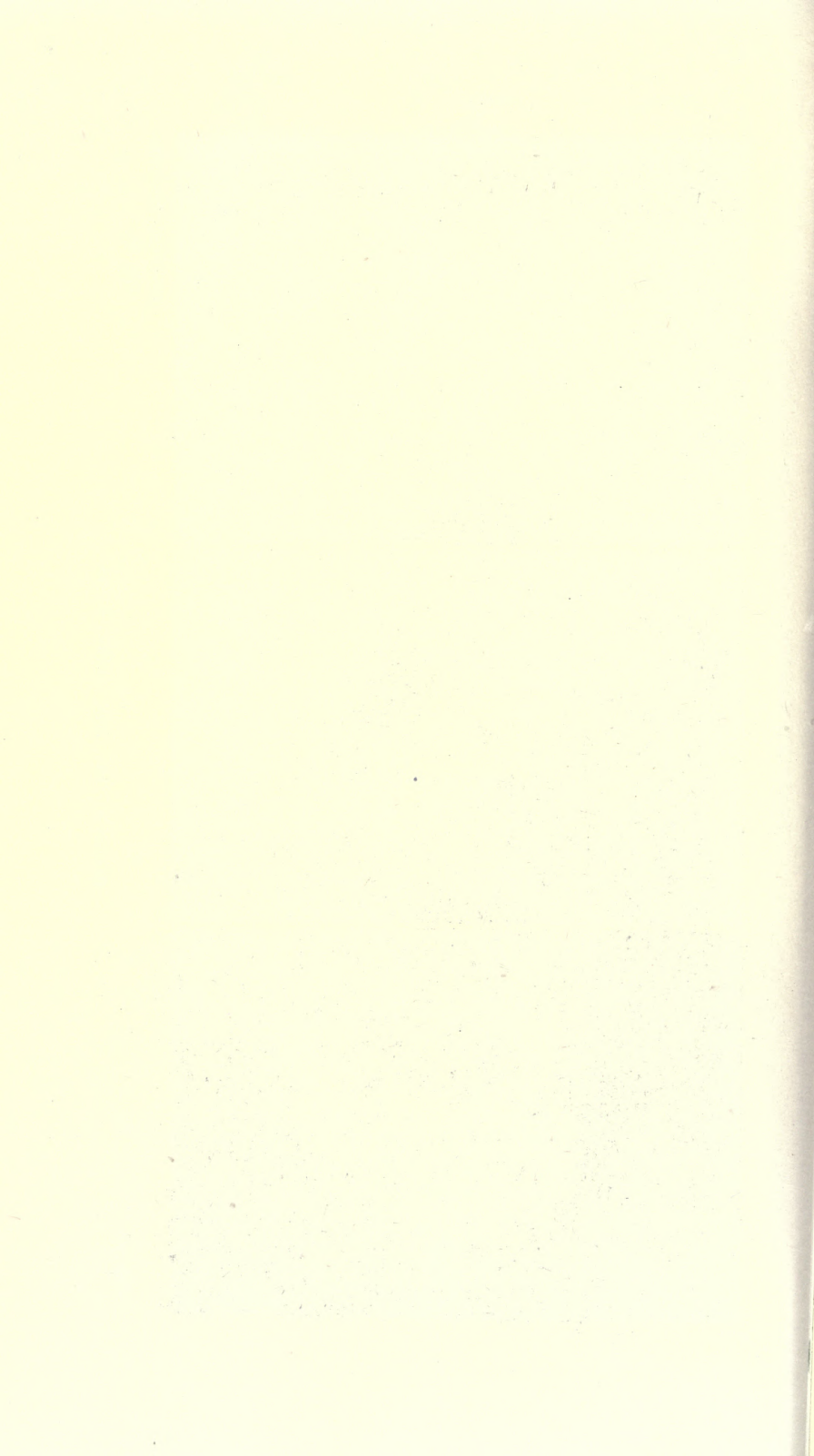
Fig. 31. No. 5.



No. 1.
BOSSES ON THE NAVE ROOF.



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No. 3.



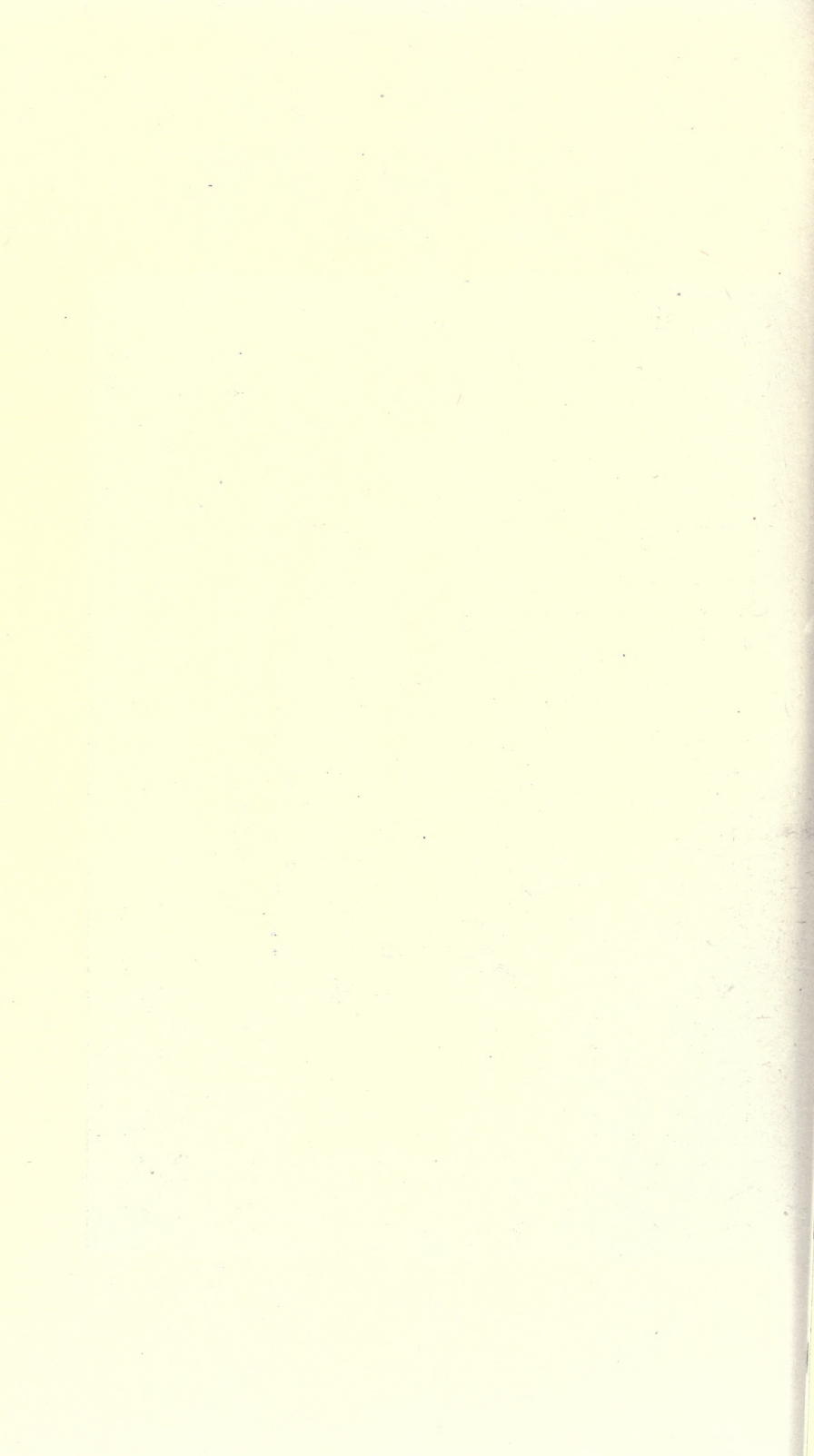
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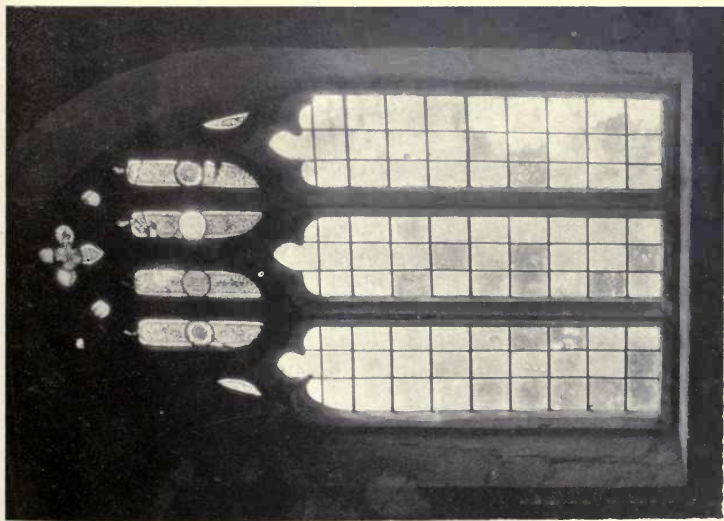


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Fig. 32.

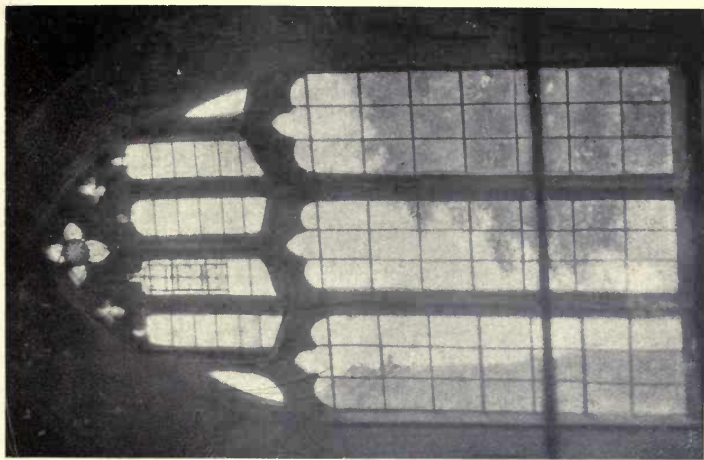
THE TOWER ARCH.





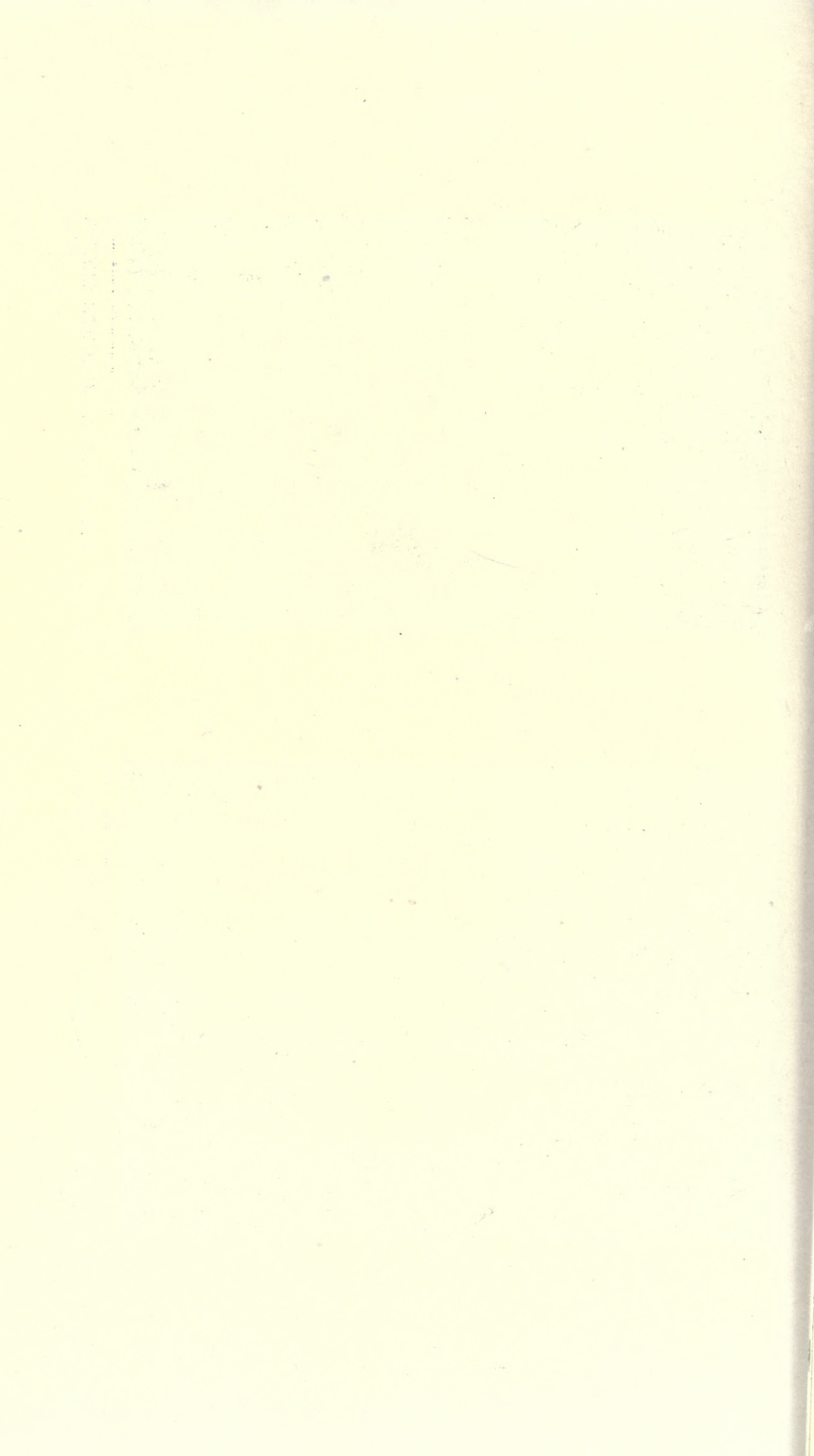
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Fig. 33a. EAST WINDOW OF NORTH CHAPEL.

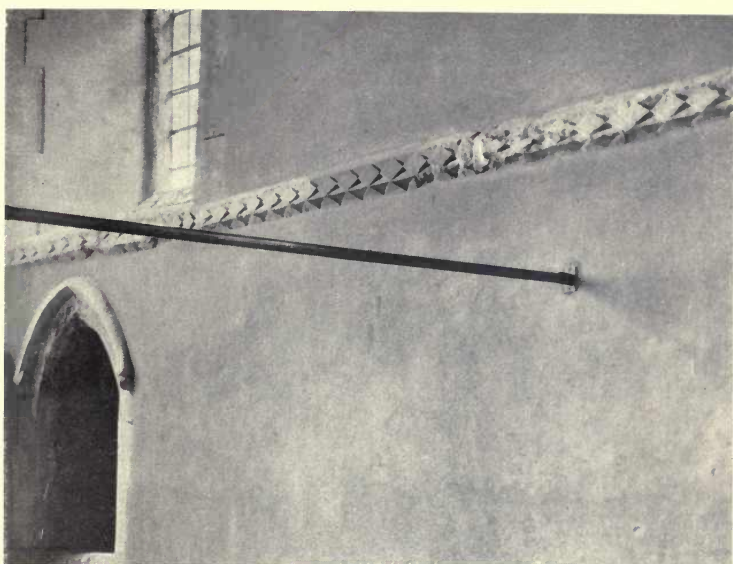


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Fig. 33b. EAST WINDOW OF SOUTH CHAPEL.



WAKERLEY CHURCH.



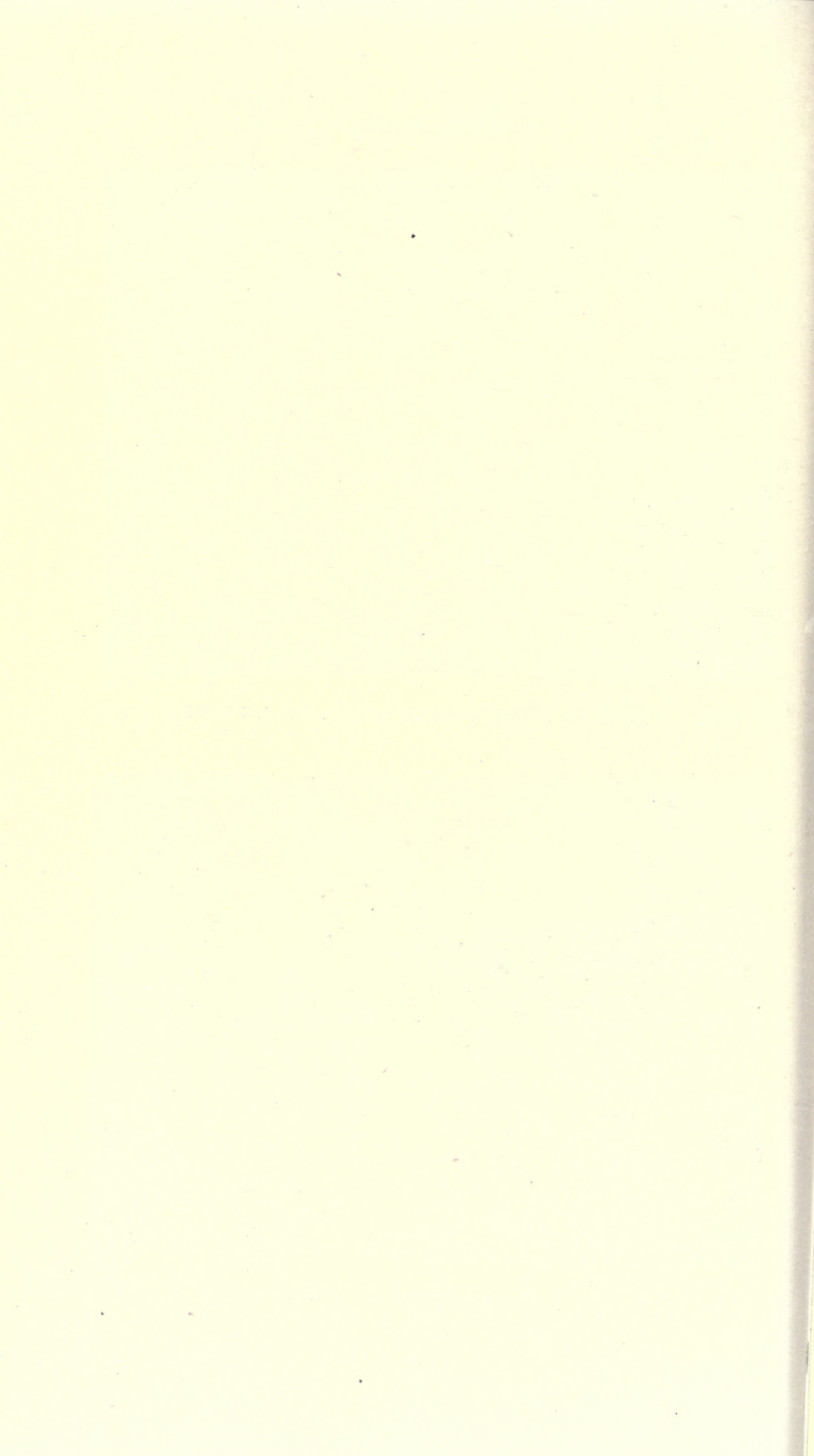
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Fig. 34a. NORMAN STRINGCOURSE AND PISCINA, SOUTH CHAPEL.

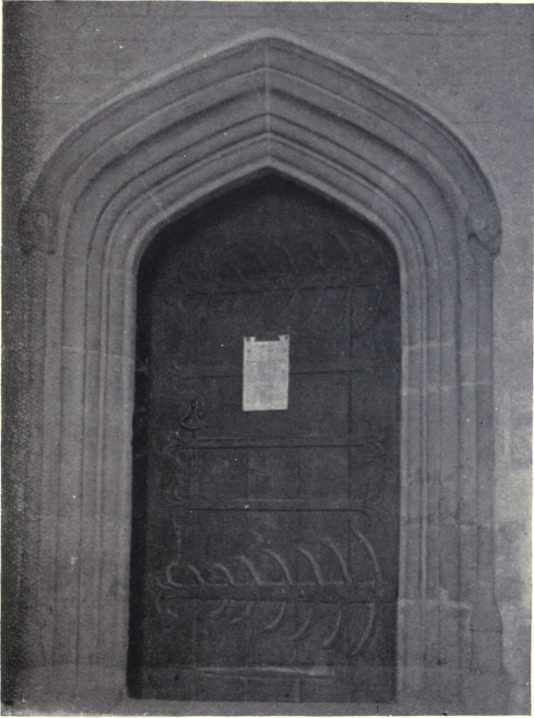


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Fig. 34b. CORBEL TABLE INTERIOR OF SOUTH CHAPEL.



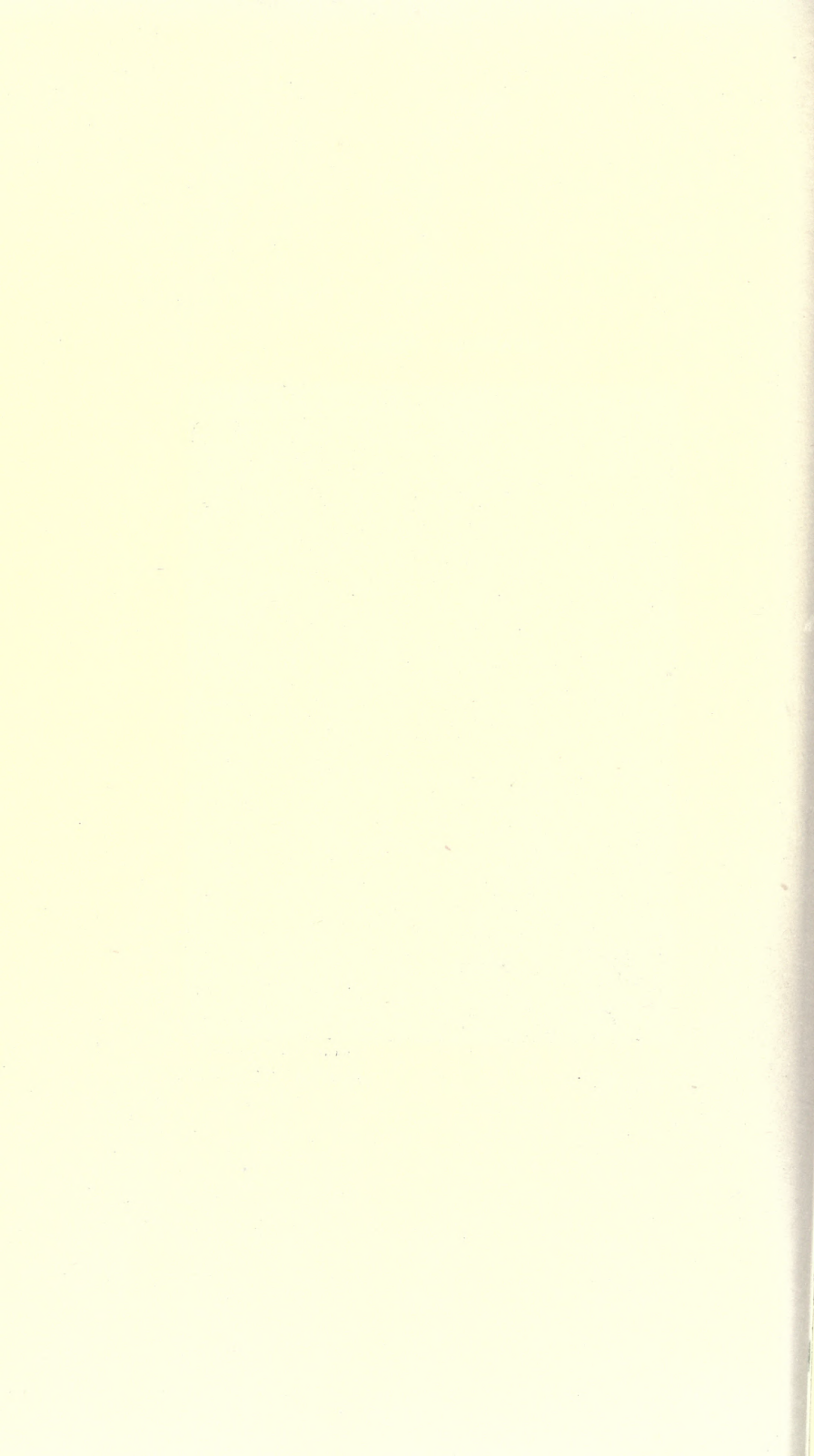
WAKERLEY CHURCH.



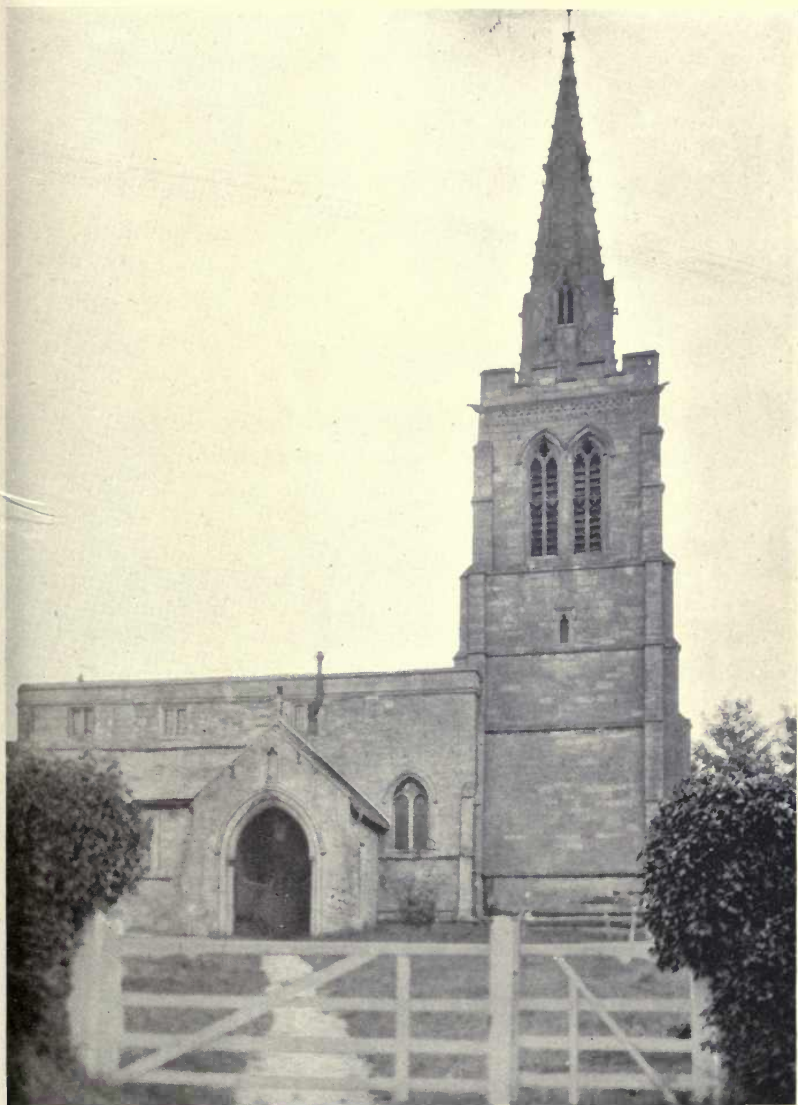
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Fig. 35.

NORTH DOORWAY.



WAKERLEY CHURCH.



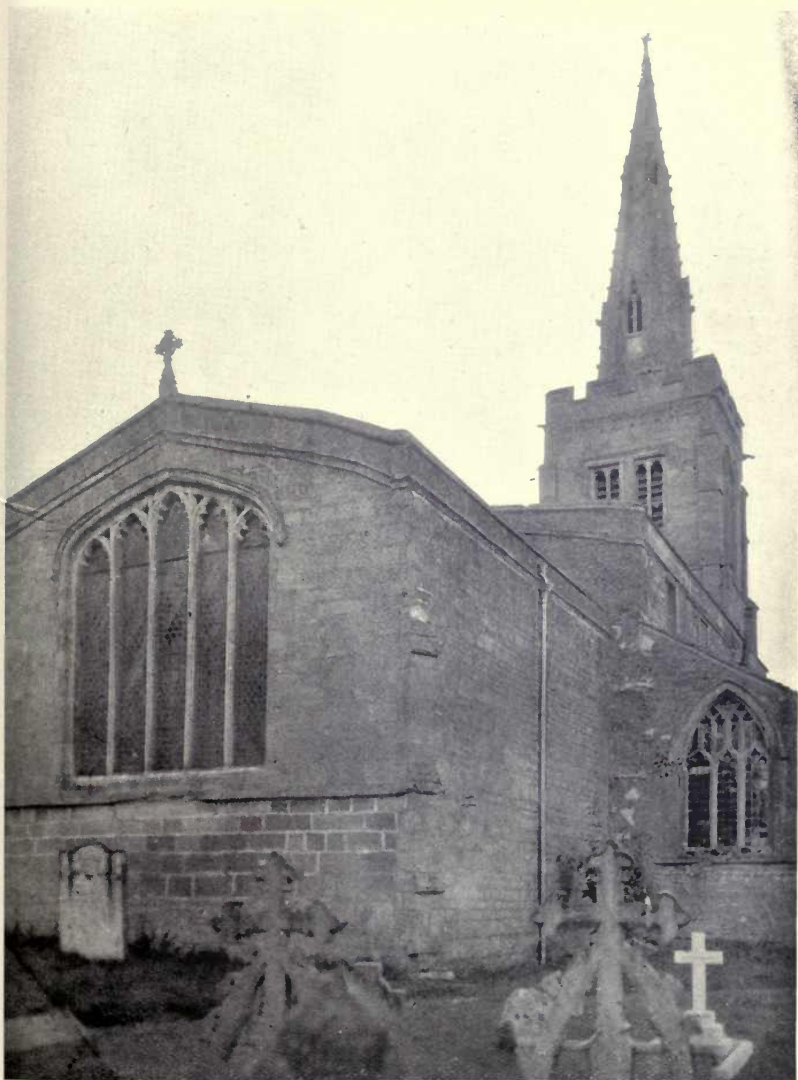
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Fig. 36.

FROM THE NORTH.



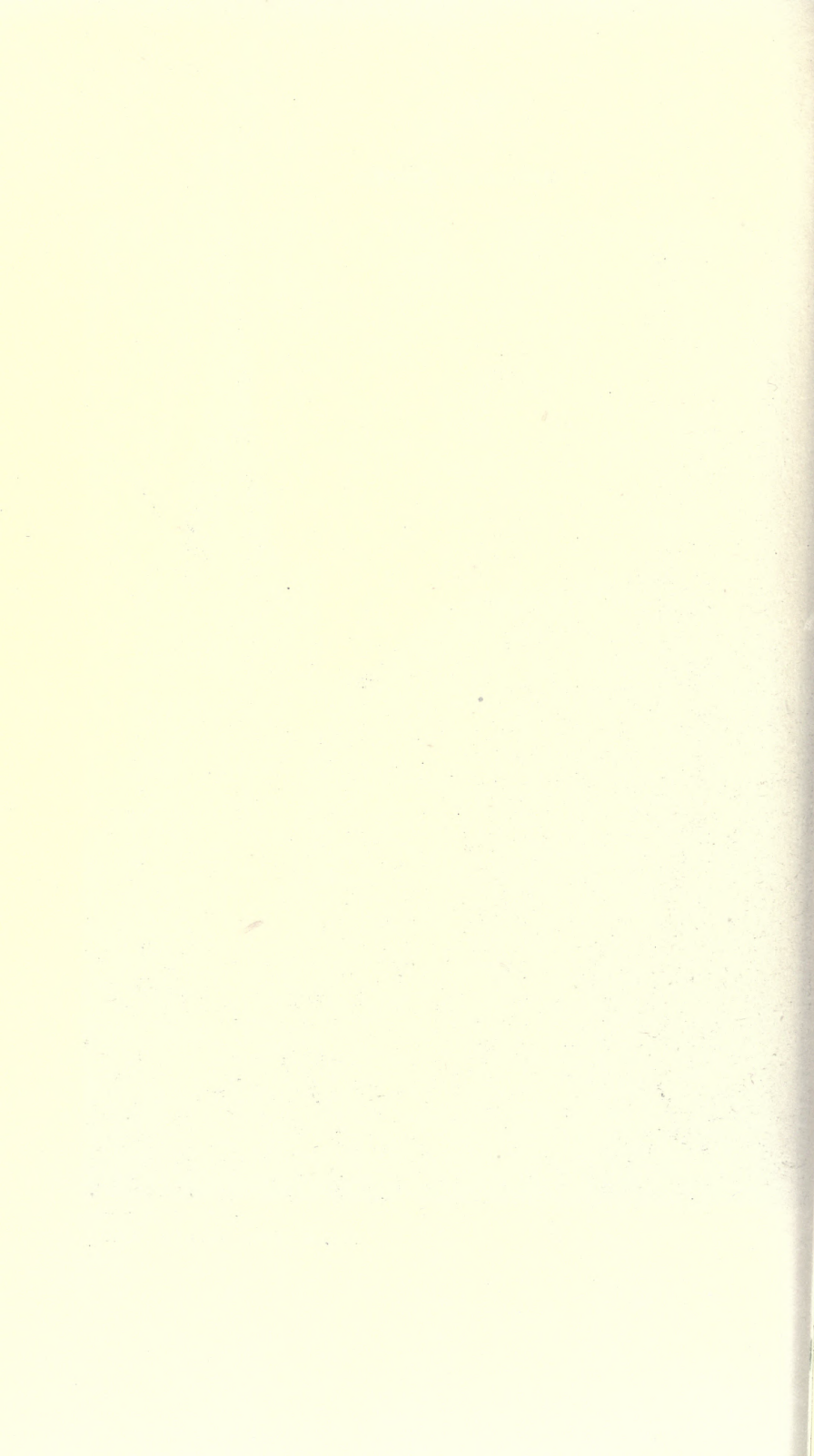
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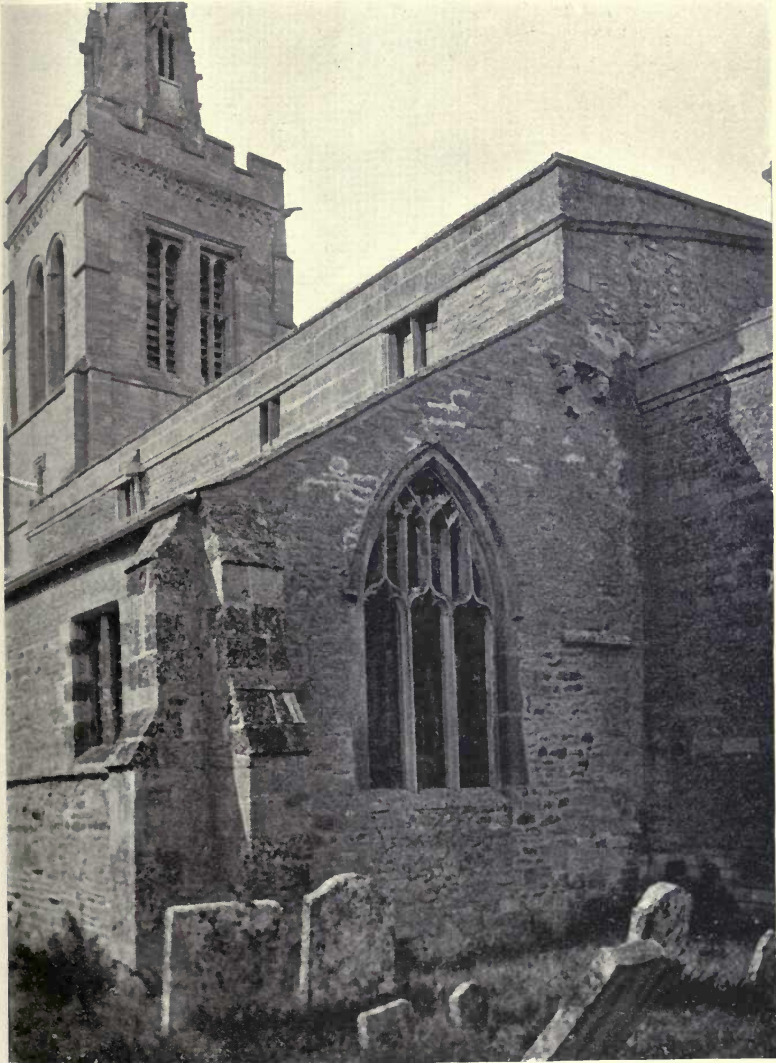
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FROM THE NORTH EAST.

Fig. 37.



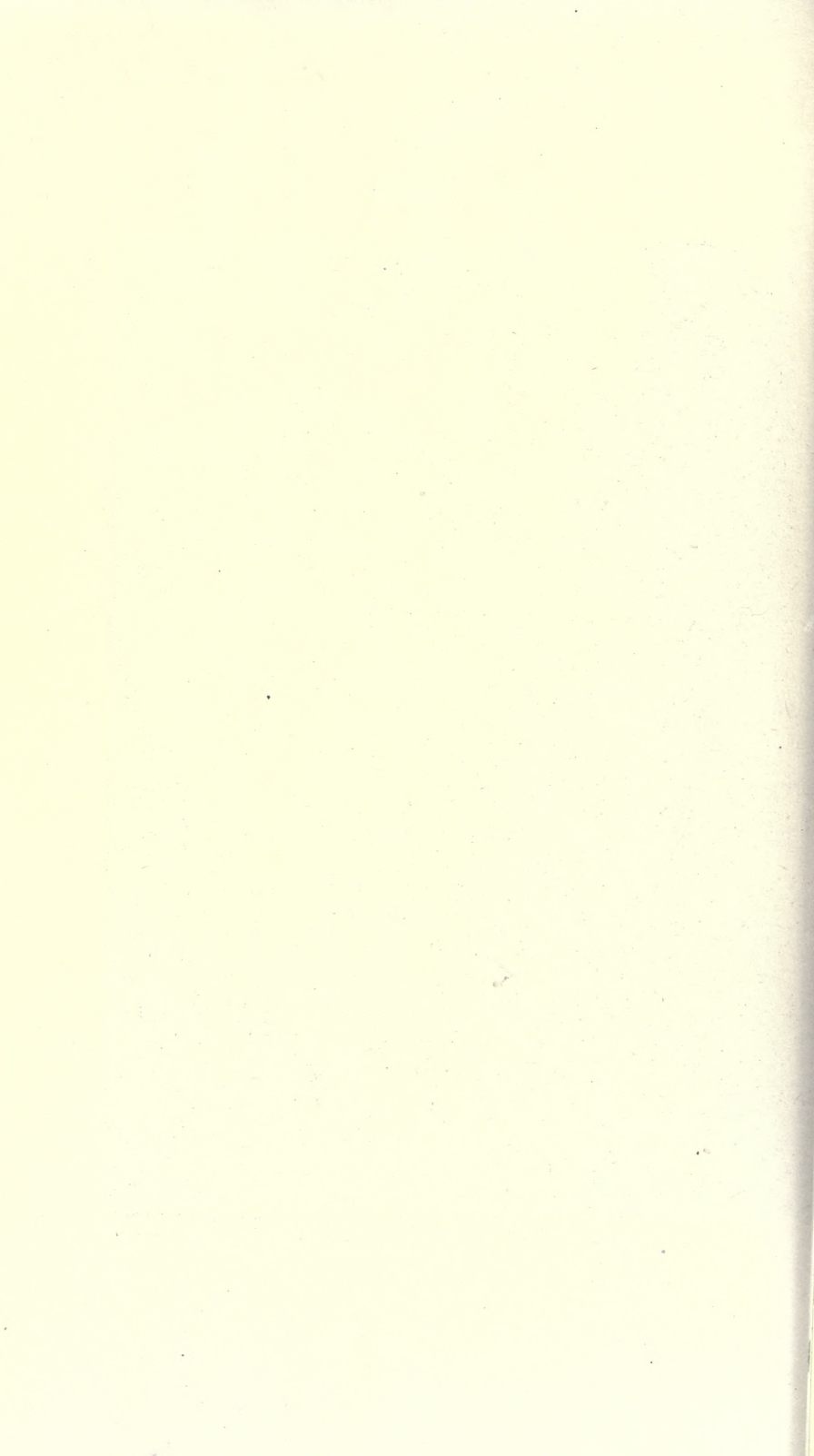
WAKERLEY CHURCH.



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Fig. 38.

TOWER AND SOUTH AISLE.



WAKERLEY CHURCH.



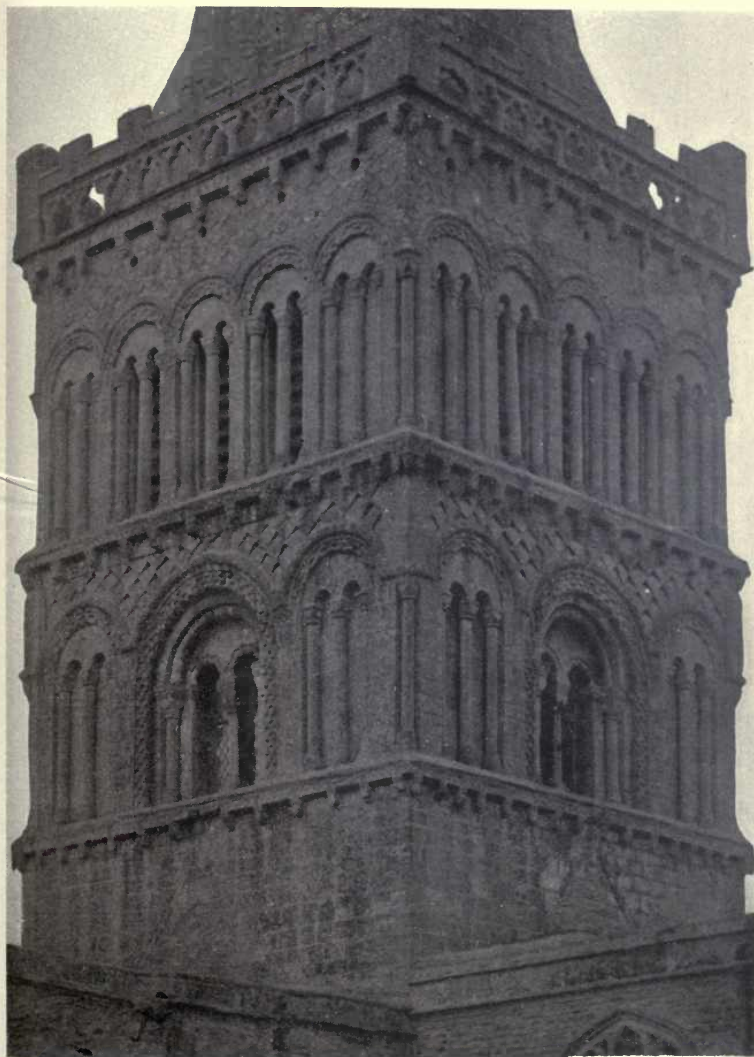
fig. 39.

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THE WEST WINDOW.



CASTOR CHURCH.



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Fig. 40.

THE TOWER.



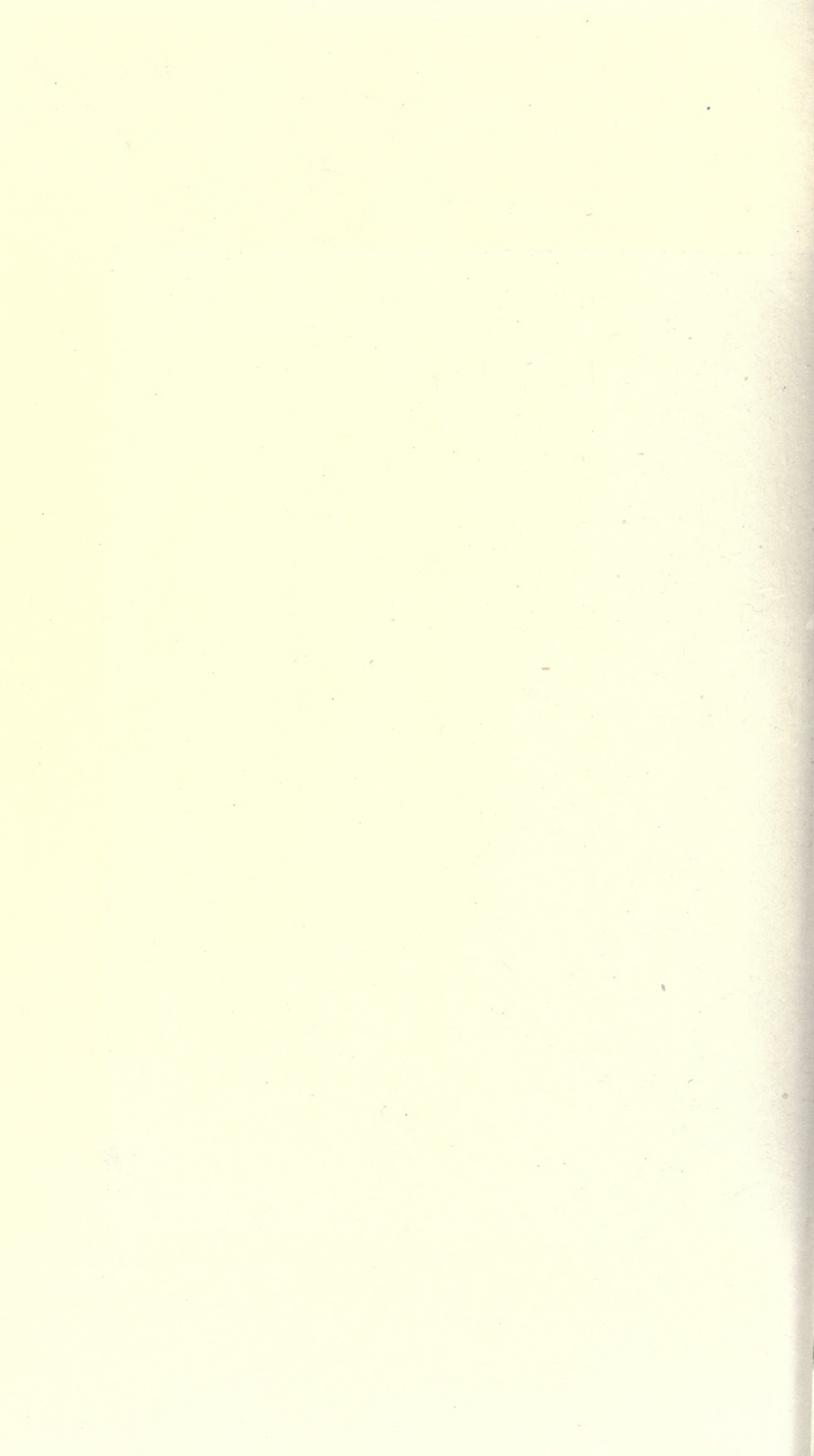
CASTOR CHURCH.



Walton Adams & Sons, Reading

Fig. 41.

THE SOUTH DOORWAY.



CASTOR CHURCH.



Fig. 42.

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THE TOWER ARCHES.



CASTOR CHURCH.



Walton Adams & Sons, Reading.

Fig. 43.

THE TOWER ARCHES.



CASTOR CHURCH.



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Fig. 44.

CAPITALS OF NORTH TOWER ARCH.



CASTOR CHURCH.

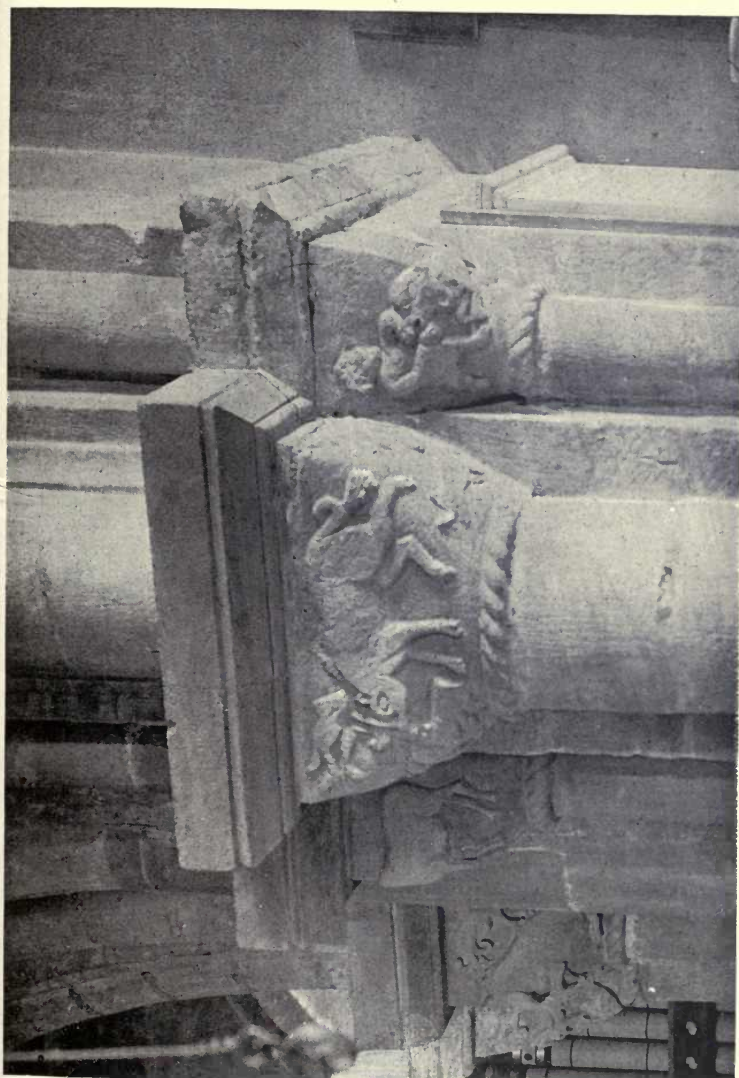


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Fig. 45.

CAPITALS OF SOUTH TOWER ARCH.





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CAPITALS OF EAST TOWER ARCH.

Fig. 46.





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CAPITALS OF SOUTH TOWER ARCH.

Fig. 47.



BARNACK CHURCH.



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Fig. 48.

FROM THE NORTH WEST.

BARNACK CHURCH.

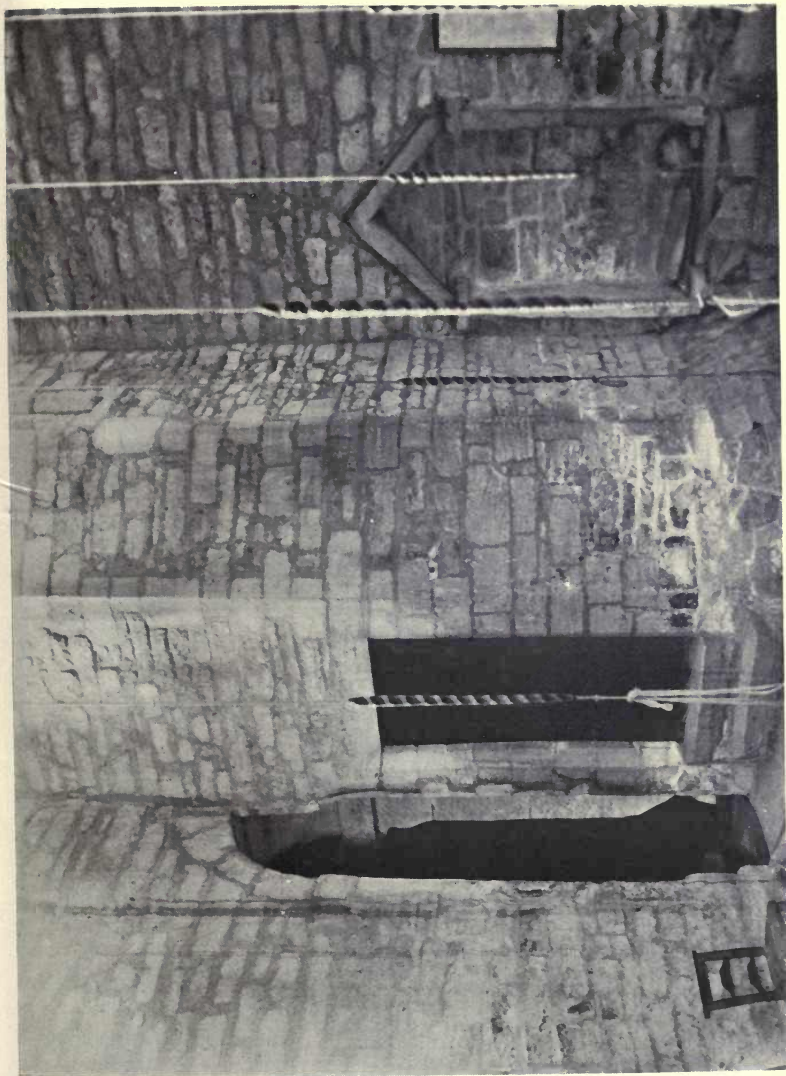


Walton Adams & Sons, Reading.

Fig. 49.

THE TOWER ARCH.





Walton Adams & Sons, Reading

THE TOWER SPACE.

FIG. 50.

WITTERING CHURCH.



Walton Adams & Sons, Reading

Fig. 51.

FROM THE SOUTH EAST.

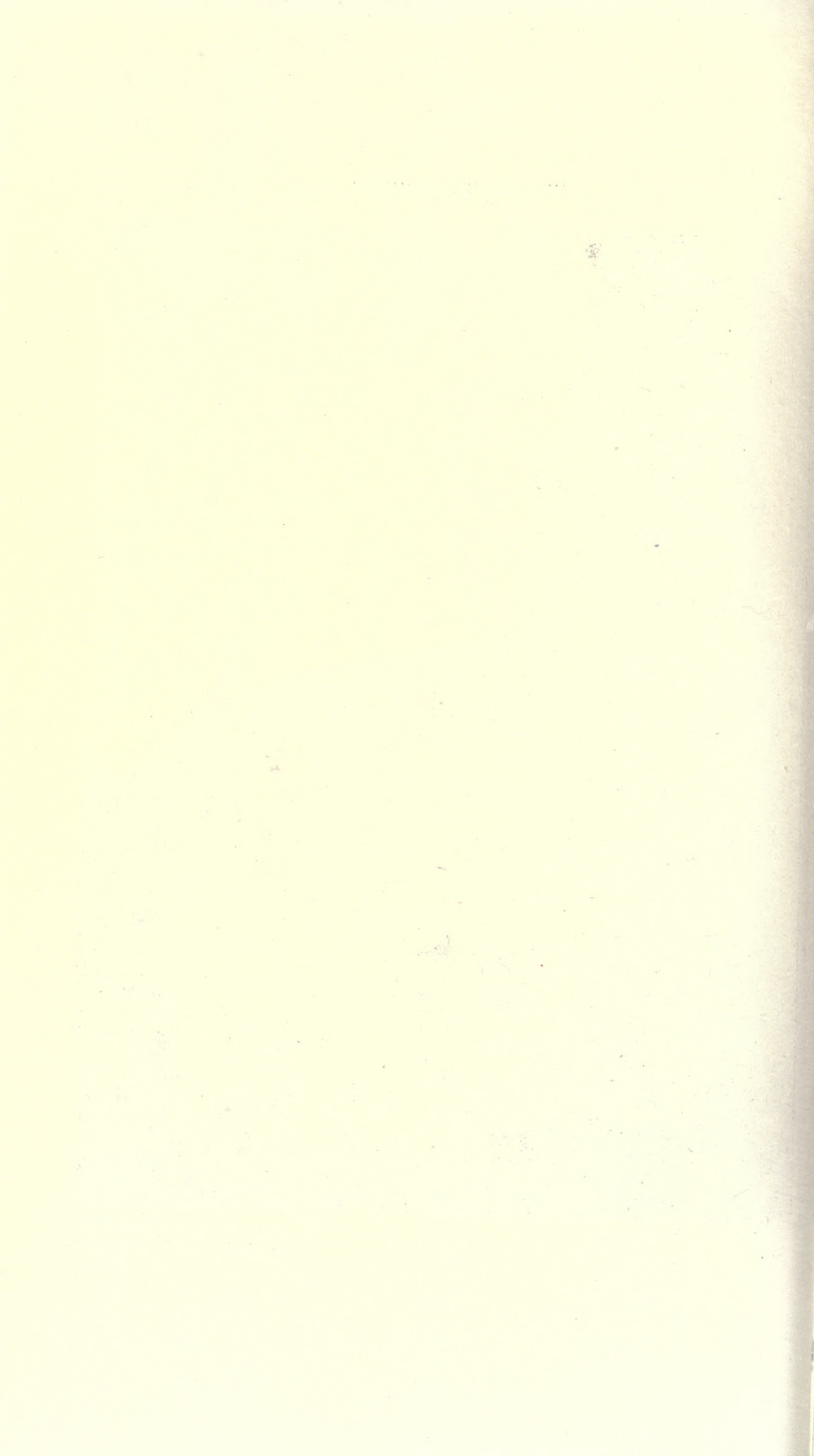
WITTERING CHURCH.



Fig. 52.

Walton Adams & Sons, Reading

FROM THE SOUTH.



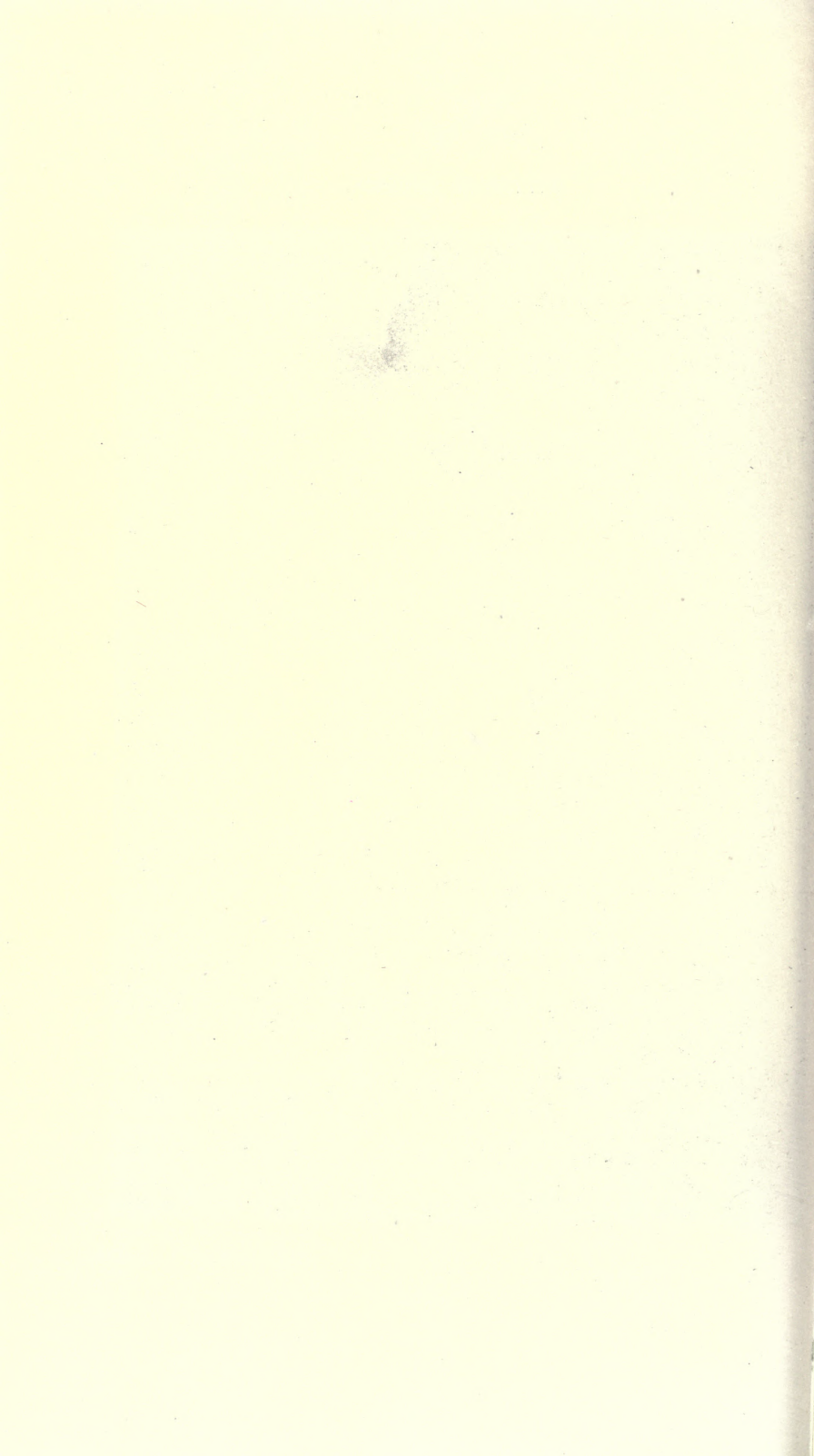
WITTERING CHURCH.



Waitor, Adams & Sons, Reading.

Fig. 53.

THE CHANCEL ARCH.



WITTERING CHURCH.



Walton Adams & Sons. Reading

Fig 54.

LONG AND SHORT WORK, NORTH CHAPEL.

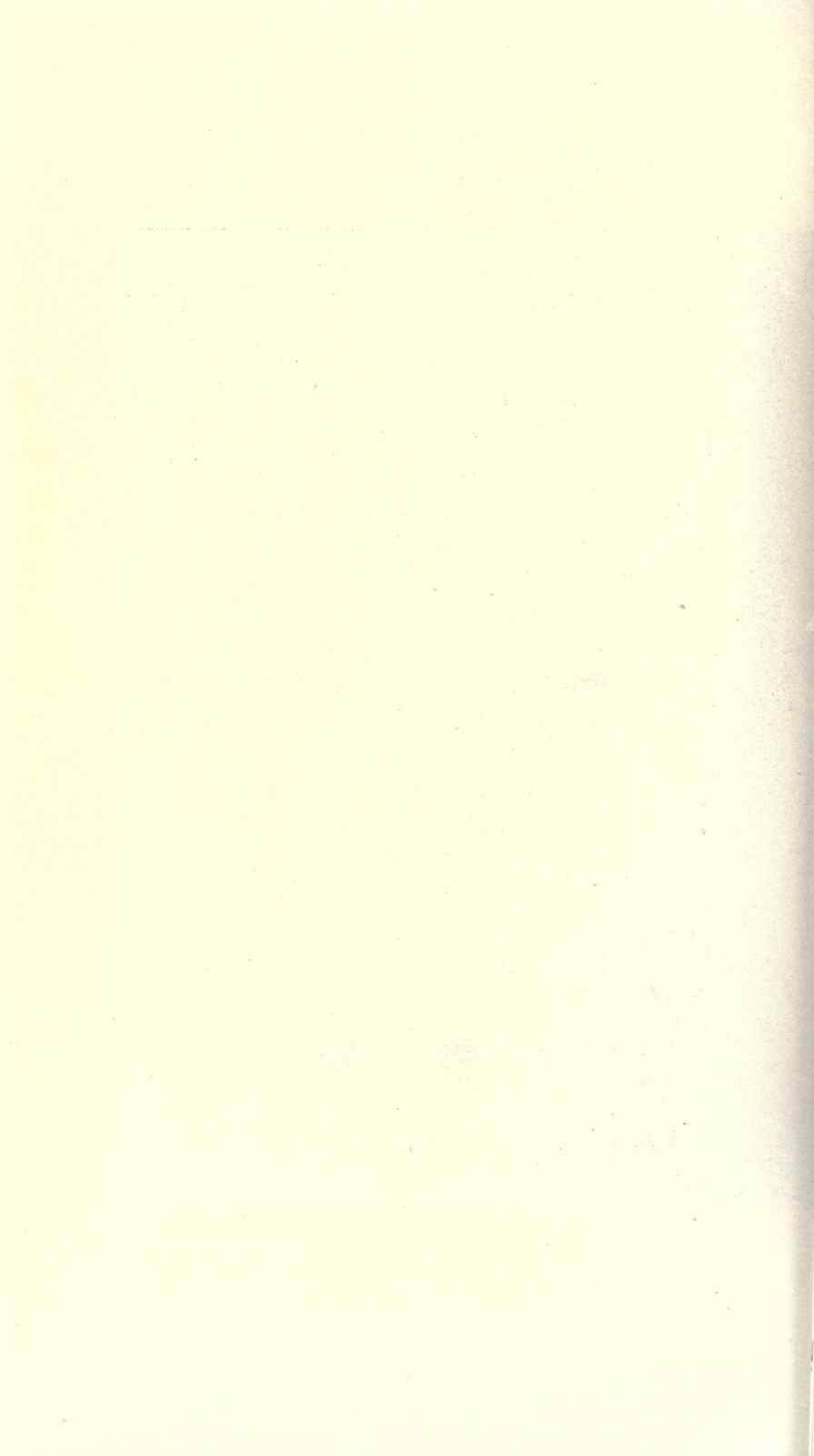
WITTERING CHURCH.



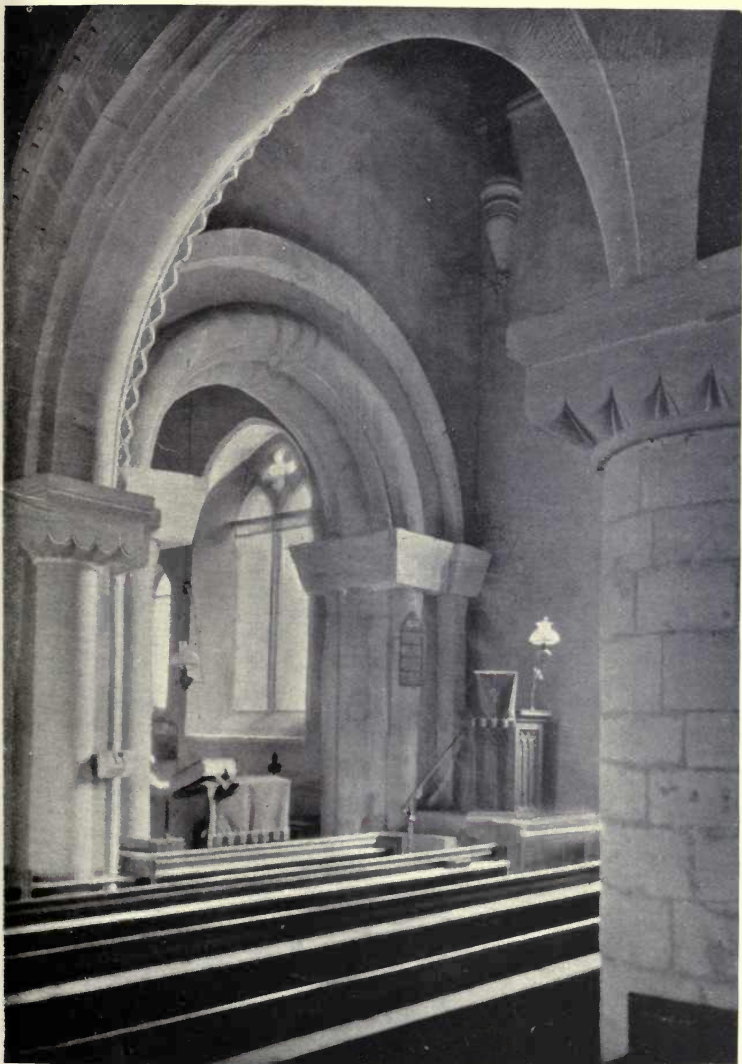
Walton Adams & Sons, Reading.

fig. 55.

INTERIOR LOOKING WEST.



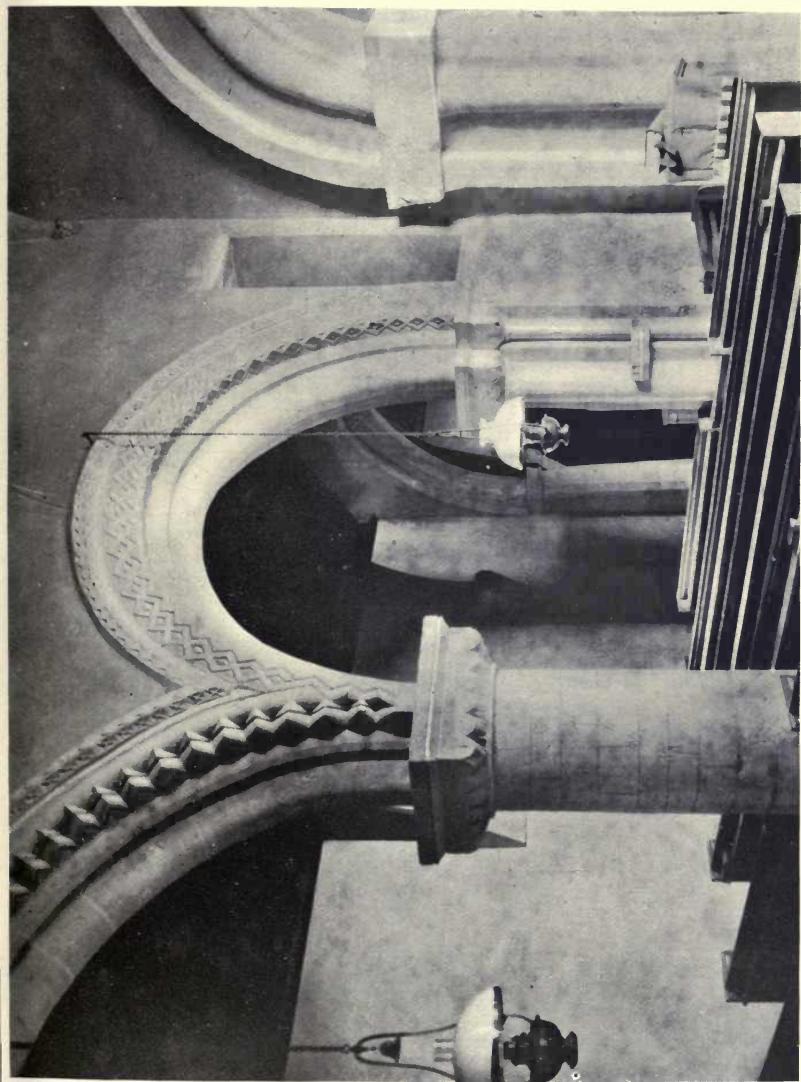
WITTERING CHURCH.



Walton Adams & Sons, Reading.

Fig. 56.

INTERIOR FROM NORTH AISLE.



Walter Adams & Sons, Boston.

ARCHES, NORTH SIDE OF NAVE.

Fig. 57.



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DECEMBER, 1917.

NOTES ON THE CHURCHES OF SEATON, RUTLAND-
SHIRE, AND WAKERLEY AND WITTERING,
NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.

By CHARLES E. KEYSER, M.A., F.S.A. (PRESIDENT).

Communicated to the British Archaeological Association, December 7th, 1916.



HAVE this year selected for the subject of my annual lecture the Churches of Seaton, Rutlandshire, and Wakerley, Northamptonshire, as being easily accessible, in these anxious times, when ordinary travelling is carried on with so much difficulty, and because, though possessing many points of interest, they do not appear to have attracted the notice they deserve. It is most unfortunate that only Part 2 of the history of Rutland was published by my great-grandfather, Thomas Blore, with the splendid architectural illustrations engraved from drawings made by my grandfather, Edward Blore, more than a hundred years ago, and when he was quite a boy. Seaton was probably included in Part 1, and this is, I believe, in manuscript in private possession, having been sold by Quaritch some few years ago; but I have been unable to find out its present owner, as I would, if allowed, gladly

have this part published so as to complete the description of the whole or another portion of the county.

Baker's "History of Northamptonshire" is another very handsome work, and here again the beautiful architectural illustrations are mainly from the sketches of Edward Blore. Unfortunately this too was never completed, and the portion of the county in which Wakerley is situated has still to be described. Both churches have been visited by the various local archæological societies, and brief notes on their architecture have been read,¹ but these are not generally accessible, so that it is hoped the present paper may commend itself as an effort to bring to the notice of our members the salient features of these two beautiful and little known structures.

I have also included Wittering Church, a most interesting pre-Norman edifice, of which an account is given in the Victorian "County History of Northamptonshire," and have added one or two views of the beautiful sculptured Norman work at Castor Church, which is probably of the same date, and perhaps by the same hand as the capitals of the chancel arches of Seaton and Wakerley Churches.

Seaton is a station on the North Western Railway, from Rugby and Northampton on the west to Stamford and Peterborough on the east, it being also the junction for Uppingham with its well-known school. The village, formerly known as Segetone and entitled Seyton in Wright's "History of Rutland," printed in 1684, stands on the top of the ridge overlooking the broad valley of the Welland, and the great viaduct of the Nottingham and Kettering section of the Midland Railway, and no doubt it owes its name to the sedgy bed of the river, which in ordinary weather pursues its sluggish course towards Stamford and the North Sea. Wright informs us that at the time of the Domesday Survey the manor of Seaton

¹ In the Associated Architectural Societies' Reports, vol. xxiii, p. 81, is an account of a visit to Seaton Church by the members of the Lincoln and Nottingham Architectural Society, on June 19th, 1895. The description of the church differs somewhat in its details and dates from the present paper. There is, however, much information as to the restoration of the church in 1875, and the amount of renovation which was then carried out.

was a member of that of Berchedone (now Barrowden) and was in the possession of the Crown; that at an early date Robert de Todenei, of Belvoir Castle, and the ancestor of the Dukes of Rutland, obtained land here, and various other distinguished persons are recorded as interested in it. No doubt the compilers of the Victorian County Histories will some day enlighten us on the history of the parish.

The church (Fig. 1), dedicated to All Hallows, is built mainly of the local stone, and is a spacious edifice, consisting of a west tower and spire, nave, aisles with south porch, and chancel, with sacristy on north side. It was restored in 1875, the walls being thoroughly scraped. Traces of fire were discovered, proving that some of the changes were probably due to a conflagration which partially destroyed the church. The cost of the restoration of the nave amounted to £1,885 5s. 9d., of the chancel to £638 1s. 6d., totalling a sum of £2,523 7s. 3d.

The earliest portions of the present church are the chancel arch and south doorway, both very fine examples of the Norman style of the second quarter of the twelfth century. The enlargement of the edifice was commenced about 1190, when the two eastern arches of the north nave arcade were constructed, and about 20 years later the aisles were completed by an additional arch on the north side and three corresponding arches on the south. After another short interval, about 1250 to 1260, the chancel was rebuilt, and a little later, *circ.* 1270, the tower and spire (Fig. 2) were erected. The aisle windows were inserted, no doubt, in place of the smaller lancets, *circ.* 1300, and the south porch seems to be of the same date. No further alterations appear to have been made to the fabric in pre-Reformation times. Let us now commence our survey of the church, starting as usual in the interior of the chancel (Fig. 3).

The east window is a triple lancet, the centre light being higher than that on either side. There are engaged shafts with foliated capitals attached to the jambs up to the spring of the arches, and a small circular opening on either side of the head of the central light. These lancets are within a containing arch with fluted moulding and

supported on shafts attached to the jambs with well moulded capitals and with an undercut hoodmould terminating on the head of a gentleman with curly hair on the south, and on a lady with wimple on the north. There are two windows on the north and three on the south of the chancel. All have double lancets with engaged shaft attached to the centre mullion. They are within a containing arch having a chamfered edge and supported on round capitals and with undercut hoodmould. There is a string-course below the windows, and carried along the north-east and south walls and over the south doorway, which has an interior segmental head.

In the east wall of the chancel, behind the present curtains, are two narrow lockers or aumbries, one on each side of the high altar. That on the south is trefoil headed and has rebate for the door, the present door being modern, and large space hollowed out in the wall. That on the north is much larger. It is also trefoil headed, and has two wooden shelves still remaining. The present modern door no doubt takes the place of the former one, as the groove for it still remains round the recess. In my paper on Bampton Church last year I drew attention to the large double aumbry of Norman date behind the altar, and recited instances of other similar examples. I ventured to suggest that they were placed in this position for the safe custody of the church valuables, chalices, &c., and possibly for relics, which might have been presented to the church. The two aumbries at Seaton are of the thirteenth-century period, and of the same date as the rest of the chancel. On the north side of the chancel is a plain pointed arched aumbry. There is a hole on either side probably for a bolt to hold the old door in its place.

On the south side is a very beautiful scheme of piscina and three sedilia (Fig. 4) with trefoil-headed arches and continuous hoodmould resting on head of civilian on east, bishop in the centre, and knight on the west, the intermediate bosses having conventional foliage. The piscina has an engaged shaft on the east side, the western portion of the canopy resting on the detached cylindrical shaft, on which the eastern half of the east of the three sedilia is supported. There are two more detached shafts, and

one engaged shaft at the west end. All have circular capitals, the three east with varied foliage, the two west with the usual mouldings of this period. The canopies are most elegantly carved, and are remarkably like those at Uffington in Berkshire. The seats are as usual graduated. The piscina has a very fine sculptured octagonal basin. The chancel rails are Jacobean with well moulded baluster shafts. On the floor is a brass inscription to the Rev. Mr. Henry Geast, M.A., with his shield of arms, a chevron between three serpents, erased. He died, October 12th, 1749, aged 54. There is a rise of two steps from the nave to the chancel.

The chancel arch (Fig. 5) is a fine, though rather plain, example of the Norman period. It is somewhat less than a semicircle, and has a bold half-round or torus moulding on the soffit of the inner order, and an engaged roll to outer order on the east face. On the west side (Fig. 6) is a grooved and chamfered hoodmould, a hollow and engaged roll to the outer, and a small intermediate engaged roll between the outer and inner order. The arch is supported on a chamfered abacus, the upper portion plain, the chamfered portion much larger and elaborately carved, though somewhat renewed on the north side. On the west face, north side, is a rich scroll foliage pattern (Fig. 7), continued as a string-course to the north wall; then on the south face an indented pattern and double row of the lozenge ornament. On west face above main respond is a scroll pattern, on main south face an \times (Fig. 8) with band across the centre, called in heraldic language a mill rind, within a circle in the centre, and a human head with foliage from the mouth on either side, and interlacing scroll foliage on east face. On south face below the outer order on east side is scroll foliage, and on east face a series of interlacing semicircles and beaded quarter circles, much renewed, and with the date of the restoration of the church, 1875, inscribed on it. On the east capital is conventional foliage with bunch at the angle. On centre capital is bunch foliage at each angle, on east face a dragon biting its back, and on south a centaur holding a spear point upwards. On the west capital are two rows of leaves, and scroll foliage and bunch at angle. There is a semicircular

respond shaft and engaged shaft supporting the outer order on each side.

On the south side (Fig. 9) the abacus has the antique ornament on west face continued as a string-course to the south wall. On the central portion a kind of double delta, forming a sort of star pattern within a circular medallion, and with scroll foliage on either side, and above the east capital the indented and lozenge on north and prismatic indented ornament on east face. On the east capital is the scroll springing from two tiers of leaves. On the respond capital is a head and foliage on east side, scroll foliage in centre and interlacing foliage on either side and perhaps a head at each angle. On the west capital interlacing scroll foliage much mutilated. The shafts on both sides have round bases resting on plinths considerably above the present floor level. The arch with its roll mouldings and richly sculptured abacus and capitals corresponds closely with those supporting the noble tower at Castor Church, Northamptonshire, which was consecrated by Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln, in 1124. On these we find several rustic scenes, dragons, lions, and other animals, a boarhunt, two men fighting, with a woman in the background (query, the cause of the trouble), &c. (see Figs. 41-47). Above the arch is a recess, formerly square but now semicircular headed, opening through the wall to the chancel. There appears to have been a door within the arch, and it is possible that the original Norman chancel may have had an upper chapel or chamber, as we find at Compton, Surrey, Elkstone, Gloucestershire, and elsewhere. At Coln St. Denis Church, Gloucestershire, is an arch, clearly a doorway, in exactly the same situation.

There are three spacious arches (Fig. 10) on either side of the nave, all semicircular headed. The two eastern ones on the north side are somewhat earlier than the others. They are composed of alternate voussoirs of a white and iron stone, which gives a handsome effect. They have a continuous hoodmould with hollow and small roll, and two recessed orders. To the outer is the keel shaped on the angle with hollow on either side, to the inner a hollow and angle roll both on the side facing the nave and the aisle, with deep hollow to the soffit. They rest on circular

columns and half-round respond, and the abacus to the east column and respond is square on plan, and the capitals are ornamented with the acanthus pattern. The west respond of the arcade is similar to the east, and appears to have been moved when the western arch was added and the south aisle built. This addition to the earlier structure seems to date from about 1190.

The western arch on north and three arches on south (Fig. 11) are of the early English period, probably *circ.* 1210. They have the undercut hoodmould with roll on the angle, roll with hollow on either side to the outer, and roll on each face of inner order on each side of the soffit. The abacus is chamfered and round on plan, as are the capitals, with a band of beading in a hollow supported on cylindrical columns, which stand on plinths about 9 in. above the present floor level. The east respond (Fig. 12) on the south side is flat with chamfered abacus, and appears to have belonged to a former Norman arch. A semicircular arched recess, with slot for the door, and the masonry of the respond, are of twelfth-century date. Above the arches are small segmental arched clerestory windows enclosing quatrefoils (? old).

In the north aisle are three segmental headed windows with one of four and two of three lights on the north side, and one of two lights at the west. They are of the Decorated period, *circ.* 1300. On the floor is a brass with inscription to Sarah, daughter of Lancelot Bithel Dawes, who died March 13th, 1795, aged 72, with text from St. Matthew 24, v. 42.

In the east wall of south aisle is a small oblong recess (Fig. 13) with pedestal for an image. Near east end of south wall is a plain semicircular headed recess with bracket for image above, and further west a decorated piscina with mutilated canopy having an ogee-headed cinquefoiled fringe. Farther west are two founders' tombs, viz., large arches in the wall having a continuous undercut hoodmould and three recessed chamfered orders. They are of the early English period and probably coeval with the nave arcade. Within the eastern arch is a stone effigy brought from elsewhere. It is much mutilated, and commonly reported to be the figure of a lady, but it seems

more probably to commemorate a civilian or priest. He has head resting on cushion and short hair, a long robe down to the feet, hands clasped on breast, and feet on an animal, the head broken away. On the occasion of a previous visit I thought I could see traces of a stole and amice, which would favour the suggestion that this was the effigy of a priest. It is of early fourteenth-century date, and may represent the benefactor who made the alterations in the aisles. Wright, in the "History and Antiquities of Rutlandshire," p. 114, gives the following account of it:—

"In the Church of Seaton is an ancient Monument, erected in an Arch in the south Wall of the body of the Church but without any Epitaph to be seen at this Day; yet there are two Coats of Armes cut in the stone, uncoullered; The first of which is quarterly, in the first two Lioncells passant, the second Bendy of ten pieces, the third two Bars surmounted of a Bend, the fourth as the first; the other coat is a Lyon passant crowned."

I am afraid this description will not enable us to identify the figure.

The east window of this south aisle is good Decorated, of three lights with cusped reticulated tracery. There is a small fragment of old glass in the head, with a chequered design. On the south side is a three-light and a four-light window segmental headed and similar to those in the north aisle. At the west end is a single trefoil-headed lancet. Let into the south wall are three shields, part of a former monument. On (1) is a lion pass. guard.; on (2) quarterly, 1 and 4, 2 lions pass. guard.; on (3) barry of 2 a bend. Unfortunately the tinctures are not now visible. On the floor is a ledger stone commemorating Mrs. Hannah Angel, who died in 1686, wife of Phylemon Angel, and of their daughter Rebecca, died 1741. There is also a small brass to Thomasin Barker, widow of Austin Barker, died 1741, with text, "Blessed are the Dead," &c. And another to Elizabeth, wife of Lancelot Dawes, died May 17th, 1748. Within a recess at the west end of the aisle are let into the wall the eight sides of the old font, on each of which is sculptured a Cross, and the stem and four octagonal shafts below. The present large font is

modern. The tower arch is fine early Decorated, with hoodmould having the groove and half-round, terminating on the head of a king on north, and a widow lady on south. There are three reveals, the two outer with fluting on arch and jambs, the inner order also fluted and supported on responds composed of three engaged shafts with well moulded capitals. The west window of two lights with quatrefoil in the head is of early Decorated character. There are five bells, two of date 1597, with the following inscriptions:—"Coelorum Christe placeat tibi Rex sonus iste," and "Sum Rosa pulsata mundi Maria vocata." One has date 1664, another "God save the King" and date 1669, and the fifth an inscription reversed.

When the church was restored traces of fire were discovered. The walls were thoroughly scraped, and various imperfect paintings were discovered and destroyed. On the north wall of the north aisle facing the main entrance was the popular representation of St. Christopher, and farther east a female saint with child, and other children round her. On east wall of south aisle was a diaper pattern on a dark ground, and figure of the Blessed Virgin, and there were remains of colour over the chancel arch. The roofs of the church are all modern, but in part copies from the ancient ones.

Proceeding to the exterior of the church, we leave by the south doorway (Fig. 14), a very fine example of Norman work, and like the chancel arch rather less than a semi-circle in its dimensions. As may be seen by the illustration herewith, it is very similar in its character to the fine south doorway at Castor Church (Fig. 41), and the same influence seems to have dominated the building of these two churches. Our example at Seaton has the usual hoodmould and three recessed orders. On the chamfered portion of the hoodmould is a series of small billets, and on the two outer orders a hollow and engaged angle roll. The inner order is plain with chamfered edge to arch and jambs. The abacus is grooved and chamfered, and as in the case of the chancel arch, the chamfered portion is much larger than the main upper face. On the chamfer on the east side is (Fig. 15) the antique and prismatic lozenge ornament. On the outer capital is scroll foliage

with bunch at the angle, and a head on either face below ; on the inner is scroll foliage. On the chamfer of the abacus on the west (Fig. 16) side is a varied form of the frette or embattled ornament, then scroll foliage, then a small dragon with long foliated tail and foliage on east face of outer portion, and then scroll foliage. On the inner capital is foliage and a bunch at the angle, and on the outer the prismatic lozenge indented and a bunch at the angle. The carving is very good, and may well be compared with similar ornate work at Castor and Wakerley. The shafts are slender and engaged, and terminate on rather plain bases and plinths about 11 in. above the porch floor. There is one deeply cut votive cross on the inner west jamb, and part of a rudely incised sundial on the east. On the east and west sides of the porch is a blocked squareheaded two-light window. The outer arch of the porch on the interior side has an undercut dripstone terminating on the head of a man on the west and perhaps of a priest on the east side. There are three reveals with hollow and engaged roll to each order in arch and continued down the jambs. On the outer side (Fig. 17) is the undercut hoodmould and bold hollow and engaged roll to arch and jambs. On either side is a small buttress with enriched panelling with tracery of late Decorated character. A very large oak chest (Fig. 18A) is now placed in the porch. On the occasion of a previous visit it was preserved in the vestry.

There is a plain parapet, not embattled, to the nave, aisles and chancel. The south aisle windows have been much renewed ; the hoodmould, terminating on masks, of the east and west windows is genuine and old. There are graduated buttresses to both aisles, and more ornate and earlier ones to the chancel. There are two string-courses along the north and south walls of the chancel, the upper one carried round the heads of the windows and the top of the buttresses ; the lower one across the buttresses and below the windows, and continued across the east wall. It is broken by the south chancel doorway. This has an undercut hoodmould on head of bishop on west and knight on east, two fluted orders to arch and jambs and undercut abacus. There is a blind quatrefoil in head of east on south

window. The east window (Fig. 19) of the chancel has been much renewed. The outer jamb-shafts are banded with foliated capitals. There are no shafts attached to the mullions, as on the interior side. The vestry and organ chamber, formerly the sacristy, has been mainly rebuilt. Let into the walls are portions of cross coffin lids (Fig. 18B) with semicircular (formerly half a circular) upper part, with a tree having three branches or shoots, and another branch or shoot on either side. Another part has three shoots, within semicircles and foliage, on each side, also part of the base with a trefoil, and part of the stem of another slightly raised at the centre, also a portion of another coped stone. These on the occasion of a previous visit were lying about in the vestry. They date from the late twelfth or early thirteenth centuries. The north aisle windows are much renewed. The jambs of the north aisle doorway remain walled up.

The west tower and spire are of the Transitional period from the early English to the Decorated style, and date from about 1270. There are nice graduated buttresses supporting the western angles. The lower west window has a hoodmould terminating on the head of a man with curly hair on north, and of a lady with wimple on the south. In the middle stage on north and south is a circular light once enclosing tracery, but this has been destroyed on the north, and is much mutilated on the south side. The belfry windows are of two lights with quatrefoil in the head, and hoodmould on head or mask terminations. On the north and south sides are slender shafts attached to the mullions with foliated capitals. The broach spire is of the same date as the tower, with three tiers of coupled windows having trefoiled lights and a pediment above on the main cardinal faces. There is a string-course forming a band round the spire above and below the lower window.

The interior dimensions of the church are as follows:—

			East & West.	North & South.
The Tower ...	...	...	13 ft. 7½ in.	× 11 ft. 1½ in.
The Nave ...	...	...	57 ft. 8 in.	× 17 ft. 8 in.
The North Aisle ...	...	...	57 ft. 8 in.	× 8 ft. 4 in.
The South Aisle ...	...	...	57 ft. 8 in.	× 8 ft. 2 in.
The Chancel ...	...	...	41 ft. 4 in.	× 18 ft. 8 in.

A drive of about four miles either *viâ* Barrowden or Harringworth, both churches being worthy of a visit, will bring us to Wakerley, situated on sloping ground on the opposite (south) side of the River Welland, which here forms the boundary between the counties of Rutland and Northampton. As has already been stated, very little information is to be gleaned about the history of this parish, and we can only consult Bridges' "History of Northamptonshire" to obtain the very meagre details as to the personages who had an interest and held property in the town and manor. We find these granted in early times and at various periods to many distinguished families, who were no doubt benefactors to the church, and responsible for the rich details, which have come down to our time. In the thirty-ninth year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, Richard Cecil, second son of the great Lord Burghley, first Earl of Exeter, became possessed of the manor, and he built a large mansion between the church and the river, which has now been entirely destroyed, though the site and foundations are clearly visible. His eldest son, David, succeeded his uncle as third Earl of Exeter. Before this, and while still residing at Wakerley, he lost four sons, who all died in their infancy, and this seems to have made him take a dislike to the place, which was apparently deserted and pulled down or allowed to fall into decay. The manor and parish still belong to the Cecil family, now represented by the Marquis of Exeter, of Burghley Park.

The church (Fig. 20) is a fine and very interesting structure. It is dedicated to St. John the Baptist, and consists of west tower and spire, nave, south porch, north and south chapels, and chancel. The chancel arch and eastern portion of the nave are Norman, and unfortunately the only parts remaining of a church which must have been similar in its enrichments to those at Seaton and Castor. In the early years of the fourteenth century the western portion, and perhaps the whole of the nave, was rebuilt, and the tower, south chapel and north porch were erected, but the chief reconstruction took place in the latter part of the fifteenth century, to which period the chancel and most of the present edifice belongs. It is

built entirely of carefully wrought stone, and is in an excellent state of repair.

Commencing our survey in the interior of the chancel (Fig. 21), we find that this part of the church is of the late Perpendicular period, and probably not much earlier than 1500. The east window is of five lights and segmental headed. On the south side are two two-light windows of the same date. In the south wall is a small piscina with projecting ledge and ogee-headed canopy. On the north side is a large table tomb (Fig. 22) with canopy above with quatrefoils in the spandrils and panelling on the sides. It seems to be of the same date as the chancel, and was probably the Easter Sepulchre, but has been adopted as the tomb of Sir Richard Cecil, Baronet, second son of Thomas, Earl of Exeter, and father of David, Earl of Exeter. He died August, 1633, and was buried in September of that year, as we learn from the following epitaph:—

H S E

RICARDUS CECILIUS EQUES AURATUS FILIUS
 NATU SECUNDUS THOMÆ COMITIS EXONIÆ
 PATER DAVIDIS ETIAM EXONIÆ COMITIS
 OBIIT MENSE AUGUSTI A° DOM. MDCXXXIII.
 ET HIC IV DIE SEPTEMBRIS EODM. A° EST INHUMATUS.

In Bridges' "History of Northamptonshire," published in 1740, we find the following note, clearly referring to this monument:—"On the north side of the Chancel under an Arch is a defaced free-stone altar tomb, on which were portraits of a man and woman praying and labels of brass, all of which are now taken away. It is said to have been erected for one of the Cecil family."

On the chancel floor are small ledger stones in memory of four sons of David, Earl of Exeter—viz., of his fifth son, who died in October, 1636, aged 2; of his second son, buried in 1638 aged 7; his third son, died in 1638, aged 8; and his fourth son, buried February 4th, 1638, aged 1. As previously stated, these family bereavements are said to have prejudiced the Earl against his Manor House at

Wakerley, and were the cause of his ceasing to reside there. On the floor is a large blue stone with matrices of figures, three shields, and three inscription plates. This was probably one of the brasses to a member of the Conyers family mentioned by Bridges as being in the church in his time. There are also large blue and white stones, which may have been the altars in the side chapels.

The chancel arch is very fine Norman. It is now obtusely pointed, but was no doubt originally semicircular, and altered at one of the later restorations. It is plain on the chancel side (Fig. 23), except for an engaged roll on the east face of the soffit. On the west face (Fig. 24), towards the nave are two courses of bold zigzag, with smaller bands between, and half-round at angle of outer order, and half-round on the soffit of the inner order, with half-round on either side. The abacus is grooved and chamfered and continued as a string-course to the north and south walls both on the nave and chancel sides. The capitals are highly enriched. On the main capital on south is, on the east face, a dragon. On the north face is another dragon (Fig. 25) with beaded tail biting the hand of a merman with beaded tail and long ears. He holds a hatchet in his left hand, which another large dragon on the west is biting. There is a cable band below.

The representation of the merman at this early date is certainly very rare, and I am not able to cite another example in England. The mermaid or siren is to be found on the doorways at Alne, Bishops Wilton and Barton-le-Street, in Yorkshire; on the capital of the doorway at Nately Scures, Hampshire; and on the Green Gate, Canterbury, and Barfreston, Kent. There is also a quaint example on the tympanum at Stow Longa, Huntingdonshire.

On the capital supporting the outer order (Fig. 26) is a large head with foliage from the mouth. The shafts are engaged, half-rounds, and have the indented ornament on the bases. This we also find on the bases of the tower arches at Castor. The capitals on the north side are still more interesting. On the west one (Fig. 27) is very good beaded interlaced scroll foliage and a cable band below. On the capital of the main respond is, in the centre

(Fig. 28), a knight in mail and with small lip from the helmet protecting his nose. He is on horseback, and holds an umbrella-shaped shield in the right hand, and the left at his side. At the back is another mailed figure on foot pointing upwards. Behind them is (Fig. 29) a castellated building with central dome and two turrets and four slit openings. In front of them is a building of Oriental character with three domes on pairs of semicircular arches. Below is a cable band. The carving is very good. Is it intended to represent St. George appearing as captain of the Christian armies before Antioch? We find this subject in sculpture on the tympanum of Fordington Church, Dorsetshire, and in painting at Hardham Church, Sussex, though somewhat differently treated.

On either side of the chancel arch in the east wall of the nave is a semicircular-arched recess (Fig. 30), with hollow and roll in arch, massive grooved and chamfered abacus, detached shafts with cushion capitals, and the indented moulding on the bases. In the north-east corner is the head of a trefoil-arched recess. On the south side of the nave is part of a Norman window (Fig. 25) with roll in arch walled up when the south chapel was constructed. There are three two-light clerestory windows on each side of the nave of debased Perpendicular character. The flat roof is also partly debased. Along the centre are five painted bosses (Fig. 31), two with very grotesque carving of date *circ.* 1500, viz., from the east (1) bust of our Lord with hand holding the orb; (2) a head with long tresses of hair, perhaps St. John the Baptist; (3) a nigger or demon with arms on the shoulders of a man and woman holding rosaries on either side of him; (4) head of angel holding a shield, azure semée of estoiles or; (5) bust of a nun, with black demon at her side with hand on her head. The blue and other colouring is still very distinct. On the north and south sides of the nave, near the west end, is a two-light late Decorated window. The tower arch (Fig. 32) is fine Decorated, with hoodmould on head of lady on south and gentleman on north side, and three recessed orders, the two outer continued without imposts to the ground, the inner resting on semicircular responds and well-moulded capitals. The west window is of two

lights, late Decorated, with flamboyant tracery. The font, made of ironstone, has been severely scraped. It has large square bowl on four octagonal angle shafts, with trefoil on south face, inverted trefoil on north, and an irregular quatrefoil enclosing a rose between four lilies on the east. The west side is against the wall. The pulpit is of oak and appears to be partly old. On north wall of nave is a portion of the Norman string-course with the lozenge ornament, and in the east arch on the south side of the nave are built in some small fragments of Norman moulding also with the lozenge ornament.

Between the nave and north chapel are two arches with a continuous hoodmould on a head at the centre, and two chamfered ribs supported on central octagonal column with moulded capital, and a respond shaft on east and west, the lower part cut away. These are of fifteenth-century date, though the hoodmoulding looks earlier. There is a small piscina with ogee-headed canopy and quatrefoil basin in the south-east corner. The east window is Perpendicular (Fig. 33A) of three lights with some very pretty contemporary glass in the head, viz., a yellow rose, a foliage design in white on a black ground, the sacred monogram IHC, and the white rose of York twice. There is a large bracket for image on each side. On the chapel side the hoodmould above the arches rests on central head of a lady. The roof is low pitched.

Between the nave and south chapel are also two arches with continuous hoodmould resting on heads at the centre and west, and three chamfered orders supported on low central octagonal column with moulded abacus, capital and base, and on a bracket terminating on a mask on east and west sides. On the east side are chamfer stops above the abacus. On the chapel side the hoodmould rests on the central head of a bishop and a mask at east and west ends. This is of early fourteenth-century date. The east window (Fig. 33) is of three lights, perpendicular, similar to that in the north chapel, with slight remains of old glass, a blazing star, and square quarries with designs in yellow of flowers and quatrefoils. The recess for the reredos remains below the window. There is a large stone bracket for an image on each side. There are two debased

windows on the south side. In the south wall is a large piscina recess with hoodmould on masks, plain arch and octagonal basin. Along the south wall is a Norman string-course chamfered both ways (Fig. 34A), with lozenges on the main and half lozenges on the lower chamfered face. This was probably moved to its present situation when the chapel was built early in the fourteenth century. Along the upper part of the north wall, being the outer south wall of the old Norman nave, is part of the old corbel table (Fig. 34B) with the indented moulding on the wallplate and nine separate corbels still remaining. On 1, 2, 3 are heads; 4 a star with cable below; 5, 6, 7, 8 heads; and 9 three rows of billets. All these details prove the existence of a highly enriched church in the Norman period.

Leaving the church by the main north doorway within the porch, we note that this is four-centred, of late Perpendicular date (Fig. 35), with a hoodmould terminating on head of a lady on the east, and of a civilian with flat cap on the west, and with half-round, quarter-round and fluted mouldings on the arch and jambs. There is an engaged shaft on each side supporting the head terminations of the hoodmould. On the floor of the porch is a large blue stone, possibly of the old high altar. The outer arch (Fig. 36) is of Decorated date with hoodmould and two chamfered orders, the outer without impost to the ground, the inner supported on half round responds with the characteristic capitals. Above the arch is a trefoil-headed niche for image. There are buttresses on the east and west sides. There are graduated buttresses and a string-course on north and east sides of the north chapel, and buttress at the angle. On the east wall is part of the Norman string-course with the indented ornament on the chamfer. There is a plain hoodmould to the east window. The chancel has buttresses at the angles, and a string-course running round beneath the east window (Fig. 37), which has a label terminating on the head of a man on north, that on south being defaced. The south chancel doorway, now blocked up, does not look old. The windows on south have plain labels. The parapets throughout are plain and not embattled. On east wall

of south chapel (Fig. 38) is part of the Norman string-course with the sawtooth ornament both on the main and chamfered face. There are also two corbels remaining of the old corbel table, (1) with a head and (2) with billets. The east window has plain label above. There are buttresses to east and south wall of this chapel. On south side of nave is a small blocked-up doorway with four-centred arch and hoodmould, and ogee mouldings to arch and jambs. There are two slender buttresses supporting the wall on this side.

The tower (Fig. 36) is built of very excellent stone, and mainly of the Decorated period. It is divided by string-courses into four stages, and has graduated buttresses, two on each face, carried up nearly to the summit. On that on south-west is a rudely incised sundial with a complete circle and rays on a stone probably reused and a relic of the earlier church. The lower west window (Fig. 39) is of two lights with fluted moulding to the containing arch and flamboyant tracery and a hoodmould terminating on heads of king and queen. On the third stage on north, west and south is a small trefoil-headed light under square label of the late Perpendicular period. The weather moulding of the earlier high-pitched roof remains on the east side. There has been much alteration on the upper belfry stage, first in the late fifteenth-century rebuilding, and then during some reparation in the post-Reformation period, probably when the nave roof and clerestory were put up. All the windows are lofty with two double lights subdivided by a cross transom. On the north side the Decorated windows remain with quatrefoil in the head, and continuous hoodmould. On the east side the windows are of the late Perpendicular period under square undercut label. On the west side the heads of the windows are rounded and debased, but the square label above is Perpendicular. On the south the heads and hoodmould above are both rounded and of debased character. Above is a cornice of quatrefoils and the parapet is battlemented, this being part of the late fifteenth-century alteration. The spire is octagonal, rather short, but elegant Perpendicular work with crockets down the angles. It has two-light windows under triangular pediments on each cardinal

face and a small single light under similar pediment on the alternate sides. These pediments are crocketed, and the lower set terminate on heads of a lion and dragon on north, of a man and back of an animal on south, and human heads on east and west. The pediments of the upper series terminate on varied heads of lions.

The internal dimensions of the church are as follows :—

		East and West.		North and South.
Tower Space	...	13 ft. 7 in.	×	11 ft. 6 in.
Nave	...	50 ft. 10 in.	×	23 ft. 3 in.
South Chapel	...	22 ft.	×	13 ft. 9½ in.
North Chapel	...	25 ft. 7 in.	×	12 ft. 5 in.
Chancel	...	27 ft. 2 in.	×	17 ft. 10 in.

In a previous part of this paper I have referred to Castor Church, and have noted the similarity of the richly sculptured Norman work both at Seaton and Wakerley to that at Castor. There can be no doubt that the rebuilding of Castor Church was a matter of unusual importance in this district, as evidenced by the record of the dedication stone still preserved in the wall over the chancel doorway, the actual date, the 15th of the Kalends of May, 1124, being thus preserved, as also the fact that this dedication ceremony was performed by Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln, who was responsible for the splendid Norman work on the west front of Lincoln Cathedral. These dedication records are rare, and early instances may be cited at Clee Church, Lincolnshire, where we learn from an inscription on a pillar on south of nave that the church was dedicated in honour of the Blessed Trinity and Virgin Mary by Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln, in 1192 (though parts of the existing church are much earlier than that date); and at Ashbourne Church, Derbyshire, where a brass plate informs us that the church was dedicated in honour of St. Oswald by Hugh de Patishul, Bishop of Coventry, on the eighth day of the Kalends of May, 1241. The excellence of the Norman work at Castor, notably the fine central tower (Fig. 40), is a proof that the most skilled masons were employed, and their personal services may have been afterwards requisitioned¹ in the erection of other churches

¹ In the Associated Architectural Societies' Reports, vol. xxiv, p. xxii, is a brief account of the visit of the Northampton and Oakham

in this same district. I have, therefore, introduced a few illustrations from this church, to be compared with similar work at Seaton and Wakerley, and a visit to it may well be made by those interested in this branch of archæology (Figs. 41-47).

About eight miles from Wakerley, in this same northern part of Northamptonshire, are the very remarkable churches of Barnack and Wittering. The former is well known, chiefly for the noble Saxon tower at the west end, and I merely give illustrations of the tower and tower arch, as it would be a work of supererogation to embark on a detailed description of this most interesting edifice (Figs. 48-50).

Wittering Church (Fig. 51), about two miles from Barnack and four miles south of Stamford, just off the Great North Road, is, however, less known, though a description of it occurs in the Victorian History for the County of Northampton. A brief account of it, without any attempt to dive into the history of the parish, except just to mention that at least as early as 1180 down to the latter part of the fifteenth century the Manor was in the possession of the Ridel family, may be fairly introduced to complete our paper.

The Church (Fig. 52) is dedicated to All Saints, and now consists of a west tower and spire, nave, south porch, north aisle, chancel and north chapel. The original Saxon church consisted of nave and chancel. About 1170 the north aisle was added. One window in the chancel and a founders' tomb are of the Early English, and the tower and spire and the north chapel additions of the Decorated, period. The east window of the chancel is an insertion of the fifteenth century. The church is built of stone.

Taking our stand in the chancel (Fig. 53) we notice at once the narrow and lofty proportions both of the chancel and nave, a sure indication of work of the pre-Norman period. The east window is of two lights Perpendicular

Architectural Society to Wakerley Church on June 2nd, 1897. Here the carvings on the capitals were specially pointed out, and it was stated that "Mr. J. T. Irvine has identified the workman who produced these carvings with the mason who did so much excellent work to Castor." This reference was found after I had formed my opinion on this subject.

in style, and on the south side is a lancet and two-light Decorated window. There is a plain bracket for the piscina and a square recess for the aumbry in the south wall. On the north is a segmental arch opening to the chapel with hoodmould terminating on heads and two recessed orders, the outer chamfered and continued without imposts to the ground, the inner fluted and supported on large brackets with head of a lady on west and gentleman on east. There is a founders' tomb with arch having an undercut hoodmould in the north wall. At east end is an early Decorated two-light window. The north-east quoin (Fig. 54) of the nave is within the chapel, and affords an excellent example of the Saxon long and short work. The arch opening from chapel to aisle belongs to the Perpendicular period. The chancel arch (Fig. 55) is a most interesting specimen of the rude work of pre-Norman times. On the chancel side is a bold roll or torus moulding. There is a half-round on the soffit continued on the responds to the ground. On the west side (Fig. 56) is a massive hoodmould continued as a masonry strip to the ground, and a bold roll moulding corresponding with that on the east face. These are supported on massive blocks of stone forming the abacus and capital combined, and of very rude workmanship. Both on east and west the roll moulding is continued as an engaged shaft to the ground. On the north of the arch are the old doorways leading to the rood-loft. On the north side of the nave are two highly enriched Norman arches (Fig. 57). On the eastern one is, on the hoodmould, a lozenge pattern on main face and undercut lozenges forming stars at their points of connection on the chamfered portion. On the outer order is a pattern of lozenges on the face and soffit and on the angle. There is a bold half-round on the soffit of the inner order. On the side towards the aisle of the eastern arch is the billet ornament on the chamfer of the hoodmould and a hollow channel on the outer order, on the western arch plain chamfer to the hoodmould.

The western arch on the nave side has the same mouldings on the hoodmould and inner order as the eastern one, but on the outer order is a very beautiful out-turned zigzag with the notch or nailhead on the upper side of

each chevron. The arches rest upon a low central column, and half-round responds with engaged shaft to the outer order at east and west ends. The abacus is grooved and chamfered and there is varied scalloping on the capitals. These arches are late Norman, probably dating from 1160-1170. There is a quaint bracket on the south-west face of the east respond. There is a two-light Perpendicular window on south side of nave with a bracket for image on the east splay, and a small single light (? old) in the north wall of the north aisle. The tower arch is early Decorated with two chamfered ribs. The font has very large circular bowl on lofty stem. The west window is a small widely splayed trefoil-headed lancet.

The south doorway within modern porch is Early English, semicircular headed with undercut hoodmould on heads and three roll mouldings on engaged shafts, the central one with a circular capital. There is an old stone close to the porch. There are masonry strips with long and short work at the east and west ends of the nave and east end of chancel, excellent examples of Saxon work, proving that the nave and chancel remain practically as when erected perhaps a thousand years ago. On north side of north aisle is a plain four-centred Perpendicular doorway with undercut label. The roofs are modern and tiled with Colly Weston slates. The tower is in three stages of the early Decorated period with graduated angle buttresses and smaller buttresses on north and south sides, and with two-light belfry windows having a quatrefoil in the head and a hoodmould on head terminations. There is a course of the ball-flower ornament on the cornice above. The spire is a broach, and has been considerably shortened at the restoration of the church, giving it rather a stumpy appearance. It is octagonal, with a band down each angle and a two-light window with quatrefoil in the head and triangular pediment above on each lower cardinal face. There are three bells, the treble and tenor cast by Tobie Norris of Stamford, in 1681; the second inscribed "Laus tibi Domine," of mediæval age but uncertain origin. The Saxon portion of the church is built of the local stone roughly bonded together and with very wide jointing, another proof, if it were required, of its early character.



LA ROCHE D'ANDELI AND CHÂTEAU-GAILLARD.

Fortified A.D. 1196-98 and besieged A.D. 1203-04.

By CHARLES ROESSLER DE GRAVILLE.



“ T the distance of three stones’-throw, swung by a strong arm, from the island of Andeli stands a huge rock so high that the human eye cannot detect the summit. By the riverside the shape of a lofty tower reveals itself, and so well are the surfaces polished and the cliff and the wall joined, that they seem to make a straight line that boldly essays to reach the stars.

“ Not quite so high, on the other side, facing the East, a terrace extends, greater in length than width, isolated by two deep ravines. The terrace becomes narrower as it nears the foot of a hill which overlooks it, but continues inaccessible on the other crest of the ridge. This spot was fortified sufficiently by Nature, but King Richard Cœur de Lion took every precaution to make it impregnable. The two ends were encircled by double walls flanked by carefully coupled towers. The rubbish near the foundations being cleared away, access became impossible from the valleys, even by attempting to creep up along the slopes.

“ Across the plain another wall was built, the hard rock being deeply cut into so as to form a real gully. A double fortress was thus erected, so disposed that if one part suffered any damage the other could still shelter and protect the occupiers. Then the king ordered the rock towering high in air and overlooking the terrace to be shaped in circular form.

“ On the summit of the cliff he erected strong walls, and, removing and levelling the ground, a number of houses and sheds, reserving the central part only for the citadel.

The situation and the beauty of the fortifications and surroundings soon deserved the well-known and celebrated appellation of 'Le Château-Gaillard.'

This quotation is the translation of a description written seven hundred years ago, and the general effect of the view from the river has undergone very little alteration (Fig. 1). The author was an eye-witness of the famous siege of the "Château-Gaillard" in 1203-04. He was the Chaplain of the French king, Philip Augustus, who commanded in person the host of besiegers.

Gulielmus Brito-Armoricus (Guillaume le Breton), as he is named, wrote one of those long poems which the historians, in our days, only read for reference or quotation, trying to avoid the difficulty, so apparent in many cases, of attaching the ideas of their own time to their appreciation of events which happened long before us.

The poem, "Philippidos," is a narrative intended to be a panegyric of the king. Book VII is the part which interests us here, and will help us to understand the various episodes of the contest and to trace them on the spot. At first the author did not attempt to write in versified lines; to that he devoted himself later on, when he dedicated the twelve books of his work to Louis, Philip's son and successor. Thus we have a first text as a control. Both texts give the impression of correctness in details and of being written by an observant eye-witness.

In the ease with which the evidences can be collated the "Château-Gaillard" offers the student an almost unparalleled subject of investigation. We can explore the ruins and trace the walls of the fortifications; in the Norman Exchequer Rolls we find the details of the expenses for the buildings; the Records at Rouen contain the original Charters for the acquisition of the "Roche d'Andeli" and for the manor and the grounds; the manuscript departments in the collections of London and Paris; authors of the thirteenth century, Guiart especially; Benedictine historians and their able followers, such as Deville—all agree in furnishing aid to the careful searcher.

It has been remarked how little time King Richard spent in England during his reign of ten years. Scarcely had he

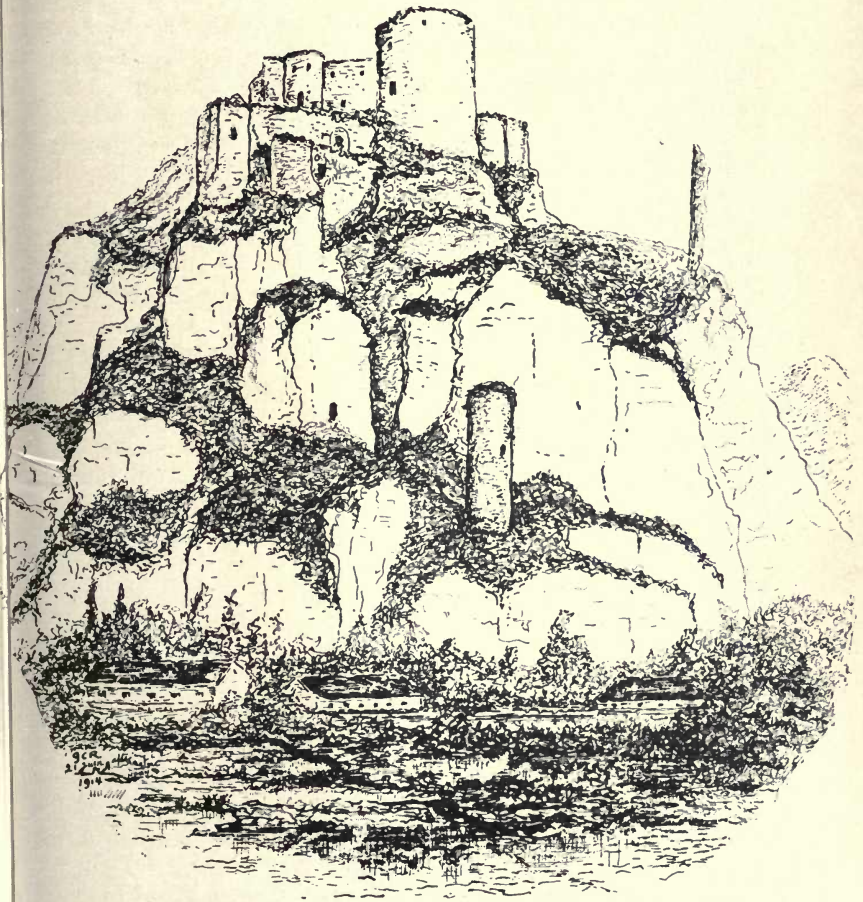


Fig. 1.—The “Roche d'Andeli” and “Château-Gaillard.”

settled the most pressing business after his return from captivity when he began negotiations on the Continent to secure the integrity of his ducal dominions abroad.

Philip, as is well known, had vowed to conquer Normandy, which had been granted by treaty in 911 to the Viking invaders, and joined in 1066 to the English crown by William I. The marriage of Richard's father with Eleanor of Aquitaine had added such rich and extensive possessions to the crown that it could be said that the Plantagenets had more power in France than the French kings, and so it proved during the reigns of Henry II and Richard.

In Normandy war was soon raging. Thousands of Welsh auxiliaries who had crossed the French borders were driven back to the valley of Andeli, where they were surrounded and massacred. In his fury Richard, in revenge, ordered the execution of a number of prisoners, an example of cruelty which was soon followed by Philip.

However, as the two kings were going to meet in person, they listened to friendly advisers. A truce was proclaimed. By the 17th article of the treaty, Philip was authorized to take possession of "la Roche d'Andeli," which had belonged to Walter, the Archbishop of Rouen, on condition that this powerful prelate should pronounce, without sufficient cause, an Interdict against the French king and his subjects. Article 20 stipulated that Andeli was not to be fortified.

But it was against Richard and the Normans that the Interdict was pronounced; for the king soon discovered that the treaty would turn out a most unfavourable one—Andeli left open would give Philip access to Rouen and enable him to overrun the whole province of Normandy.

Richard accordingly seized the territory, manor and rock of Andeli and began immense preparations. From many miles around arrived armies of engineers, soldiers, sappers, woodcutters, carpenters, smiths, stone-masons, plasterers and navvies of all sorts, not to mention the carmen and boatmen, who brought choice material from the best quarries and forests which were so numerous on the two banks of the river. A new town was founded and called "le Petit-Andeli"; the valley was closed, marshes were

dried up or turned into fisheries. The two islands opposite were fortified, palisaded and garrisoned.¹

Walter's property having been confiscated by Richard, and his claims ignored, he fulminated his Interdict and appealed to the Court of Rome. Richard sent there also to plead in favour of his subjects, who lived in terror and talked of frightful consequences and ghastly apparitions. After hearing the two parties, the Pope advised Walter to accept a compromise because, "everything being considered, the king had the right to fortify such a place as he could choose in his own dominions in order to secure their safety." But this meant an offer of handsome compensations.

The compensations granted were most generous. Walter's friends rejoiced and erected stone crosses at Rouen, bearing a triumphant inscription:—

VICISTI GALTARE: SVNT SIGNA TRIVMPHI DEPPA
 LOCOVERIS ALACRIS MONS BVTILA MOLTA: DEPPA
 PORTVS MARIS ALACRIS MONS LOCVS AMENVS VILLA
 LOCOVERIS RVS BVTILA MOLTA PER VRBEM:
 HACTENVS HAEC REGIS RICARDI FVERE HAEC REX
 SANCIVIT HAEC PAPA TIBI QVE TVERE:

(Thou art the victor, Walter; the signs of thy triumph are Dieppe, Louviers, Aliermont, Bouteilles, the Mills—Dieppe the seaport, Aliermont the pleasant place, Louviers the town, Bouteilles the country, the mills in town. Until now they all belonged to King Richard, who grants them to thee. He and the Pope guarantee to thee the ownership.)

The crosses, which published such loud expressions of joy, have disappeared for many years, but the original Charter for the agreement of exchange has been carefully

¹The Plantagenets had a real taste for military architecture. While he was besieging a certain town, Geoffrey was known to have studied carefully the books of Vegetius, the great Roman authority on scientific warfare. The design carried out at Andeli proves that his grandson knew how to combine the same teaching with many different elements, appropriate to the locality. As we shall see further, the first works were a renovation of the primitive defences of deep trenches and high ramparts, so much favoured from time immemorial, on the other promontories lower down on the river, at "la Pierre Gante," near Tancarville, at "la Roque-sur-Risle," and at Sandouville, and, judging by the similar situation, likely to have existed here long before the twelfth century.

preserved in the Norman Records at Rouen. The Charter is not signed by the king, but his double green seal is affixed to the vellum by a twist of red and white silk. (Figs. 2 and 3.) On the ducal seal, the equestrian figure of Richard holds a shield decorated by a *lion rampant*.



Fig. 2.—Seal of Richard, Duke of the Normans and Aquitans, Count of the Angevins. Inscription:—
 RI(card)VS DVX NORMANNORVM ET AQUITANORVM ET COMES ANDEGAVORVM.
 Facsimile from the Charter: Castello de Rupe. (MS. Records at Rouen.)

The Charter is dated:—*XVI die Octobris, apud Rothomagum, anno regni nostri octavo.*

The coronet on the helmet of the ducal seal has been obliterated and is now hardly visible.

On the regal seal it may be noticed that the title assumed by Richard is—

KING OF THE ENGLISH.

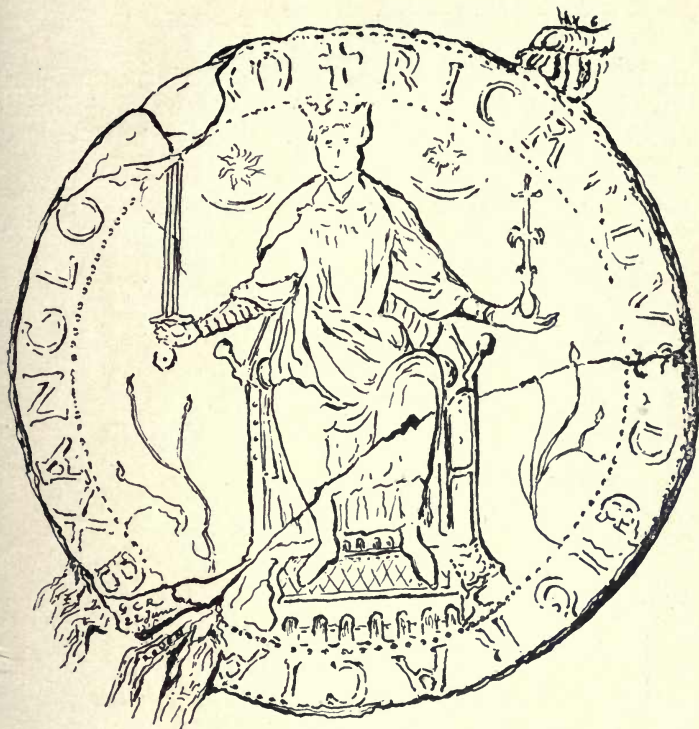
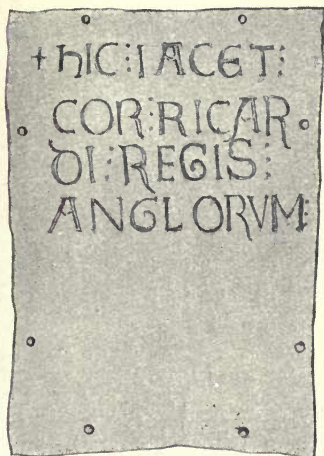


Fig. 3.—Seal of Richard, as King of the English.

Inscription :—RICARDVS DEI GRACIA (R)EX ANGLORVM. (MS. Records at Rouen)



Inscription discovered with the Heart of King Richard. (Cathedral of Rouen)

In 1838, Achille Deville, after persevering researches, brought to light, from beneath the pavement of Rouen Cathedral, the double lead box containing the heart of the king, with the inscription—

HIC IACET COR RICARDI REGIS ANGLORVM



Fig. 4.—Seal of John, as Son of the King of England and Lord of Ireland.
 Inscription:—SIGILLVM IO(h)ANNIS: (filii re)GIS ANGLIE DOMINI HIB(er)NIE.
 (MS. Records at Rouen.)

—the same title as on the seal. His successor claimed the title of King of England.

At the same date a Charter of confirmation was sealed by John, the future king. (Figs. 4 and 5.) On the shield

is the Norman emblem of the two lions. The counter-seal is a small impression from an antique cameo. In this document, John, forgetting his former opposition, expresses himself in terms of gratitude:— “. . . . karissimi domini et fratris mei Richard Dei gracia illustris

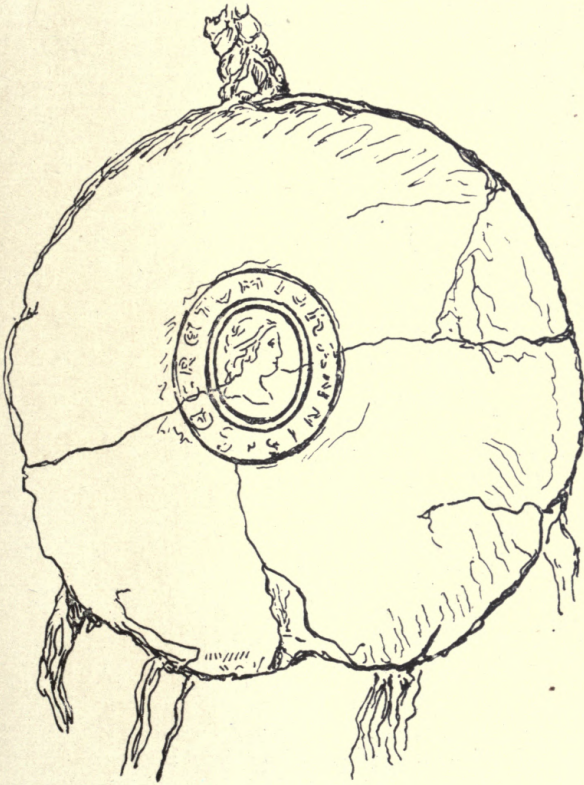


Fig. 5.—Counter-seal of John.

Inscription :—(s) SECRETVM IOHANNIS.

(MS. Records at Rouen.)

Anglie regis.” On his seal he claims his title as son of King Henry. This testifies that in 1197 Richard accepted his brother as his lawful successor, not considering the possible claims of their nephew, Arthur.

A second Charter of confirmation was granted by John when he became king. (Figs. 6 and 7.) Here appear, on the shield, the three English *lions léopardés*.

Before the final agreement between Richard and Walter, the approaches towards Philip's dominions were defended as far as Botavant, four thousand paces distant. A triple



Fig. 6.—Seal of John, as King.
Inscription :—(R)EX ANG(li)E DO(mini Hibernie).

(MS. Records at Rouen.)

stockade was inserted in the bed of the river under the cliff, while the vale on the south side was trenched from the top of the hill down to the water. All this was done by expert workmen : the Rolls of the time tell us that, for one year only, the expenses amounted to nearly sixty thousand pounds. Soldiers and workers were posted there together, to prevent any surprise from the enemy, and

the works of defence were hurried on the rock as well as in the islands and on the river higher up.

The two islands seem to have been joined for the necessities of the encampment, at least by a palisading or communicating patrolways. At some distance on the top



Fig. 7.—Seal of John, as Duke.
Inscription :—(NORMA)NNIE (et) AQUIT(anie).

(MS. Records at Rouen.)

of the hill, some vestiges indicate another military post on a higher level than the castle. It may have been of some other date, but was more likely intended for a look-out towards the East, as was, on the other side, the high narrow tower facing the river passage. (Fig. 1.) The tower

also consolidated the artificially steep part of the cliff, and many narrow side pathways or passages.

Under the castle, judging from what is still visible, the vaulting of rooms, cellars and communications and the three deep wells, must have caused an immense amount of hard work. And when we consider the depth of the trenches and ditches, it seems almost a wonder that the king's directions were brought so rapidly to completion.

The quotations we take from our author allow the visitor to follow, step by step, the progress of the works. But what he calls a double fortress is in fact a triple one, though the rampart seems only double; this is because a wide ditch separates the second part of the buildings into two very distinct enclosures, while it takes on the inside the shape of an elliptic line.

In the second enclosure (Fig. 8) we notice a very characteristic feature, which some authors suppose to have been an innovation of Richard, but is already found some years earlier at Cherbourg. The walls, over 7 ft. thick, form a bastion, by means of nearly twenty segments of towers, separated by as many very narrow parapets. This is in fact the real citadel and the strongest part of the castle, especially as the main tower, or Keep, is built inside, against the walls.

The Keep represents the very heart of the defence, over terrace steps and special trenches. Without the buttresses, which were made larger at the top in order to support the battlements, the walls are over 10 ft. thick, and more at the acute angle formed where they join.

Our sketch for a ground plan of the castle (Fig. 8) will illustrate how well everything had been calculated to add to the strength of this third part of the fortress. Before coming so far, the besieger had to encounter the resistance of many first defences. After establishing himself on the top of the almost inaccessible hill, he faced a huge tower at the point of a triangle supported by a curtain wall, and more towers on the two sides, and defended by an immense ditch nearly 50 ft. deep, cut out of the rock perpendicularly on the counterscarp. (Fig. 8, v v v v 4). To break into the castle would still appear impossible.

Three wells were opened in the fortress, two (Fig. 8—

5, 6) are still traceable. According to the payments mentioned in the Rolls the sinking of the three cost three hundred pounds.

The Rolls of the Norman Exchequer are full of information about the fortifications at Andeli. We see that the

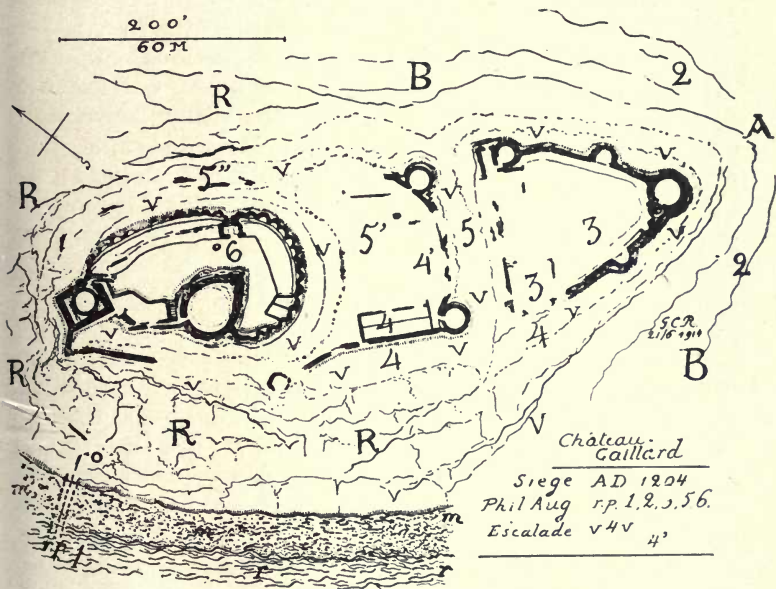


Fig. 8.—Château-Gaillard. Sketch of the ground plan of the ruins of the Castle, besieged A.D. 1203-04.

v v v v v v	....	....	Ditches.
m m m	....	....	Marshes.
r r r	....	....	River Seine.
R R	....	....	Cliffs.
r p	....	....	Triple stockade.
r p l	....	....	French attack by the river.
B 2 A 2 B	....	....	Attack from the hill, after the battle on the river.
v v v v 3 3	....	....	First breaking into the Castle.
v 4 v	....	....	Escalade began by Bogis.
4'	....	....	Second breaking in through drawbridge.
5' 5''	....	....	Third attack and general assault.
6	....	....	Last battle, and surrender.

two men who acted as masters of the works, Sawall Fitz-Henry and Matthew Enard, were entrusted with very large sums of money, and distributed them without much delay. The pay of the soldiers is also well accounted for—

for eight days 890 infantrymen received £300 9s. (Angevine pounds most likely). The cost of ten thousand herrings was £14 12s. Four thousand and forty pounds were once disbursed for donkeys, harnesses and drivers. A red ass cost 40s. Some soldiers received 10s. a day, others 6s. The wood-hewers were given £2,320 in one payment only.

The taxes to meet such expenditure must have been very high, and the amount paid seems enormous; but it must be noticed that the castle was not the only construction at Andeli, and on the islands fortifications and a fine residence were erected. Visitors of distinction were received. On his return from Palestine, the Duke of Saxony was entertained there by Richard.

The castle itself contained various buildings, sufficiently spacious to lodge the garrison, and even, now and then, the king with his officers and attendants. Mills were also erected at the cost of £139 13s. 5d.

One of the payments to the quarriers amounted to £2,600. We notice a sum of £194 for the king's fishery; another of £58, the cost of 7 barrels of wine sent to the castle; £30 for the working at a bridge over the rivulet; £25 for a second bridge and £25 for three canoes.

Richard ordered a fleet of seventy ships to remain on duty between Andeli, Rouen and the sea. These must have been of the old viking type, similar to the one which is to be seen in the Museum at Christiania, fitted with oars to save time, when tacking would have been necessary with sails only. This seems implied by their appellation of *cursoria*, and their swiftness which, as we shall notice further, was overrated.

After all this was completed, the king could in truth utter the words repeated by his historians:—"How beautifully she is, my one-year-old daughter! Here is a *château-gaillard!*" (a *jolly fine* castle).

A good three years had been employed on the task, but the immense work of excavating the ditches and preparing the foundations, after securing by fortifications and buildings all the approaches, may have left Richard under the impression that the erection of the castle above the level of the ground was the best part of all, and may

have taken its last shape only during the third year. He felt that he could defy all the attempts of his enemy.

More than once the two kings and their followers met at a short distance from Andeli. Once Richard surprised Philip near Gisors, and pursued him and his retinue across a bridge, which collapsed under the weight of the cavalry. Philip fell into the river and was nearly drowned. His officers succeeded in rescuing him, while a score of devoted soldiers were cut down in making a last resistance in order to give him time to be saved. Another truce was, however, negotiated, the two kings exchanging their promises with every possible caution, Richard in a boat and Philip ashore on horseback.

Very shortly after, Richard met his untimely end.¹ The renown of "le Château-Gaillard" was so great that some chroniclers state that it was there that the king was wounded to death. But it is generally believed that the account given by Guiart is the true one and that the event took place at Chaluz. This author remarks that it was a punishment; he was destined to be killed by a shot from the cruel weapon which he was the first to introduce into warfare, the cross-bow, the use of which had been considered before his time as unlawful. And after all his lavish expenses, the dispute, which led him to besiege a castle for the sake of a treasure,² said to have been discovered by a vassal, is an episode not worthy of the great deeds of chivalry which illustrate his romantic career.

¹ According to Richard's bequest, his heart was buried at Rouen, under a beautiful shrine of gold and silver. The inside box was lined with a thin sheet of silver, and it was noticed that the heart, which at the time of the embalmment was of an unusual size, had withered to the semblance of a dried leaf, afterwards becoming dust. Some fine stuff had been used with incense still in perfume.

An effigy, rather different from the contemporary one at Fontevrault, was also discovered. As for the precious shrine, it disappeared in 1250, when it was appropriated towards the ransom of King Louis IX, Saint Louis, who had been captured by the Saracens at Damietta.

² The author can be excused this digression, as it may lead to an explanation of a similar account that was published much later about a now-forgotten discovery in the neighbourhood of the Val-de-Grace Church in Paris. The description given of the treasure of Chaley of a table of shining gold with figures and inscriptions, giving the names of an emperor and of the people who opposed him, if not

John lost no time in claiming the succession of Richard. But he had a very hard task before him. His interests had become more important in the southern provinces than in Normandy, where the discontented noblemen had been so severely kept in order by his father Henry, and had always been in a state of semi-rebellion. He tried, however, to conciliate the allies who had been in league with him against his father and brother. But a secession from the Crown was imminent. Those who favoured it began to talk of the rights of Arthur, who was the son of John's elder brother Geoffrey. Philip took the young prince's cause in hand, and accused John of having caused the death of this competitor when he was reported to have been murdered at Moulineaux, near Rouen. John was there at the same time as his nephew, and this was enough to bring strong suspicion against him. He was called for the examination of the case, but refused to appear before a court composed of his declared enemies. So he was condemned to forfeit his estates on the Continent, and Philip raised armies to take possession of Normandy.

One of the French king's first steps was to secure all the fortified towns he could break into, as far, in the north-west as Gournay, leaving free access to Rouen and Andeli only by the river. He gave the command to his most renowned captains; one of them was the celebrated Guillaume des Barres, who could boast of having overthrown Cœur de Lion in a hand-to-hand wrestling match. To the enterprising *routier* (freebooter) Cadoc and his band of adventurers he granted a pay of £1,000 a day. When John made alliance with the Count of Flanders, Philip appealed to the Emperor of Germany, who was enraged at the excommunication pronounced upon him for not returning the money exacted for Richard's ransom.

exaggerated after some imaginary report, seems to indicate a gilded silver plate:—

Sous terre en un lieu poi déduisant
 A une table d'or luisant.
 Là iert, se par fous n'est rescrit
 Le nom de l'emperiere escrit
 Qu'apercevoir, povat on bien,
 Et quant il regna et combien
 Et quel peuple lui fut contraire.—(Guiart.)

Then he began his attack on Andeli by storming the forepost of Botavant, of which he soon managed to take possession.

Now he could attempt to storm Château-Gaillard. But the triple stockade under the rock prevented any passage by water. A few determined men, led by a fisherman from Mantes, in spite of the discharges of fire, stones, darts and arrows from the castle over their heads, succeeded in achieving what had seemed impossible at first.

Plusurs François garnis de targes
 Que l'on doit en tiex faiz loer
 Prennent nus par la Sainne a noer (swim)
 A douloueres et a haches
 Non pour quant ileuques tant euvrent
 Comment qu'aucuns ocis y soient
 Que les trois paliz en envoient
 Si que toute nef vuide ou plainne
 Puet par la sans destourbement
 Passer assez légièrement.—(*Guiart.*)

Philip ordered large cargo-boats to be brought through and sunk opposite the town. Beams with ropes and hooks held them firmly together in a line, and formed the centre of a stockade which prevented the passage of any ship from the north, while a strong bridge and pontoon were built over. So, says Armoricus (*Xerxis ad exemplum*) "the king could step dry-footed to the ramparts of Petit-Andeli."

The engines and war material were left on the opposite beach, protected by a few trenches and breastworks. The crowds of canteen men and women and all the followers were camped outside, not to interfere with the discipline of the army.

Near the point of the island the pontoon was strong enough to support two wooden towers lined with iron, and higher than the fort opposite. So the garrison could receive no more provisions nor help, and was soon attacked by showers of missiles and arrows.

John, who was not very far off, understood the great danger the castle would be in if the island was occupied by his enemy. He determined to send an army which,

if his orders had been followed, could have defeated the besiegers; but his plan, though well imagined, was laid out with too much precipitation, and executed in haste and without sufficient caution.

Ergo marescallo cordis secreta revelans.

He called his seneschal, William Marshall, and opened his heart to him:—

O michi consilii custos fidissimi, dixit,
 Accipe selectos equites Guillelme trecentos
 Et famulos in equis tria millia sume clientes
 Mille quater pedites tecum Lupicarica rupta
 Fac ite simul tenebrose noctis in umbra . . .

(Add. MSS. B.M.)

(O thou! faithful depositary of my thoughts, take three hundred chosen knights and three thousand horsemen, and again four thousand of my vassals on foot. Make the band of Lupicar march with thee. Go together in the dark of the night . . .)

“When the moon shall have hidden her golden face, throw suddenly the enemies in disorder. Attack on the side from whence the king has passed, crossing his bridge. Nearly all his knights are with him: Guillaume des Barres, those who came from Campana and all the most valiant men. The crowd of followers, hawkers, ribalds, and dog-grooms (*Ribaldi cum Piquichinis*), intoxicated and worn down as usual, will easily fall under your blows, or flee and bring confusion into the French camp.”

Et vous le pouvez entan bien faire
 Car i n'i a fors que garçonaille
 Qui riens ne valent en bataille.
 Li roys et sa gent la plus chière
 Sont tuit par delà la rivière.—(*Guiart*).

“Brandin,” added the king, “let Martin of Arques be your companion; lead the seventy racing-boats (*cursoria*) ordered by Richard to keep guard on the river. Alain, with his pirates, who did so much at Guernsey, must come also with his ramboats. Place in them as many men as you can, and as much provisions as possible, to be left at the island entrenchments, where the troops are in great

need. Take also three thousand of the men who came to me from Flanders. Go, driven by the rowers; attack and break the bridge, so as to cut the besieging army in two. If you do not succeed in doing all, at least prevent the king from passing any more troops over to his side.

“What I must impress on your minds, and repeat many times, to you who are to come by the river—and also to you marching through the plain—is that both are to attack at the same moment. If fate smiles on us, I shall soon follow you and bring an end to this war.”

The king's orders were obeyed. The camp-followers were surprised in the dark. Many perished without even awakening. The rest fled in confusion and broke into the ramparts, bringing terror into the soldiers' camp. Under the pressure of the assailants, they all ran to the bridge, shouting and not listening to any of the officers, who had been placed at the passage for the security of the siege engines. The flight became a panic; hundreds, for fear of remaining behind, tried to swim across, but very few succeeded in reaching the bank, the current being too strong. A further delay was caused by the breaking of a part of the bridge; this gave time to the army on the other side to wake up and for the captains to run and stop the crossing.

Guillaume des Barres, with his herculean strength, threw back the nearest of the fugitives and shouted out his orders. Torches and lights blazed on all sides; wood, branches, straw and splinters saturated with grease, pitch and oil, soon illuminated the scene, to such an extent that it was like daylight, and it became possible to manage a defence.

It must be noticed that the orders of King John were not carried out as he had intended. The cavalry and infantry had arrived long before the boats could turn round the curves of the winding river; the commander, fearing to delay the attack till daybreak, thought he could succeed alone at least in defeating the hosts in the plain and relieving the fort. Perhaps he relied on a possible diversion from the Andeli side; but the dark, which at first favoured his attack, prevented his numerous army from breaking

suddenly enough through the entrances of the camp, which were choked by the struggling fugitives. The bridge was in the meantime repaired, but crossed this time by the flower of the French army.

This sudden turn of events and the blaze of the lights threw disorder among men who were already tired by a whole night's march and no longer in fighting order. Philip's army was not long in recovering the ground which had been lost and in turning the rout into a complete victory.

Keeping watch on the two ends of their bridge, the successful soldiers began to rest. Suddenly they were again called to arms. The fleet was appearing with the first rays of sunlight. In the hope of repairing the defeat on the land, or at least of cutting the French communications, Brandin directed the two largest boats to try to ram the bridge, and ordered the crews to board the pontoon supporting the two towers. But these defences were soon scaled by the most intrepid climbers on the French side, who shot from the top darts, arrows, blocks of iron and stone, melted lead, and globes of fire, while others threw all sorts of missiles and whole trunks of trees, as they essayed to pass the bridge.

A long beam of oakwood was brought. It was so heavy that twenty bulls could hardly drag it; the men, however, encouraged by the presence of their captains and, according to Guiart, of the king, let it fall on the two ships with such precision that the prows were smashed and numbers of the men crushed under it. This ended the struggle, and the defeated mariners endeavoured to turn and fly. But of all those who had taken a part in the attack, so savage was the fight, there was not one who was not either killed or wounded.

Two of the straggling boats were pursued by four galiots and taken.

So ended this terrible battle. It was really the only one by which John could hope to save Andeli and the Château-Gaillard.

Philip continued the siege of the fort on the island, but it was well defended. Gaubert, the diver who had been so useful at the breaking of the stockade under the castle,

distinguished himself once more. Our author praises most highly his talent and intrepidity :—

Hic Gaubertus erat ita doctus in arte natandi
Quod sub aqua poterat millenius passibus ire.

He managed to reach the island, and placed under the palisade, around the fort, two pots full of pitch, to which he set fire without being detected. The dense black smoke hurried out the garrison ; many of the men were taken prisoners, the rest laid down their arms.

The immediate consequence of the two victories was the desertion of the ramparts of “ le Petit-Andeli ” by the inhabitants, who flocked for refuge to the “ Château-Gaillard,” where they found a temporary shelter.

Overjoyed by this rapid success, Philip lost no time in occupying the little town, where he placed the legion of Walters and the band of Cadoc, while he repaired the defences of the island. Then he journeyed to Radepont and, after a siege of three weeks, brought the town to surrender.

In September he returned to Andeli, and a survey of the immense works of “ le Château-Gaillard ” convinced him of the impossibility of taking it by assault. So he decided to starve out the occupiers who, in that confined space of less than 2,000 sq. ft., were most densely crowded.

From Andeli he began an ascending and double line of ramparts and terraces under a covered pathway, protected by hurdles of wicker and branches, by which the men could carry to the top of the hill loads of mould, stones, branches, tree-trunks and anything they could find that might be useful in filling up the ditches of the fortification. From the north as far as Andeli, and from the river to the east, the ramparts were to form a countervallation and a circumvallation. In due time fourteen towers were erected, seven on each line, and were defended by men specially chosen. Between the towers the soldiers prepared for winter by building booths and houses, while the king, after seeing the blockade completed, returned to his own possessions.

The defence of “ le Château-Gaillard ” was entrusted to a captain of great reputation, Roger de Lacey, who had

espoused with great fervour the cause of King John and refused to listen to any offers for surrender. At first he received hospitably the people of Andeli, but, when he found himself unable to get help or provisions from outside, he dismissed five hundred who were useless for defence,

Gens qui ne font rien, fors mengier,
Comme effans, vieux hommes, et fames.

Later on five hundred more were expelled. When Philip was informed that one thousand inhabitants had passed through his lines, he gave strict orders not to grant any more the same permission. Roger, after picking out the most able men, next turned out of the castle all the others, about sixteen hundred in number, it is said. The poor people hoped to join their friends on the other side of the valley; but the most terrible disappointment was awaiting them: the French soldiers would not let them pass. At the castle, entrance was forbidden, and, despairing and hungry, the miserable beings tried to find their sustenance on the few roots growing on the slope of the hill. They fared better when the numerous dogs of the castle were sent out, though it meant endless hunting and fighting between man and beast, for live or dead flesh. Four months of winter saw half of them perish of want and misery. The water of the river was their best resource:

Vallibus et caveis errant, omnique ciborum
Spe prorsus vacui; multis utcumque diebus
Sustentabat eos genus, heu miserabile vite
Simplicis humor aque vicino e flumine sumptus. . . .

Scenes of cannibalism soon happened; the most dreadful one related by *Armoricus* could not be translated:—

. . . Contigit ut pareret ibi quedum femina, cujus
Fetus adhuc a matre rubens calidoque cruore
Unguibus inflexis disceptus, matris ab alvo
Est in momente multos transfusus in alvos. . . .

How many other such tragic episodes happened will never be known! At the end of the winter the remainder of the diminished troop heard of the arrival of Philip and came to the bridge, lamenting and crying for mercy. The king at last took pity on the poor folk and

ordered them to be relieved, but it was too late ; the food was now too strong for their emaciated bodies, and hundreds perished miserably.

Apparently indifferent to such distressing scenes, the men of arms on both sides displayed their valour in various encounters. The besieged came out and provoked their enemies often, but it proved to be an impossible task to turn the fights to any advantage, the besiegers' lines being so well protected. Armoricus even states that, when completed, their buildings could have been planned for a real town, and were defended by drawbridges.

Philip completed the works for the assault. He was seen on the edge of the ditches, receiving on his shield and parrying darts and arrows, and encouraging the workers. Under covered-ways of approach and mines, wheeled mantlets gave passage to men who threw their loads in the first ditch ; while, from the belfry opposite the walls and tower, A (Fig. 8) the defenders were aimed at as soon as they appeared on the battlements or at the loopholes. The ditch was hardly half filled when the assailants came down and, under the protection of their shields, attempted to scale the opposite slope. Their ladders were too short, but they dug holes in the rock with their daggers and swords, to give shelter to the sappers, who began mining. The work advanced so much that the men came under the foundations of the tower and had to place stays, strengthened by tree trunks rolled down from the top of the counterscarp. They hurried on the dangerous task, to prevent the finishing of a countermine which was attempted by the garrison. Then, setting fire to the stays and wood, they all hastened away . . . Clouds of smoke, followed by clouds of dust, flew up in the air, while the gigantic construction crumbled down with a terrific noise and opened the breach.

Roger tried to stop the assault by setting fire to all that could be used by the besiegers ; but they ran through smoke and fire and soon occupied the first enclosure (Fig. 8—3, 3). The second enclosure received, by the drawbridge over the second ditch, the discomfited defenders. Another siege was necessary to reduce them.

All the efforts of the besiegers seemed to have been in

vain, for they were now exposed to the shots from a long line of battlements and two towers.

One of the swordsmen, surnamed Bogis (the short-nosed), managed to creep under the north wall, where he noticed a sky-light too high to be reached and opening on to a building inside the second enclosure. The Chapel was over this sort of a stable, and was rarely occupied. Bogis silently gathered a few comrades and climbed over

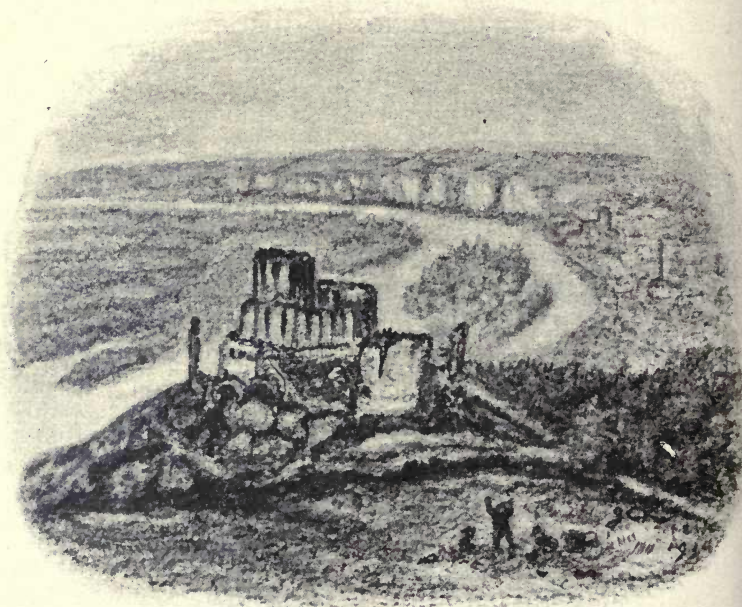


Fig. 9.—View of the Ruins and the River Seine, taken from the South, in 1914.

their shoulders to the window ; then a rope he held helped them all inside. They found themselves behind bolted doors ; so they set fire to the woodwork and took refuge in the cellar. As soon as the besieged noticed the smoke, they brought in front of the door all the combustible materials at hand, and began another blaze to choke the assailants, whom they supposed to be in great numbers.

Bogis and his few companions remained silent in their shelter until they could cross the smoke without being

burnt; then they flew to the drawbridge, got it down and joined the rest of their comrades, returning in force, and so took possession of the second fortified enclosure.

But Roger and his garrison were still defended by the Keep, the strongest part of "le Château-Gaillard," which could not be taken by any surprise. Philip did not lose any time in striking the last blow; but the task was a most dangerous one, and many of his men had to be sacrificed. The only part he could hope to attack with success was the principal entrance through the bastion, and it was well defended, even after the fortified approach 5" was occupied. (Fig. 8—5", 6).

When it had been built it was not deemed possible that any attack could be attempted on that side. A very small and narrow bridge had been left over the ditch, by the simple process of under-cutting the rock, so forming a natural arch of chalk. This was used as a shelter for Philip's sappers who began their work, protected by a mantlet. In spite of the narrowness of the passage, clever engineers succeeded in bringing a ballista opposite the wall, and in throwing immense stone balls, like those still to be seen in our days at Harfleur, where local tradition attributed them to the period of one of the sieges in the fifteenth century.

This third attack proved to be the most dangerous for the besiegers. It required a great deal of energy and hard work to replace the small mangonel, first used too close, by the heavy ballista, the assailants having to expose themselves in order to make their mine ready before the better protected miners on the side of the besieged could bring their own to action; moreover, they had to drag, and hold under fire and missile, their powerful machine on a very narrow path. But the impact of the immense stone balls soon began to batter down the curtain wall. The breach opened, when the walls crumbled on both sides and crashed down in the middle. A fierce struggle, man to man, gave the first advantage to Roger's men,¹ but another part of the wall fell down, and the assailants

¹ According to the first manuscript of Brito-Armoricus (Cotton, Vesp. D. IV. MS., B.M.) and of Rigord, a contemporary chronicler, forty knights and one hundred and sixty *satellites* were defending the castle when Bogis and the besiegers managed to reach the second enclosure.

poured in in irresistible numbers. Before they could fly to the Keep the small army of defenders were surrounded and, in spite of their struggles, were compelled to give up the contest. Armoricus states most emphatically that no one surrendered, but that every man had to be struck down, less than one hundred remaining :—

Vixque omni ex numero modo quem Rogerus habebat
Qui pugnare queunt vix nonaginta supersunt.



Fig. 10.—Seal of Roger de Lacey, Captain of the Château-Gaillard, as Constable of Chester. (British Museum, Baronial Seal 12.)

The vanquished commander was treated honourably by his royal conqueror. John did him also justice, and paid a part, or the whole, of the ransom claimed by the French officers.

Normandy now belonged again to France.

A few years afterwards we find Roger on the borders of Wales, a Justiciar in 1209 and Sheriff of York and Cheshire, retaining his title of Constable. He died in 1212 and was buried at Stanlow.

DOCUMENTS.

Endorsed:—NOBILIS CARTA REGIS RICARDI

de Excambio ANDELEII.

(Records at Rouen.)

Ricardus dei gratia Rex Anglie, Dux Normannie, Aquitanie, Comes Andegavie, Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Abbatibus, Prioribus, Comitibus, Baronibus, Justiciis, Senescallis, Vicecometibus, Prepositis, Ministris, & omnibus Ballivis, & fidelibus suis, Salutem. Cum sacrosanta Ecclesia sponsa sit regum & unica dilecta illius perquem reges regnant, & principes gubernacula possident tanto amplioem ei volumus devotionem & reverentiam exhibere, quanto certius non regiam tantum sed omnem a domino deo esse credimus potestatem. Unde sicut venerabilis Rothomagensis ecclesie que inter universas terrarum nostrarum plurima celebritate dinoscitur enitere pro rerum necessitate vel temporum nostris ducit utilitatibus opportuna diligentis consulendum, sic nos ejusdem matris nostre commodis & augmentis digna compensatione dignum ducimus respondere. Sane villa Andeleii & quibusque aliis adjacentibus locis que erant Rothomagensis ecclesie minus sufficientur firmatis inimicis nostris in terram nostram Normannie per eadem loco patebat ingressus perque incendiis & rapinis necnon & aliis hostilitatis serviciis in eandem terram non nunquam licentius grassabantur Quocirca venerabili patre Waltero archiepiscopo & capitulo Rothomagensi debitum habentibus ad nostra & predictae terre nostre dampna respectum, facta est permutatio inter Ecclesiam Rothomagensem et Archiepiscopum Rothomagensem Walterum, ex una parte & nos ex altera parte, de Manerio de Andeli cum novo castello de rupe & cum foresta & cum omnibus aliis pertinentiis & libertatibus suis. Exceptis Ecclesiis & prebendis & feodis militum, & excepto manerio de Fraxinus cum pertinentiis suis. Que omnia idem Archiepiscopus ecclesie Rothomagensi & sibi & successoribus suis retinuit cum omnibus libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus suis & cum omni integritate sua in perpetuum. Ita quod tam milites quam clericis & omnes homines tam de feodis militum quam de prebendis sequentur molendina de Andelei sicut consueverunt et debent, & moltura erit nostra. Archiepiscopus autem & homines suis de Fraxinus molent ubi idem Archiepiscopus volet, & si voluerunt molere apud Andeli, dabunt molturas suas sicut alii ibidem molentes. In excambium autem predicti manerii de Andeli cum pertinentiis concessimus & im perpetuum quiete clavavimus Ecclesie Rothomagensi & predicto Archiepiscopo & successoribus suis omnia molendina que nos habuimus Rothomagi quando hec permutatio facta fuit, integre cum omni sequela & moltura sua sine alique retinemento eorum que ad molendina pertinent vel an molturam, & cum omnibus libertatibus & libere consuetudinibus quas solent & debent habere. Nec alui

alii licebit molendinum ibidem facere ad detrimentum predictorum molendinorum & debet Archiepiscopus solvere elemosinas antiquitus statutas de eisdem molendinis. Concessimus & eis villam de diepa & (*a word cancelled, probably Pollet*) de Boteilles cum omnibus pertinentiis & libertatibus & liberis consuetudinibus suis exceptis elemosinis constitutis in manerio de diepa a nobis & antecessoribus nostris quarum summa est trescente & septuaginta due libre andegavi, que debent solvi per manum predicti Archiepiscopi & successorum suorum hiis quibus assignate sunt. Concessimus etiam eisdem manerium de Lowiers cum omnibus pertinentiis & libertatibus & liberis consuetudinibus cum ministerio de Lowiers, salvis ad opus nostrum venatione nostra & destructione foreste. Ita tamen quod non sit in regardo. Concessimus & eis totam forestam de Alihermont cum feris & omnibus aliis pertinentiis & libertatibus suis sicut eam habuimus. Hec enim omnia in excambium predicti manerii de Andeli cum predictis pertinentiis data habebunt Ecclesia Rothomagensis & predictus Archiepiscopus & successores sui in perpetuum cum omnibus libertatibus & liberis consuetudinibus suis sicut predictum est. Homines autem predicti Archiepiscopo de prefato excambio habebunt omnes libertatis & liberas consuetudinis quas habuerunt homines de Andeli dum manerium illud esset in manu ipsius Archiepiscopi. Hec autem omnia que idem Archiepiscopus in hoc excambio recepit wanrantizabimus nos & heredes nostri Ecclesie rothomagensi & predicto Archiepiscopo & successoribus suis in perpetuum contra omnes homines. Ita quod si aliquis excambium aliquod est recepturus pro aliquo predictorum que memoratus Archiepiscopus hic recepit nos vel heredes nostri faciemus illud excambium & Ecclesia Rothomagensis hec predicta in perpetuum pacifice possidebit. Nos autem quantum rex potest excommunicamus & concedimus quod indignationem omnipotentis dei incurrat quicunque contra hoc factum venerit. Testibus hiis Huberto Cantuarensi Archiepiscopo, Johanne Wigorniensi, Hugone Conventrensi, Savarico Battoniensi, Henrico Caiocensi, Garino Ebroicensi, Lisiardo Sagiensi, Willelmo Constantiensi, Episcopis Willelmo Abriencensi Electo. R. Sancte Trinitatis de monte Rothomagi, Reginaldo Sancti Wandregesili, Victore Sancti Georgii, Arturo Ulterioris Portis, Osberto de pratellis, Hugone de Augo, Willelmus de Cornevilla Abbatibus. Johanne Comite Meretonii, Othone Comite Pictavensi, Balduine Comite Alberamensi, Radulfo Comite de Augo, Willelmo Marescallo Comite de Strigoil, Willelmo filio Radulfi Senescalli Normannie, Roberto de Torneham Senescallo Andegavensi, Willelmo de Hommez constabulario Normannie, Hugone Brun, Radulfo Camerario de Tankarvilla, Willelmo Martel, Radulfo Thaison, Gaufredo de Saij, Gisleberto filio Reinfredi, Roberto de Harecort & multis Aliis.

Datum per manum E. Elyensis electi vices cancellarii tunc agentis apud Rothomagum Anno ab incarnatione domini MCXCVII xvi die octobris Anno Regni nostri Octavo.

(*Transcription of the Charter on page 49.*)

Translation.

Richard, by the grace of God, King of England, Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, Count of Anjou, to The Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priors; Earls, Barons, Justiciers, Seneschals, vicecounts, prevosts, officers and all bailiffs and other followers, Salute. The Sacrosaint Church being the spouse of the King of Kings and the only beloved by the One by whom kings reign and princes govern, We wish to bring to her so much more devotion and respect that we are strongly persuaded that, not only the power of the King, but also all power comes from the Lord our God. Now the venerable Church of Rouen, whose name and splendour pass those of all the churches of our States, is willing, eager and ready to assist us, for the good of our duties in the necessity of the times. So we seek a fair reward for the benefit and interest of the said Church, our worthy mother. Of a surety, the town of Andeli and some other places around, the property of the said Church, not being sufficiently fortified, our enemies find there a passage to invade our land of Normandy and bring desolation, arson, plundering, licentiousness and violence. Therefore the venerable father Walter, Archbishop of Rouen, and his Chapter, having considered the damage that could be suffered by our land, an agreement was drawn between the Church of Rouen and Archbishop Walter, on one side, and Us, on the other, for the exchange of the manor of Andeli: namely that the said Archbishop of Rouen, according to the judgment and will of our Lord Pope Celestin III, and the consent of the Church of Rouen, Cobishops and their Clergy, Concedes for perpetuity to us and our heirs, the said manor of Andeli, with the new castle of the Rock and the forest and all other appurtenances and freedoms, except the Churches, prebends and military feuds, and excepting the manor of Fresnes, and pertinances, all retained for the Church of Rouen and successors, with all pertinances and liberties, in complete integrity and perpetuity, so that the military and clerks and all the men from the military feuds, as well as from the prebends will continue the use of the mills of Andeli, as they are used to, the right for grinding remaining ours. As for the Archbishop and his men, they will grind where the Archbishop will decide and, if at Andeli, will have to pay the fees as those who go there. And in exchange of the manor of Andeli with all it appurtenances we have conceded and handed over in perpetuity to the Church of Rouen and the said Archbishop and Successors, all the mills we possessed at Rouen at the time of this exchange, that is integrally with all their appurtenances and right of grinding, without any retaining on the mills and right of grinding; with all the freedoms and free customs owed by fact and right. No one else will have there any mills; also the Archbishop will pay the alms due since ages on the said mills. We have also conceded the towns of Dieppe and Bouteilles with all their freedoms and free customs, except the alms established by us and our predecessors on the manor of Dieppe, the amount being 372 Angevine £, which will be paid by the hand of the said Archbishop and his successors to those who are entitled to

receive. We have further conceded to the same the manor of Louviers, with all appurtenances, freedoms and free customs, with the ministry of Louviers save our right of hunting and forest cutting,¹ without being bound to the triannual visit of our officers. We have also conceded them the forest of Aliermont, with the wild beasts and all the appurtenances and freedoms as we possessed ourself and which will belong to the Church of Rouen and to the Archbishop and successors in perpetuity with their freedoms and free customs the men of Andeli enjoyed while in the hands of the Archbishop. As for all the said Archbishop and Church receive in the present exchange, we give our guarantee for perpetuity against all men. So that if any one is to receive any exchange for anything the Archbishop received, we and our heirs are to fulfil that exchange and the Church of Rouen will remain in peaceful and perpetual possession of the benefits hereabove described. And, inasmuch it is in the power of a king, we excommunicate whoever would oppose the present act and leave him to bear the indignation of the Almighty. Witnesses: Hubert Archbishop of Canterbury; John Bishop of Worcester, Hugh of Coventry, Savaric of Bath, Henry of Bayeux, Guerin of Evreux, Lisiard of Seez, William of Coutances, William elected Bishop of Avranches; R. abbot of the Holy Trinity of the Mount of Rouen, Reginald of St. Wandrille, Victor of St. Georges, Arthur of Treport, Osbert des Preaux, Hugo of Eu, William of Corneville, Abbots; John Count of Mortain, Othon Count of Poitou, Baldwin Earl of Albermale, Radulf Earl of Eu, William Marescall Earl of Strigoil, William Fitz Robert seneschal of Normandy, Robert of Turnham seneschal of Anjou, William de Hommez Constable of Normandy, Hugo Brun, Radulph chamberlain of Tankarville, William Martel, Raoul Thaison, Geoffroy de Say, Gilbert fitz-Reinfred, Robert de Harecourt, and many others.

Given by the hand of E. Elected of Ely, for the present acting as Chancellor.

Rouen, A.I.D. MCXCVII vith day of October. In the eighth year of our reign.

(Double seal of Normandy and England.)

(Records at Rouen.)

¹ The king wished to retain his feudal right of hunting in the forest of Louviers, but leaves, at Aliermont, the care of wild beasts to the former keepers. It is well to notice that, in Normandy for a long time, the cutting of the woods had been considered as a duty more than a privilege, for the benefit of agriculture.

Postibus erectis pontem trabibusque dolatis.
 Has super exstruxit, tulit et sine remigis usu.
 Xersis ad exemplum vestigia sicca per undas.
 Tam late fusas interque capedine tanta :
 Distantes, ripis minime capientibus ipsas :
 Ut vere possis illas equare marinis
 Non minor equoreo quando tumor inflat easdem.
 Erigit et geminas turres in quatuor amplis :
 Navibus arboreis truncis et roboro crudo.
 Quos multo vincit ferro multisque retortis.
 Ut sint munimem ponti, castroque nocumen.
 Quas ita subtili series super edita ductu :
 In sublime levat . ut ab illis mittere miles :
 Jactu tela levi devexa in menia possit.
 Et sic obsessos varia gravat obsidione :
 Illos oppugnans parte incessantur ab omni.
 Velgica rura patent cursoribus. unde refertur.
 Preda in castra recens, et copia tanta ciborum :
 Quod sibi castrenses nichil ultra deesse querantur,
 Nil manet illesum, ville nudantur et agri
 Et sic accrescunt epule pugnantibus extra :
 Que male decrescunt his qui deffendere castrum :
 Et se concertant, non est via qua quis ad illos :
 Quod libet auxilium possit confere vel escas.
 Interea versans varias in pectore curas :
 Auxilium nota mendicat ab arte Johannes
 Ut quod ei sub sole dies audere negabat :
 Audeat obscura de nocte irrumpere castra.
 Ergo marescallo cordis secreta revelans
 O michi consilii custos fidissime dixit.
 Accipe selectos equites Guillelme trecentos
 Et famulos in equis tria millia, sume clientes.
 Mille quater pedites, tecum Lupicarica rupta :
 Fac eat, ite simul tenebroso noctis in umbra.
 Atque repentino regalia castra tumultu :
 Cum jam luna suos absconderit aurea vultus :
 Illa ex parte leves irrumpi fluminis unde :
 Rex modo per pontem partem transivit ad illam.
 Omnes pene equites ultra cum rege mearunt
 Et Barrensis eques et quos Campania misit
 Belligereque viri quibus est audacia maior :
 Hac ex parte comes Robertus mansit, et heres
 Hugo novi castri, Symon et rupta Cadoci. . .

(Transcription of the MS. on page 55.)

Ding cuncta ponte timore y domini
Al fuy exarueri culis tñ remigis uili
Crisly ad ex misset ueligia floca y unat.
Tun hanc fides interq; apudine tñm
Distat. r ipis minime capiental' ipis.
Vt uenit possit illis esse marinus
Minor equos qñ timor inbat eide.
Grigit r gemitis curruis t fawit amplis.
Hamb. arboreis cruceat. r uobis crudo.
Dol mltos uncor saris mulasq; reoriat.
Vt sine muniment' pñcia castrip uocant.
Cu subali serret sup ead' ductu
Noblime leuiz ut ab ill' mite miles.
Actu tela leui deuera in menia possit.
Hic oblectas uara gūuit oblectat.
Hic oppugnant' parte inestans ab omi.
Delicia r uim paretur cur' dūb' uñ restaur
Spa in castia uocent. r copia tūta elat.
Sibi castar' riq; mch' uctam dūc' qumant.
Hic manet illelam. uille nuda r uar' r qum
Aac accretant epule pugnata' exant.
Male telereleunt hñs qui descendere castri.
Re occurrant. si est uia qua quis ad illas.
Sibet' auyilia possit gferre ut etas.
Tūca istant uariis in pasture curas.
Auyilia nota mendiant ab mte sobes.
Rq' ei sub sole dies audere neg' dūc.
Vidit oblecta de nocte irrumit' castri.
Go g'arelallo cordis secreta reuelant
Michy gñlis custos fidiissime dūc.
Anye delectos equites Gulle r uocant
Satnulas in equis in milia. dūme clientel.
Mlle q'eer pulchri' ceet' lup' uerica r uerica.
Fac eia' ut simul tenebros' noctis in umbra.
Aq; repente ignalia castri tumidat.
Tū iam luna suq; abscondit' auro uult.
Sin ex parte leuiz irrumit' qum in istunde.
Ex modo per pontē partem dñsius ad istam.
Oms pene equites uban eum rige q' uenit.
Darrentis apuel' r quos compans miste
Eligat' q' uer' quili' r audacta maut.
Hac ex parte comes Robert' munit' r hñs
Hug' nollu castri. Gyonon r uerica caq;

Facsimile from the MS. Add., 21212, British Museum, Guill. Brito-Armoricus : de Gestis Philippi, lib. VII.



HOLLAND HOUSE AND EARL'S COURT: THEIR HISTORY AND TOPOGRAPHY.

BY WALTER DERHAM, M.A., LL.M.



EARL'S COURT derives its name from the¹ Earls of Oxford, the great family of de Vere who for over five hundred years owned the greater part of Kensington and gave twenty Earls to the English peerage. In Edward the Confessor's time, we learn from the Domesday Book, Edwin the King's thegn held it and other lands in Middlesex. But after the conquest, King William granted it to the Bishop of Coutances, and Albericus de Ver (so called from the town of Vire in Normandy between Coutances and Granville²) was the tenant. Not long afterwards, however, we find Aubrey "*Chenesit*" (as Domesday renders it), held it *in capite*, that is direct from the King.

Albericus or Aubrey married Beatrix, who by some is stated to have been a sister or half sister of the Conqueror.³ Aubrey's second son Geoffrey had been ailing from his youth, and had benefited from the medical treatment of Faricius, Abbot of Abingdon. He asked his father on his dying bed to make the Abbot a gift of land, and the

¹ "Succinct genealogies of the Ancient House of Alno . . . Vere of Addington, Greene of Drayton . . ." by Robert Halsted, London, 1685. Folio, pp. 243-300. [Note in *British Museum Catalogue*: "Real author of this very rare work, of which, it is said, there were but 24 copies printed, was the second Earl of Peterborough, with the aid of his chaplain, Rev. M. Rous."—A copy at Cambridge University Library.] "Dict. Nat. Biog.," LVIII, 219 *et seq.*, "Leland's Itinerary" (1909 edit.), IV, 146-150.

² Compare "Dict. Nat. Biog.," LVIII, 219, which says it is a town near Bayeux.

³ Leland, IV, 146, but compare "Burke's Ext. Peerage."

request was carried out by a grant of the advowson of the church and of 270 acres of land, partly around the church and partly on either side of the main Western Road (now known as High Street) and extending to the Oxford Road (Holland Park Avenue).¹ This formed a new manor known as the Abbots' Manor, and the church has since been known as St. Mary Abbots.

This gift of the advowson was left unchallenged for nearly 200 years, but in 1260 it was discovered by some shrewd lawyer that permission from the Pope had been obtained but not from the Bishop of London or the Archbishop of Canterbury.² Henry de Wengham was appointed Bishop of London on the 29th June, 1259, and consecrated on the 15th February, 1260.³ He was then Lord Chancellor, to which high office he had been appointed in 1255 through the influence of Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester.⁴ The King allowed him to keep his deanery of St. Martyn's le Grand and ten valuable prebends and rectories after he became Bishop. It is believed that he began life as a clerk in the Exchequer.⁵ Hence he would have been well acquainted with records, and would have known where to search for them. Giles of Bridport, Bishop of Salisbury, and Robert of Barnton, Dean of St. Paul's, were appointed to decide the dispute, and compromised it by giving the advowson of the Vicarage and half of the great tithes to the Bishop, and leaving the Abbot the other moiety and all the land.⁶ It may be that this matter commenced the troubles that took place during the life of Robert the fifth Earl and the Abbot between 1263 and 1296.

We must now rapidly review the history of this great family whose pedigree Leland deduces from Noah. Albericus held lands in several counties, including Earls' Colne and Hedingham in Essex. In his later days he assumed the cowl, and dying in 1088 was buried at Colne

¹ Loftie, W. T., "Hist. of Kensington" (1888), 33.

² *Id.*, 170.

³ "Hayden's Book of Dignities" (1890), 353.

⁴ "Campbell's Lives of the Lord Chancellors," I, 146.

⁵ "Dict. Nat. Biog.," LXII, 193.

⁶ "Kensington," by T. Faulkner (1820), 184.

Priory, which he had founded. His eldest son, Aubrey, being in high favour with King Henry I, was constituted Lord High Chamberlain of England, to hold the same in fee to himself and his heirs, and it is curious to note that when we seek for an order to visit the Palace of Westminster it bears the signature of the Lord High Chamberlain. This official is a descendant and heir of this Aubrey de Vere.¹ In the time of King Stephen, when joint Sheriff of Surrey, Cambridge, Essex and several other counties, his lordship was slain in a popular tumult in London—9th of May, 1141, not 1140 as so often stated.

He was succeeded by his eldest son Aubrey, who married Beatrix, daughter of Henry Castellan, of Bourbourg, and niece maternally (through Sibella, his daughter and heiress) of Manasses, Count of Ghisnes. For his fidelity to the Empress Maud, he was confirmed by that Princess in the Lord Chamberlainship and all his father's great territorial possessions, and was in 1155 created first Earl of Oxford, a purely honorary Earldom, as he had not an acre in the county, but nevertheless, was, as is usual, granted certain reversions, including "the third penny of the pleas of the County." Aubrey's steward of his wife's estates in Ghisnes, Arnold of Ham, had made himself and his employer most unpopular, and the people were arrayed against him, including Arnold of Ghent, the next heir, and Baldwin, Lord of Ardes. Aubrey's father-in-law, Henry of Bourbourg, sent for him to come and set matters right, as he was known to be a great fighting man. The struggle, however, being hopeless and Baldwin wounded, the abbot of "la Chapelle Thierry," who was nursing him, arranged a compromise by which the terrible Englishman, Aubrey, called "the Grymme," was persuaded to return to England, to relinquish Ghisnes and his wretched wife, a divorce from whom having been pronounced, Baldwin married Aubrey's countess, who, however, only survived a few days.

The modern fortress of Ham (which lies between Amiens and Rheims, not far from Peronne) was the prison for six long years of Napoleon III (1840-6) until he escaped.

¹ Loftie, 44

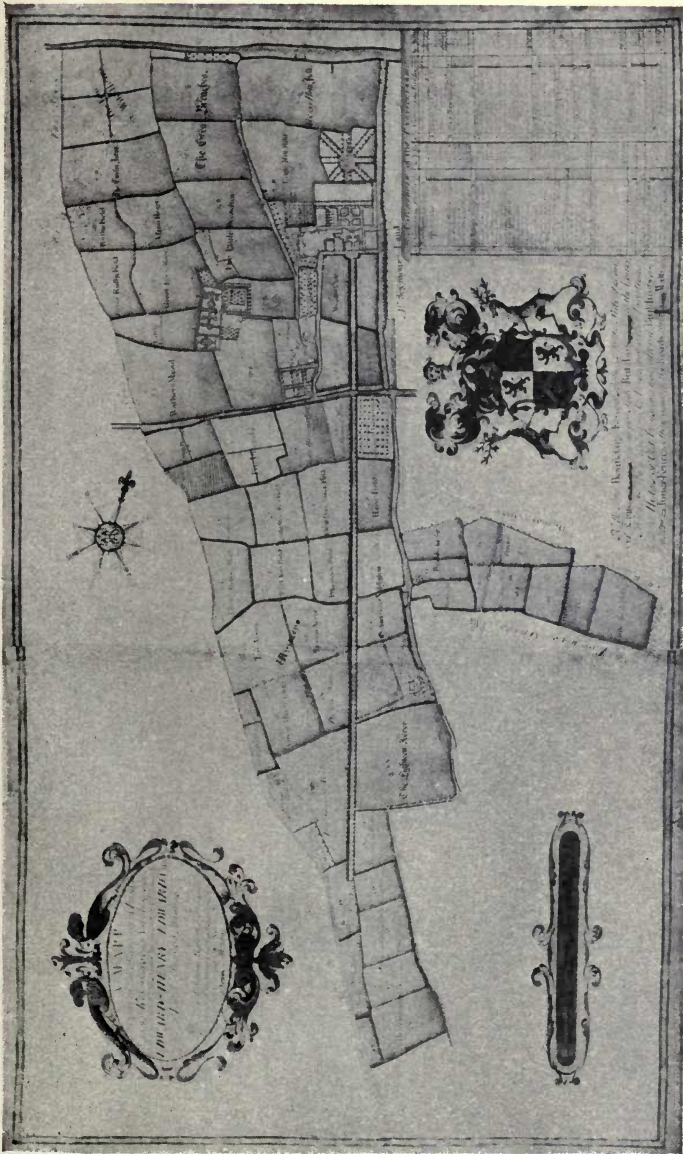
² "Math. Paris," Ch. Major (R.S.), II, 174. "J. H. Rounds," Geoffrey de Mandeville, 81.

Aubrey was succeeded by his son Aubrey, who was Sheriff of Essex and Herefordshire, and reputed one of the evil councillors of King John, and he was succeeded by his brother Robert, for whom a marriage was arranged by King Richard I with Isobel, daughter of Hugh and sister and heir of Walter de Bolebec, Baron Bolebec of the County of Buckingham. Robert joined the barons who opposed King John, and was one of the twenty-five appointed guardians of Magna Charta in 1215.¹ Leland says: "This Robert founded the Priory of Blak Monkes at Hatfeld Bradcoke, caulled Kinges Hatfeld, yn Estsax; and after his decease the saide Isabella founded the Abbay of Wobourne in the countie of Buckingham and the house of Freres Preachers in the town of Oxforde." Dying in 1221, he was succeeded by his son Hugh, the fourth Earl, who obtained license to join in the Crusade, 12th February, 1237. It is suggested that he is the Earl who is said to have seen the Star of Bethlehem in Palestine, hence the star which ever afterwards appears on the shield of the Veres. But tradition states that it shone on the standard of the third Aubrey, "who for the greatness of his stature and sterne look was named, Albury the Grymme," and that it lighted the first crusaders to victory at Antioch.² This fourth Earl died in 1263, and was buried at Colne Priory. His brother Robert, the fifth Earl, was knighted by Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, which shows Robert supported the popular cause against the King, but with young Hugh de Montfort and others he was surprised at Kenilworth, a few days before the battle of Evesham, taken prisoner and deprived of the office of Great Chamberlain, which was, however, eventually regranted to his son. There were many quarrels between this fifth Earl and the Abbot of Abingdon about the privileges of the lords of the manor, and the Earl settled upon his private chaplain, Simon de Downham, three meadows and a house situated at the western end of Kensington, and probably this Leighton House³ is in this West Town Manor. The Earl died in 1296 and was buried at Colne Priory. At his Inquisition

¹ "Dict. Nat. Biog.," LVIII, 243.

² Leyland, IV, 146.

³ Where this paper was read before the Society. *Journal B.A.A.*, December, 1916.



To
Marble
Arch.

To
Hyde
Park
Corner.

Holland House, showing the avenue which extended to the south, based on a plan dating back to 1694, reproduced by kind permission of F. W. Fladgate, Esq.

Post Mortem the arable land is valued at 4*d.* per acre per year, mowing meadow at 2*s.* 6*d.*, pasture at 10*d.*, eggs at 30 for one penny.¹

His son Robert, the sixth Earl, married Margaret, daughter of Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, and earned for himself in the 35 years he held the title and estates the name "good Earl." He was knighted in 1296, and commanded in the army of Edward I in Scotland, and died in 1331, holding Kensington among his manors.

His nephew John, seventh Earl, served with credit in all the wars of Edward III, but in 1344 was captured by the French, and on his release, when returning out of Brittany, says Dugdale, was cast by a tempest on the coast of Connaught, where he and all his company suffered much from those barbarous people, who pillaged them of all they had. But he returned to France, and was one of the heroes of Cressy, and had a command on the glorious field of Poitiers, but lost his life from fatigue while encamped before Rheims in 1360. He left his manor of Kensington to his wife for life, and after her death, six years later, it came to his son Thomas, the eighth Earl, who was engaged in foreign warfare like his father. He died in 1371, with his estate much encumbered. At his Inquisition Post Mortem it was found that he held the manor *in capite* by knight's service.

Loftie in his "Kensington" says that in the next generation the glories of the family culminated and set for a time at least. Thomas's son Robert, ninth Earl, was a minor, ten years old at his accession, and became the favourite of Richard II. Besides the great Chamberlainship he was Commissioner of Appeal, Constable of Queensborough Castle, Lord of Colchester and Oakham, and Chief Justice of Chester and North Wales. In 1385 he was made a Knight of the Garter, and the same year Marquis of Dublin for life. Eleven months later he exchanged this title for Duke of Ireland. He placed the ancient arms of Vere in the second place on his escutcheon and another coat before them, viz. :—azure, three crowns or and a bordure argent. (These arms are supposed to be the ancient arms of Ireland, but they answer also to the

¹ Loftie, 48.

arms of Saint Edmund the King and Martyr.¹) The Earl married the Lady Phillipa, the King's first cousin, daughter of the Lord of Courcy (and curiously enough of Ham in Ghisnes) whom Edward III had made K.G. and Earl of Bedford, having bestowed his daughter Isabel upon him. Robert's marriage was an unhappy one, he having been forced into it (being a ward of Courcy's). He offended the Duke of Gloucester by repudiating his wife in favour of Lancerona, believed to be a joiner's daughter who came over in the train of Queen Anne of Bohemia, Richard II's Queen. The Earl escaped across the Channel with Michael de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, and returning with 5,000 men, marched into Oxfordshire, where he was surrounded and defeated by the Earl of Derby and the Duke of Gloucester, at Radcote Bridge on the Isis, and only saved his life by removing his spurs, armour and gauntlets and swimming down stream. He escaped again across the Channel, and after some years spent in poverty and distress was hurt while hunting a wild boar, and died at Louvain in 1392, just 30 years old. A wild boar was the ancient cognizance and later the crest of his house. King Richard, who was powerless to recall him alive, sent orders to Louvain to have his body embalmed and brought to England, and three years after his death he was buried at Earls' Colne Priory. "Richard," says Mr. Beltz, "attended by the Dowager Countess of Oxford, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and other prelates, but by few nobles that were not of the household, assisted at the pompous solemnity." The corpse was laid in a coffin of cypress, the face uncovered, and the King is said to have kissed the cold lips of his dead friend with every sign of sorrow.² The Earl left no issue, his English property having been confiscated and his honours extinguished by attainder because he did not appear before Parliament when summoned to do so.

He was succeeded by his uncle Aubrey, who became the tenth Earl, and being restored by Act of Parliament, but with a new remainder to his heirs male, the Earldom remained with the heirs male until the death of the last Vere in 1703, while the Chamberlainship went to coheiresses long before, in 1625. This Aubrey died in 1400, leaving a

¹ Loftie, 50.

² "Annales Richard II," 185.

son, Richard, who became eleventh Earl, and was only 14 on his accession. Kensington had been settled as dower on the widowed Duchess of Ireland, and produced £33 a year. She died in 1411, and Kensington reverted to the Crown, and was therefore a Royal Borough till 1420, when the King, in compliance with an Act of Parliament, granted to Richard all the lands which by the forfeiture of Robert had come to the Crown. The Earl fought at Agincourt as a captain of 21 lances and 71 archers.

He was succeeded by John, his eldest son, who was knighted at Leicester by King Henry V in 1425. Being still a ward he had to pay £2,000 for marrying in 1425 Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Howard, without licence. But before the close of that year, having obtained his majority and done homage, obtained livery of his lands. In 1434 he obtained licence to travel in the Holy Land with 12 persons in his company, and to take with him £100 in money. Next year he went to Picardy for the relief of Calais. He was deputed, in company with the Duke of Norfolk and others, to treat with Charles de Valoys touching a peace with France, and being a staunch Lancastrian, during the whole reign of Henry VI always enjoyed the confidence of the Crown. But on the accession of Edward IV this twelfth Earl of Oxford was attainted and beheaded, with his eldest son Aubrey, on Tower Hill. Both father and son were interred in the choir of Austin Friars Church, and Dame Elizabeth, the wife, was interred after her death beside her husband.¹

After this no Earl of Oxford held Kensington as it had been held by his predecessors. It was for a time owned by the Duke of Gloucester, afterwards Richard III. John, the second son of the twelfth Earl, became thirteenth Earl, joined the army of Warwick and shared in its overthrow at Barnet; he was committed to the Tower and attainted, but his life was spared. In 1474 we find him a prisoner in the same castle of Ham, near Peronne. When Richmond made his descent before Bosworth, on the English coast, Oxford was with him, Sir John Blount, the Governor of Ham, having released him. After the victory

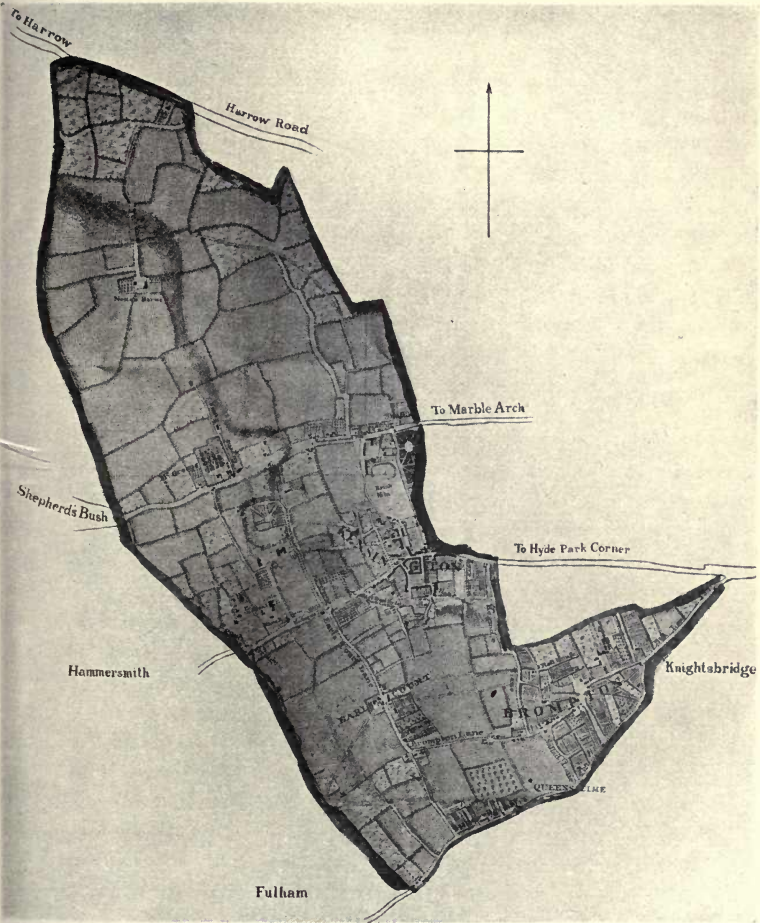
¹ See paper by W. A. Cater, "Priory of Austin Friars," *Journal B.A.A.*, June, 1912, 80.

he was restored to all the possessions of the family and made Constable of the Tower of London. His connection with Kensington was slight, as all his debts had to be paid. The manor of Earl's Court was settled as dowry for the two Countesses and we find Notting Barns (so called from the nut-trees that flourished there) a wholly separate holding. In 1488 Earl John sold it to the King's mother, the Countess of Richmond, the Lady Margaret (of whom we heard so much at Christ's College, Cambridge, when we visited the rooms built for her). In her will¹ she left it to the Abbot of Westminster, the proceeds to be spent in masses and on her foundations at Oxford and Cambridge. There was now nothing left in Kensington except the nominal rent of West Town Manor. This Earl left no children. It is of this Earl the story is told that King Henry VII visited Hedingham Castle, the Earl's place in Essex, where he was sumptuously entertained by this princely noble, and at his departure his lordship's livery servants, ranged on both sides, made an avenue for the King, which attracting his highness's attention, he called out to the Earl, and said, "My lord, I have heard much of your hospitality, but I see that it is greater than the speech. These handsome gentlemen and yeomen, which I see on both sides of me, are surely your menial servants." The Earl replied: "It may please your Grace, they were not for mine ease, they are most of them my retainers, that are come to do me service at such a time as this, and chiefly to see your Grace." The King started a little and rejoined, "By my faith, my lord, I thank you for my good cheer, but I may not endure to have my laws broken in my sight, my attorney must speak with you." This affair cost his lordship, eventually, no less than 15,000 marks, in the shape of compensation. We here learn the cost in those days of not obtaining a licence when necessary.²

He was succeeded by his nephew, the fourteenth Earl, called Little John of Camps, from his stature and his

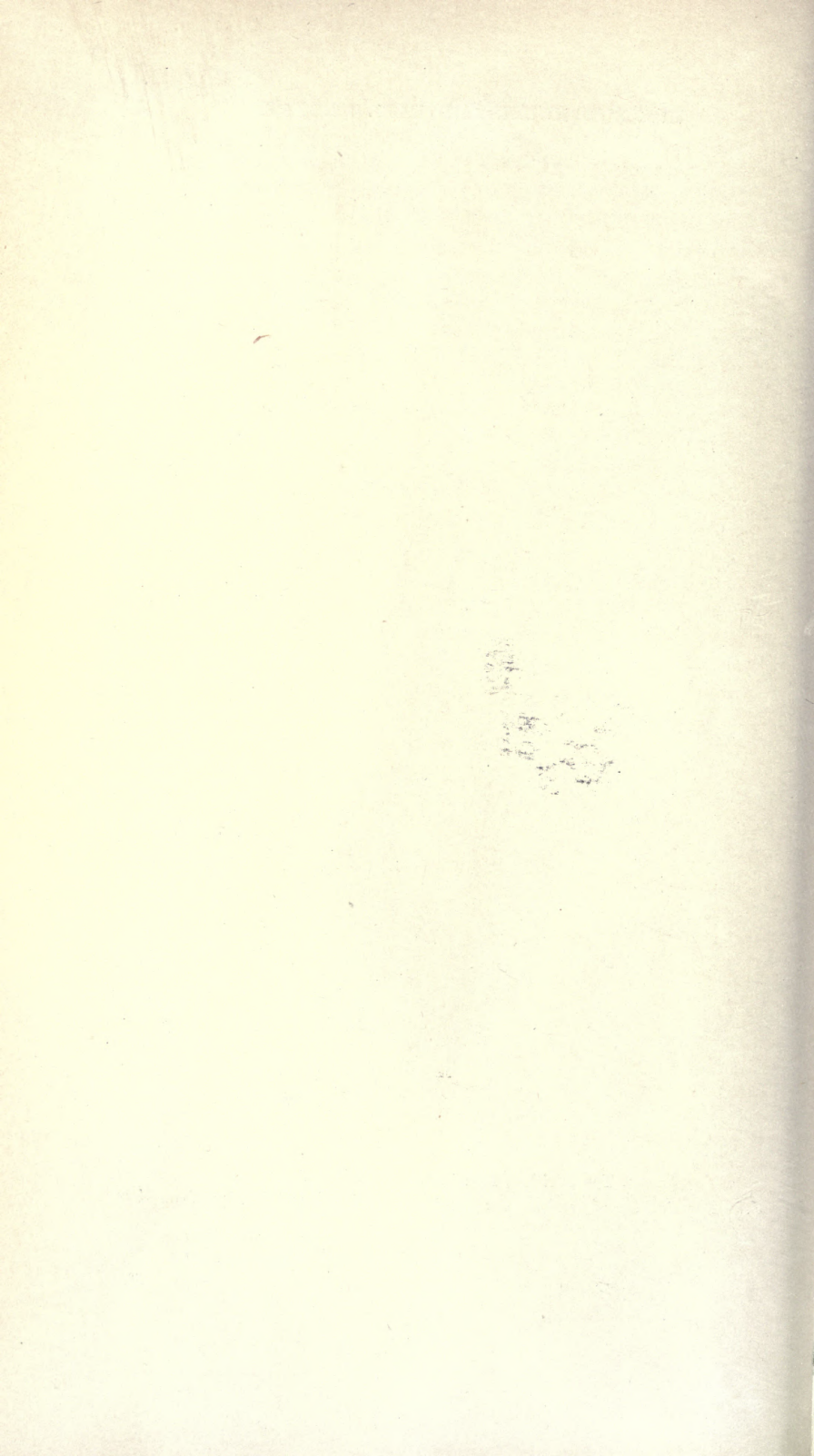
¹ "Testamenta Vetusta," by N. H. Nicolas (1826), II, 516.

² "Dict. Nat. Biog.," LVIII, 240. In *Archæologia*, vol. 66, p. 275, is an instructive paper by Sir Wm. Hope on his will and inventory. The total valuation was £8,206 17s. 8½d., "a truly colossal amount,



The Parish of Kensington, 1741-1745.

From John Roque's Plan of London. By permission of Mr. Edward Stanford, Long Acre



residence Castle Campes in Cambridgeshire. He was the last Earl who had even a nominal interest with Kensington. He succeeded in 1513, was admitted Lord Chamberlain and sat as a peer to try Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham. He married Lady Anne Howard, daughter of Thomas Duke of Norfolk, and died in 1526. His honours and great estates went to collateral heirs. The next Earl was his cousin John; the manor of Kensington having been settled by Act of Parliament on the two widowed countesses who still survived and then on the three sisters and co-heiresses of John, the fourteenth Earl.

The Veres survived for nearly two centuries at Castle Hedingham in Essex, and in the great Sir Francis Vere and Lord Vere showed that some of the qualities of Grymme Aubrey and the heroes of Cressy, Agincourt and Bosworth still lingered among them. At length, on the 12th May, 1703, the male line terminated with the sixth Aubrey, who had succeeded as the twentieth Earl of Oxford.

Macaulay's panegyric on this family—"the longest and most illustrious line of nobles that England has seen"²—is only rivalled by the stately eloquence of Lord Justice Crewe when pronouncing his judgment in the great case in 1626 for the family honours:—"I suppose there is no man that hath any apprehension of gentry or nobleness but his affections stand to the continuance of so noble a name and house."

Just before the fall of the monasteries Kensington contained four manors: Earl's Court, owned jointly by the

probably represented to-day by close upon £200,000," but not enough to pay the fine.

The four collars and chains were most noteworthy and beautiful objects.

The *second*, the Earl's collar of the Order of the Garter which he bequeathed to John Veer, was "a collar of gold made in garters w^h redde Roses in the garters and a george w^h a dyamount and iij greate perles hanging in the dragons foote." It weighed 21 ounces, and was valued at £42.

The *fourth* chain, though not jewelled, is described most truly as "a great cheyne of gold w^h a maryner's whistell & of xxviiij and one Lynkes," and its weight was 146 ounces or over 12 lb. Troy! It was valued at the huge sum (for the time) of £243 6s. 8d. The Earl wore this chain and whistle by reason of his office of Admiral of England.

² Lib. II, cap. 8

widows of the thirteenth and fourteenth Earls; West Town, by the successors of Simon Downham; Notting Barns, by Westminster Abbey; and Abbots Kensington, by the Abbey and convent of Abingdon.

Sir Walter Cope acquired Notting Barns from Lord Burghley's Trustees in 1599 and sold it in 1601 to Sir Henry Anderson, a London Alderman. The Copes came to the front in the reign of Richard II and were long seated at Hanwell, near Banbury. Sir Walter Cope's great-grandfather, William Cope, was cofferer to Henry the Seventh, and therefore the officer to whom the great fine levied on John, thirteenth Earl of Oxford, had to be paid. William Cope held many offices under the Crown. He was Steward of Worplesdon and Wisley, Constable of Porchester Castle, Lieutenant of Southbere Forest and Bailiff of Badhampton in Hampshire. He acquired estates in Wiltshire, Somersetshire and Oxfordshire, and in the latter county he acquired by grant from the Crown the manor of Hanwell,¹ which had been part of the possessions of John de la Pole, Earl of Lincoln, and had been forfeited to the Crown through attainder. Here William Cope built himself a castellated residence, which till the seventeenth century was the residence of his descendants. Leland says: "Mr. Cope hathe an old maner place, caulyd Hardwike, a mile by northe from Banbyri. He hathe another at Hanwelle a 2 miles from Banbyri by northe west, and is in Oxfordshire. This is a very pleasaunt and gallaunt house."² Hanwell passed away from the family through the will of Sir Anthony Cope, the fourth baronet.

During his life William Cope beautified part of Banbury Church, where "he caused those four windows to be made," and dying in 1513 was buried there in the Trinity Aisle. His tomb is described by Sir William Dugdale as "a fair monument of touch." The following inscription was engraved with his arms on his tomb:—

Hic jacet Will'us Coope quondam cofferarius hospittii famosissimi et excellentissimi Regis Henrici septimi qui quidem Will'us obit VII die mensis Aprilis an. Dom. MV. CXIII cujus a ' i ' e ' propicietur Deus. Amen.³

¹ "Athenæ, Oxon." (1721), I, 80.

² Itin. II, 40.

³ "Sir Wm. Dugdale's MS.," Ashmolean, Oxford.

Leland also mentions the tomb in the church :—

“ There is but one parochie churche in Banbyry, dedicate to our Lady. It is a large thinge, especially in bredthe. I saw but one notable tumbe in the chirche, and that is of blake marble ; wherein [William] Coope, coferer to Kyng Henry the VII is buried.”¹

This Banbury Church was pulled down in 1790, when this black marble tomb was destroyed. William Cope also used besides the old family arms of gules, on a fesse arg. a boar passant sable, his official arms, three coffer boxes which indicated his lucrative position at Court, but later he had a grant of arms from Henry VII, which plainly allude to the royal arms and badge : Arg. on a chevron azure between three roses gule, slipped and leaved vert.²

The cofferer's son, Sir Anthony Cope, was a great traveller to France, Germany and Italy. He was Vice-Chamberlain to Queen Catherine Parr and one of the most learned men of the era in which he lived.³

James I made this Sir Walter, in 1608, Chamberlain of the Exchequer and Master of the Court of Wards and Liveries—lucrative offices which enabled him to buy the rest of Kensington. West Town had passed in 1454 to William Essex and Edith his wife, whose descendants sold it to the Marquis of Winchester in 1570. In 1572 it went to William Doddington, who sold it to Christopher Barker, the Queen's printer, whose name appears on the title page of the Breeches Bible.⁴ He held it for ten years, and sold it to Sir Walter Cope of the Strand in 1591. Cope lived at West Town Manor House, which was situated in the grounds of the house lately known as Oak Lodge and now Oakwood Court. He was knighted in 1603.

The Abbots' manor passed through several hands, and was leased in 1595 by the Crown to Robert Horseman. The manor house stood nearly on the site of the barracks or perhaps a little nearer the Vicarage. Owing to the purchase of this manor through Trustees by Sir Walter

¹ Itin. II, 39.

² “ Miscel. Gen. et Herald.,” Third Series, IV, 208, and “ Grantees of Arms,” Harl. Soc., LXVI, 61.

³ “ Burke's Peerage and Baronetage,” under Cope.

⁴ Loftie, 64.

Cope, and the unwillingness of Horseman (who was related to Cope through his wife's family, the Grenvilles¹) to give it up, a compromise was made by the intervention of the Queen in 1599 whereby Horseman had the fee simple of the manor house and of certain grounds and glebe land amounting to 200 acres (including Nordland, which probably refers to what we now know as Nordlands Square), and Cope retained the rest of the manor and, in particular, a piece of orchard which lay near his house, which seems to be the site of the new house he was about to build, which was at first called Cope's Castle. This explains why Holland House is not the manor house.

In 1610 the heirs of the Veres had licence to sell all that manor or lordship of Earl's Court and all messuages, lands, &c., known as the manor of Earl's Court except thirty acres attached to Hale House (upon which the South Kensington Museum now stands). Henry VIII had interfered to prevent the division of this manor, and the four granddaughters of Lord Latimer (who married as his third wife Katherine Parr) and their cousin Sir Robert Wingfield agreed that the whole manor should pass to Lucy Neville, Lord Latimer's third daughter, and her husband Sir William Cornwallis. Their daughter Anne Cornwallis succeeded to Kensington in 1608, and she had already married Archibald Earl of Argyll. They joined in the sale to Cope. Sir Walter Cope was now owner of three of the manors of Kensington, and had he not sold Notting Barns would have owned all four.

Cope's Castle, now known as Holland House, was designed by John Thorp, and his plans are still extant among the treasures of Sir John Soane's Museum in Lincoln's Inn Fields. It was commenced, says Wheatley, in 1607.² But is this date early enough, as in the "State Papers Domestic" of James I we find these letters:—

In 1606, 11th May, Dud. Carleton to John Chamberlain :
 "Is going to Lord Norris's ; Lady Norris is at Cope Castle, separated from her Lord."³

¹ "Miscel. Gen. et Herald.," Third Series, IV, 208.

² Wheatley, II, 223.

³ "State Papers Domestic," James I, 1605-1607, 317.

In 1608, 7th July, John Chamberlain writes to Dudley Carleton : " Went with Lady Fanshaw and other company to visit Cope Castle, Kensington. Sir William Cope grows more and more into the great Lord."¹

The main building and enclosing wall was finished and Cope living there at the time of his death in 1614. Cope only enjoyed his beautiful house for a very short time, during which King James the First visited him in 1612, spending a few days there, after coming from Theobalds to be nearer his son, Henry Prince of Wales, who was on his death bed. But the king did not like the house. He said the wind blew through the walls and he could not be warm in bed.² In his will he leaves the house and everything within the boundary wall to his wife Dorothy Grenville during widowhood. Her brother was ancestor of the ducal house of Buckingham. After seven long years of widowhood she married in 1621 Sir Thomas Fowler, and so her connection with Cope Castle ends. Under the will, the reversion was to Cope's only daughter and heiress. On Sir Thomas Fowler's death Dame Dorothy returned to Kensington, and it is thought resided at the Moats, which was the name by which West Town Manor House was known. She died in 1638 and was buried in Kensington Church.

Isobel Cope, their daughter, had married in her father's life-time at St. Bartholomew the Great Sir Harry Rich. He was made Lord Kensington in 1622 and in 1624 Earl of Holland and a K.G. in 1625, from which time the house was known as Holland House, as Clarendon says, by the intervention of James I. He was descended from Richard Rich, an opulent mercer in the time of Henry VI, whose great-grandson was Lord Chancellor Rich under Edward VI, and Sir Henry Rich, the latter's great-grandson, the second son of Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick, and of Penelope, daughter of Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex. He began life as a soldier, became Captain of the King's Guard and took rank as Knight of the Bath. On the death of his patron, Henry Prince of Wales, son of James I, he

¹ " State Papers Domestic," James I, 1608-1611, 446.

² Wheatley, II, 223.

entered the service of Prince Charlie, and went on a mission of courtship for his master to Queen Henrietta Maria. He wavered, at last, in his allegiance, and a meeting of Parliamentarians took place at his house in 1647, which by this time had acquired the name it still bears. He wavered again and was taken prisoner at St. Neots, and sent to Warwick Castle and afterwards to London, where he was beheaded in 1649. Respect was, however, shown to his body, which was buried the next day at Kensington.

After Rich's death General Fairfax resided at Holland House,¹ and there are traditions of Cromwell coming there and discussing his plans with Ireton and General Lambert while walking in the fields around the house, not to be overheard by eavesdroppers.²

Holland's widow was soon allowed to return with her large family, and she enlarged the house, dying there in 1655. Her son Robert succeeded to his father's title, and eventually became fifth Earl of Warwick in 1673. His cousin, Edward Henry Rich, who became the seventh Earl of Warwick and fourth Lord Holland, was the step-son of Joseph Addison, who was Secretary of State and frequently at Holland House, and addressed to his step-son the celebrated lines: "See in what peace a Christian can die."³ The Earl did not long survive his step-father, dying in 1721 at only 24 years of age. Cope Rich, grandson of the fifth Lord Holland, was the last Earl, and, dying in 1759, left an only daughter, Lady Charlotte, who outlived all her descendants of the name of Rich, dying in 1791. On the last Earl's death the estates went to his cousin, and shortly afterwards were sold to Henry Fox, the ancestor of the present owner.

Macaulay says of Holland House: "Whose turrets and gardens are associated with so much that is interesting and noble, with the courtly magnificence of Rich, with the lives of Ormond, with the counsels of Cromwell, with the death of Addison—which was the favourite resort

¹ Wheatley, II, 224.

² "Holland House," Princess Liechtenstein. 1874, I. 16.

³ Loftie, 75, and *see also* Faulkner's "Kensington," 108, for some interesting letters of Addison.

of wits and beauties, of painters and poets, of scholars, philosophers and statesmen."¹

In the time of the great and genial third Lord Holland, 1820–1840, whose statue stands near the Kensington Road, he with his charming though caustic and clever wife were entertaining Macaulay, Smith, Sheridan, Byron, Moore, Thurlow, Brougham, Washington Irving, Humboldt, Talleyrand, Madame de Staël, and many others.²

Of temporary residents there have been several: Sir John Chardin, the traveller; William Penn, Downright, Shippin and Lechmere. It was fitted up for the reception of William III and Queen Mary in November, 1689, but that monarch preferred Sir Heneage Finch's house, now Kensington Palace, which he purchased from his descendant the Earl of Nottingham, and so Holland House escaped conversion into a Royal Palace.³

The house on the ground floor consists of large reception rooms leading from one to the other, hence perhaps the reason of James the First's lament, but the treasures contained in the house are untold and the many pictures of Reynolds are probably the greatest. Near the entrance to the house, forming as it were one side of a courtyard, stands the wall with the two stone piers designed by Inigo Jones. Lord Holland's statue is on the line of the noble avenue, which must have extended from the house, according to the 1694 plan, pretty well down to the Brompton Road.

There is a sad ghostly incident mentioned by Aubrey which took place in a green lane leading from the house towards Little Holland House, now Melbury Road, where the beautiful Lady Diana Rich, daughter of the Earl of Holland, as she was walking in her father's garden before dinner, about one hour before midday, met with her own apparition, as in a looking-glass. About a month afterwards she died of the small pox.⁴ Her sister, Lady Isabella Thynne, went through the same experience, and a third daughter of Lord Holland's—the wife of the first Earl of Breadalbane—also, not long after her marriage, had a similar warning.

¹ Wheatley, II, 223.

² Wheatley, II, 225. "Dict. Nat. Biog.," XX, 126. "Holland House," Liechtenstein. I, 151 *et seq.*

³ Wheatley, II, 224. ⁴ "Miscellanies," by John Aubrey (1857), 89.

The duel between Lord Camelford and Captain Best, in 1804, took place on the site of the old manor house of West Town.

Campden House was built in 1612, on three acres of land won from Sir Walter Cope at gaming by Baptist Hicks, who had come up from Chipping Campden in Gloucestershire and become opulent as a mercer trading in the City of London. He was employed a great deal by James I in valuing.¹

The mansion he built had a fine Tudor front, and was spacious and picturesque with its bay windows and turrets; several of the rooms had ceilings richly worked in stucco and chimney-cases much ornamented. It was approached by an avenue of trees which debouched from the main road, just opposite what is now the High Street Station. He was made a knight and created a Baronet in 1620, and was further advanced to the peerage as Baron Hicks of Ilmington in the county of Warwick, and Viscount Campden in Gloucestershire in 1628 for life, with remainder, after his decease, to his son-in-law, Sir Edward Noel, knight, who when young was made a knight-banneret in the wars in Ireland, created a Baronet in 1611, and elevated to the peerage as Baron Noel of Ridlington in the county of Rutland in 1616. He was ancestor of the Earls of Gainsborough. Baptist Noel, third Lord Campden, entertained Charles the Second at Campden House for a fortnight after his restoration.

The house was hired by Queen Anne in 1691 for five years, and she lived there with her son, the Duke of Gloucester. Baron Lechmere, Attorney-General to George I, also lived there in 1721.

Swift's ballad of "Duke or no Duke" says:—

Back in the dark by Brompton Park
He turned up thro' the Gore
So drunk to Campden House so high
All in the coach and four.

Campden House, at the end of the eighteenth century, is spoken of as having been for many years an eminent

¹ Wheatley, I, 320.

boarding school for young ladies, kept by a Mrs. Terry. It was burnt down on Sunday, March 23rd, 1862.¹

Now for a few words as to the topography.

From John Roque's plan of London (1741-1745) we see that Kensington was still quite in the country, the houses were clustered round the church, and there were none between the Campden House Avenue and Holland House on the north side of this Great Western Road, which lead to Reading, Bath and Bristol. On the south side the houses extended a little further westwards. Wright's Lane or Marloe's Road was there, and had the sharp turning as it now has by the Cripples' Home, and the road led down to the Earl's Court House (or Manor House) as it does to-day for pedestrians. The Court House was also approached by the Earl's Court Lane (now Road) (from the High Street or Great Western Road) opposite Holland Walk, which went on to the Brompton Road. Fifty years ago the maternal grandfather of a friend of mine lived there, who says there were no houses near except the farmhouse on the other side of the lane.² The exact position of the house was a little to the east of the present railway station, and the grounds extended as far as the present Knaresborough Road.

The Church Street had the curious turn near the Vicarage as it has at present, and leads to the Oxford Road, now High Street, Notting Hill Gate and Holland Park Avenue, with a few houses at the road running off to the Portobello Farm, which, with the Notting Barn Farm, was about half way between the boundary wall of Holland House on the Oxford Road and what is now Kensal Green Cemetery, all of which were in the parish, which extends on the east to Tattersalls at Albert Gate and then follows the centre of the Fulham Road to the railway bridge, thence going due north to Kensal Green and back to Kensington Palace, which was not in Kensington.

In Greenwood's plan, 1825, things are much the same, but it is evident that Kensington is becoming a suburb. Ten years later the plan reproduced by Loftie shows a great change in houses and roads. The Addison Road then appears, which was mostly in West Town Manor.

¹ 42. *Id.*, 321.

² S. F. Higgins, Esq., Ham Common, Surrey.

Loftie, after carefully reviewing the Domesday return, considers that the population of Kensington, with its 1,911 acres, was at that time about 240 all told, including eight wealthy farmers, who cultivated three virgates of land each, and twelve who had but one each.

An interesting list of the tenants of the Abbey Manor, about 1672, and another list, "Being every Person's Land in the Parish of Kensington and Manor of Earls' Court in 1675" are given by Loftie.¹

In the quartered coat of arms now used by the Free Library of the Borough of Kensington, as a book-plate, it is interesting to notice how the arms of these old families of whom we have been speaking are indicated in the first and third quartering, and in the second quartering for the Abbey of Abingdon and the fourth for the Bishop of London.

Vere.—Quarterly, gules and or. In the first a mullett or.

Cope.—Arg. on a chevron az. between 3 roses, gule, slipped and leaved vert, as many fleur-de-lis.

Rich.—Gules, a chevron between three cross crosslets or.

I must acknowledge my indebtedness to the Hon. Mrs. Drewitt for the loan of books for the meeting at Leighton House; to J. Hautenville Cope, Esq., for notes on the family of Cope; to Herbert Jones, Esq., the courteous librarian of the Kensington Public Library, for help from the rich stores at his command; and to Messrs. Fladgate & Co., Solicitors to Mary, Countess of Ilchester, for allowing me to reproduce the old plan of part of the estate.

¹ Loftie, 30–31, 36, 38.





THE EXCAVATIONS IN THE CRYPT OF ST. MARY-LE-BOW.

By WILLIAM A. CATER, F.S.A., F.R.HIST.SOC.

(Read before the British Archaeological Association, April 12, 1917.)



It will be within your recollection that your Council undertook an excavation in the crypt of the Church of St. Mary-le-Bow, Cheapside, Mr. Lambert having been deputed to superintend the work, in which Mr. Bagster and myself had the privilege of assisting.

The necessary permission had been arranged by Mr. E. J. Trustram, C.C., the Clerk of the Vestry, who in fact was the originator of the idea, while Mr. E. S. Underwood, the Surveyor of the Church, watched over the operations with a vigilant and interested eye. The results of the excavations were embodied in a paper by Mr. Lambert¹ and one by myself² which appeared in our *Journal*. Following the publication of these, there appeared in the March issue of last year two letters from Mr. Walter Money, F.S.A.,³ in one of which he stigmatized the excavations as "senseless"; and from his remarks it is regretful to imagine he may have experienced uneasiness while contemplating the possibility of the collapse of what he describes as "one of Wren's finest works, as the City soil is so treacherous."

In this latter phrase, as he may notice should he carefully read Mr. Lambert's observations, Mr. Money has struck one really archæological note, as the excavations

¹ Vol. XXI, p. 281. ² *Ibid.*, p. 294. ³ Vol. XXII, p. 106-8.

have shown the truth of his suggestion, the causes of which Mr. Lambert's article abundantly explains.

First impressions on reading these letters suggested it were preferable to disregard them ; but in view of their publication, and of the inaccuracies and irrelevancies they contained, subsequent consideration demands they should neither pass to posterity unanswered nor your Council's action undefended.

As to the object of the excavations, had Mr. Money read his *Journal*¹ he would have been informed that it was "to ascertain the conditions of the Roman level at that spot." A student of Roman London, as he shows himself to be, he must, I am sure, applaud the laudable motive which prompted the Council to sanction the work, and had he visited the crypt during the operations he would have found that under the careful and constant supervision of Mr. Underwood every precaution had been taken adequately to safeguard the foundations.

Notwithstanding the restricted character of the work, as explained by Mr. Lambert, useful information has been acquired at the Roman horizon, while the incidental examination of the crypt walling foundations permitted by the excavations has revealed points of considerable interest, which results alone may be considered sufficient justification for the work.

The views expressed on the topography of Roman London I shall not presume to criticise, leaving them in the hands of Mr. Lambert, who, when happier times have returned and he has resumed civil life, will doubtless give them his considered attention.

After reading Mr. Money's discursive observations it is difficult to understand whether he appreciated that the papers on Bow Church crypt were necessarily circumscribed in scope, and for that reason did not pretend to embody the irrelevant details for the omission of which he upbraids. This remark applies especially to my own subject, "The Mediaeval Church and Crypt." As the title clearly indicated, its interest terminated with the destruction of the Church by the Great Fire ; the few necessary references

¹ Vol. XXI, p. 155.

to its later history being introduced as explanatory merely of the present condition of the building.

One must regret that Mr. Money should have elected to refrain from criticising in detail, while at the same time he should have indulged in unsubstantiated statements; but perhaps one should be the more gratified on that account, as while replying to some of his strictures opportunity is afforded of again examining the data upon which one's conclusions were based. Owing, however, to the limited time at my disposal I shall be unable to lay them before you upon the present occasion, which I had intended doing under the title of "The Identification of St. Mary of Westcheap called Newchurch."

I now propose to endeavour to correct some apparent inadvertencies which have crept into Mr. Money's letters.

He states that "at the south-east angle of the crypt of Bow Church was a chapel 10 ft. square," quoting Stow as his authority; but in this he is mistaken, for the quotation is evidently from Maitland,¹ for there we read: "At the south-east angle is a chapel about 10 ft. square wherein according to Stow was a magnificent sepulchral monument which is now buried by the great rise of the ground." I have carefully searched all the early editions of Stow for any record of this cryptal chapel, but the only reference which would at all approximate to it is the following:—"In a proper Chappell on the south side the Church standeth a Tombe elevate and arched, Ade de Buke, Hatter glazed the Chappell and most parts of the Church and was there buried."² This without doubt has reference to a chapel in the south aisle of the upper church and obviously cannot refer to a chapel in the southern vault of the crypt. Whence therefore, apart from his imagination, Maitland obtained "the chapel 10 ft. square, with its magnificent sepulchral monument" it is impossible to conjecture.

Mr. Money, however, is not singular in neglecting to verify his authority, for George Gwilt, also taking for granted the accuracy of Maitland's quotation from Stow writes: "Upon this I would observe that whatever may still

¹ Ed. 1739, p. 453.

² Stow's "Survey of London" (Kingsford), p. 257.

remain concealed in the masonry which seems to approximate to his (Stow's) dimensions at the N.W. angle, I am satisfied there existed no trace of any chapel or monument at the S.E. angle."¹

Had Gwilt taken the precaution to consult Stow's record instead of Maitland's garbled version, it would not have been necessary for him to have disproved the existence of this mythical cryptal chapel; still, had he done so, we should be without the satisfaction of this distinct evidence from one who had professionally examined the southern vault ere it was closed to observation. I hope therefore I may be pardoned for omitting to mention what Mr. Money describes as "the most interesting point in the whole subject of Bow Church, viz., the Chapel in the crypt," and also be permitted the observation that only those who indulge in research work can adequately appreciate the ease with which perverted statements may become perpetuated, and the infinite labour involved in separating fact from fiction.

Mr. Money further states that the original Norman Church "was built in 1087" and it would be interesting indeed to know whence he derived this information. In which connection, he, doubtless carelessly, remarks that Hubert de Ria was founder of the Abbey of St. John, Colchester; whereas, as the writer himself subsequently states, it was Hubert's son Eudo who had been its founder and benefactor.

Again he challenges my remark² that the last pre-fire tower of Bow Church had not been completed until 1512, and asserts "it was entirely rebuilt by 1469." This statement is erroneous, for had he continued his reading of Stow he would have found recorded, "so that the said worke of the steeple was finished in the yeare 1512."³ I nevertheless crave Mr. Money's pardon for a printer's

¹ " *Monumenta Vetusta*," p. 2.

² Vol. XXI, p. 300.

³ Stow (Ed. 1598), p. 205.—This statement is corroborated in the edition of *Holinshed* published in 1587 (*Chronicles of England*, p. 815), but inasmuch as it does not appear in the edition *Holinshed* published in 1577, it may be considered as one of Stow's own notes, he having assisted in the subsequent compilation.

error regarding one of the benefactors to Bow bell; the date should have read 1452 instead of 1352.

Perhaps his most interesting objection is that I have claimed to identify St. Mary-le-Bow with the St. Mary Newchurch of the Colchester and Westminster Cartularies; whereas in his edition of Stow's Survey, Mr. C. L. Kingsford identifies the latter church with St. Mary Woolchurchhaw.¹ This expression of opinion is warmly espoused by Mr. Money, who "cannot think how anyone could question the authority of Mr. Kingsford," and adding, "he is of course perfectly correct."

In face of this dictum what more is to be said? The evidence I had elaborated is demolished without examination and not even given decent interment. Serenely, however, and presumably in justification of his opinion, Mr. Money proceeds to give the very quotation from Eudo's foundation charter as supplied by the Colchester Cartulary, which had provided the evidence for Stow's own attribution of the title New Mary Church to St. Mary de Arcubus² and which also formed the basis of my own investigation; wherein, to quote again the original document, the Church is described as "*Sanctæ Marie de Westchepingæ Lundoniæ que vocatur Nieuwecherche.*"

Upon some future occasion I may be permitted to dispute at length the correctness of the identification of this Church with St. Mary Woolchurchhaw.

As to St. Mary Woolchurchhaw, Mr. Money informs us this Church stood on the east side of the Stocks Market. In thus stating he is again a faithful adherent of Maitland,³ but not of Stow, and I shall show at another time that on the south side was the undoubtedly correct location. He also tells us, "the site of the cemetery of this church being anciently the wool-staple accounts for the name Woolchurch"—a somewhat inexplicable statement, from which we may obviously infer that on the removal of the staple the site was converted into a cemetery and the Church

¹ Stow's "Survey of London" (Kingsford), Vol. II, p. 317.

² In Stow's corrected edition of 1598 the title of New Mary Church is incorporated in the text as applying to St. Mary de Arcubus, Stow giving in the margin as his authority the "*Lib. Colchester.*"

³ Maitland (Ed. 1739), p. 460.

itself became known as Woolchurchhaw. Documentary evidence clearly indicates that the church and churchyard existed in 1252,¹ and that the name Woolchurchhaw (Woolcherchewawe) came into use about 1260,² while the "tronage" was not finally removed from the locality until 1383.³

My repeated references to the stone house in Westcheap belonging to the Priory of Christ Church, Canterbury, which I have claimed to be a connecting link in the identification of St. Mary Newchurch, has apparently irritated the writer under discussion, and moreover has led him to confuse this stone house with the "Crown Sild" which was erected by Edward III after 1331, when the collapse of the temporary wooden structure, which it was usual to construct across Cheapside, occurred. This "Sild" I suggested may have occupied the site of the Priory's stone house, which latter had possibly been acquired by the Crown at that time, as there are no subsequent references to it in the Registers of the Priory, although there is considerable literature concerning it during the sixty years preceding and as late as the year 1331.

I hope to give detailed attention to these extracts from the Canterbury Registers,⁴ and to publish a revised transcript of the French text, to be found in Register I, fo. 368, to which I referred in my former paper, in order to point out some rectifications in the details previously given of the narrative which the revision has rendered necessary.

This interesting record, although confused in diction and evidently incorrectly copied into the Register by the Priory *Cancellarius*, contains much history concerning the stone house in its relation to the fabric of St. Mary de Arcubus, and particularly to the tower. But the Priory seemed to have been more concerned about the threatened destruction of its house in Cheapside (which had been let out in tenements, having been, according to Archbishop Kilwardby,

¹ "Cal. Charter Rolls," Vol. I, p. 407.

² "Cal. Charter Rolls," Vol. II, p. 33.

³ Stow (Clarendon), Vol. I, p. 135.

⁴ I am indebted to Mr. W. Derham, our Associate, for his indefatigable researches in the Canterbury Registers.

“*mercatorum usibus aptatam haberetis*”¹) than they had been in the tower itself. For, ere its collapse they had requested that it should be pulled down—so ruinous had become its condition. This formal notice would seem to have been given about 1264,² the fall of the tower not occurring until 1271.

These records also throw realistic light upon the civic life and business methods of the period, and incidentally bring to our notice several interesting personalities.

I shall now ask Mr. Underwood to place before you his remarks in further reference to the excavations, and to Mr. Money's communications.

Remarks by Edgar S. Underwood, Esq., F.R.I.B.A., C.C.

With reference to the two rather severe letters of Mr. Walter Money, F.S.A, which were published in your *Journal* of March, 1916, and which have already been referred to by Mr. Cater to-day, I have only recently read these, or I should have written to your Editor at the time, as I think it is due to the Rector and Churchwardens and their Vestry Clerk—who one and all are most zealous custodians of the ancient and historic Church which is in their keeping—that it should be known that it was a condition to the permission given to your Association to carry out these excavations and searches that the work should be carried out under my supervision as their Surveyor. I should also like to express my thanks to the members who had charge of the work for the great care they took to see that no risk was taken and no harm done.

Mr. Money's letters appear to have been written under a misapprehension, and inaccuracies have crept in unfortunately from want of correct information and facts which it is to be regretted were not before him.

Mr. Money describes the excavations as “senseless”; this I can only take to be an expression of opinion, and

¹ Register B, fo. 243.

² Register K, fo. 188.

it would seem to apply equally to all exploration and search after archæological knowledge.

He immediately refers to the steeple inferentially as though it had been endangered. The nearest digging to the steeple was the hole where the timbers were found (*see Plan*)¹ a distance of 60 ft. away, and in his second letter he characterises the work as a "dangerous excavation," and here I wish to state that there was no danger whatever. The spot chosen was away from any weight-carrying walls, and the excavation did not go below the foundations of the columns, as shown by Mr. Lambert's section.² In fact, the excavation was little more than that which would be necessary for interments which have so frequently taken place in similar positions.

The work was carried out by expert excavators, and when one considers that the whole of the foundations of St. Mary Woolnoth Church, at the corner of King William and Lombard Streets, were removed, leaving the Church standing and now supported entirely on girders and columns, no danger could exist in this trifling work carried out by expert workmen under proper supervision.

I should like to mention a few other points referred to in the letters which are all of interest.

The steeple, as Mr. Money says, was not lowered when the upper part was rebuilt; George Gwilt has left a note that it was left 4 in. higher.

Mr. Money says only one row of columns is shown on Mr. Lambert's plan. Two rows are distinctly shown with their foundations; three columns now exist, one in the north row and two in the south, the cap only of one of the latter being visible. The remaining three were probably removed when the Church was rebuilt, one may be enclosed in the brick pier, but this is doubtful.

The crypt was left as it is now by Wren, except that Gwilt formed the staircase in 1819, and the south crypt was blocked up by an Order in Council in 1860.

Until 1908, a brick wall existed across the north crypt, dividing it so that the east part could be occupied for trade

¹ *Journal British Archæological Association*, Vol. LXXI, p. 281.

² *Ibid.*, p. 284.

purposes with an entrance from Bow Lane. Is this the small crypt or undercroft referred to by Mr. Money as being in Messrs. Copestake's premises? It was used by them.

It is interesting to note the reference to the south side of Cheapside seeming to have been occupied by sheds. The line of it certainly appears to have been irregular, as from searches I have recently made I find that after the Great Fire, when the City was being rebuilt and the various properties were surveyed and their boundaries agreed by Messrs. Oliver and Mills, the appointed surveyors, portions of the street were allotted in some cases to the holders of land to the south, and in two cases of which I have particulars the width of the street was reduced by 3 ft. and 5 ft. respectively, apparently the outcome of a straightening of the south side.

With reference to the date of the crypt, which Mr. Money states so definitely as 1087, he is much concerned about the mention of Saxon workmanship, and says that we do not want to think that anything German exists in the work. None of us wants to have anything to do with the Prussianized Germans, and I cannot associate the old Saxon work, the few remaining examples of which we are proud of, with these. The rough walling bears a strong likeness to that at Lyminge.

Mr. Money says the whole structure has been "so ruthlessly tampered with that no wonder some is rough." It would be interesting to know to what this refers and by whose instigation the parts were tampered with.

The doorway I mentioned in the crypt was in the base of the pre-fire tower in the north crypt; and I also referred to an opening in the east wall of the centre crypt, which may have been a doorway, but neither of these would be in connection with a chapel.

Mr. Money tells of the coffins being visible in the crypt in his time, and that these were taken to Ilford. Unfortunately, this latter was not the case. They were collected in 1860, as I have mentioned above, and placed in the south crypt, which now remains blocked up and inaccessible.

The new Church and steeple were not actually completed

until October, 1682, as shown by Wren's accounts discovered by Mr. Laurence Weaver,¹ but services were held earlier than that date.

I must thank you, Mr. President, for giving me this opportunity of, I hope, correcting any impression that may have been produced by these letters as to any act of vandalism having occurred or that the buildings have in any way been endangered.

¹ *Archæologia*, LXVI, p. 46.





EARLY MAN IN NORFOLK.

By REV. H. J. DUKINFIELD ASTLEY, M.A., Litt.D., F.R.Hist.S., V.P.

(Read before the British Association, Section H, Manchester, 1915 : before the British Archæological Association, March 2, 1916.)



THE county from which I come is one which has many evidences to show of the presence of Early Man within its confines. In one sense Man of the Later Stone or Neolithic Age, of the Bronze, and even of the early Iron Age, might come within the category of "Early Man," but in this communica-

tion I shall deal only with still earlier Man, *i.e.*, with the Old Stone or Palæolithic Age ; and, passing briefly by the evidences of his presence that are accepted by all competent pre-historians, I shall hope to bring forward other evidences, not merely of his presence, but of a definite stage, or stages, in his prolonged period.

Had I been speaking a few years ago—even so lately as 1901, when the first volume of the Victoria "County History of Norfolk" was published—I should have been content to speak of the Palæolithic and Neolithic Ages as the subdivisions of the Stone Age ; and with regard to the former I should have spoken of the Drift and Cave Periods as well-marked divisions, and I should have indicated whether any particular find belonged to the one or the other, as was done by Sir John Evans, Lord Avebury and their contemporaries : but that is not sufficient to-day.

Before this audience it will be unnecessary to enlarge on the classification of Palæolithic times which has since been accomplished, more particularly within recent years.

When Sir John Evans and Lord Avebury wrote the question was still agitated as to whether it was justifiable to speak of pre-glacial man, or whether the existence of man

on the earth was altogether post-glacial. It is now known that in Western Europe there have been no less than four glacial periods with more or less warm inter-glacial periods when the ice retired, and in each of these man is found; while the Eolithic period—if eoliths are indeed evidences of human workmanship, as I see no reason to doubt—ascend to the first glacial period immediately after the Pliocene.

Each phase of man's existence is marked by characteristic and unmistakable forms of implements, which, together with the human remains accompanying them, enable a classification to be made, and the peculiar type of man to be distinguished.

The classification has been modified from time to time as knowledge of the conditions of Early Man has enlarged, but it has been chiefly in the direction of increasing the number of subdivisions.

The earliest was that of Mortillet, which was followed by those of Piette and Hoernes. Those accepted to-day are described by Prof. Obermaier in *Der Mensch der Vorzeit* by Prof. J. Bayer in *Chronologie des Temps Quaternaires* ("Report of the Geneva Congress of Prehistoric Archaeology," 1912, Vol. I), and by Dr. Buttel-Reepen in *Der Urmensch vor und während der Eiszeit in Europa*. I shall base myself upon this latter, as being the most complete and comprehensive.

Fas est et ab hoste doceri, says the old tag, so I consider no apology is needed even in this time of war for depending on the enemy where scientific data are concerned.

Dr. Buttel-Reepen's classification is contained in his Table III (p. 31), in which he works downwards from the Neolithic Age to earliest times, and reckons the *Diluvium oder Eiszeit* at $\frac{1}{2}$ to $1\frac{1}{2}$ million years.

Working backwards we find:—Immediately succeeding the Pliocene comes the first, or Günz, glacial period, in which lived the Heidelberg man, and eoliths are found. The first inter-glacial period, extending to 100,000 years, is marked by the Reutelian and Mesvinian culture of Rutot.

In the second, or Mindel, glacial period, the mammoth appears.

The second inter-glacial period, extending to 200,000 or 300,000 years, is marked by the Strepyian (Rutot), the Chellean, the Acheulean and the Moustierian cultures (Boucher de Perthes and his successors in France); then lived Neanderthal man, along with the mammoth, the cave-man and the *Elephas antiquus*. These continued to exist during the third, or Riss, glacial period, which was also marked by the Moustierian culture, and this continued into the third inter-glacial period. Down to this culture of Le Moustier we have to deal with what were formerly known chiefly as drift implements. From this time onwards we have to deal with the so-called cave implements.

The third inter-glacial period, lasting some 100,000 years, is marked by the latest Moustierian, the Aurignacian and the Solutrian cultures; then lived the Grimaldi, the Aurignac and the Cro-magnon races of man, accompanied by the *Rhinoceros Tichorinus*, and the horse.

The fourth, or Würm, glacial period, is marked by the latest Solutrian, the Magdalenian and the Azylian type of culture; the Cro-Magnon race of reindeer hunters continued, accompanied by the rhinoceros, mammoth, reindeer and stag, of which the Magdalenian people have left us a magnificent series of representations on bone and ivory, as well as carvings in relief; in the caves of Altamira, Alpera and others in Spain and France we also find splendid coloured frescoes on the ceilings and walls depicting the bison, which then abounded on the plains of Europe, as it did in later times on the prairies of North America, horses in troops, huntsmen and dancing scenes testifying to the wonderful skill in lifelike portrayal attained by this early race.

Following on the passing away of the ice after the Würm glacial period comes the Alluvial or present age, and the Neolithic and all succeeding periods in the life of Man, and we may very well be living about the middle of another inter-glacial period, as some geologists think.

It will be noticed that the Aurignacian period is here definitely placed between the Moustierian and Solutrian. This was only finally established at the Monaco Congress of Prehistoric Archæology in 1906 through the investigations

of the Abbé Breuil and M. Cartailhac, previous to which a definite period, to which the name of pre-Solutrian was given, had been surmised. The cave of Aurignac had been reckoned of such little importance that Lord Avebury had only devoted two pages to it in his "Prehistoric Times," 1900, but it was the recognition of special and characteristic types of implements from this cave and La Terrasse, Abri Audit, Brassempouy, Solutré and others, differing from those preceding and following, that led to the demarcation of this special culture. This is the advantage of the French caves, that they enable special horizons to be differentiated, and a successive evolution of culture to be described. In a lesser degree the same is true of the English caves in Derbyshire and elsewhere, so much so that Prof. Sollas has been able to assign the Paviland cave in Glamorganshire to the special type of culture belonging to Aurignac.

The south-west corner of Norfolk is particularly rich in implements of the drift type, full accounts of which may be seen in the Victoria "County History of Norfolk," and in the "Proceedings" of the Prehistoric Society of East Anglia, and specimens may be seen in the Norwich and other Museums; similar implements have also been found in the Forest bed off the north coast, at Cromer, and near Norwich.

Just over the border, in Suffolk, Dr. Sturge and other explorers have found a series of Palæolithic floors at Lakenheath, Mildenhall and Icklingham, that at Mildenhall furnishing many types of unmistakable Moustierian provenance.

In the same south-western corner of Norfolk—to be precise, at Weeting, in the neighbourhood of Brandon—are situated in what is now a wood, a series of depressions, more than 300 in number, known as "Grime's Graves." It is with the question of the culture associated with these that the remaining portion of this communication will be taken up.

The description of the locality, and the origin of the name, together with the account of previous explorations and their results, will be found fully set forth in the report of the excavations undertaken there under the auspices of

the Prehistoric Society of East Anglia, in 1914, and published by that society. It will be sufficient here if I refer briefly to a paper on the "Romance of Grime's Graves," which I wrote just before the operations commenced—the results of which I am now able to bring forward here. This was published in our *Journal*, N.S., Vol. XX, pp. 37 ff.

As stated there, the finds made by Canon Greenwell from the pit he excavated showed marked affinities with those made by General Pitt Rivers at Cissbury, in Sussex, and were classed as belonging to the Cissbury type, and all were unhesitatingly assigned to the Neolithic Age. There the matter might have ended, had it not been for the keen eye and acute judgment of Mr. Reginald A. Smith, of the British Museum, who on submitting the finds to a searching investigation found that they were markedly Palæolithic rather than Neolithic, and that while some displayed undoubted Moustierian features, others were as unmistakably Aurignacian, one of the principal of these being a cone of flint, which is the hall-mark of the Aurignac culture as known in France.

The contentions put forward by Mr. Smith are contained in a contribution made by him to the Geneva Prehistoric Congress, 1912—" *Un facies Aurignacien en Angleterre*,"—and in a long article contributed to " *Archæologia*," Vol. LXIII, "On the Date of Grime's Graves and the Cissbury Flint Mines," in which he argued strongly against the Neolithic and in favour of the Palæolithic date for the culture there displayed, and in respect to the sand which now covers the surface—Canon Greenwell reported that he dug through 13 ft. of sand before arriving at the chalk—suggested that it corresponded with the Loess of continental Europe, wind-blown during the steppe-like conditions of post-Aurignacian times.

At the same time he argued conclusively that there were no *à priori* reasons against supposing that "Cave-man" may have extended the area of his habitat and his operations into districts where no caves were to be found. In mountainous and limestone regions caves naturally abound, and as naturally he made use of them; in regions like East Anglia where the contour is comparatively flat and

in the nature of a plain he would have to do without the shelter which caves afford.

To set the questions raised as far as possible at rest, excavations were undertaken in March-April, 1914, by a Committee of the Prehistoric Society of East Anglia, of which I had the honour of being a member, under the able management of Dr. A. E. Peake, whose discoveries as Peppard, Oxon, are so well known, and the Report issued by them upon the results of the operations is now in the hands of the public. It is a model of careful and judicious workmanship, and to it I would refer any who wish to know what was actually accomplished.

Here time will only allow of my giving a brief summary, premising that I spent a day on the spot, and saw the work progressing at Pit 1, which had been by then excavated down to the galleries. I saw five red-deer antler picks—slain and shed—taken out of one of the galleries almost at one time; and I was able to inspect a large number of these, together with all the flint implements found up to then, as well as the human, animal and plant remains discovered.

Dr. Peake excavated two pits besides cutting numerous sections called floors, in various directions. Pit 1 is situated at the extreme opposite end from that excavated by Canon Greenwell, which was in the neighbourhood of the tumulus. Pit 2 is situated in the centre of the area. It was considered that by this means a more reliable estimate could be made of the general culture characteristic of the "Graves."

As regards Mr. Smith's theory that the sand through which Canon Greenwell dug before arriving at the chalk was Loess, deposited subsequently to the operations of the original miners and after they had filled up their pit, the data of Pit 1 seem to be at variance with this. Dr. Peake says: "After the removal of a foot of surface soil one point was clearly established, viz., the chalk rubble thrown out by the miners lay heaped up on the sand, and formed to a large extent the mound which encircled this pit. Consequently the mines were not buried by extensive sand storms as had been suggested." The pit bottom and the galleries were reached at a depth of 30 ft. Both in this pit and in Pit 2 layers of sand, boulder-clay and chalk of varying

thicknesses were met with successively, and these are really due to the manner in which they were filled up.

The human remains found in the course of the excavation were only those of two individuals: (1) The calvaria of a man's skull, which I handled and examined myself, from Pit 1; and (2) parts of the skeleton of a child—probably a girl, aged about 13, of a peculiarly slender conformation of body. These consisted of (*a*) the "body" or tooth-bearing part of the lower jaw; (*b*) the shafts of the right and left thigh-bones; (*c*) or of the right and left tibiæ; (*d*) part of the shaft of the right fibula; (*e*) some bones of the toes of the left foot; (*f*) parts of the right and left collar-bones; (*g*) the shafts of the right and left humeri; (*h*) parts of the left ulna and left radius; (*i*) the metacarpal bone of the second finger of the left hand, and fragments of the vertebræ, ribs and base of the skull, so that it was possible to build up the skeleton fairly completely.

Of (1) Dr. Keith says: "In form, type and physical characters the Grime's Graves specimens agree with those from Cissbury. . . . So far as the cranial characters are concerned, they may be assigned to either a late Paleolithic, or to the Neolithic, or even a later time."

Of (2) he says: "In lowness of stature and slenderness of build the skeleton of the girl found at Grime's Graves resembles the adult skeletons found at Cissbury," but as regards the mandible he remarks: "I was surprised when I began to make observations on the matter, how often one saw amongst young women and girls in a modern English population the same shallow mandible and proclivous incisor teeth as I noted in the Grime's Graves mandible."

This evidence is therefore, as far as it goes, inconclusive.

The fauna, comprising the horse, ox, sheep, dog, red-deer (whose antlers were found so useful by the miners), beaver, mole, rabbit, various species of bats and mice, correspond with those characteristic of a steppe period. The flora, as disclosed by the charcoals, consisted of oak, beech and pine in about equal quantities. This would be consistent with either date. The shells are mostly of existing species.

A certain amount of pottery was found in the

excavations. In Pit 1 fragments of a bowl and other vessels, and some worked chalk; in Pit 2 fragments of a vessel with double cord impression, and on Floor 4 a chalk lamp. Other fragments of large vessels, one with finger-nail pattern, were also met with—(also bone skewers and pins, and a fragment with transverse cuts).

It is not easy to suggest a date, but the known Neolithic, Bronze Age, and later wares of Britain have quite other characteristics. The occurrence of pottery in late Palæolithic deposits has long been a subject of discussion—scepticism on this point must be expected, and is correct, but results can be cited on both sides. M. Rutot tells us that no less than 12 caverns in Belgium have yielded pottery, and Dr. Sturge found some in connection with an alleged Aurignac industry near Ipswich. The *Campigny* pottery is certainly not man's earliest essay in the art, and unless the invention was made and considerable skill attained in the mythical *hiatus*, when *ex hypothesi* man was not living in this part of the world, the conclusion is irresistible that pottery was a far earlier achievement of the human race and, therefore, Palæolithic. This is the opinion of Mr. R. A. Smith.

We now come to the flint implements, of which I proceed to furnish illustrations, and I will ask you to compare them with examples of undoubted Moustierian and Aurignacian date from the Continent.

(1.) This illustration gives a good general idea of Pit 2; I have chosen it as giving a better view than any of Pit 1, but the method of work and the galleries are alike. The top view shows the shaft and its surroundings. The tripod is over the middle of the shaft. The middle view shows the shaft from the surface-entrance to galleries 3 and 5 under the ladder, gallery 2 on left, 1 in centre, 4 on right, and colonnade gallery 10 on extreme right. The bottom view—entrance on left leads to colonnade gallery 10 and beyond into gallery 7. The buttress between the two openings has fallen away. A step is seen between the floor of the shaft and that of gallery 10.



Fig. 1.—Pit 2: (Top) The Shaft and its surroundings; (Middle) View of Shaft from Surface; (Bottom) Described in Text.

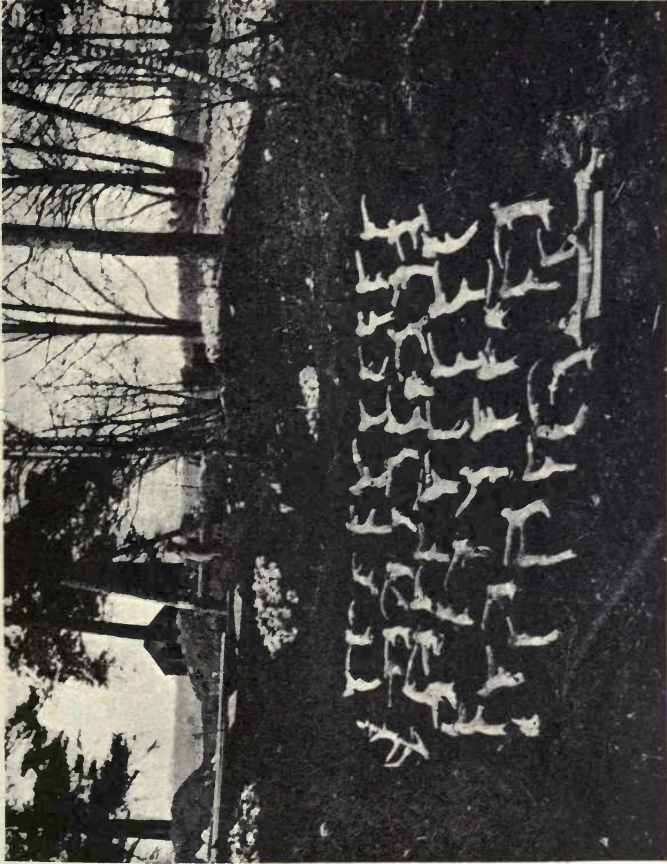


Fig. 2.—Surroundings of Pit 1, with Antler Picks.

(2.) This view shows the surroundings of Pit 1, with the workmen's hut, and a collection of antler picks.

The remaining figures show a selection of flint implements found at the Graves, compared with typical Moustierian and Aurignacian implements from other sites, from which a judgment as to the Grime's Graves culture may be deduced. In my remarks my statements are based on those made by Mr. R. A. Smith as contained in the Report: "The yield of flints," says Mr. Smith, "is abundant, and the types to a large extent unfamiliar, but now that the Grime's Graves culture is fully represented, a final solution of the problem is in sight." I have chosen a few of the most typical to illustrate this Paper. Before passing on we may note, as Mr. Smith does, that "the mining and knapping of flint still go on at Brandon, and one is tempted to imagine an unbroken tradition in the neighbourhood of Grime's Graves." Though the prehistoric and modern knapper might well produce some identical forms, it is none the less true that at different periods there have been different methods of chipping flint, and the resulting products are easily distinguishable. "One of the great achievements of recent cave-exploration in France and Spain is to have proved that even in late Palæolithic times there were continual changes of fashion," and "it would be contrary to all experience to find several types associated at one horizon, and yet occurring together unchanged at another known to be of a different date."

(3.) My first specimen is from Pit 1, and was "one of the sensational finds." It may best be described as a "celt," and it corresponds in all essential points with many unpolished specimens "*assigned*" to the Neolithic period. Several other specimens were found, and the type may be regarded as fixed. If the outline alone is considered, a family likeness to the "point" of Le Moustier will be apparent, and a comparison of it with other specimens from Taplow, Mildenhall, and elsewhere, and with two good specimens in the British Museum from Le Moustier Cavern, Dordogne (which I have done), shows that, other circumstances not forbidding it, it is to this culture it must in fact be assigned. In Dr. Sturge's wonderful collection

there is a black specimen also from Le Moustier, which serves to connect the "point" of that culture with our specimen, and the type is referred by Prof. Commont to *early Le Moustier*.

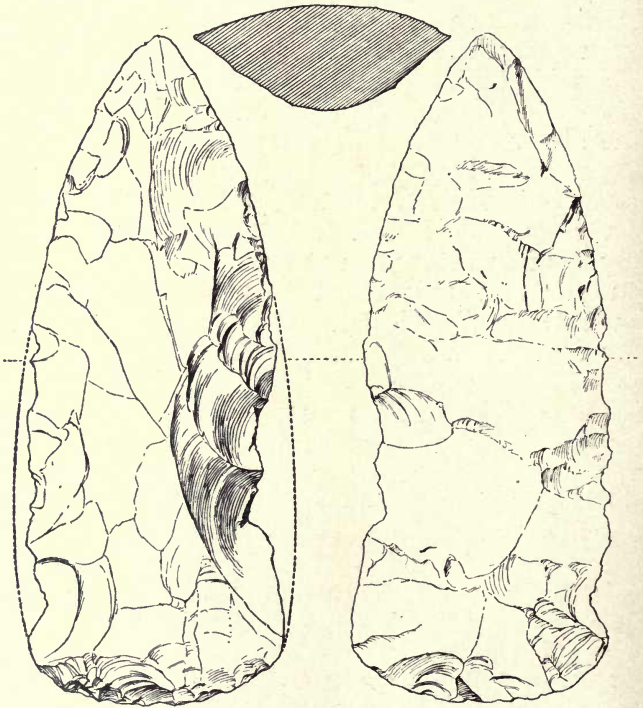


Fig. 3.—Celt-like Implement, both Faces and Section ($\frac{3}{8}$) B.M.

(4.) This was one of the many surprises at Grime's Graves. It comes from Pit 2, in layer 5, at a depth of 20 ft., and is a large lump of black and grey flint, 6.5 in. by 6.1 in. by 4.6 in., exactly corresponding to an unstruck "tortoise-core" from the Coombe-rock at Northfleet, Kent. The type has been recognized independently on the Thames and the Somme, and assigned on abundant evidence to the period of Le Moustier (*Levallois facies*).

(5.) This shows a "tortoise-core" from Northfleet, Kent, with the flake implement removed from the flatter face, and is given for purpose of comparison.

Space will not allow me to describe the method of flaking, which, however, can be easily discovered in any of the books dealing with the subject. In regard to this,

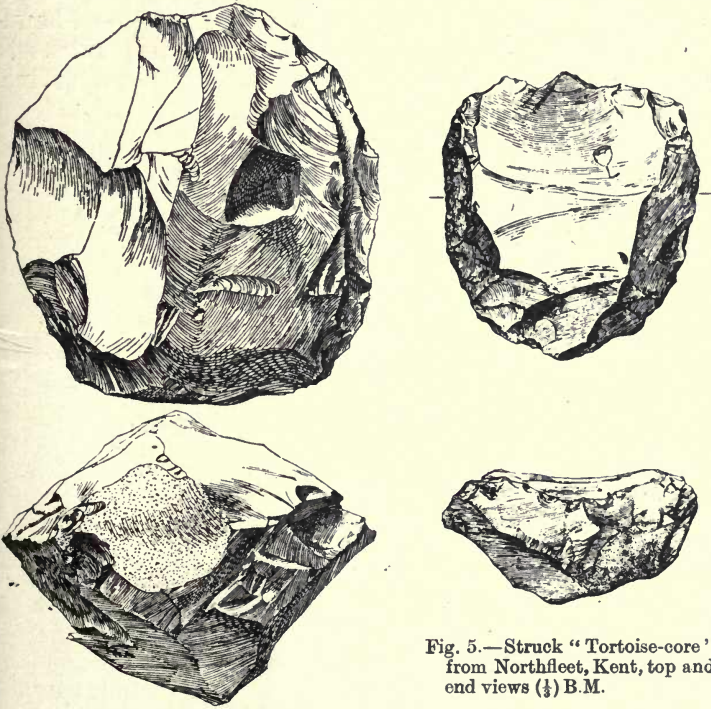


Fig. 4.—Unstruck "Tortoise-core," top and end views ($\frac{1}{3}$) B.M.

Fig. 5.—Struck "Tortoise-core" from Northfleet, Kent, top and end views ($\frac{1}{3}$) B.M.

Mr. Smith says: "It is open to anyone to maintain that a method that commended itself to Le Moustier man might have been adopted or re-invented at any date in the Stone Age, but the fact remains that this type is not ubiquitous; it is in the nature of a novelty, and practically confined to a horizon that can be dated much more accurately than is generally the case with valley deposits."

(6.) This is an implement from one of the floors (3c). It resembles in shape the thinner portion of a pear cut longitudinally, but not through the centre.

It has a cutting edge all round, but the back is quite plain and flat, with a darker patina than the convex front. The broad end might have been used as a scraper, but such a use would not account for the edge all round, and it seems the wisest course to consider it as a one-faced hand-axe, the use of which most archæologists are content to leave a mystery. There is said to be a limit to the survival



Fig. 6.—Implement with One Flat Face ($\frac{2}{3}$) B.M.

of the hand-axe in the Cave period, and one-faced implements would, in the absence of contradictory evidence, be most naturally assigned to the period of Le Moustier.

(7.) This is an example of a "disc," which, as Mr. Smith says, except for its bluish-white patina, would rank with the large series of late St. Acheul date, from the gravels of East Anglia. It is fairly well flaked on both faces, and uniformly thin, the edge being zigzag all round. This type is well represented, and no doubt to some extent took the place of the hand-axe, but the latter did not

finally disappear till the end of the Aurignac period. It was found 12 ft. from the surface in layer 5, Pit 1.

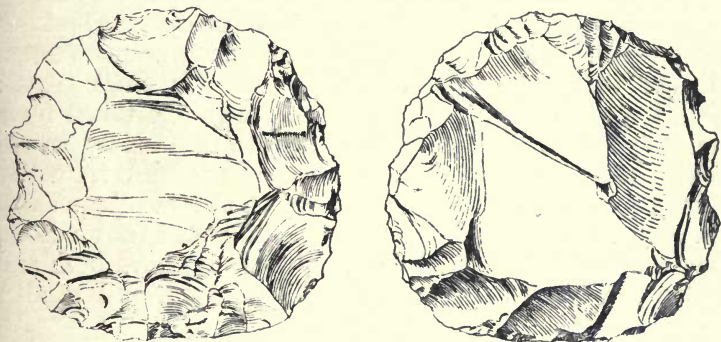


Fig. 7.—Disc, front and back views ($\frac{1}{2}$) B.M.

(7A.) This is a “disc” of precisely similar form from Mortillet’s “*Le Préhistoire*,” and of these Mortillet says, “qu’ils appartiennent seulement à deux époques : l’Acheuléen et le Moustérien.” And Prof. Obermaier, in *Der Mensch der Vorzeit*, speaking of the later Acheulean period,



Fig. 7A.—Disc, front view, from Mortillet’s *Le Préhistoire*.

says : “Auch sorgfältige Ovaltypen und der seine Diskus fehlen nicht” (*op. cit.*, p. 125). One, which is the exact counterpart of our specimen, from Abbeville, is shown on p. 126, *op. cit.*, 1913.

We now come to a selection of implements to which a date in the Aurignac period may be most naturally assigned.

(8.) Canon Greenwell, as has been stated, found a "cone" of flint—now in the British Museum—in the pit he excavated. This, and the next figure, show two more found in the 1914 excavations. Of this one Mr. Smith says: "A large coarsely flaked cone that might be taken for a nucleus but is marked out as complete in itself by an old black surface at one side, and a spur resulting from two notches on the edge of the base. Both these distinguishing marks might be dismissed as accidental in one or two cases, but many of the Grime's Graves specimens have both and some have one or the other. The French call smaller

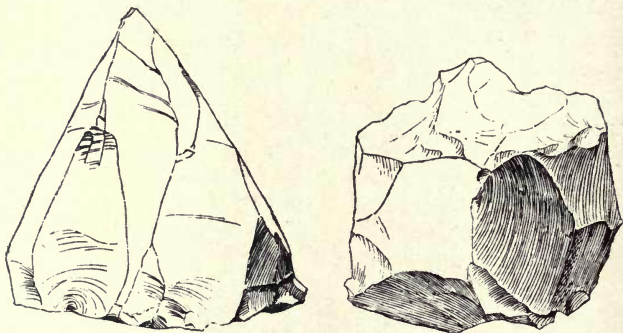


Fig. 8.—Cone with Spur, side and top views ($\frac{1}{2}$) B.M.

specimens from Cave deposits of the Aurignac period *Grattoirs tarté*, and repeated cases of secondary work on the lower edge support the view that they were indeed used as steep-faced planes; but the addition of a spur in the centre of the trimmed edge may be a local peculiarity, though the *Grattoir museau*, or nosed scraper, is also a common Aurignac form. This specimen is bluish on the chipped portion of the cone and has a fairly flat base, of the old black surface. By modern standards it would not be an effective implement for scraping, but represents a whole series from the Graves, and may well have served the same purpose as the Aurignac cone. The resemblance in form is for the present more important than the method of using the implement."

(9.) This is a beautiful specimen from floor 3C. “Many of the cones from Grime’s Graves, be they merely cores or finished implements, are large and rough, but this specimen is beautifully patinated, smooth to the touch, fluted with some regularity and of dimensions that emphasize its resemblance to a classical type of the cave period. The plan is oval, the base trimmed but still uneven, and the conical part fluted all round, except for a small patch of crust, the apex being as usual not quite central. The patina is creamy white, with a tinge of blue in places, and the finest work is round the edge, which runs in an even line. It is at the outset improbable that such care would

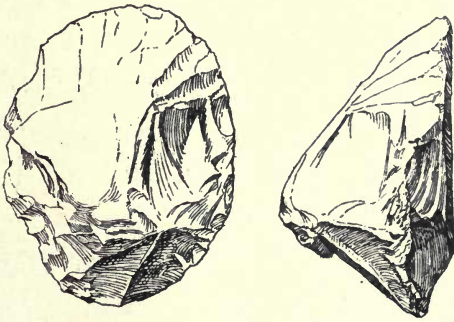


Fig. 9.—Fluted Cone, top and side views (¾) B.M.

be lavished on a nucleus that was merely refuse. If then this specimen is a conical implement, parallels should be forthcoming, and anyone familiar with the cave industries will at once recognize it as a *grattoir tarté*, so called from a cave of the Aurignac period in the Haute Garonne where they were common.” As their use is somewhat uncertain it is proposed to retain for them the non-committal term of “flint-cone.”

(10.) This is undoubtedly the best specimen of the prismatic type from the site. The under face is a plain and perfectly level fracture; the sides, tapering to the point but parallel towards the butt, are trimmed to save the fingers in use, by blunting the edges, and the point itself is fairly steep and more or less fluted. A surface

specimen in Mr. Fox's collection was exhibited at Geneva in 1912 and accepted by two of the leading specialists as an Aurignac type. It is represented in the Loess of Krems on the Danube, and a developed form is classed as mid-Aurignacian. (Geneva Cong., I, 173, Fig. 6, No. 6.) (Cf. Figs. 16 and 17, pp. 111, 112.)

(11.) This specimen, from floor 6, is as fine an example of the peculiar Aurignac style as one could expect, and could be easily matched from the French caves, but that such work is not confined to France is shown by the well-known series from the Loess of Krems. It consists of a round-headed scraper with steep fluting and considerable

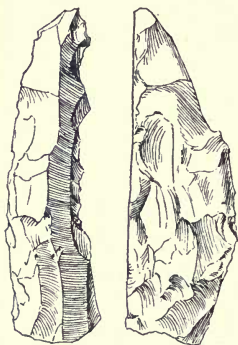


Fig. 10.—Prismatic Tool, top and side views ($\frac{2}{3}$) B.M.

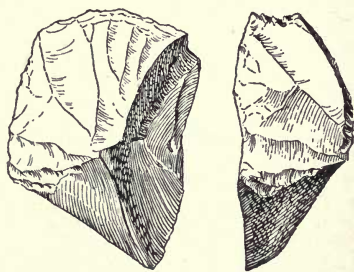


Fig. 11.—Fluted End-Scraper, top and side views ($\frac{2}{3}$) B.M.

undercutting (due to prolonged use or repeated sharpening), the butt being on the slope, and terminating on one edge in a point. The side edges are really parallel, hence it must rank as a blade-scraper, but the face is regularly domed and is exceptionally thick at the centre. It is white all over, except for a patch of buff crust at the side of the head.

From "Archæologia," Vol. LXIII.

Canon Greenwell's finds, compared with the corresponding ones from the French caves:—

(12.) A boldly-flaked tool of segmental plan. The plan a segment of a circle, the faces nearly flat, one flaked,

the other a plain fracture with a large bulb of percussion, which interrupts the cutting edge. Another has a patch of

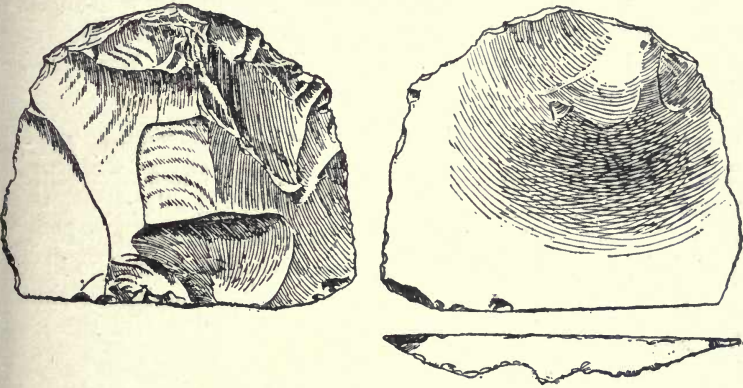


Fig. 12.—Segmental Tool (Tea-cosy), front and back views and section.
(Grime's Graves, Canon Greenwell)

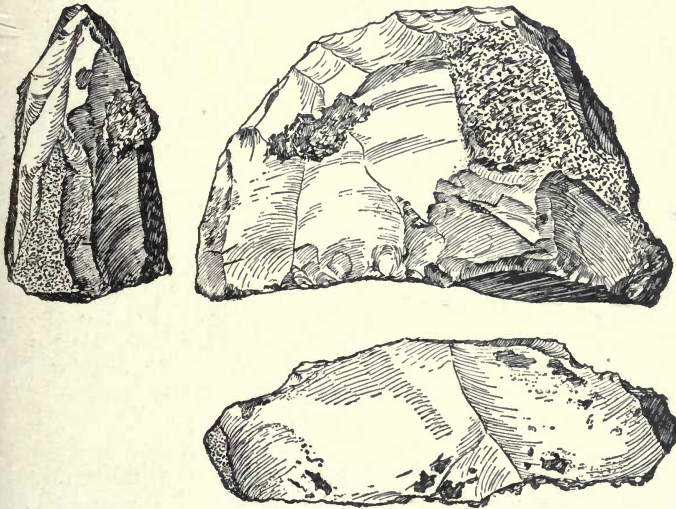


Fig. 13.—Segmental Tool (Tea-cosy), side and front views and section.
(From Les Eyzies.)

crust on the base, a proof that the implement has not been broken across, but is, like many others of the type, complete. Of a similar one, Grime's Graves, *Report*, Fig. 32, from Pit 2,

Layer 3 (the black band), Mr. Smith says : "Segmental tool (or 'tea-cosy') with one flat face which is blue-black ; some crust on the blue-white front. The rounded cutting-edge is good with secondary work, and like most well-made segmentals stands upright on a level base. Dr. Sturge has a black specimen from *Le Moustier*." With this specimen compare—

(13.) This is an example of the "tea-cosy" type from Les Eyzies (Dordogne). It is clear from these and other parallels that MM. Lartet and Christy found a level earlier than that supposed to mark the transition from Solutré to La Madeleine. It has breccia still attached to it, the flint being somewhat yellow, and is a further indication that Aurignac man was using exactly the same tools in France and England.



Fig. 14.—Carinated Scraper, front and top views. (Grime's Graves, Canon Greenwell.)



Fig. 15.—Carinated Scraper or Cone, side and top views. (Les Eyzies.)

(14.) A peculiar, but typical specimen, which may be termed a humped or carinated scraper or plane. The top view shows a slight compression in the middle of the side, which is no doubt intentional, and makes the resemblance to certain planes of the Aurignac period all the more striking. We compare with it the following example (Fig. 15), which is in the British Museum. It was

found by MM. Lartet and Christy at Les Eyzies, a cave-deposit generally assigned to the transition from Solutré to La Madeleine, but from the evidence of other finds it is clear that an earlier deposit was also excavated, and from the parallels at Cissbury and Grime's Graves, it may be assigned with little hesitation to the Aurignac stage.

An example from Cissbury :—

(16.) A good example of steep fluting in the Aurignac manner. A plane with the under surface flat, the thick

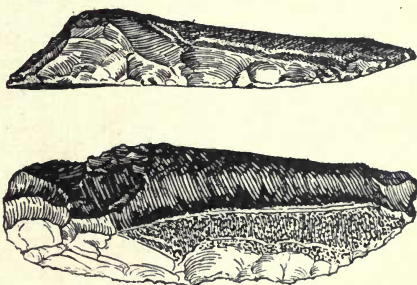


Fig. 16.—Steep-fluted Plane, side and top views. (Cissbury.)

end rounded, and one side trimmed from end to end. This form of plane may be compared with—

(17.) A double scraper, with side view, from Les Eyzies. (Cf. with Fig. 10.)

The results of a close examination of the flints may be presented in the form of alternative hypotheses :—

(1.) We may regard the Graves as a Neolithic site, in harmony with the usual interpretation of the evidence from bones, skulls and pottery. But in that case it will be increasingly difficult to distinguish the products of the Old and New Stone Ages in time to come.

(2.) The site was first occupied in Le Moustier-Aurignac times, but was disturbed by Neolithic man when he began to mine for raw material. But some of the "floors" are of the earlier date, and whence did Palæolithic man get his material if not from mines ?

(3.) Granted the resemblance or identity of specimens from the Grime's Graves and Le Moustier sites, what French or Belgian cave yields anything like the complete series of the Graves or Cissbury?

(4.) It has been thought in responsible quarters that this culture is simply a recrudescence in Neolithic times of cave-period types after what must be an enormous interval. But in that case by all the rules of typology the Grime's Graves series should contain more of La Madeleine than Solutré, less of Aurignac and a minimum of Le Moustier. The exact converse is the case. It is difficult to imagine an industry less like La Madeleine. Where are the shouldered blades and the beautiful *feuilles de laurier*,

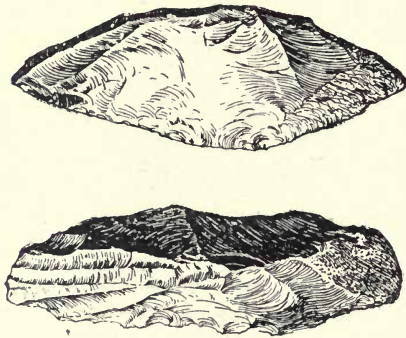


Fig. 17.—Double Scraper, side and top views. (Les Eyzies.)

laurel-leaf points, of Solutré, the long sharp blades of La Madeleine or the pygmies of Tardenois?

(5.) A fifth alternative, to which we have been leading up in all that foregoes, is to regard the culture of Grime's Graves as homogeneous and contemporary, the evidence of the flints being strongly in favour of a date between Le Moustier and Aurignac.

I close, therefore, by saying in words borrowed from Mr. Smith: If the specimens found at Grime's Graves and at Cissbury and other similar cultural localities are to be assigned to the Neolithic period, then all the painstaking differentiation of Palæolithic types from the Neolithic and from each other due to the careful work of the explorers

of the French and Belgian caves—all the time and energy spent on classifying by horizons the industries there displayed—have been practically wasted.

Is this a possible or a likely conclusion ?

Since the foregoing paper was written, and read before the British Association at Manchester in 1915 and before the British Archæological Association in London in 1916, Mr. W. G. Clarke, the learned Secretary of the Prehistoric Society of East Anglia, has read a Paper before the latter Society entitled “ Are Grime’s Graves Neolithic ? ” which is to be published in the forthcoming part of the “ Proceedings ” of the Prehistoric Society of East Anglia, and which I have had the privilege of seeing in proof as I had not the opportunity of hearing it read.

In this paper Mr. Clarke boldly reverts to the theory of the Neolithic origin of the flint-mines ; his arguments are entirely based on the supposed data of the fauna and flora connected with them, and those of the few sherds of pottery found in them, while he rejects the evidence of the flint implements. No doubt the problem is a very puzzling one ; it resolves itself into the question as to which series of finds we shall assign the greater importance, and must to a certain extent be considered as still *sub judice*, in the hope that some further data may be yet discovered which shall set the matter at rest.

In the meanwhile the reader must judge for himself, and endeavour to set one series of phenomena over against the other in an impartial manner. In my paper, following the lead of Mr. R. A. Smith and with the hearty approval of Dr. Peake, who did most of the exploration work, I have shown the Moustierian and Aurignacian affinities of the flints, more especially the *cones* and *discs* which are unknown elsewhere in Neolithic finds, and I have shown that the fauna and flora and even the pottery are not inconsistent with an earlier date than the Neolithic ; the question must be argued out between the Geologists and Palæontologists on the one side and the Prehistoric Archæologists on the other, bearing in mind that there are plenty of undoubted Palæolithic deposits in the near neighbourhood.

In closing, I hereby gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness to the Prehistoric Society of East Anglia for kindly allowing me to reproduce Figs. 1 to 11 from their "Report of the Grime's Graves Excavations"; and to the Society of Antiquaries for Figs. 12 to 17, from Mr. R. A. Smith's paper in "Archæologia," Vol. LXIII. Fig. 7A is from Mortillet's "Le Préhistoire."





THE MUNDUS.

By S. RUSSELL FORBES, Ph.D.



THE Mundus was a circular ritualistic pit on the Comitium of the Forum (Plutarch, Rom. II.), sacred to the Deities of the nether world, which was opened three times in the year, August 24th, October 5th, November 8th, to enable the shades of the departed to pass from the lower to the upper world. It was the mouth of Hell, and at all other times kept closed with a stone called the Lapis Manalis, from *Manes*, the spirits; the opening was concave, like the firmament, the universe above us, not a well or pit artificially sunken, but an orifice formed by nature. The three days on which it was opened were so sacred that no military or civil functions whatever were performed, for it was consecrated to the Gods of the Shades.

Plutarch, in describing the ceremonies observed in founding the city of Roma Quadrata on the Palatine hill, makes a mistake and describes similar functions performed when the second city was formed by the union of the Palatine and Capitoline hills (Dionysius, 2. 66); and he perpetrates another blunder in asserting that the foundation (*fossa*) or cavity was called the Mundus. They were distinct places and have nothing in common. The infernal deities were not invoked at the foundation of a city; all was then bright and joyous.

From rather obscure passages in late writers, quotations from earlier authors, some idea may be gathered of what the Mundus was.

“The Mundus, as Capito Ateius (A.D. 22) says in the sixth book of the Pontificals, was wont to open thrice in the year, with these days: the day after the

Volcanalia (*That is, it was opened on August 24th*) and the sixth day before the Ides of November. (*That is, it was opened on the 8th of November. He omits to give the third day, which is supplied by Paulus, below.*) So how he may tell why, Cato (234–149 B.C.) refers thus in the Commentaries on Civil law.”

“The name Mundus is imposed from (*Mundo*) that universe which is above us. For the form of it is similar to that (*as*) I have been able to know from those who have entered, even as consecrated to the Gods of the Shades: the lower part of it (*is*) closed at all times, except on those days which are written above, for that cause (*our*) ancestors considered those days also religious, because they judged that (*at*) that time that which might be secret and hidden of the religion of the Gods of the Shades, even then might be opened and might be brought into the light. They have willed at this time (*to*) have transacted nothing in public affairs. Therefore for those days no battle was maintained with a foe; no army was enrolled; no meetings were had, not anything else was administered in public affairs except that the last necessity did advise.” (Festus, A.D. 310.) Thus we learn that the opening was circular, that it derived its name from the firmament above; the world is convex, the sky is concave, so the Mundus was a basin in form. The floor of the Pantheon is convex, representing the world, the dome is concave, representing the heaven above, for it was the temple of all the deities. American Indians consider their circular mud huts, 40 ft. in diameter, to represent the world, the dome roof heaven, and the poles which support it the stars.

Paulus the deacon (743), commenting on Festus, says:—

“The people did think to open the Mundus thrice in the year with these days: the day after the Volcanalia (*which was on August 23rd, so it was opened on the 24th*), and the third day before the Nones of October (*the Nones were on the 7th, so the third day before the Nones would be the 5th*), and the sixth day before the Ides of November (*the Ides were on the 13th, so the sixth day before the Ides would be the 8th*), for judging the lower

part of it consecrated to the Gods of the Shades closed at all times, except those days which are written above. Also for that cause they judged those days might be religious, because that with these days, the religion of the Gods of the Shades, which (*is*) sacred and hidden, might be brought into light, they have willed at this time (*to*) have transacted nothing in public affairs. Therefore for those days no battle was engaged with a foe; no army was enrolled; no assemblies were had, nothing would have proceeded in public affairs, not anything was administered except that of the last necessity."

In this quotation we are informed as to the three dates on which the Mundus was opened, but not a word as to its site; it was buried in their time, so these late writers never saw it. Pliny, 15. 20, says: "It was removed by order of the deified Julius Cæsar when he gave the last spectacle of gladiatorial combats in the Forum." That was in 46 B.C. It is to be noted that in the Calendars that have come down to us these three are not Dies nefaste, nor religiosi, but comitiales, on which meeting could be held, and the courts opened; they are marked D. C., and August 24th was the festival of the moon.

"Neither open thou the Mundus because it is declared sacred to Father Dis and Proserpina; also they considered (*it*) better the passage of Pluto to go closed at a battle, and of which Varro so writes (116-28 B.C.).

"When the Mundus is open, as though the gate of the Sad deities, and those of the infernal is open, therefore it is a matter of religion, now no battle be engaged, but that they have had (*no*) levy for the purpose of an affair military, and the army (*not*) to proceed, (*nor*) the navy to sail, (*no one*) to take a wife (*for*) the purpose of procuring children." (Microbius, *Sat.* I. 16, A.D. 400.)

Dis, Pluto, Orcus, Hades and the Etruscan Eita were all one; Proserpina, Persephone and the Etruscan Phersepnia are likewise one, they were the rulers of the lower world. The title Pluto seems not to be older than the first part of the fifth century B.C., and is Attic.

The Mundus in the Forum Romanum dates from the middle of the fifth century. The orifice, caused by a

phenomenon, was closed with a stone called the Stone of the Shades, and considered as the entrance to Hell. "They thought the Lapis Manalis to be the mouth of Orcus, by which the souls, which are called the shades (*manes*), might pass from the lower to the upper" (*world*). (Festus.)

This is the origin of the Roman purgatory.

Plutarch's statement that the Mundus was on the Comitium—he is the only author who mentions its site—was proved to be true on April 15th, 1904, the festival of the Fordicidia, for the increase of cattle and abundance of the crops, when it was discovered by Professor Boni, who unwittingly reopened it on the wrong day, and then covered it with asphalt. The phenomenon which caused the opening is recorded by Varro (L. L. 5. 150) as having occurred in A. U. C. 310 = 443 B.C.

"C(*ornelius*) Ælius and Q. Lutatius write, of that place to be (*was*) struck with lightning, and to be (*was*) enclosed by a decree of the Senate; and that to be (*was*) done by the consul (*Caius*) Curtius, to whom Marcus Genucius has been (*was*) colleague, it is called the Curtian" (*altar*). Livy, 4. 1, gives the date of the two consuls. Cornelius Ælius Stilo and Q. Lutatius Dalphnis were Grammarians about 100 B.C. The enclosure is like a pear in shape, the form of a meteorolite in falling, trapezoidal, 34 ft. long, 29 ft. wide at the top, and 14 ft. wide at the bottom, pointing a little to the east by south. The platform is built with tufa stone, having a curb of peperino supporting travertine stone, 6 ft. inside the south end, is a dodecagon-shaped enclosure, a puteal, like a well-head or curb, 10 ft. in diameter with a curb of tufa stone. This was the Mundus, within it is an opening 3 ft. square, where the meteorolite fell, this was the "lower part (*closed with the Lapis Manalis*), consecrated to the Gods of the Shades," the entrance into Hades.

Henceforth this part of the Forum Romanum has been associated with the nether world. Near by, in 336 B.C., Marcus Quintus Curtius leaped into the yawning gulph. (Livy, 7. 6.)

“A. Procilius (70 B.C.) relates, the earth opened in that place, and by a decree of the Senate report to the soothsayers, they answered, the God of the Shades required a forgotten sacrifice, that is, the strongest citizen to be cast in that place.” (Varro, L. L. 5, 148.)

On September 23rd “all ranks (of people) threw a coin into the basin of Curtius every year in fulfilment of a vow for his (Augustus) health.” (Suetonius, August. 57.)

On January 10th A.D. 69, “Galba is killed at the basin of Curtius, and even so was abandoned.” (Suetonius, Galba, 20.)

Passing onwards occurs the great earthquake of 192, after which the Forum was extensively restored, and the open area repaved under the Emperor Philippus. Of this we have record in the inscription on the pavement between the column of Phocas and the reliefs of Marcus Aurelius. To read it face east.

L. NÆVIVS. AQVILINVS. H.M. N.V.S.P.Q.R.¹

Found 1872. Part missing. Uncovered 1903.

L. Nævius Aquilinus was consul in 249, and this monument (H.M.) was dedicated to the deities (NV. Numini) by the Roman Senate and People. Then the Puteal altar of the Mundus was covered over, but its memory was not forgotten, and the Christian Church till 1900 perpetuated Hell in the Forum.

In the *Mirabilia* of the twelfth century we read: “Near that house (*Cannapara*, evidently the *Basilica Julia*) was the palace of Cataline (*this should read Caligula*), where was the church of St. Antony (*afterwards St. Maria Antica*), nigh where is the place that is called Hell, because that in ancient times it burst forth there” . . .

“There is the temple of Vesta, where it is said a dragon croucheth below, as we read in the life of St. Silvester.” (27.) The *Graphia* of the thirteenth century repeats the story. (31.)

“St. Silvester bound the dragon, that had slain of Romans more than can be told, in the end of the Greater Palace (the Palace of Caligula), where is now the church of St. Mary of Hell.” (*Mirabiliana*.) In the *Acta St.*

¹ I believe this inscription has never been published.

Silvester (22) he is said to have descended by 152 steps into the pit; evidently the "Scalas Anularias" of Suetonius (Aug. 72), "by which the Via Nova (on the Palatine) is now joined to the Forum Romanum." (Ovid, F. 6, 396.)

St. Antonio then became St. Maria de inferno. The Anonimo di Torino, fourteenth century, says: "St. Maria de inferno has no service." It had evidently been ruined by an earthquake and abandoned. In the Vienna Codex, 1008, of the seventh century it is mentioned as St. Maria antiqua. The Anonymus Magliabecchianus, early fifteenth century, says: "There joined with the arch (the Fornix Fabius) has been the Temple of Minerva and the infernal place." The waiting hall behind the Atrium Caius, the entrance to the Imperial Palaces, was dedicated to Minerva, but it was not a temple; it had been restored by Domitian (Codex Vindobon, 3416), and in the time of Justinian it was turned into a church. After its ruin and burial, it became in 1550 the property of the Oblates di Tor de 'Specchi, who converted the upper level, above the church, into a garden, and erected in front of the north side of the Atrium Caius—mentioned in the fourth century *Curiosum* and *Notitia*, eighth Regio, as *Atrium Caci* (Caius is the proper name of Caligula)—the church of St. Maria libera nos a poenis inferni, commonly called St. Maria Liberatrice. This was pulled down in 1900; and a new church was erected in the Testaccio quarter to St. Mary, who delivers us from the penalties of Hell.

Homer, Virgil and Dante, the great authorities on the abode of the Shades, all make the entrance from Vallies, and so amongst the Romans Hell was entered from the valley of the Forum. Sudias says: "That place in which they erected an altar is called *Libernum*." (? *Libernas*, freeing you.)

If Professor Boni penetrates to the bottom of the bog he will doubtless find the meteorolite, the true Mundus, the world that fell from on high.

"That Curtian basin, which sustains the altars dry,
Is now solid earth, but once it was a bog."

OVID, F. 6, 403.

[To the interesting and important communications of Dr. Russell Forbes we may add the following Note on the discovery of recent Roman antiquities, the results of the persevering work of Professor Boni] :—

Commendatore Boni, who, by his excavations in Rome has earned well of the archæologists, has now made a further discovery, which takes us back to very early times. By assiduous labour on the Palatine he has dug deep into all that remains of the most ancient Rome—the Rome referred to by the Latin annalists, full of antique legends of a more or less mythical type. Various allusions have been made by the historians, especially by Cato, Varro, and Plutarch, to some early objects of reverence supposed to be associated with Romulus, especially the mysterious Mundus, which was by certain authorities held to be an opening into the infernal regions. Naturally, these primitive remains have only been found after a great deal of work on the relics of Imperial times. Commendatore Boni has, as it were, pierced through the residences which were built on the Palatine by the Emperors, and got down to the earlier Republican dwellings, retracing the domestic life of the city back to the first huts of the wild companions of Romulus. Doubtless, when he deals with such vague and mysterious symbols as those connected with the so-called Mundus, the lapis manalis, and the sulcus primigenius, the exact value of his discoveries may lead to a good deal of controversy. As in the case, however, of other excavations connected with the name of this indefatigable explorer, much interesting light is thrown on difficult passages of the early historians, and we get a curious confirmation of legends which have often been dismissed as mere efforts of mythological imagination. That would seem to be especially the case with regard to Professor Boni's latest finds on the Palatine hill.

Let us remind ourselves of the old story of the foundation of Rome. Virgil tells us of the son of Æneas called Iulus, from whom descended a succession of kings at Alba Longa, ending with two brothers Numitor and Amulius. The latter of these, who was the younger deprived Numitor of his kingdom, caused his only son to be murdered, and made his daughter Rhea Silvia one of the Vestal Virgins. Thanks to the compromising interference of the god of war, Mars himself, Silvia became a mother of twins, and because she had been guilty of the worst sin which a Vestal Virgin could commit, she was doomed to a death from which she was saved by her god-lover. The two babes, whom now we may call Romulus and Remus, were placed in a trough and cast into the Tiber. The stream carried the trough, or cradle, to the marshes where Rome afterwards stood, under the wild fig-tree, which was still held holy in later times. There, at the foot of the Palatine, the babes were suckled by a

she-wolf, and, when they wanted other food, a woodpecker, a bird sacred to Mars, brought it to them. Then the wife of the shepherd Faustulus took the children into her own charge, and as they grew to man's stature they became leaders of a warlike band of shepherds, and in due course were recognised by their grandfather, whom they restored to his throne, slaying the usurper Amulius. They now proposed to found a settlement on the site where they had been nurtured. Romulus wished to build the city on the Palatine, Remus on the Aventine, and it was agreed that the question should be decided by augury, each taking his station on the top of his chosen hill. The night passed away, and as day was dawning Remus saw six vultures; but at sunrise, when these tidings were brought to Romulus, twelve vultures flew by him. Naturally, each claimed the augury in his own favour, but the verdict of the shepherds was for Romulus, who duly proceeded to mark out the bounds of his future stronghold. He yoked a bullock and a heifer to a plough and drew a deep furrow (*sulcus primigenius*) round the foot of the Palatine, so as to include a considerable compass below the hill. Somewhere in the centre a vault was built under ground, to be filled with the first fruits of all the natural products which support human life. When Romulus began to raise a wall on the lines of his boundary, Remus, who still resented the wrong he had suffered, leapt over it with scorn, whereupon Romulus slew his brother, saying, "So die whosoever hereafter shall leap over my walls."

Such is the legend as it is told in early Roman tradition, a picturesque narrative full of antique associations, which archæologists have explained in their customary fashion as connected with early religious observances. The remains of the trench still exist and, according to the latest report from Rome, Commendatore Boni has actually discovered in the centre of the Palatine that which was known as the Mundus. There seems no doubt that the earliest settlement bearing the name of Rome was on the Palatine hill, and the name Roma itself is said to mean "river," although other explanations have been offered. Now, the Palatine is, roughly, square in outline; hence we get the phrase *Roma Quadrata*, not probably a description of the earliest settlement, but doubtless applied to a sanctuary. At all events, this *Roma Quadrata* contained the Mundus, a mysterious pit into which earth fruits were thrown, as well as—possibly—the instruments used in founding the city. Over it was a rough-hewn stone of tufa (*lapis manalis*) and terrible shades guarded the sacred spot connected with the most ancient mysteries of the Roman race. And so this Mundus, which was probably originally only a pit, by later associations was transformed into the portals of the infernal regions. Only three times

in the year (in August, October, and November) on days sacred to the gods of the lower world, was the pit opened, when all sorts of gifts were thrown into it as offerings to the dread deities. Commendatore Boni is not a man to be disturbed by such antique terrors, and if his discoveries really are what they purport to be, he must be held to have thrown considerable light upon the earliest Roman city. Now that we are enabled to recover our faith in the legends of Romulus, perhaps we shall yet discover what were the real facts underlying the quarrel between the Sabines and the Romans, and what is the precise meaning of the so-called "rape" of the Sabine women. At all events, the frigid explanation of a more or less mythical Romulus has grown entirely out of fashion. For ourselves, thanks to Commendatore Boni, we are inclined to renew our allegiance to the figure of the sturdy young shepherd who drew a trench round the city that he designed to found, built a wall, punished his brother for his contumacy, and procured wives for his lawless followers by the rough-and-ready method of forcible capture—declared by most archæologists to be the original form of wedding ceremony.





ROGER, BISHOP OF SALISBURY, CHANCELLOR
AND JUSTICIAR OF ENGLAND, 1102-1139.

COMPILED BY W. H. BUTCHER.



THE only mention of the early life of Roger, subsequently Bishop of Salisbury, Statesman, and Justiciar of England, appears in "Rerum Anglicanum," by William of Newburgh, who lived in the reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I. This Chronicle has been styled "the finest historical work written by an Englishman in the twelfth century."

Under the heading "Roger of Salisbury in the time of William II," it relates that "a very poor Priest was living (so it is said) in a certain suburb of Cadomensis (Caen in Normandy) by virtue of his office. At that time Henry the Younger, making war for his own king, by accident on his journey, with his companions, turned to the Church in which this Priest was ministering, and requested him to celebrate Mass for him. The Priest having accepted the Petition, was rapid in commencing, and ended concisely; in both of which he pleased the Knights, who said, You cannot find a better military chaplain! Prince Henry took him into his service, and by his prudence in the management of his domestic matters, and by restraining the excesses of his household, he soon commended himself to his lord, and even managed his most secret affairs."¹

For before his accession Henry had to be careful and economical in his expenses, compelled thereto by the scantiness of his resources, and the illiberal treatment of his brothers William and Robert. Knowing his disposition

¹ "William of Newburgh," I, 36. Rolls Series.

this way, Roger had deserved so well of him in the time of his need, that when he came to the throne he made him his Chancellor in 1101, he denied him scarcely anything he thought proper to ask, and gave him estates, churches, prebends, and entire abbeys of monks, and the following year appointed him Bishop of Salisbury.

In his capacity of Bishop, Roger attended Archbishop Anselm's Synod at Michaelmas, 1102; but though the Primate did not refuse to communicate with him, he declined (on account of his dispute with the King on the rights of the Church) to consecrate Roger and two other intended Bishops who had also lately received investiture from the King's hands. Henry then appealed to Archbishop Gerald of York, who was ready to perform the ceremony; but the other two Bishops declined to accept consecration from Gerald, while Roger prudently temporised, so as neither to anger the King nor to injure the cause of Archbishop Anselm.¹ The consecration was in consequence postponed, but Roger nevertheless resigned the Chancellorship, in accordance with the usual practice, soon after his investiture as Bishop.

In 1106 the King placed his brother, Robert Duke of Normandy, in the custody of the Bishop, and ordered him to be deprived of all his honours; and to be safely kept in the Castle of Divises, twelve Knights being appointed to guard him, that while six were resting the other six might keep watch diligently about their royal prisoner.²

The quarrel between the King and the Archbishop having been amicably adjusted at the Abbey of Bec³ in Normandy, in 1107, Roger and a number of other Bishops were consecrated by Archbishop Anselm at Canterbury on August 11th in that year.⁴ Shortly after his consecration, Bishop Roger was appointed to the office of Justiciar by the King, a post he only accepted in obedience to the command of

¹ "Gesta Pontificum," pp. 109-110. Rolls Series.

² Mattw. Paris: "Hist. Angl. Ed. Madden," I, 206; and Sandford's "General History," 1707, p. 15.

³ The Benedictine Abbey of *Bec Herlewin*, the chief house of the abbey in England, was at Okebourne (Ogbourne) near Marlborough, Wilts, from 1149 to 1414, when, being an alien priory, it was suppressed.

⁴ "Gesta Pont.," p. 117. Fadmer, p. 187.

the Pope, and at the bidding of the three Archbishops, Anselm, Ralph, and William.¹

William of Malmesbury speaks of him as having the government of the whole kingdom, whether Henry was in England or Normandy.² Whenever Henry left the kingdom, the Bishop of Salisbury was appointed Regent, and in that capacity he discharged the duties of government for years together, to the satisfaction of his sovereign,³ and it is no mean argument of his merits that, though he was the minister of a rapacious monarch, he never incurred the hatred of the people.⁴

It is uncertain if the name "Justiciar" yet possessed a precise official significance.⁵ Bishop Roger is, however, the first Justiciar to be called "secundus a rege."⁶

Bishop Roger was one of the messengers sent by the King to Archbishop Anselm in 1108, to induce him to consecrate the Abbot of St. Augustine in his own abbey, and he was present at the Whitsuntide Court of that year held by the King in London, when he joined with the other Bishops in supporting the Archbishop's contention as to the consecration of the Archbishop-elect of York.⁷

In the year 1109 Saint Anselm the Archbishop died; he was one of the wisest and most devout of all the Bishops of England. For five years after his death Bishop Roger administered the See of Canterbury, and the affairs of the Church in England, and though the bishopricks were used as rewards for State services, yet evils that had prevailed under William Rufus were avoided.

On June 27, 1115, Bishop Roger was at Canterbury for the consecration of Theodoald as Bishop of Worcester, and on September 19th for that of Bernard of St. David's at Westminster.⁸

In 1118 the Bishop deposed Ædulfus the Abbot of Malmesbury "sine causa amisit,"⁹ and usurped the

¹ "Gesta Regum," II, p. 484. Rolls Series. ² *Ibid.*, p. 483.

³ "Gesta Pont," 90. Hunt, "Ang. Sax.," II, p. 689.

⁴ "Dictionary of National Biography."

⁵ Stubb's "Constitutional History."

⁶ "Henry of Huntingdon" (Bohn), p. 245.

⁷ Eadmer, pp. 189, 208.

⁸ Eadmer, pp. 230, 236.

⁹ "Annals of Winton," p. 145.

abbacy and the revenues thereof for many years. "Rogerius Episcopus Salesburiensis vacatem abbacaim vi et potestate regia usurpavit, et multis annis in manus suas tenuit."¹ The Abbey of Abbotsbury in Dorset he treated in like manner. He also changed the Priory of Sherborne into an Abbey, and the Abbey of Horton, Gloucestershire, he dissolved, and united it with Sherborne aforesaid.² All these changes were confirmed by Pope Honorius II in 1123. (See "Sarum Charters," Rolls Series.)

In 1121 Bishop Roger claimed to celebrate the King's marriage with Adela of Louvain, on the ground that Windsor was within his diocese; but Archbishop Ralph d'Escures resisted, and entrusted this duty to the Bishop of Winchester.³

In the same year Bishop Roger admitted to the grade of deacon and priest, at his Castle called Divises, an Irish clerk named Gregory who came to England to be ordained, by reason of the ancient amity which existed between the two countries, and who had been chosen as Bishop of Dublin.⁴

In the month of January, 1123, Bishop Roger and Robert Bluet, Bishop of Lincoln, were with the King at Woodstock when the latter was seized with apoplexy. They were riding and talking in the deer park, the King riding in the middle, when the Bishop of Lincoln sank down, and said to the King, "My Lord King, I am dying!" And the King alighted from his horse, and took him between his arms, and bade them bear him to his inn, and he soon lay there dead.⁵

The two Bishops had arranged to prevent the election of a certain monk to the vacant Archbishoprick of Canterbury, and through Roger's influence William of Corbeuil, Pryor

¹ Cotton MS., "Vit. A.X.," fol. 158.

² "Historia Novella," p. 559.

³ "Gesta Pontificum," p. 132, n. 3.

⁴ "Memorials Walt. de Coventria," ed. Stubbs, M.R., Vol. I, p. 141.

During Gregory's episcopate, Dublin was raised to an archiepiscopal see and he was the immediate predecessor of S. Lawrence O'Toole. Butler's "Lives of the Saints."

⁵ "Henry of Huntingdon" (Bohn), p. 251.

of S. Oswyth's,¹ Essex, was elected in the following February and he took part in his consecration on the 18th of that month.²

At Christmas, 1124, Bishop Roger, as Justiciar, summoned all the Coiners of England before him at Winchester, and had the coiners of base money punished.³ Out of the sixty who appeared only four escaped free, the remainder were either branded, or lost a hand, according to the law of that time.

In 1226 Robert, Duke of Normandy, was removed from Bishop Roger's custody at Divises Castle, and handed⁴ over to the King's half-brother, the Duke of Gloucester.

At Christmas in this year King Henry held his Court at Windsor, and made all the chief men of the country swear allegiance to his daughter, the Princess Matilda. Roger was one of the foremost with Stephen the King's nephew, to take this oath.⁵ William of Malmesbury relates that he had often heard Bishop Roger declare that he was freed from the oath he had taken to the Empress, for that he had sworn conditionally, that the King should not marry his daughter to anyone out of the kingdom without his consent, or that of the rest of the nobility; that none of them advised the match, or indeed knew of it, except Robert, Earl of Gloucester, Brian Fitzcount, and the Bishop of Louviers. "Nor do I," adds the Author, "relate this merely because I believe the assertion of a man who knew how to accommodate himself to every varying time, as fortune ordered it; but as an historian of veracity I write the general belief of the people."⁶

Bishop Roger was present at the consecration of Christ Church, Canterbury, on May 4, 1130.

¹ *Saint Oswyth*. This Saxon Saint was invoked against fire and other misadventure. A light before his statue in Seend Church, Wilts, was endowed, and kept burning daily at Matins, Mass, and Evensong. Wilts "Notes and Queries," Vol. II.

² "English Chronicle," A.D. 1123.

³ *Ibid.*, A.D. 1125.

⁴ *Ibid.*, A.D. 1126.

⁵ "Henry of Huntingdon," p. 256.

⁶ "Historia Novella," p. 530.

At this period the good fortune of the Bishop reached its zenith. Not only the King, but the nobility, and even those who were secretly stung with envy, and more especially the ministers and debtors of the King, gave him almost whatever he could fancy. Was there anything contiguous to his property which might be advantageous to him, he would directly extort it, either by entreaty or purchase; or if that failed, by force. It was truly wonderful to behold in this man, what abundant power attended him in every kind of dignity, and flowed as it were to his hand. How great was the glory indeed, what could exceed it, that he should have made his two nephews, by virtue of his education, men of noted learning and industry, Bishops; and not of mean sees; but of Lincoln and Ely, than which I know whether there be more opulent in England. He was sensible of his power, and somewhat more harshly than became such a character, abused the favours of Heaven.¹

When, after the death of King Henry, on December 1, 1135, Stephen of Blois came over to secure the crown, Roger took his side with little hesitation.

His adhesion secured the new King the command of the royal treasure, and the administration, and thus contributed chiefly to Stephen's success.

The Bishop attended the Coronation; and after the Feast of Christmas went with the King to Reading to the funeral of the late King, whose body was buried in S. Mary's Abbey, which he had both founded and richly endowed.

At Easter, 1136, the Bishop was with the King at Westminster; and was one of the witnesses to the King's Charter at Oxford in the following April, confirming the promises he had made to the people at his Coronation.²

During the early part of King Stephen's reign Bishop Roger was all powerful, his son was Chancellor, and his nephew Nigel, Bishop of Ely, was Treasurer of the Kingdom; the King gave Roger the Town of Malmesbury, and often declared to his companions that he "would give

¹ "Historia Novella," Bk. II, p. 559.

² Round, "Geoffrey de Mandeville," II, 262-3. "Select Charters," p. 121.

him half of England if he asked for it, he will be tired of asking before I am of giving, till the time be ripe."

In 1136 Stephen proposed to cross over to Normandy, leaving the Government of England in the Bishop's hands during his absence; a false report that the Bishop was dead recalled the King to Salisbury, and the expedition was postponed.¹

At this time the three Bishops used their resources in fortifying the castles in their dioceses. Roger's intention may have been to keep the balance of power in his own hands, but his power and wealth excited the enmity of the barons in Stephen's party,² or, as another writer alleges, made the King suspicious of his fidelity.³ Count Wateran of Menlaw was Roger's chief opponent and accuser,⁴ and he together with Earl Robert of Leicester and Alan de Dian stirred up the King, who summoned the Bishop and his two nephews to a Council of Prelates and Nobles at Oxford.

Bishop Roger, having a strong suspicion as to what this order might mean, set out on this expedition with great reluctance, for I heard him speaking (says William of Malmesbury) to the following effect: "By my Lady Saint Mary, I know not why, but my heart revolts at this journey: this I am sure of, that I shall be of as much service at Court as a foal in a battle." Thus did his mind forbode evil.⁵

His two nephews accompanied him from his castle at Divises, and he also took with him a very large military array of arms, and horses equipped in various manners.⁶

On their arrival at Oxford, in consequence of a preconcerted plan, a quarrel was excited between the retainers of the Bishop and the servants of two foreign noblemen, Alan of Bretagne and Hervey of Leon; and the King, suspecting treachery, forcibly arrested the Bishops of Salisbury and Lincoln. They were confined in separate dungeons, accused of violating the King's peace in his own Court, and informed that the King would accept of

¹ "Ordericus Vitalis," v. 63.

² "Historia Novella," p. 548.

³ "Ordericus Vitalis," v. 119.

⁴ "Acts of Stephen," p. 47.

⁵ "Historia Novella," p. 548.

⁶ Gerv Cart., M.R., 103, from Cart. of Florence of Worcester.

no other reparation than the surrender of their castles ; and by the advice of their friends they at once gave up the castles of Malmesbury, Salisbury, Sherbourne, and Newark.

The Bishop of Ely escaped, and made his way to Divises, which he commenced to fortify against the King. Stephen, hearing of this, advanced on Divises Castle with his soldiers, and having confined the Bishop in a cattle-shed on the outskirts of the town, threatened both the Bishop and his son, the Chancellor, with death unless the fortress was surrendered forthwith.

On the third day, Bishop Roger was conducted before the gate of the castle, pale and emaciated ; he conjured his nephew to save his life by submission, for the King had sworn that he should receive no nourishment until the castle should be delivered into his hands.¹ Upon this the keys were handed over to the King, and he at once took possession, not only of the fortress itself, but also of the sum of 40,000 marks, and all the other treasures of gold and silver that the Bishop had amassed therein, together with the Borough of Divises, the Park, and the Bishop's Manors of Cannings and Potterne.

The foregoing is thus further described in Henry of Huntingdon's Chronicle :—

The King " went to Oxford, where he perpetrated a deed of great infamy and out of all precedent. For after receiving amicably Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, and his nephew Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln, he violently arrested them in his own palace, though they refused nothing which justice demanded and earnestly appealed to it. The King threw Bishop Alexander into prison, and carried the Bishop of Salisbury with him to his own Castle of Divises, one of the most stately in all Europe. There he tormented him by starvation, and put to the torture his son the King's Chancellor, who had a rope fastened round his neck, and was led to the gallows. Thus he extorted from him the surrender of his castle, unmindful of the services which the Bishop had rendered him, more than all others, in the beginning of his reign."² The Bishops appealed to

¹ Lingard's " History of England," Vol. II, p. 38.

² " Henry of Huntingdon's Chronicle " (Bohn), p. 270.

the Papal Legate, the Cardinal Bishop of Winchester, who assembled a Synod in that city, and complained of the impiety of Stephen's measures in employing violence against the dignitaries of the Church, instead of awaiting the sentence of a spiritual court, by which alone they could be lawfully tried and condemned if their conduct had in any way merited censure, or punishment.¹

The King being summoned, appeared by Alberic de Vere, who accused the Prelates of having excited a riot at Oxford, and maintained that they had spontaneously surrendered their castles as a compromise for that offence.

The Legate replied that the three Bishops were willing to abide their trial, but previously demanded the restoration of their property, it being the uniform practice in every Court of Justice when an individual had been deprived of his property, to order its restitution before he could be called on to plead.

The next morning Alberic attended the Synod with the Archbishop of Rouen, who contended that the Canons of the Church, which forbade Bishops every kind of military pursuit, had been broken, whence it followed that they held their castles by the King's indulgence. Alberic then gave notice of appeal to the Pope in the King's name, and forbade the Synod under pain of royal displeasure to proceed further.

At these words the knights who had followed him drew their swords, and the Legate dissolved the Assembly.² Thus the Synod ended. With the King unrepentant, with swords gleaming in the background, it was plainly impossible to venture an excommunication. The Synod came to no conclusion. As a last effort the Legate and Archbishop waited on the King in his chamber, and falling at his feet implored him not to come to an utter rupture with the Church. The King put them off with some vague promises which came to nothing. According to the Author of the "Gesta Stephani," the King went through a form of doing penance, but William of Malmesbury, who was present at the Council, says nothing of the

¹ Hume's "History of England," 1798 Ed., Vol. I, p. 358.

² Lingard's "History of England," Vol II, p. 39.

King's submission. The Clergy were not to be appeased so easily. On September 1 the Synod broke up. On the last day of that month the Empress Matilda and Earl Robert landed at Arundel.¹

Bishop Roger retired to Salisbury and died broken-hearted, worn out by the quartan ague from which he had long suffered, and with the severity of the treatment he had received at the hands of the King, on December 11, 1139. On nearing his end he placed on the altar of the Cathedral he loved so well, all the residue of his money, and a vast quantity of plate, both gold and silver, exquisitely and splendidly wrought, from his treasury; all this was carried off before his eyes by the King's soldiers, the canons approving. Stephen applied a portion of this money for roofing the Church and a portion he bestowed on the canons. Roger also executed a document addressed to the Bishop of Winchester the Papal Legate, to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and to all the Bishops and Clergy certifying that "he had restored to the Church of S. Mary at Salisbury all the prebends which he had held in his hands."²

In the following year (1140) the monks of Malmesbury and of the other monasteries that Bishop Roger had unjustifiably usurped waited on the King, and for a small payment the Church of Malmesbury was freed and the monks were allowed to enjoy their ancient privileges, and abbots; according to the tenor of the privileges which S. Aldhelm had obtained from Pope Sergius four hundred and sixty-six years before.³

The Bishop was buried in the Cathedral which he had done so much to beautify. "In the year 1226, on the Feast of the Holy Trinity, the bodies of three Bishops were translated to the new fabric (*i.e.*, the present Cathedral), viz., the body of the Blessed Saint Osmund, the body of Bishop Roger and the body of Bishop Jocelyn." ("St. Osmund's Register.")

¹ "Sir H. Ramsey on the Foundations of England," Vol. II, pp. 385-386.

² "St. Osmund's Register." See also "Sarum Charters." Rolls Series.

³ "Historia Novella," p. 560.

It is probable that the stone coffins, with their superincumbent sculptured slabs, were removed at the same time.

A question has arisen among antiquaries as to the *present position* of Bishop Roger's monumental slab in the Cathedral. "It is nowadays generally supposed to be the one *nearest* to the west end of the southern arcade of the nave, viz., the effigy without inscription, a beardless or shaven-faced bishop with staff transfixing the dragon at his feet."¹ The chasuble is embroidered with stars and the alb has a rich border. The left hand holds the pastoral staff, the right being raised as usual in the attitude of benediction. Around the effigy is an elaborate ornament of birds and foliage in the gorgeous style of early Anglo-Norman sculpture.²

William of Malmesbury states that Bishop Roger did not neglect the duties of his ecclesiastical office; to his episcopal duties the Bishop devoted the early part of the day, the remainder was given up to the affairs of the State.

Under his guidance, whether as Chancellor or as Justiciar, the whole administrative system of the kingdom was remodelled, the jurisdiction of the Curia Regis and Exchequer were carefully organized, and the peace of the country maintained in that theoretical perfection which earned for the Bishop the title of "The Sword of Righteousness."³

Bishop Roger's failings appear to have been ambition and avarice. In the accomplishments of his designs he spared no expense.

He founded a great administrative family which served the State for over a century; besides himself, and his son, called sometimes Roger Pauper, Stephen's Chancellor, there were his nephews—Nigel, Bishop of Ely and Treasurer of England, and Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln, and his great nephew, Richard Fitzneale. This family also probably

¹ Extracts from letter of the Sub-Dean of Salisbury (Canon Wordsworth) to W. H. Butcher, March 5, 1916.

² J. R. Planche. "On Sepulchral Effigies in Salisbury Cathedral," *Journal B.A.A.*, 1859, p. 117-118.

³ Stubb's "Constitutional History," Vol. I, p. 349.

included Richard of Ilchester and his sons Herbert and Richard Poore¹ both of whom became Bishops of Salisbury.

Above all else Bishop Roger was a great builder, and particularly of castles. The first castle on the site of Divises (which was, according to buildings of that period, probably constructed to a great extent of timber) having been destroyed by fire in 1113,² he rebuilt of stone on the mound where the Bishop's Manors of Cannings and Potterne, and the King's Manor of Rowde, and also the Ancient Hundreds of Rougbergh Episcopi and Cannings Episcopi all met, his "Castrum ad Divisas"—the Castle at the Boundaries.³ William of Malmesbury states that the Bishop "spent great and almost incalculable sums of money" on this building, and that Bishop Roger's own expression was "that he built the Castle of Divises as an ornament to the Church." And Matthew Paris, the Monk of St. Albans, says, "it was one of the most gorgeous in Christendom." The castle he erected at Sherbourne was smaller than Divises.

At Malmesbury he erected another castle "in the very churchyard of the principle Church"; to him also may be ascribed the Norman abbey church there, portions of which are still existing. He also fortified the town and built a strong wall round it, in which he placed four gate-houses.⁴ William of Malmesbury speaks of his edifices as having "surpassing beauty, the courses of stone being so correctly laid that the joints deceive the eye, and leading it to imagine that the whole wall is composed of a single block. Besides his castle building he made new the Cathedral at Salisbury, and beautified it in such a manner that it yields to none in England but surpasses many."

Freeman speaks of him as having "in his own person brought to perfection that later form of Norman

¹ Stubb's "Preface to Roger of Hoveden," V. IV, p. xci, N.

² "Annals of Winchester." Luard's "Ann. Linc. M.R.," Vol. II, p. 44.

³ Aubrey and Jackson, "Wiltshire Collections," p. 360.

⁴ In the time of Leland (Henry VIII) these were still standing but "ruins al."

⁵ "Gesta Regum," p. 484.

architecture, lighter and richer than the earlier type, which slowly died out before the introduction of the pointed arch and its accompanying details. . . . The creative genius of Roger was in advance of his age, and it took some little time for smaller men to come up with him." But after the civil commotions "men had leisure to turn to art and ornament, and the style which had come in at the bidding of Roger was copied by lesser men about a generation after his time."¹

Nor was Roger unmindful of the temporal welfare of his see ; through his influence additional endowments and prebends were obtained both from Henry and Stephen for his Cathedral.² A manor was granted by him towards the maintenance of the resident canons at Salisbury, and new churches were erected, the remaining portions of which are still memorials of his ability and skill as an architect.

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 &c. &c. &c.

¹ Freeman's "Norman Conquest," Vol. V, pp. 638-639.

² Cf. "Register of S. Osmund," Vol. II, pp. xvii-viii. "Sarum Charters," pp. 5-10.



Proceedings of the Association.

On January 11, 1917, the Right Rev. Bishop G. F. Browne, D.D., V.P.S.A., being prevented by illness from giving his promised lecture, Dr. William Martin, F.S.A., kindly consented to deliver his lecture on "The Early Map-Views of London." In the absence of the President, Mr. W. A. Cater, F.S.A., occupied the Chair.

The lecturer pointed out that one of the most valuable assets of the historian and the topographer was the possession of a reliable map of the period in which he was interested, whether the map partook of the character of a simple plan or of a bird's-eye view, or of a combination of them both. Unfortunately, however, maps often failed to realise the trust imposed in them, and the further we went back the more unreliable the maps which survived were found to be. Possibly we expected too much from them and far more than their originators intended. In this respect they differed but little from the many modern guide-maps which, not based on accurate surveys, served admirably for the purposes for which they were issued—purposes which were not those served by the modern ordnance maps. Often, being fully aware of the objects in the mind of those who produced the modern guide-map, we were quite prepared to understand the prints accordingly, and interpreted them as was intended by their producers. In the case of the maps of three centuries ago we were but seldom cognisant of what, or how much, their originators intended us to know; and were not always sure what the representations on their maps meant. Consequently, it was a difficult matter for us to-day to interpret them properly and obtain from them such information as their makers warranted. This difficulty of appreciating the map-maker's intention was always present, and was considerably enhanced when, instead of possessing what might be termed "originals," there was under investigation a copy which by successive copyings might many times be removed from the original from which it had sprung. Yet there were many people who, owning a modern copy of a map several centuries old, had considered it all-sufficient for historical

reference, and had treated the copy as though it were as faithful as a modern survey. In this respect the practice compared unfavourably with that which obtained when a manuscript was under investigation. In such a case a collation of existing manuscripts was made and their resemblances and differences carefully noted, while their origins were also the object of keen scrutiny. By the results obtained, the manuscript in question was tested and valid conclusions drawn. In this fashion, maps should also be treated, otherwise mistakes, often of a ludicrous character, would be sure to occur.

Since, after all, maps were but one way of transmitting information, the language in which they were couched must be known before they could be understood. In a word, they had to be interpreted. The first stage in their interpretation consisted in their classification according to types. The second stage brought under consideration a number of such matters as the individuals through, or by whom, the maps came into the market, and the special methods which those individuals employed for giving the information they desired. Thirdly, the process of interpretation involved the credibility and the opportunities of those who originated the maps. In consequence, therefore, some knowledge of those responsible for the issue of the map was demanded. From this it was to be seen that the extraction of reliable information from an old map was not so simple a matter as at first sight it might appear.

The lecturer then proceeded on these lines to deal at close quarters with the early maps of London from the middle of the sixteenth century, and included within his review that large class which was called forth by the Great Fire of London. Commencing with the panoramic view of Wyngaerde, *c.* 1550, he proceeded to classify them under groups: Braun & Hogenberg, 1554-1558; Agas (so-called), before 1561; Norden, 1593; Speed, 1610; Visscher, 1616; Porter, after 1633; Merian, 1638; Hollar, 1647; Faithome & Newcourt, 1658; and some others, ending with John Leeke's survey of 1666 and Ogilby of 1677. He suggested that as the Merian, a fine map-view, had not been reproduced adequately, this should be done by our Association. He excluded from his remarks the earlier prints which attempted to depict London, or buildings which, for special purposes, had been selected for illustration. These, of which there were many, some dating as far back as the Norman Conquest, he thought would be a fit subject for a paper on a future occasion, when arrangements might be made for their reproduction on their original scale in the "Transactions" of the Association.

By the kindness of friends there was placed on view a small collection

of representative maps, and these as well as lantern-views assisted the members present in following the remarks of the lecturer.

Mr. F. Weston, the Bishop of Barking and Mr. W. Derham, participated in the remarks which followed, and Dr. Martin was cordially thanked for his instructive lecture.

On February 1, 1917, the Rev. P. H. Ditchfield, M.A., F.S.A., read a paper on "The Inns of Court and Chancery," with lantern illustrations. The lecturer remarked upon the noble buildings, nurseries of students, the homes of the learned, and to the lore connected with the lawyer's exalted profession. He pointed out the difference between the Inns of Court and those of Chancery, and traced the history of the four Inns of Court, Lincoln's Inn, Gray's Inn, the Inner and Middle Temple. These were described by Waterhouse as "the *Hospitia Majora*, such as receive, not gudgeons and smelts, but the polypuses and leviathans, the behemoths and giants of the law." He traced the migration of Lincoln's Inn, and showed views of the buildings of this, and of the other Inns, including Staple Inn, Clement's Inn, Barnard's Inn, and gave some account of their literary associations. The President presided at the meeting, and an interesting discussion followed in which Mr. Cater, Mr. Newman, Mr. Francis Weston and others took part, thanking Mr. Ditchfield for his lecture.

On March 1, 1917, Mr. Francis Weston read a paper on "Old Pewter Plate," illustrated by English and Scottish specimens, and a dish bought in the market-place of Ghent by the Bishop of Barking. He explained how Edward III became the patron of the pewterers' craft when he created the Dukedom of Cornwall for the Black Prince, and opened the long dormant mines, which, with the pewterer at hand, provided a revenue for the King's son. From that time forward the craft flourished. The Civil Wars, however, wrought havoc with specimens of the art, for while the silver plate was melted down for money, the pewter plates were turned into bullets, and the Great Fire of London helped the clearance. Specimens of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were of the utmost rarity. A cordial vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. Weston for his interesting and valuable communication.

On April 12, 1917, a paper was read on "The Siege of the Castle of Andeli (Normandy), 1203-1204," by Mr. Charles Roessler de Gravelle, illustrated by lantern slides. This was to have been followed by a paper, on "The Identification of St. Mary of Westcheap called New Church," by Mr. William A. Cater, F.S.A. Mr. Cater referred to the strictures, which had been passed on the excavations recently conducted

by the Association in the crypt of Bow Church, by Mr. Walter Money, F.S.A., who had maintained that the title of New Church had never been associated with St. Mary-le-Bow, but that it ought to be identified with St. Mary Woolchurch Haw. Time did not permit the reading of the papers in full, but the points considered are published in the *Journal*. In the discussion that followed the President, Mr. Ditchfield, Mr. Underwood, F.R.I.B.A., the Surveyor of Bow Church, and Mr. Alderton took part.

On May 3, 1917, Mr. W. H. Fox, F.S.A., read a paper on "The Personal Accounts of Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, for the years 1537 to 1539," the President being in the chair. It is proposed to publish the lecture in a subsequent Part of the *Journal*.

The lecturer said that the book containing the accounts in question was in the Public Record Office—Reference, Henry VIII, Chapter House Miscellaneous Books No. 256. The Cash account was kept by Thomas Avery, Steward to Cromwell, at his house in Austin Friars, 2 Throgmorton Street. There were some 2,300 items, the number of payments being about 200 in excess of the receipts. The Book was not added up, but a summary made by the lecturer showed that about £7,900 (equal to £90,000 of present day values) was unaccounted for. It probably represented funds hoarded during three years, the period covered by the account book, in which the receipts had amounted to £46,600, and the payments to £38,700. These totals included capital receipts and payments. The income was made up of sums received from various monasteries and Ecclesiastics and fees from different public appointments, also presents or bribes, some of which were found in silk or velvet purses under the Cushions in the window seat.

The current expenditure consisted of household expenses, about £100 per month, cost of building operations at Austin Friars, money spent in the outdoor sports of hawking, hunting and shooting with bow and crossbow, gratuities given to servants for bringing in my Lord's presents of stags, bucks, fish, vegetables and fruit; gifts to nurses at christenings, sums given in charity (a negligible annual total), and money lost at Bowles, Dice and Cards. Considerable sums were also spent in apparel for his servants and on nightcaps and other adornments for his own person.

There are cash transactions with many important political persons of the time, and perhaps the most pathetic of the items of expenditure are those concerned with the preparations for welcoming the new Queen, Anne of Cleves, whose marriage with King Henry had been

strongly supported by Cromwell. Largely, however, owing to the Kingly dissatisfaction in connection with this allowance the Earl of Essex lost the King's favour, and ended his career on Tower Hill in 1540.

On June 7, 1917, the Right Rev. Bishop G. F. Browne, D.D., D.C.L., V.P.S.A., delivered his lecture "On the early Lapidary Art and the Inscriptions of the English the Irish and the Caledonians."

The Bishop showed five slides of the Memorial-cross of Alchfrith at Bewcastle, with the runes which appear to date it A.D. 670. The panels of interlacing work are not highly developed, pointing to an early date. The panel of foliage ornament has the rudiments which two generations later were developed into the ornament of Acca's Cross. A curious resemblance to the silphium of the coins of Cyrene was pointed out, a kind of fennel which was the chief product of that very early Greek Colony. The beautiful piece of sculpture at Jedburgh shows a remarkable resemblance to the silphium. Four slides of the teaching-cross at Ruthwell followed, showing the palæographical beauty of the Latin inscriptions and the clear-cut runes of the Cadmon sacred poem. As another example of early teaching crosses, the pair of crosses at Sandbach were shown, one of them larger even than the Ruthwell cross.

As examples of the high crosses of Ireland, the two at Monasterboice and one at Kildare were shown. They are crowded with figures of men, chiefly in threes, and many of the subjects have not as yet been explained. They are mostly Scripture subjects, from which one of the Clonmacnois crosses is called in Irish *Cros na Screaptra*. The immense bulk of the arms of the lower Monasterboice cross, an admirable facsimile of which is in the Victoria and Albert Museum, was pointed out as explaining the need for supporting struts from the shaft to the arms, whence the "wheel-cross" was developed. The two immense arms lying at Lasingham and Winwick are evidence that the early Anglo-Saxon sculptors made the heads of crosses so large that without struts the arms broke off.

The Caledonian crosses are sculptured in relief on large slabs of stone, which have on the other side the remarkable figures of animals and nondescripts which the Piets used to paint upon their bodies before the Christian teachers made them clothe themselves. The pair of ornamental buttons for the morse fastening the chieftain's cloak, and the gold lunette which was fixed as an arch on the chieftain's head, are among the more usual of the Caledonian symbols, the "spectacles"

and the "crescent." The use of highly ornamental pins to secure them was explained.

A typical example of the crosses and runic inscriptions of the Isle of Man was shown, at Kirk Braddan.

Seven Anglian tombstones were shown—namely, the runic stone of sub-king Oidiluald; the runic head-stones of two of the earliest Anglian nuns, Hildelyth and Hildegyth, with the curious insertion of an omitted *g* in the latter name, probably omitted because it was not sounded in ordinary speech; the runic tombstones at Thornhill in Yorkshire, put up by Ethelbert and Gilsuith; and the Trumbercht stone from Yarm, in early minuscules. Four Irish tombstones were shown, from Clonmacnois and Lismore, with Erse inscriptions, as also the only known Pictish example *Drosten ipe voret elt förcus*—the *elt* being read as *ett* by some—the memorial of Drust.

The very remarkable body-stone, or cover of sarcophagus, at Wirksworth in Derbyshire, was shown and explained, as also the hogbacked body-stones found alike in Northumbria and in Perthshire, with the flat body-stones developed from them with a bear's snout and claws at each end as at Hickling.

Finally, the ogam inscriptions in early Erse at Tinnchally in Kerry were shown; and the Welsh ogam stone in memory of Sagramn, son of Cunatam, at St. Dogmael's, with the same inscription in early Romano-British lettering, the first bilingual and biliteral stone discovered in these islands, was analysed and discussed, as also the probable origin of the ogam characters.

The Bishop was cordially thanked for his lecture by the President, and an interesting discussion followed in which Mr. W. Dale, F.S.A., Mr. Newman, F.S.A., and Mr. Cater, F.S.A., took part.

TREASURER'S REPORT, JUNE, 1917.

In submitting the Balance Sheet and Accounts to the Members of the Association, the Hon. Treasurer wishes to point out that the result is not altogether unsatisfactory, as steps have already been taken to reduce the expenditure.

The Membership remains very nearly the same as last year, for though some deaths have to be recorded, and some Members have felt it necessary to withdraw subscriptions for a time, other new Members have joined.

The Association has been spending too much on its *Journal*, and that, in addition to the cost of moving the heavy stock of surplus Parts, has

not only wiped out the whole of the balance of undivided reserve, but has also left a deficit of £47 (the real deficit for the year being £75).

The amount of outstanding accounts will be paid from this year's income, and the rent will be reduced to the £30 paid for the Headquarters Rooms.

The Council has agreed that the *Journal* for 1917 shall consist of one single Part only—a volume of about 250 pages—to be issued in October, and it is believed that this large economy will enable the Association to continue its useful and interesting work in various directions.

The present stock of the *Journal* is as follows:—

Complete volumes up to 1899	...	...	...	...	832
Surplus bound volumes	...	...	...	...	221
Surplus parts	...	...	...	...	1,879
From 1900 to 1915 :					
Complete volumes	...	...	...	...	614
Surplus volumes	...	...	...	...	29
Surplus parts	...	...	...	...	2,414
					—
Volumes and parts	...	...	...	...	5,989

These are now housed in Mr. Bagster's warehouse, Little Britain, E.C., rent free.

It should be recorded that two complete sets of the *Journal* are preserved, one at University College, where the Library of the Association is located, and the other at 15 Paternoster Row, in the care of the Hon. Treasurer.

As the Council, in consultation with the Members, has decided that an Annual General Meeting shall not be held during 1917, the President, Vice-Presidents, Council and Officers remain as before.

The Hon. Lecture Secretary, Mr. W. A. Cater, F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S., reports that the following Papers have been read before the Association:—

November 2, 1916.

“On Studland Church, Dorset, with remarks on Corbel Tables.” By Philip M. Johnston, Esq., F.S.A.

December 7, 1916.

“On the Churches of Seaton, Rutlandshire, and Wakerley and Wittering, Northamptonshire.” By the President, C. E. Keyser, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.

January 11, 1917.

“On the Early Map-Views of London.” By William Martin, Esq., M.A., LL.D., F.S.A.

February 1, 1917.

“On the Inns of Court and Chancery.” By the Rev. P. H. Ditchfield, M.A., F.S.A., Editor.

March 1, 1917.

“On Old Pewter Plate, its History and Interest, from a Collector’s Standpoint.” By Francis Weston, Esq., F.S.I., Master of the Barber Surgeons Company.

April 12, 1917.

“On the Siege of the Castle of Andeli (Château-Gaillard), Normandy.” By Mr. Charles Roessler de Graville.

William A. Cater, Esq., F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S., read an answer to the criticisms of Mr. Walter Money upon the Association’s excavation at Bow Church. This answer was supported in detail by Mr. E. S. Underwood, F.R.I.B.A., C.C., the Surveyor of the church.

The reading of Mr. Cater’s Paper on “St. Mary of Westcheap” was unavoidably postponed.

May 3, 1917.

“On the Personal Accounts of Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, 1537-1539.” By W. H. Fox, Esq., F.S.A.

June 7, 1917.

“On the early Lapidary Art and the Inscriptions of the English the Irish and the Caledonians.” By the Right Rev Bishop G. F. Browne, D.D., D.C.L., V.P.S.A.

British Archaeological Association.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31, 1916.

Dr.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	Cr. £ s. d.
To Rent, Storage, etc.	43 0 0	161 3 6	
„ Printing and publishing <i>Journals</i>	168 3 11	10 10 0	
„ Editor's Honorarium	15 0 0	171 13 6	
„ Stationery, Circulars and Postage	45 16 4	12 11 9	
„ Audit Fee	2 2 0	5 6 10	
		2 7 7	
		0 6 0	
		5 16 11	
		6 2 11	
		75 19 6	
		<u>£274 2 3</u>	
By Subscriptions for year 1916			171 13 6
„ Do. do. 1915			12 11 9
„ Sale of <i>Journals</i>			5 6 10
„ Congress Account			2 7 7
„ Balance, Visit to Rochester			0 6 0
„ Dividends and Interest—			5 16 11
£12 1s. Consols			6 2 11
£211 18s. 3d. India 3½ per Cent. Stock			75 19 6
„ Balance Carried to Balance Sheet			<u>£274 2 3</u>

BALANCE SHEET FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31, 1916.

<i>Dr.</i>	<i>£ s. d.</i>	<i>£ s. d.</i>	<i>Cr.</i>
To Sundry Creditors—			
Subscriptions paid in advance	9 9 0		18 6 1
Audit Fee	2 2 0		0 6 0
Printers and Sundries	108 18 10		18 12 1
Special Fund—			
As per last Balance Sheet	1074 12 3		6 13 11
1916 Income from Investments—	<i>£ s. d.</i>		9 12 10
India 3½ per Cent. Stock	14 2 1		200 0 0
Metropolitan Water Board	13 8 8		
	27 10 9		
	1102 3 0		940 9 1
By Cash at Bank			
Cash at Post Office Savings Bank			
Sundry Debtors			
£12 l <i>s.</i> Consols, say at 80			
£211 18 <i>s.</i> 3 <i>d.</i> India 3½ per Cent. Stock, at 94			
Special Fund—			
£511 9 <i>s.</i> 2 <i>d.</i> India 3½ per Cent. Stock, at 93 47 <i>s.</i> 13 1			
£560, Metropolitan Water Board "B" at 3 per Cent. Stock, as at December 31, 1912			
		464 16 0	
		940 9 1	
Income and Expenditure Account (Deficit)—			
Balance Transferred		75 19 8	
Less Accumulated Funds, as per last Balance Sheet		28 14 9	
		47 4 11	
			£1222 12 10
			£1222 12 10

(Signed) GODDARD, DUNKLEY, DAVIE & Co.,
119, London Wall.

British Archaeological Association.

REPORT

OF THE

SEVENTY-FOURTH ANNUAL CONGRESS,

HELD AT

BRIGHTON,

JULY 19TH TO 21ST, 1917.

President of the Congress :

CHARLES E. KEYSER, ESQ., M.A., F.S.A., J.P., D.L.

Hon. Director :

PHILIP MAINWARING JOHNSTON, ESQ., F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A.,
75, Kingsmead Road, Tulse Hill, S.W. 2.

Honorary Secretary :

A. W. OKE, ESQ., B.A., F.S.A., 32, Denmark Villas, Hove, Sussex.

Headquarters during the Congress :

THE ROYAL YORK HOTEL.

RECEPTION COMMITTEE.

Chairman : THE WORSHIPFUL THE MAYOR OF BRIGHTON
(ALDERMAN H. CARDEN, J.P.).

BRIGHTON.

THE REV. H. C. BOND, M.A., Vicar of Clayton.

ALDERMAN A. F. GRIFFITH, M.A.

THE REV. H. M. HORDERN, M.A., Vicar of St. Nicholas.

H. D. ROBERTS, ESQ., Director Library, Museum and Art Galleries.

THE REV. PREB. DORMER PEARCE, M.A., Vicar of Brighton.

C. THOMAS-STANFORD, ESQ., M.P., F.S.A.

H. S. TOMS, ESQ., Curator, Brighton Museum.

THE REV. C. M. A. TOWER, M.A., Vicar of Shoreham.

CHICHESTER.

THE WORSHIPFUL THE MAYOR OF CHICHESTER
(ALDERMAN S. A. GARLAND, J.P.).

THE VERY REV. J. J. HANNAH, D.D., Dean of Chichester.

REV. PREB. BENNETT, M.A.

REV. PREB. C. DEEDES, M.A.

REV. CANON MASTERS.

LEWES.

THE WORSHIPFUL THE MAYOR OF LEWES
(ALDERMAN A. E. RUGG, J.P.).

R. T. BAXTER, ESQ., M.A., Town Clerk.

R. BLAKER, ESQ.

THE REV. T. G. CALVERT-BROWN, A.K.C., Rector of S. Michael's.

MRS. J. C. LUCAS, Castle Precincts.

W. E. NICHOLSON, ESQ., Hon. Sec., Sussex Archæological Society.

THE REV. DUNCAN PEARCE, M.A., Rector of St. Anne's.

THE REV. PREB. F. J. POOLE, M.A., Rector of St. John sub-Castro.

MRS. T. STEWART-JONES, Southover Grange.

REV. T. H. WINDLE, M.A., Rector of St. John's, Southover.



Proceedings of the Congress.

JULY 19TH TO 21ST, 1917.

THE Seventy-fourth Annual Congress of this venerable Association was held at Brighton on July 19th, and continued its session until Saturday the 21st. No more favourable centre for archæological and architectural investigations could have been selected than Brighton. Although the town is usually considered a very modern place it has a history extending back to Roman times and it even dates back to prehistoric periods, and within a short distance of Brighton there are such splendid examples of architectural triumphs as the churches of Sompting, Old and New Shoreham, Clayton, Broadwater, the Cathedral Church of Chichester, the remains of the Castle and Priory of Lewes, while there is a wealth of camps and earthworks on the Downs, and much else to claim the attention of archæologists. In these serious times of war, with all the anxieties they bring, the Congress was shorn of its usually full programme and complement. Indeed, most societies that devote themselves to the study of the past history of the country have abandoned, for the duration of the war, their usual annual gatherings and their accustomed activities. But the Council of the British Archæological Association was unwilling to break the continuity of its Congresses, which have been held since its foundation in 1843. Hence, in 1915, it arranged a brief and informal gathering at Ryde, when the eastern portion of the Isle of Wight was visited; last year the town of Southampton was selected as a centre and the western part of the Island and southern Hampshire were inspected; and, for the present year, that portion of Sussex which lies near to the "Queen of Watering-places" invited the attention of the members. The expectations of the Council were abundantly fulfilled, and a very successful meeting was held under the Presidency of Mr. Charles Edward Keyser, M.A., F.S.A., D.L. and Mr. Philip Mainwaring Johnston, F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A., the distinguished architect, as Hon. Director, and Mr. A. W. Oke, F.S.A., as Hon. Secretary. The Association was most fortunate in having Mr. Johnston as its Director on this occasion. He is thoroughly well acquainted with almost every church in Sussex, as well as with the historical antiquities of the shire. Moreover, he possesses the power of clearly and graphically describing the architectural features of the churches, monastic buildings, castles and dwellings, and his lucid explanations contributed much to the enjoyment of the members and the success of the Congress.

The difficulties of arranging a Congress at this time are indeed great. It was found impossible to obtain horse-drawn or motor vehicles; hence the organisers were obliged to limit the expeditions to railway journeys and to travels on foot. However, the weather was most favourable, and the fine air of "breezy Brighton" did much to dispel fatigue. The Headquarters of the Association during the Congress were fixed at the Royal York Hotel, where every arrangement was made for the comfort and convenience of the members.

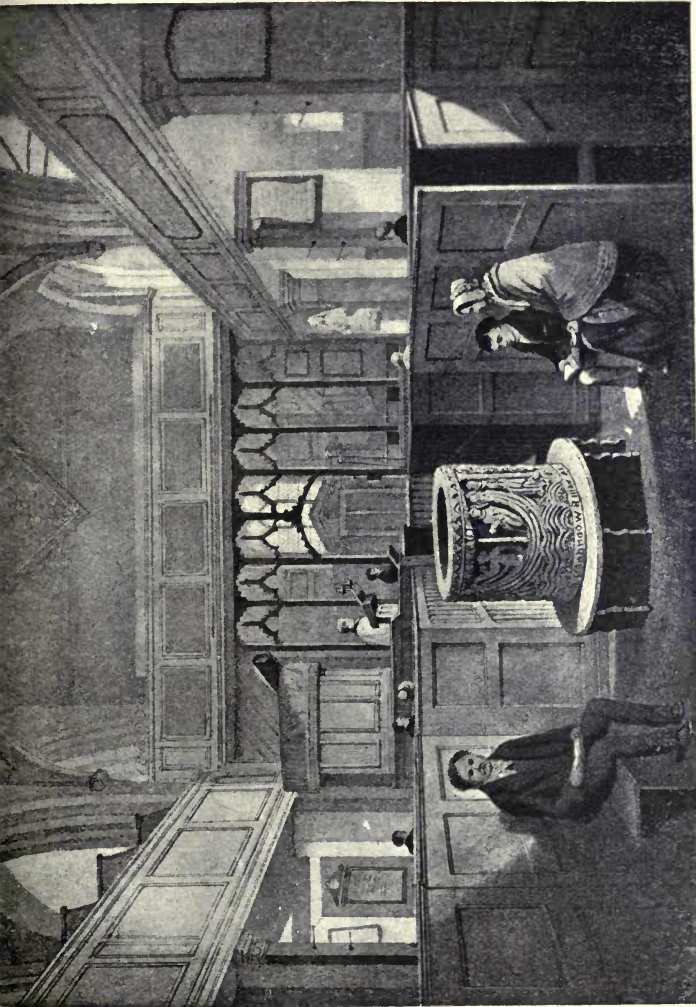
The following members attended the Congress:—Mr. R. Bagster, F.S.A. (London), Hon. Treasurer, Mrs. Brookes-Meares, Miss A. E. Baily (Bracknell), Mr. A. W. Bremner (Surbiton), Mr. W. A. Cater, F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S., Hon. Lecture Secretary, Miss A. Cotton (Southampton), the Rev. P. H. Ditchfield, M.A., F.S.A. (Wokingham), Mr. W. Dale, F.S.A., F.G.S. (Southampton), Mr. W. Derham, M.A., LL.M. (Canterbury), Mr. G. Fellows (Loughborough), Mr. A. E. Hudd, F.S.A. (Clifton), Mr. W. Holmes, Mr. and the Misses Hancock (Surbiton), Mrs. John Holden (Newbury), Mr. G. Horne (St. John's Wood), Mrs. and Miss Keyser (Reading), Colonel F. C. Keyser and Mrs. Keyser, the Rev. P. Lach-Szyrma, M.A., Mr. H. C. De Lafontaine, M.A. (London), Mr. Walter Money, F.S.A. (Newbury), the Rev. Prebendary Dormer Pearce, M.A. (Vicar of Brighton), Miss C. Walter (Newbury), Mr. and Mrs. Weston (Croydon), Miss Winstone (Kensington), Professor W. Carleton Williams and Miss Carleton Williams (Goring-on-Thames), Dr. Gibson and Mrs. Gibson (Aldershot).

The Proceedings commenced after luncheon on Thursday, July 19th, at the Royal York Hotel with a visit to

THE CHURCH OF ST. NICHOLAS, WHERE THE PARTY WAS WELCOMED
BY THE VICAR, THE REV. HUGH M. HORDERN.

Mr. Johnston stated that its ancient history was a little clouded in uncertainty. The existence of a church in Brighton was recorded in the Domesday Survey, and it is a little doubtful whether this present one was that church so mentioned. It is possible that the oldest church in Brighton stood at the foot of the hill, and not on the present site. But there are certain tangible relics which seem to show that an early Norman church stood here. The first of these is the ancient Norman font, which is very remarkable and has often been described. It is cylindrical in shape and bears some curious sculptures. The eastern compartment depicts the Last Supper, showing our Lord crowned, with a nimbus, and raising the right hand in the attitude of blessing. The sculptor could only find room for six of the Apostles, three of whom appear on either side of Christ. Each of the six has one hand uplifted, and the table bears the usual array of loaves and vessels. It is not very common to find this subject depicted on fonts. North Grimston, Yorks, is another instance.

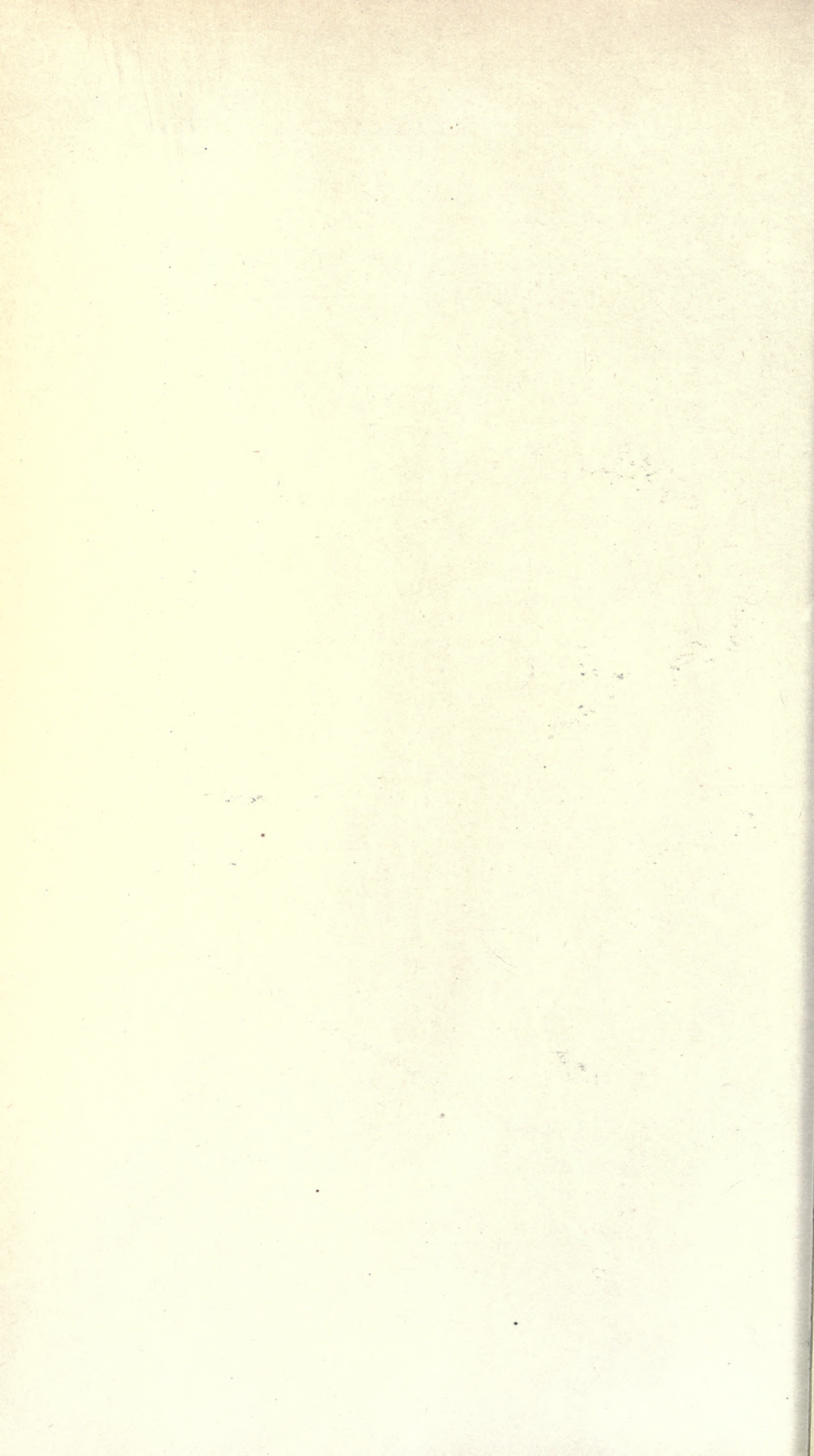
The other larger scene on the west represents two stages in a part of the legend of St. Nicholas of Myra, to whom the church is dedicated. This saint was the patron of sailors, and along the coast of Sussex there



[J. C. Stenning, Photo.]

Interior St. Nicholas, Brighton, looking East.

(From a water-colour drawing in the Vestry, made prior to the restoration of 1853.)



are many churches dedicated to him. The story told by this sculpture is as follows: St. Nicholas having checked the worship of Diana and cut down her sacred tree, Satan in revenge prepared an oil that would burn on water, and destroy even stone walls with fire. Assuming the part of a religious woman he offers a flask of this oil to some sailors who were voyaging to Myra with a request that as a mark of respect to the Bishop they would anoint the walls of his church with the oil. This scene is represented on the right of the vessel (notice the elaborately looped up sails): a female handing the vase of oil over the stern to the sailor who is holding the rudder. She wears the characteristic long sleeve, reaching to past the knee, worn by ladies in c. 1130. At the prow of the vessel we see St. Nicholas, with mitre and pastoral staff. Note the early low mitre, with "horns" to right and left. He is apparently questioning the sailor on the gift he has received. We must suppose him to be unfolding the machinations of "the evil and foul Diana" and bidding them cast the fatal present into the sea. This command was at once obeyed, and, contrary to nature, the oil blazed on the surface of the water. It is a curious subject, realistically treated.¹

The compartment on the south side of the font depicts the Baptism of our Lord, showing three figures standing under three arches. The central figure is that of Christ standing within a conventional mound of water. The figure on the left is John the Baptist, holding in his left hand a gourd or shell (perhaps containing the chrism), and across his left arm hangs a maniple or napkin. The winged figure is an angel, who is holding the baptismal apparel. The fourth compartment contains two figures, and its subject is obscure. It has been suggested that it represents the ordinance of marriage; or, more probably St. Nicholas, when a priest, giving a dowry to one of the three portionless maidens. The crouching male figure in a hooded cloak seems to be bearing a purse on a book, while the seated female with uplifted hand has a ball upon her head, which may be meant for the ball of gold that formed her dowry. There is a string of ornamentation above and below the sculptures, the latter representing conventional foliage.

Another proof of the Norman church is the presence of Caen stones built up in the Tower, which are tinged with pink, showing that it had at some time been exposed to fire. Many of these Norman stones have been carved with zigzag ornament and show axe-tooling. There are also thirteenth-century stones worked up in the Tower, which was probably erected in 1340-50, with Norman and Early English materials taken from the older church. A remarkable feature of the church is the admirable rood-screen which is very similar to those in East Anglia.² It belongs to the fifteenth century and was erected about 1430 or 1440. It is the only one of its type in Sussex. The loft is much wider on the E. than on the W. side, and its curious traceried cove on the E. is mainly original. It has double tracery like those in Norfolk, and must have been the gift of an eastern counties'

¹ The story is told in the *Legenda Aurea* of Jacobus de Voragine, published at Nuremberg in 1481, and in the *English of Wynkyn de Worde*.

² Illust. in *Suss. Arch. Coll.*, XXXIX.

man, or presented by someone who admired the East Anglian screens and had it fashioned in Norfolk or Suffolk. Before the restoration of 1853 the church must have presented a curious appearance, which is shown by some old drawings and prints. Owing to the growth of the population the church was blocked up with wooden structures of all shapes and sizes, great square pews, galleries tier upon tier, one being thrown across the chancel and another containing the organ at the tower end. The fishermen sat in a gallery over the rood-screen. The restoration was accomplished as a memorial to the Duke of Wellington, who is said to have worshipped in the vicarage pew during his boyhood. A memorial to Dr. Johnson was erected in 1909; he used to sit in the Thrales' pew in the north gallery.

The Lady Chapel on the south of the Chancel is of the Perpendicular period; the windows and door have been renewed, the former in correct reproduction; but the priest's doorway had been renewed in seventeenth-century Gothic, and has been restored to its (?) original Perpendicular design. The mouldings of the two arches to the chancel, with their capitals and bases, are original work. The registers date back to 1554, and for some unaccountable reason have been transferred to the modern church of St. Peter, now the parish church of the town. They should certainly be restored to their own church. The early book should be carefully rebound, as it is in a very dilapidated condition.

In the churchyard there is the stump of a churchyard cross, with its calvary of four octagonal steps and a base-block, probably of fourteenth-century date, which is unique in Sussex. Crosses are for some reason very uncommon in the county, perhaps because they were nearly always of wood. The Vicar of St. Nicholas, the Rev. H. M. Hordern, who takes a keen interest in the fabric of his church, intends to restore the cross, and would be grateful for suggestions with regard to the design.¹ There are some interesting tombs in the churchyard, including that of Captain Tattersall, who commanded the vessel that conveyed Charles II. to France after his remarkable flight from Worcester to the Sussex coast; of Phœbe Hessel, who served as a soldier at the Battle of Fontenoy and in several other campaigns, without disclosing her sex, and lived to the age of 108; of Mrs. Crouch, the actress; and of Martha Gunn, the bathing-woman in the time of George, Prince of Wales, afterwards King George IV, who made Brighton so notorious.

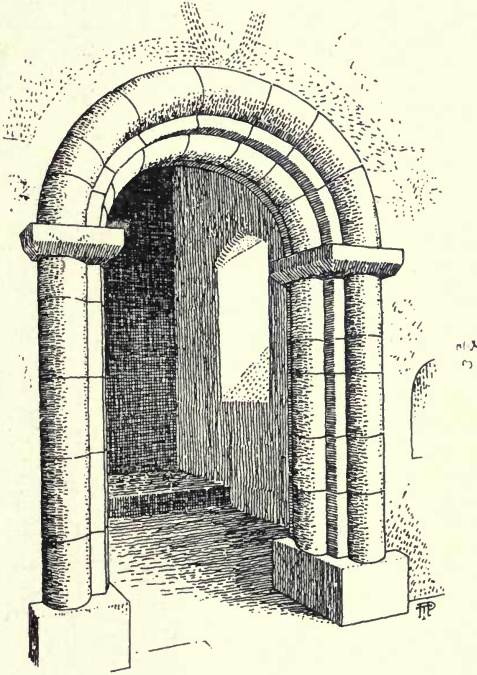
The antiquaries then walked to the station, and took the train to Hassocks, whence a delightful field-path conducted them to

CLAYTON CHURCH

Viewing the church from the exterior, Mr. Johnston pointed out its unmistakable Saxon character. It was undoubtedly a Saxon church that was altered and enlarged in the thirteenth century. The lower stones of the west wall showed "long and short" work. Entering the building through the old timber and plaster porch, ecclesiologists could

¹ The old cross is to be left as at present, but a modern restored copy may be erected on another site.

not fail to detect its Saxon characteristics. These were evident from an inspection of the Chancel arch. It has bold half-round mouldings, one forming a sort of projecting label continued, save for the interruption of the impost, down to the floor, the other being on the soffit. The impost is massive and chamfered. On each side of the arch is a semicircular-headed recess marking nave altars. The reason for the loftiness of Saxon churches was attributed by Mr. Johnston to the fear of Danish invasions. The Danes loved to destroy all ecclesiastical



Chancel Arch, St. John Baptist, Clayton.

(From a drawing by J. Tavenor-Parry in "Memorials of Old Sussex.")

buildings, and the easiest way was to set a torch to the eaves, especially when the roofs were thatched. Hence he thought the Saxons made their churches lofty so that it was more difficult for their foes to set fire to them. Another reason was their megalomania. Saxon art always inclined to bigness. They chose the biggest stones, big capitals, big churches. The walls of Clayton Church were less than the standard size in thickness, only measuring 2 ft. 6 in. The north doorway is of plain twelfth-century work, the 2-light west window is late fourteenth-century; there are two Saxon windows still blocked up on the north and south walls of the Nave.

The Chancel is thirteenth-century work with triple lancets at the east end and a round window over them. There is a blocked-up arch in the north and south walls of the Nave, showing that formerly there were transeptal chapels, which have disappeared. The windows of this Chancel are lancets, dressed up in stucco inside. In the Nave, Decorated windows have been inserted. One bell is of pre-Reformation date. On the south wall of the Chancel is the brass of a priest holding chalice and wafer, with an inscription of the date 1523, and another brass on the floor at the west end.

The most interesting feature of the church is the remarkable series of mural paintings which Mr. Johnston attributed to pre-Conquest times. The foundation of the work was doubtless laid in the tenth or eleventh century, according to Mr. Westlake, and in Norman times they were partly repainted and touched up. The paintings have become somewhat faint, but Mr. Johnston had made out the general scheme, which is a very large one representing the Doom, and extends over the whole of the wall above the Chancel arch, and along the north and south walls. In the centre is a figure of our Lord in glory, seated on a throne and within a pointed oval, having a pleated border. His right arm is raised in benediction and His left hand holds a book. On His left are those who are judged to be unworthy to enter the celestial mansions, and on His right the souls of the saved. The figures present a fairly complete study of early ecclesiastical vestments. The artist must have been an early reformer, somewhat socialistically inclined, as he placed on the left hand, among the rejected, kings and bishops who are debarred from entering Heaven. There is a large representation of a cross which two angels are holding up. Three ecclesiastics are trying to reach the cross, but one of the angels is repelling them by his arm, and somewhat distorting his figure in so doing. The bishops are clad in albes and long chasubles, and have flat cap-like mitres, with horns at the sides. One wears a pallium, or woollen scarf, and is therefore an archbishop. The ends of the stoles are fringed and played. The second bishop has a red chasuble and the third a yellow one. There are, or were, somewhat similar paintings in the Sussex churches of Hardham, Plumpton and Westmeston, all belonging to Lewes Priory which imported foreign artists from Cluny. The Hardham paintings (near Pulborough) are still fairly perfect, and have many points of resemblance. The Lewes Priory had much to do with the spread of this style of art in this country. Some authorities have been deceived by the rows of apparently trefoil arches which appear in these paintings at Clayton. They are really horse-shoe arches, which occur also at Hardham and at Witley, Surrey. The classical borders of scroll foliage are interesting; they appear round the Chancel arch and on the north and south walls of the Nave. There are faint remains of the Greek fret or key pattern, shaded as if in perspective, as in the Saxon painting at Witley, Surrey.

Then we see an angel with long wings presenting figures to our Lord, over the Chancel arch and below, over the Altar recess. He is giving the keys to St. Peter and the sword to St. Paul. On the north wall

is an hexagonal tower, like an early baptistery, with figures seated inside and outside. This may signify the "heavenly mansions" or Paradise. An ecclesiastic appears with a pastoral staff, vestments similar to those on the south wall, and long red shoes. He is followed by another ecclesiastic, and between them are figures of angels with wings, one turned up the other turned down. On the south wall are six heads of kings with primitive crowns. It is difficult to see or interpret much of the painting, which is one of the most important of the remaining mural decorative schemes in England. It is certain that much remains to be uncovered.

Passing from the church the Members, under the direction of Mr. J. E. Couchman, F.S.A., followed the London and Brighton road for a few hundred yards before taking a path on the west of the high road leading towards the Hassocks Sand Pits; on the top of the ridge they met the Roman road leading from the mouth of the Adur to Bromley. At this spot, from the farm known as the Cold Harbour Farm, the road has a width of 27 ft. with a camber of 18 in. The metal here is only about 5 in. thick and of land flints, but in the lower lying parts of the road, perhaps $\frac{1}{4}$ mile further north, the foundations were of large blocks of chalk and an upper surface of firm gravel and stones. By the side of this road and for a mile or two runs another road almost parallel, which forms the parish boundary, and is probably a British road of much earlier date. At the side of the British road lies the "bear stakes," where in later days the unedifying spectacle of bear-baiting took place.

At the sand pits, from which some 5 to 10 tons of clean red sand are extracted daily for building purposes, is situated the Roman burial ground. From this field of urns some hundreds of cinerary urns have been taken, together with the votive cups which usually accompany them, some few coins and much broken domestic pottery. Two wells were discovered, one belonging to the first century lined with clay 18 in. thick to within 14 ft. of the bottom, then with wide and thick pieces of oak, much of which was sound, black and very hard; a vase, Roman-Belgic, was found near the bottom belonging to the first century. The second well was later, lined the whole distance with very large flints. This was cleared to a depth of about 50 ft. without reaching the bottom, and further work had to be abandoned owing to the sides showing danger; this was probably dug in the early part of the second century.

Near this spot were found two neolithic clay spoons, the only others known at present being in Italy and France; they are supposed to be funeral furniture.

Four urns of Bronze-Age type have been found in the sand pits. Two large with wide top bands and conical bases, one small cup of the same type. One urn of the Maidstone type resembling a Stilton cheese and containing bones.

The Roman pottery consists of red Gallician ware called Samian, from Narbonne, Leroux and some German factories, many fragments having the potters' stamp; Belgic or Upchurch ware, thin with fine black lacquer; local, of coarse earth the usual style for cinerary

urns or of hard grey material of the Farnham character, and small cups from Castor with hunting scenes, barbotine New Forest and some others are represented in fragments.

On leaving the pit the old Saxon moot hill was pointed out from which the Hundred takes its name, and where for centuries the law was administered under the light of heaven. The Ham or Heim of the Priest and Lawman, still exists in the name of the "Ham Farm." A little to the east is the field of the Hundred settles, where those attending the moot rested for their three days' summons.

After tea at Hassocks, the return journey was then made to Brighton, and in the evening the Association adjourned to the Fine Art Gallery of the town, where the Mayor held a reception, to which he had invited many of the principal residents and the local members of the Sussex Archæological Society and the Brighton and Hove Archæological Club.

RECEPTION BY THE MAYOR OF BRIGHTON.

In welcoming the Association to Brighton, the Mayor said there was a good deal of discussion at the present time as to whether meetings of this sort should be held, but he was clearly of opinion that they should from time to time take their minds from the thoughts of war, and give their attention to such matters as those which the members of that Association had at heart. He had been reminded that the Association held a Congress in Brighton in 1885, when the then Mayor (Alderman E. J. Reeves) welcomed the members. Unfortunately many who were present on that occasion had passed away, and he thought it only right they should remind themselves of those men who had so much to do with the building up of the institution in which they were now gathered. Personally, he had to confess that he knew little about Archæology, but he would like to mention that a few years ago the Town Council took steps to purchase Hollingbury Camp, and that he took some interest in the matter, and through the good offices of Alderman Griffith they were able to purchase the whole of that Camp, which had now been secured to them for all time. He had often wondered why some part of Brighton had not been named after the old town of Brighthelmstone, and he would suggest that it should be revived in some place such as the old portion of the town near the market. Probably the members of the Association would be able to offer them some advice on that matter. In conclusion, the Mayor expressed the opinion that Town Councils should have the power to preserve old buildings, and to restrict or prohibit the erection of modern buildings in the vicinity which were not in keeping with the character of the buildings already in existence.

The Presidential Address was delivered by Mr. Keyser, who thanked the Mayor for his kindly welcome to the Association, and agreed with him that it was not advisable in war-time to abandon intellectual studies and pleasures. It was only a small Congress lasting for three days, and on a different scale to that which was held in the town thirty-two years ago, when the late Duke of Norfolk was present as President and

the Proceedings lasted nearly ten days. But they were anxious to keep up the continuity of the Congresses. The British Association was founded in 1843, and a few years later the Archæological Institute was founded, the two Societies working harmoniously together for the promotion of objects of antiquarian interest. Wherever they went they received a cordial welcome, and one of their purposes was to induce people to understand the importance of the buildings, and other objects in their own neighbourhood. They had helped to check the evils of over-restoration, and he thought that the feeling of reverence for ancient buildings and other remains of antiquity was progressing. Having alluded to the principal objects of interest in the neighbourhood and to the admirable work of the Sussex Archæological Society, Mr. Keyser turned to his own favourite subject of Church Architecture through the ages of Gothic art, and treated of mural paintings of which he had made a special study.

He referred in complimentary terms to the excellent arrangements made for their visit to Brighton by Mr. Oke, and went on to deal with the many historical objects of interest to be found in Sussex. He endorsed the remarks of the Mayor with regard to the holding of the Congress in war time, and pointed out that during the Crimean War the Association held its Congress as usual. He hoped the many changes that were promised or threatened after the war would in no sense interfere with their pursuit of Archæology.

The company were afterwards hospitably entertained by the Mayor to refreshments, his Worship being cordially thanked for his good offices in receiving the Association and in placing the buildings at their disposal.

On Friday, July 21st, a long day was spent at

LEWES,

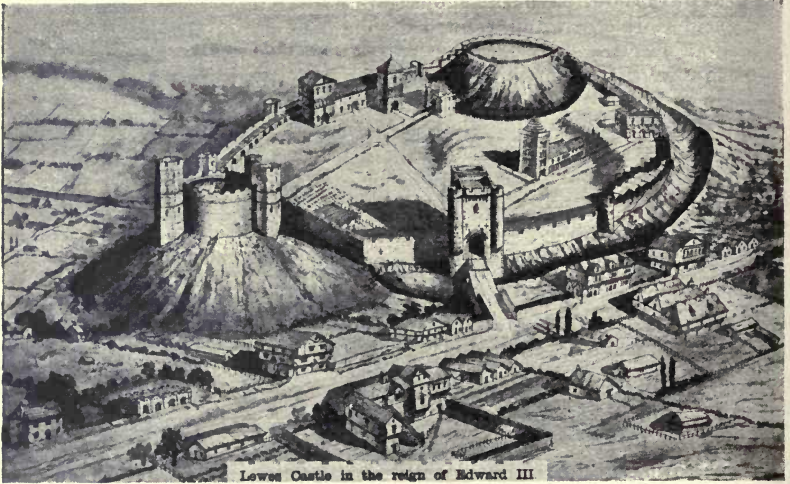
which town possesses many objects of antiquarian interest. The Mayor of Lewes, Alderman Rugg, received the visitors at the Town Hall, which is a modern building, but it contains a remarkable carved Renaissance staircase which came from Slaugham Place, one of the most magnificent mansions in Sussex in Jacobean times. This was set up in the Star Inn that occupied the site of the Town Hall, and which witnessed the burning of the sixteen Lewes Martyrs in 1556-57. When the inn was pulled down the staircase was set up in the Town Hall.

The Mayor made a gracious speech in welcoming the Association, and was thanked by the President. The Jacobean Blunt Cup was exhibited, and some special constables' staves, and pictures of the Corporation were examined. The visitors then proceeded to

LEWES CASTLE,

the headquarters of the Sussex Archæological Society. Mr. Johnston first described the Barbican, which was erected about 1340, with its machicolations, corbelled angle-turrets, cross-bow oylets and port-cullised gateways. This was erected by the last of the de Warennes,

Earl John, in advance of the Early Norman gate-tower of the first Earl William, which projected inwards from the curtain wall as at Arundel Castle. The curtain, surrounded by a dry moat, continues with a wide sweep, embracing the Great Court of the Castle, and was about 240 yds. long. On the right stood Brack Mount, probably the site of William de Warenne's Keep, and on the left the later Norman Shell Keep on a steep mound, partly artificial. This is in the form of an irregular oval on plan, about 80 ft. in diameter and 20 ft. high, with a wall 10 ft. thick in which is a large fireplace. Two of the four towers projecting from the Keep, of the thirteenth century, are nearly perfect.



Lewes Castle in the reign of Edward III.

(From the drawing by Charles H. Ashdown, Esq. By permission of Messrs. George P. Harrap & Co., from their School Wall Pictures of "Castles in their Glory.")

There are no remains of the Hall, Chapel, or lodgings. In the Keep are arranged some of the stone, metal, and other objects belonging to the Sussex Archæological Society, including the British dug-out canoe, with the anchor of yew, found in a mud bank of the Arun, near Burpham. In the

BARBICAN HOUSE

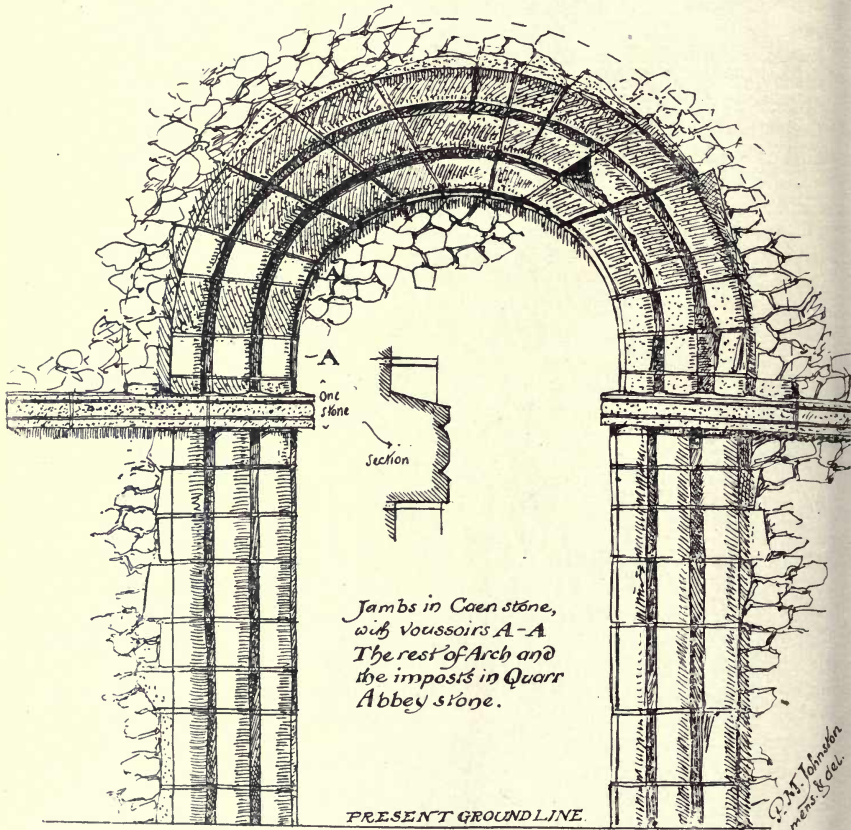
are stored a large Library and Museum of objects found on the site of Lewes Priory and from other parts of the county, including the excavations at Tortington Priory made in 1909, and the Alfriston Anglo-Saxon cemetery (conducted in 1913), tapestries, tiles, glass, early drawings and prints, and a large collection of Sussex ironwork.

Alderman A. F. Griffith kindly described the objects found in the Anglo-Saxon cemetery, including beads of amber, rock crystal, glass, and red porcelain, fibulæ of divers shapes, finger-rings, Roman coins pierced for suspension, bronze pins, tweezers, and bronze and iron buckles, ivory, glass vases, pottery shield bosses and studs and handles, axe-heads, swords, knives, &c. An excellent account of this important discovery by Alderman Griffith and Mr. L. F. Salzmann, F.S.A., has appeared in Vols. LVI and LVII of the Sussex Archæological Society's Collection, and has been reprinted. The objects found are therein admirably illustrated. Mr. Couchman showed some of the urns that he had found at Hassocks, and Mr. Johnston exhibited the interesting display of sculptured fragments from the great Cluniac Priory of St. Pancras, together with other stone fragments, from pre-Conquest to seventeenth century, which he has arranged chronologically within the Barbican tower.

THE CHURCH OF ST. JOHN SUB-CASTRO

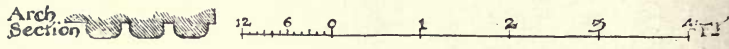
was then visited. This was entirely rebuilt in 1839, and is a terrible example of the architecture of that debased period. It has been described as a mixture between a castle and a barn, which is a libel upon both. But there are one or two things, dating from a remote antiquity, which serve to remind us that there was once an ancient church upon this site of Saxon origin. One is the row of fifteen inscribed stones arranged in a semicircle on the outside of the South wall of the Church. Eleven of these are original and bear Lombardic letters. The inscription is as follows: *Clauditur hic miles, Danorum regia proles; Mangnus nomen ei, Mangnæ nota progenici; deponens Mangnum, se moribus induit agnum, prepete pro vita, fit parvulus anachorita.* The following is a conjectural translation:—"Here is immured a knight, Mangnus by name, offspring of the royal race of the Danes, well known as of a great race; laying aside his greatness he assumed a lamb-like nature, and in place of an active life, became a lowly anchorite."

There is a play upon the word *Mangnus*, which is interpreted to be the same as *Magnus*, and there is a little confusion of tenses, but the meaning is fairly evident. A mystery shrouds the identity of this royal Dane, who became a recluse and occupied a cell attached to the Church. Beneath this inscription is fixed in a thirteenth-century sepulchral slab. On the East side of the North aisle is a veritable Saxon doorway—the original South door of the Church—with rounded "strip-work" in the jambs and arch, and moulded impost. The stones of the arch are a curious example of unmasonlike construction, not being made to radiate from a centre, but built up corbel fashion, as in early Irish work, perhaps to save wooden centering. Within it is built up another grave-slab. It is strange to find such evidences of antiquity in such a modern and hideous Church. We owe their preservation to the Sussex antiquary, M. A. Lower, but as far back as 1587 the inscription was rescued from destruction by Mr. Rowe, the Father of Sussex Antiquaries.



*Jambs in Caen stone,
with voussoirs A-A
The rest of Arch and
the impost in Quarr
Abbey stone.*

PRESENT GROUNDLINE.



*St. John-sub-Castro, LEWES.
Pre-Conquest Doorway.*

Saxon Doorway, St. John-sub-Castro, Lewes.

(From a drawing to scale by Philip M. Johnston, F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A.)

The visitors then proceeded to

ST. MICHAEL'S CHURCH,

which possesses one of the three round towers in Sussex, crowned by a shingled spire. It has a Decorated arcade very similar to those of St. Nicholas, Brighton, and probably set up by the same masons. The Church has been much modernised. There is a memorial brass to a former Rector, John Braydford, and another to the memory of a member of the Warenne family, as his shield of arms shows. A fine monument to the memory of the gallant Sir Nicholas Pelham, who at the head of some local levies repelled an attack of the French at Seaford in 1545. The inscription runs :—

“ His Valour's prooffe, his manly vertues prayse,
 Cannot be marshall'd in this narrow roome ;
 His brave exploit in great King Henry's dayes,
 Among the worthye hath a worthyer tombe ;
 What time the French sought to have sack't Sea Foord,
 This Pelham did repel 'em back aboard.”

Attention was called by Mr. Johnston to some of the old houses in the High Street. At the west corner of St. Martin's Lane there stands a remarkable house with overhanging story, and part of an arcade of three traceried panels of about the date 1320, no doubt a rare wood-traceried window ; the authorities of the town should see that this is preserved at all costs. A memorial tablet has been placed on another old house, recording the fact that Tom Paine, who wrote the “ Age of Reason,” and suffered much for his free opinions, lived there. It has a curiously carved wooden figure of a faun or devil lurking under the eaves.

After luncheon the company walked under the railway, which played much havoc with the Priory buildings, to the ruins of the once great Cluniac

PRIORY OF ST. PANCRAS, LEWES.

Mr. Johnston led the party to the remains of the Infirmary Chapel, and there told the story of the monastic house to the visitors who were seated on the grassy slopes. It was founded by William Earl of Warenne and Gundrada his wife, in 1078, and was the first settlement of the Cluniac monks in England. The Earl and his Countess had made a pilgrimage to Rome, and on their way stayed at Cluny, where they were much impressed by “ the great and holy abbey ” in honour of St. Peter, and by “ the sanctity, the religion and the charity so great there ” ; so they determined to build a similar house in England, and requested the Abbot to send him some monks. This he refused to do, but at length the negotiations were carried through, and Prior Lanzo became the first Prior. The buildings grew gradually, and in 1145 the grand church, which was as large as Lichfield Cathedral, was consecrated with great pomp and ceremony. Excavations on the site of the Priory have been carried out by Sir William Hope and Mr. Somers Clarke,

and its plan revealed.¹ It may be noted that Henry III slept at the Priory before the Battle of Lewes, while Prince Edward lay at the Castle. The disgraceful revelry of the royal soldiers is contrasted with the religious devotion of the Barons' army. On the following day the defeated King fled here for refuge, and here the Mise of Lewes was signed. The victory of the Barons had a valuable effect upon the British constitution. This magnificent church and other buildings were wantonly destroyed by Henry VIII and Thomas Cromwell, to whom the site was granted, their infamous agent being Portinari, an Italian, who carried out the work of demolition. He adopted the method of driving wooden wedges into the walls and then blowing them up with gunpowder. The ruins were for ages used as a quarry, and there is scarcely a house in the town or a neighbouring village that is without stonework taken from the Priory. Southover House is built almost entirely of Caen stones taken from the spoils. A Norman capital with carvings of St. Peter is now in the British Museum. In 1845 the remains of the foundations of the Church were discovered when the railway lines were laid. The style was distinctly that of the twelfth century, and may be described as Burgundian Romanesque. Looking at the remains of the Infirmary Chapel we noticed the good ashlar work. On the right of the central aisle Mr. Johnston stated that he had found some untouched coffins, probably containing the remains of some ecclesiastics, with lids intact. The graves are still there, and he wished to open them to see if there were any vestments or other objects; but it was decided not to touch them. The East window had five lights with Decorated tracery, and some fragments of old glass had been discovered. The East end was originally square, but the aisles had apses. The side altars were found and were almost perfect, but since their discovery mischievous or bigoted persons had mutilated them. The Infirmary Hall had probably piers of wood and was no doubt something like the *Domus Dei* at Chichester. The *necessaria* had been discovered. The sanitary arrangements were in an extraordinary state of preservation. Legends of underground passages often cluster round monastic buildings. These were usually, Mr. Johnston thought, drains and tunnels for carrying off surface water.

The Calvary mound, of considerable height and diameter, and the very perfect base of a Western porch or Galilee of the great church with parts of the plinth, bases and shafts in position, were also inspected.

It was difficult to leave the Priory ruins containing so much of interest, but time was inexorable, and the company passed on to

ST. JOHN'S CHURCH, SOUTHOVER,

which has an eighteenth-century brick tower incorporating fifteenth-century stonework, some Norman pillars and later details. In a modern Norman chapel are preserved two small lead coffins containing the bones of William de Warenne and Gundrada, discovered in 1845 during the railway excavations on the Priory site. Here is the coffin

¹ For papers and plans see *Suss. Arch. Coll.*, Vols. XXXIV and XLIX.



Ruins of St. Pancras' Priory, Lewes.
(From "*Memorials of Old Sussex.*")

slab of Gundrada made of black marble, richly carved, with a remarkable inscription. In a glass box are the fragments of a monk's cowl, and in the north wall is an effigy of John de Braose (1232).

The so-called "house of Anne of Cleves" was inspected. It is a charming house, but it is not likely that the divorced queen of Henry VIII ever lived there. He certainly gave her Southover House and other property, including larger and more convenient residences, and it is not likely that she would select this enlarged cottage or farmhouse to live in. It was probably occupied by her agent. Southover House or Grange is a very delightful residence built almost entirely with materials taken from the Priory. Here the visitors were cordially welcomed by Mrs. Stuart-Jones, who hospitably entertained them to tea in her beautiful garden, which contains some finely-wrought capitals from the Priory and a "Woe Water," or Winterbourne, which is dry in summer but often overflows its banks at other seasons of the year. Mr. Oke gave an address on the connection of the diarist, John Evelyn, with Lewes and the house in which they were being so kindly entertained.

A hurried visit was then paid to

ST. ANNE'S CHURCH,

almost entirely of Transition Norman date with a fine Norman font of basket pattern, a duplicate of that at Denton Church, Sussex. The Norman tower with its corbel-table, and the peculiar capitals of the south arcade, of a local type, having drops or pendants of foliage at the angles, were noticed. Similar pendants can be seen at Telscombe, Rodmell and Beddingham—all in this locality. Here is a memorial to Mr. M. A. Lower, the Sussex antiquary, to whom the county owes much for his painstaking exertions in archaeological pursuits.

The return journey to Brighton was then accomplished, a slight railway accident on the line unfortunately delaying the progress.

In the evening the company assembled again in the Art Gallery to hear a lecture by the Rev. P. H. Ditchfield, M.A., F.S.A., Editor of the *Journal* of the Association, on

OLD BRIGHTON.

He reminded his audience that though London-by-the-Sea seems a very modern town, it yet can lay claim to a very considerable antiquity. The remains of prehistoric peoples are plentiful. The whole shire of Sussex is an admirable field for archæological research. It has been one of the most undisturbed portions of the kingdom. There was no one great, well-kept highway from the coast of Sussex to the capital in post-Reformation times, until the development of Brighton produced what is now the broadest, the shortest, and the most convenient of the avenues from London to the sea. Hence Sussex people have an individuality all their own, a clanship that is almost as strong as that of the Devon folk.

The objects of the Bronze-Age period found in the Brighton district point unmistakably to an important population. Mr. Ditchfield referred particularly to the discovery at Hove in 1856 of an oak coffin containing the famous amber cup, among other articles, now in the Brighton Museum. It is clear that before the Roman occupation Sussex was peopled by an industrious, active and generally peaceful population. They had their fortified camps on the hills, wherein they could shelter their flocks in case of invasion. Hollingbury Hill dominated the whole district around Brighton, and on the east it was protected by the fortress known as White Hawk. There was a lake, called in Domesday Book Welesmere, and a river Wellsbourne, corrupted later into Whalesbone, that flowed into the sea at Pool Valley, which is the remainder



Amber Cup found at Hove and preserved in the Brighton Museum.

(From "*Memorials of Old Sussex.*")

of a harbour or port of Brighton. The Romans certainly occupied both camps, and had a settlement on Round Hill. Roman villas have been traced in Springfield Road and Preston Park. But the completeness of the Saxon invasion wiped away most traces of Briton and Roman, even of the names. Mr. Ditchfield quoted the suggested derivation of White Hawk from Wied ac, "the solitary oak," Hollingbury from the Hollingas, Islingword (should it be Islingworth?) from the Islingas, and Atlingworth, which means the form of the Aethlingas, or descendants of the noble. In Saxon times Brighton consisted of two hamlets, Islingworth and Atlingworth. These were united by a Saxon, Bright-helm, and fortified by him with a bank and stockade, thus making Bright-helm's-"tun" or town. Mr. F. E. Sawyer collected eighty-four

different ways of spelling the word. The Domesday Survey shows Brighton, with a population of about 1,000, paying a rent of herrings. One of the three manors belonged to the famous Earl Godwin.

Coming to Norman times, Mr. Ditchfield mentioned a charter, dated 1170, which speaks of the wall of the cemetery of St. Nicholas Church, and another has a reference to Magister R. de Kant, the first parson of the Church. A charter dated 1135-51 mentions two churches in Brighton, probably St. Nicholas and the chantry chapel of St. Bartholomew.

This latter was totally destroyed by the French, whom, with the sea, the speaker classed as the greatest enemies of old Brighton. He spoke of the French raids on the coast, particularly in the sixteenth century,



Celtic Vessel found at Elm Grove, Brighton.

and of the reprisals taken by the English. Reprisals were considered to be necessary in ancient warfare. The Admiral de Wallop who carried out these reprisals probably gave us the word wallop, "to give a good thrashing."

However, the sea was more formidable than the French. Between the Taxation of Pope Nicholas in 1292 and the Nonarum Inquisition of 1341 no less than 40 acres of land were washed away.

Brighton seems to have been a fairly prosperous place in the time of Charles I. It could then boast of its 500 families and over 2,000 inhabitants. It was rather proud of itself and held up its head with any town in the county of Sussex. The Civil War and the sea between them caused this pride to fall. The population decreased, and year by year the sea swallowed up a bit of land and two or three houses.

Nobody took any trouble to stop this gradual eating away of old Brighton, and if anyone proposed to do anything he was voted a bore. But, observed Mr. Ditchfield, the sea proved itself a greater bore. From other experiences he guessed that it is the nature of the air of Brighton to make people easy going and rather sleepy.

So Brighton slept, and the sea came, and in the first quarter of the eighteenth century made direct assault upon the town, invaded its streets, and undermined its houses, which came toppling to the ground. Defoe, in describing the effects of the great storm of November 27, 1703, says: "Brighthelmstone, being an old built and poor though populous town, was most miserable, torn to pieces, and made the very picture of desolation that it look't as if an enemy had sack't it."

It was but a poor little fishing village when "a certain Dr. Richard Russell" discovered it, and wrote his treatise on sea-bathing that made the fame and fortune of the town.

If we would understand what the town was like a little more than a century ago, we must make the acquaintance of the bucks with stupendous stocks and hats with brims weirdly curly and great wigs, of noisy and shameless corinthians, with votaries of "the Fancy," and with the Regent himself, George, Prince of Wales, whom Thackeray described as "nothing but a coat and wig, and a mask smiling under it—nothing but a great simulacrum." You can see him driving his coach, handling a pretty team of bays accompanied by several of his boon companions. Among them was Beau Brummell, who was still in the sunshine of royal favour, and had not yet been driven into exile to end his days miserably in Calais and Caen; Richard, the seventh Earl of Barrymore, known familiarly as Hellgate; Henry, the eighth Earl, called Cripplegate, because of his club foot; and his brother Augustus, styled Newgate, because he had known the inside of every other prison. There was also a sister, Lady Caroline Barrymore, who was called Billingsgate, because of her varied assortment of strong language, which she was ever ready to pour forth when her temper was aroused.

As good points in the memory of the Prince Regent, Mr. Ditchfield recalled that he founded the Royal Society of Literature, and founded Sussex cricket. Brighton really owes its notoriety to the Prince's uncle, the Duke of Cumberland, execrated as "the butcher." He had been educated in the German Military school, so perhaps this, said the speaker, was not surprising. He was a beast in many ways. However, he had the good taste to come to Brighton and reside in Grove House. To visit him came his graceless nephew, the Prince Regent, who was very pleased with his entertainment.

The art of illumination was not so well known in those days as in these. There were no myriad electric lights to be turned on in a flash. But the inhabitants honoured the royal visit by a brilliant display of tallow candles, which caused a considerable increase in the price of tallow. The Prince enjoyed himself so much that he determined to have a permanent residence by the sea; hence the Pavilion. Mr. Ditchfield amused his hearers by quoting both the extravagant eulogies and the biting satires on this building, varying from a

“magnificent palace, worthy of a sovereign and capable of sustaining the splendours of a court,” to “a serio-comic Chinese pumpkin.”

The paper also included full reference to well-known Brighton characters, such as the Master of Ceremonies, Colonel Eld, Martha Gunn, Old Smoaker, Phœbe Hessel, and others whose deeds are best forgotten in decent society. Mr. Ditchfield touched on the literary history of Brighton. He recalled that famous “Pacifist” sermon, which was preached at Brighton in 1793 by the Rev. Vicesimus Knox, at a time of universal war, and of the uproar the sermon created through England. Pacifists in war time were evidently thought as little of as pacifists now. Robertson of Brighton was, of course, included in the survey. The reference to the escape of King Charles brought up mention of a person far more creditable to Brighton than many who are better remembered. This was Richard Carver, who carried the King on his back to Tattersall’s ship. Invited by the King in later years to name his reward, he asked for the release of some of the Friends. So, through Richard Carver of Brighton were set free from prison 72 Friends and 20 Nonconformists, among them the author of “The Pilgrim’s Progress.”

Mentioning interesting tombs in St. Nicholas churchyard, the speaker quoted the following epitaph, on a Mr. Law :

“Stop, reader, and reflect with awe,
For Sin and Death have conquered Law,
Who in full hope resigned his breath,
That Grace hath conquered Sin and Death.”

After a cordial vote of thanks to the Rev. P. H. Ditchfield, the Rev. Prebendary J. Dormer Pearce also thanked the lecturer for his paper. He has recently been appointed Vicar of Brighton, and alluded to the good and useful work that the Association had accomplished in arranging the Brighton Congress and to some archæological discoveries recently made in Essex where he had resided before coming to Brighton.

The meeting took the opportunity of expressing the cordial thanks of the Congress to the Mayor and Mayoress of Brighton, and to Mr. Oke and Mr. P. M. Johnston, but for whom, said the President, this Brighton gathering would have been impossible.

Mr. Oke, with his response, paid a tribute to the memory of the great Sussex geologist, Dr. Mantell.

Mr. Ditchfield proposed a very cordial vote of thanks to the President for all that he had done to make the Congress so completely successful.

On Saturday, July 21st, the last day of the Congress, the company took the train to Shoreham and visited

NEW SHOREHAM CHURCH.

This noble Church, of which the aisled Choir, Transepts, Tower and one bay of the Nave remain, was begun in 1103 by the de Braoses. Swinburne speaks of it as

“The hoary grey church whose story silence utters
And age makes great.”

The majestic four-storied Tower and lofty Transepts date principally from early in the twelfth century, while the square-ended vaulted Choir and aisles were rebuilt as they are now existing, on a larger plan, about 1180-1200, when the original building gave place to the magnificent arm which is now seen. The Nave was destroyed during the Reformation period, except a bay on each side, with drum columns and circular scalloped capitals. Its aisles have also disappeared. The Norman doorway at the west was made up of old stones that were first carved about the year 1140-50.¹ The interest of this door is extraordinary as regards Sussex. It has beak-head mouldings, of which there are only two other examples in the county, at Broadwater and Tortington. It is strange that beak-heads are so rare in Sussex and comparatively common in other shires. A rood loft piscina remains inside—of which examples occur at Eastbourne and Petworth. An exceptional feature of the Tower is that it has four stories, which is rare in Sussex. The lower part dates back to the beginning of the twelfth century, the upper portion belongs to the Transition period. It has a corbel-table on the parapet, the angles of which are splayed off—a refinement well worthy of notice. Every detail shows careful workmanship. Near the top are three sound holes, an arrangement that occurs also at Old Shoreham and Southwick. The flying buttresses are the glory of this church and are a valuable example of this feature in England, being an early experiment in this method of counteracting the thrust of the vault. They have plain cone-shaped pinnacles which perhaps originally had finials. The windows in the aisles date originally from 1160, but have been largely restored. The east end with its triple lancets shows French influence and is one of the finest either in or out of Sussex. The wall is adorned by a course of sunk quatrefoils, showing the French style. Evidently the builder imported a body of French masons to carry out this work. Their influence is evident in the vaulting of the aisles. The connection of this Church with the Abbaye of Saumur perhaps accounts for this French influence. The wheel window is an unfortunate restoration, very badly executed. The interior is absolutely beautiful with its noble arcades, curiously varied triforia and clerestory. The pillars on the north are round and octagonal alternately, with fine capitals, differing in each and resting on bases with angle-spurs, or “griffes.” The capitals are adorned with curled palm-fronds, a crusader’s emblem, and these constitute another evidence of the work of French carvers and masons. At Reigate there is a repetition of the palm-frond, which can be seen also in several churches in Kent. Mr. Johnston pointed out the sunk quatrefoils in the string-course and the triple-vaulting shafts. The clerestory windows are lancets. In the singularly beautiful pointed arch leading from the north transept dog-tooth ornament occurs, together with the palm-frond. Attention was

¹ In its present form this doorway has a pointed arch, but the shape of the vousoirs and the general character of the work suggest that in its original position the arch was semi-circular and of wider span.

drawn to the arcades of circular arches in the aisles, ornamented with the enriched chevron. The square Norman font, made of Sussex marble, is a splendid example.

A walk along by-paths led the company to

OLD SHOREHAM CHURCH,

dedicated to St. Nicholas, a Saxon and Norman structure of great beauty and excellence. It is a cruciform building. The western end of the nave is Saxon, and Mr. Johnston pointed out the "long and short" quoins and blocked-up Saxon doorway of Sussex sandstone in the north wall, which is all probably pre-Conquest. A chevron-bordered lancet has been pierced in the central pilaster-buttress of each transept—modern imitations of those in the Clymping Tower. In walking round the exterior we observed at the west end a Saxon window a little transformed, two fine Decorated windows with reticulated tracery and a low-side window. There is an excellent Norman doorway with hollow mouldings and early voluted capitals of the date 1130. On entering the church we were struck by the wonderful architectural marvels it contains. Under the central tower are four arches adorned with a variety of Norman carvings and mouldings. We see the imitation of the sea-shore products in the limpet; the cushion capitals, square abaci with hollow chamfer, chevron, with pellets, beaked, cable with beads, stud, lozengé with rose, wheel-like studs, billet, and all the wealth of the Norman masons' art. Portrait-heads of Henry I and his Queen decorate the north transept arch. The King has elaborately curled hair and beard. There are great rarities in the early woodwork, the Norman rood-beam with billet mouldings, the remarkable chancel screen of later thirteenth-century work, with original cornice, arches and shafts, one of the earliest in the country; and the chancel tie-beam with dog-tooth moulding. The chancel has an Early English low-side window and graceful Early Decorated east and south windows. The font is modern. There is a brass to the memory of Captain Poole (1652). A trefoiled-headed Early English piscina and a four-centred arched recess of the fifteenth century for the eastern sepulchre may be seen in the south and north walls. It is seldom that one is privileged to visit such a beautiful English church.

Journeying back to the station the company took the train to Chichester, though the President, Mr. Keyser, and the writer of these notes, were obliged to return homewards without visiting the cathedral city. Those who were able to continue the journey on their arrival at Chichester first inspected Bishop Storey's Market Cross (c. 1520)—the best of its type left in England; and after luncheon visited

CHICHESTER CATHEDRAL,

by the kind permission of the Very Rev. the Dean, and under the guidance of Prebendary Bennett and the Hon. Director. So much has

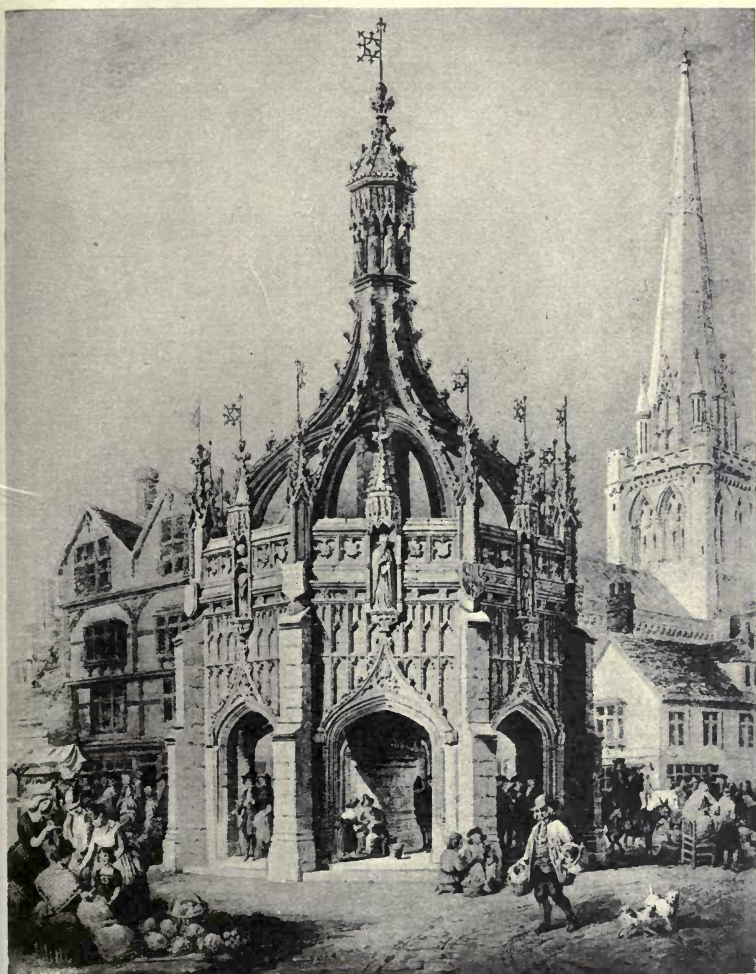
been written about the history of this magnificent building¹ that only a brief note, kindly supplied by the Director, is necessary. It may be stated that the members were permitted to inspect various portions of the cathedral which are not open to the public. The cathedral of the Holy Trinity, the successor of the Saxon cathedral at Selsey, was built 1091–1123 by Bishop Ralph Luffa. Consecrated in 1108, it was partly burnt in 1114, and again seriously injured by fire 1186, when it was extensively repaired by Bishop Seffrid II. The nave arcades were refaced, leaving Bishop Ralph's arches and triforia. The clerestory was almost rebuilt and the eastern bays of the choir entirely. Note the beauty of their circular arches and clustered shafts, standing out boldly from the main pier, also the richly carved clerestory arches, and the beautiful arch to the Lady Chapel. The western bays of the Lady Chapel are the work of Bishop Hilary, or his successor, John Greenford, of about 1170; the remainder is an extension or rebuilding in very graceful Early Decorated work (c. 1300). The Saxon bas-reliefs from Selsey are of peculiar interest. Note the interesting double-storied chapels of the transepts. The tombs of the Bishops, the shrine of St. Richard or of Bishop Stratford, the remains of the Arundel screen—the removal of which precipitated the fall of the spire in 1861—the restored altar-screen of Bishop Sherburne, the fourteenth-century choir-stalls and their misericords, Bernardi's pictures of the kings and bishops, the exceptionally fine early chests and the treasures preserved in the Library off the north transept, anterior to the fire of 1186—where is some fine vaulting with chevroned ribs—are points of interest.

Other structural points to be noticed are: the lateral chapels (a distinctly French feature, like many others in Chichester) of c. 1280, with fine tracery and gargoyles—the early stone reredoses and Fitzalan tombs. The north and south porches of Early English design, the southwest tower, known as St. Richard's, of fine Norman and Transitional work, with a rich doorway, the Perpendicular cloisters and detached Bell Tower, are features to be seen outside, where also Bishop Ralph's Early Norman windows and corbel tables can be studied. The central tower and spire, rebuilt higher after the fall in 1861, and the northwest tower, that lay in ruins since the sixteenth century, and recently rebuilt, are other features of the exterior.

By kind permission of the Bishop of Chichester, the private chapel in the Palace was inspected, and its chief glories—the vaulting of c. 1195, the thirteenth-century painting of the Virgin and Child, and the early fourteenth-century screen to the ante-chapel—were pointed out. The door to the Chapel with a circular moulded arch is of c. 1195.

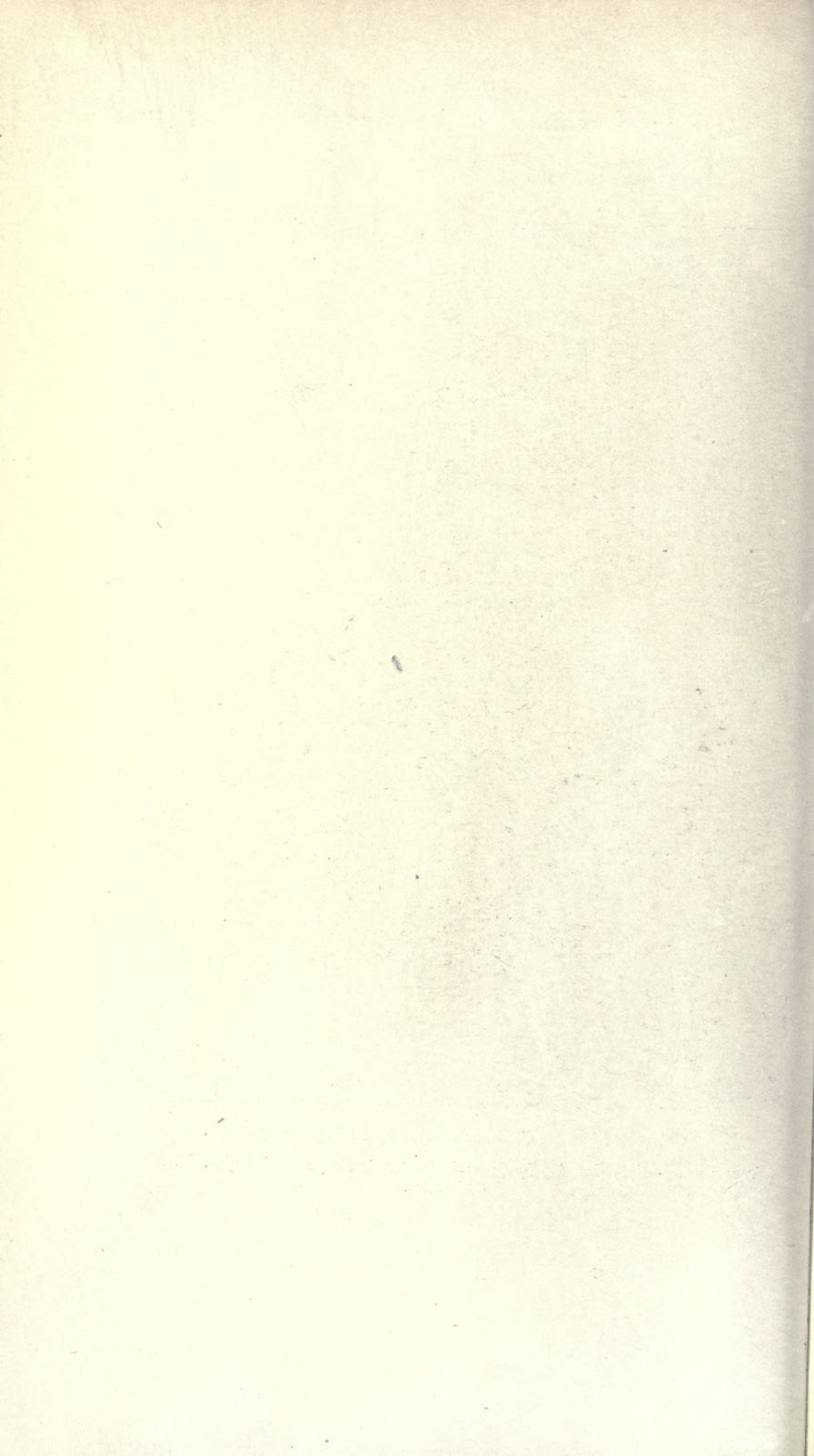
The church of St. Olave, on a Roman site, and largely built of Roman bricks, was also visited, and Mr. Johnston pointed out the early doorway, exceptionally narrow, in its south wall, and the beautiful Decorated piscina in the north wall of the Nave. The Rector, Canon Deedes,

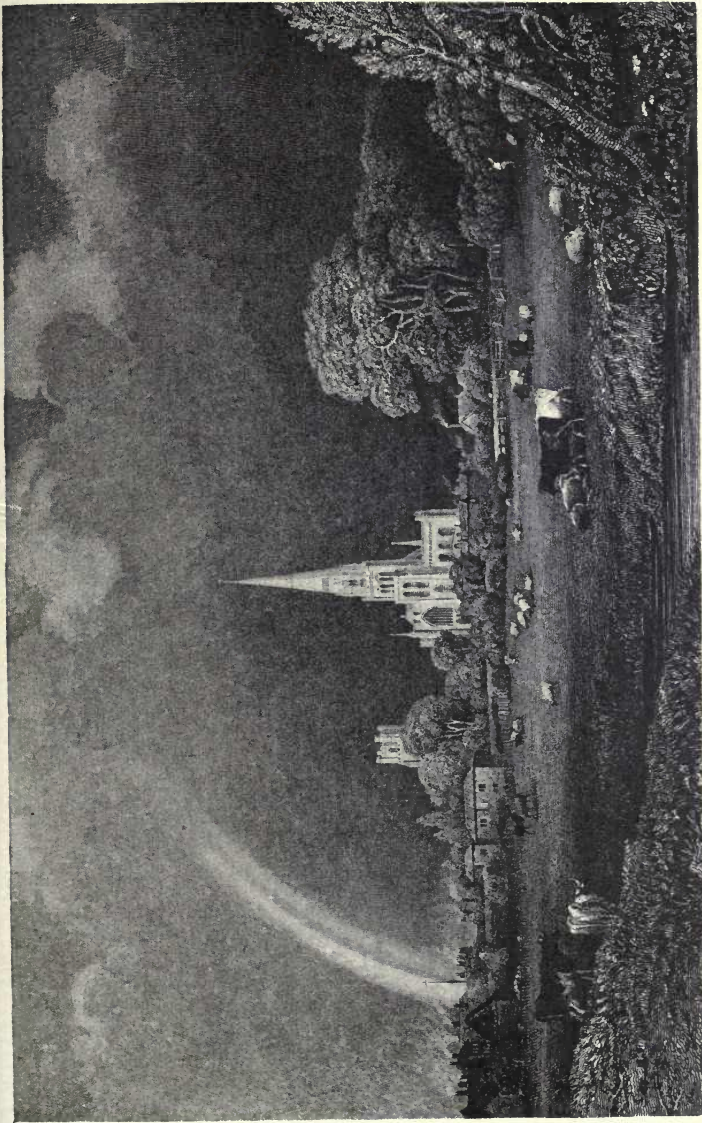
¹The reader is referred to the special volume in Bell's Cathedral Series and to the "Cathedrals of Great Britain" (third edition) by the Editor of this *Journal*. (Messrs. Dent & Sons.)



Chichester Market Cross, as erected by Bishop Storey, 1499.

(From a water-colour drawing by Owen B. Carter, in the possession of J. W. Moore, Chichester.)





Chichester Cathedral.
(From an engraving by J. Jeavons after a drawing by G. F. Robson.)



described the very remarkable Elizabethan chest, with its curious emblematical carvings.

The last moments of the Congress were spent (by kind permission of the Custos, Canon Masters) at

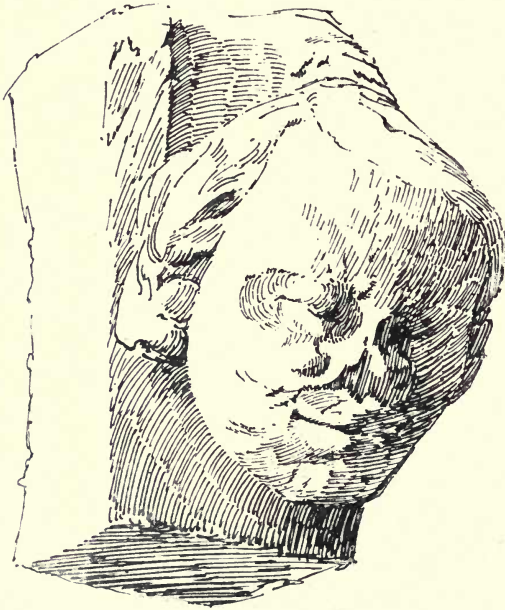
ST. MARY'S HOSPITAL,

which is a perfect example of the *Domus Dei* of the thirteenth and fourteenth-century dates. Its nave was used for the sick inmates and the chancel for daily services. The unrivalled screen and stalls with carved misericords (c. 1290), the traceried windows, sedilia, piscina and the enormous roof, are points worthy of notice.

The Mayor of Chichester (Alderman S. A. Garland) kindly invited the members to tea at his house, Ivy Bank, St. John's Road, which entertainment formed a fitting and pleasing conclusion to the proceedings of the Congress.

It is a pleasure to record the grateful thanks of the Association to all those who contributed to the success of the Brighton Congress, not omitting the "Clerk of the Weather" which was brilliant through all the three days of our sojourn by the sea. We desire to thank the Reception Committee of which the chairman was the Worshipful the Mayor of Brighton. To this gentleman we owe much for his hospitality and for the use of the Art Gallery for our meetings, and to the Mayors of Chichester and Lewes for their welcome and hospitable reception. To the incumbents of the churches visited, for their welcome, including the Vicar of Brighton and the Rev. H. M. Hordern, Vicar of St. Nicholas Church, and to Mrs. Stewart-Jones for her entertainment in the beautiful garden of Southover Grange. The Association is greatly indebted to our President, Mr. Keyser, for his presence, his learned Address and his kindly expressions of thanks to our hosts on various occasions; to our Congress Secretary, Mr. Oke, for his excellent arrangements, which owing to the difficulties of transit during war-time, were exceptionally onerous; and to the Hon. Director, Mr. Johnston, for his admirable guidance, his learned descriptions of the places visited, and for the wealth of architectural knowledge which he disclosed for the benefit and instruction of the members. We shall not easily forget all that he did for us. Special thanks are due to Prebendary F. G. Bennett and Canon Cecil Deedes for their help and guidance at the Cathedral and St. Olave's, Chichester. We have to thank also Mr. Couchman, F.S.A., for kindly conducting us to the Roman cemetery which he has been fortunate enough to discover, while congratulating him on his find; Alderman Griffith for his admirable description of the relics of the Anglo-Saxon cemetery stored at the Lewes Museum; and the authorities of the Sussex Archæological Society for their permission to inspect their treasures. Archæology owes much to that Society for all the work that it has accomplished for the preservation of objects of antiquarian interest in the county and for the fifty-eight volumes of "Collections," wherein the results of much careful research work are stored.

Note by Mr. William A. Cater, F.S.A.—Chichester may be congratulated in possessing so unique a relic of the Friars as the Choir of the Franciscan Church; also for the efforts which have resulted in the preservation of so beautiful a monument of the Mission of the Grey Friars. It is to be hoped, however, that after the war further attention may be directed to removing the abutting disfigurements which still remain, and perhaps to restoring the edifice to sacred uses. A careful monograph on its architectural features, by the late Mr. W. V. Crake, F.S.A., has been published in "Sussex Archæological Collections,"



Portion of Hood-Moulding or Dripstone, found on the Site of the Dominican Priory, Chichester.

Vol. LI, but it is not evident therefrom whether any exploratory work was done to ascertain the dimensions of the Nave and the planning of the claustral buildings.

Probably not less important in their work among the mediæval citizens of Chichester, but later in their arrival than the Franciscans, as no mention of them occurs in St. Richard's will (died 1253), not a vestige remains of the Dominican House; neither has it been possible to definitely locate their Church or any of their domestic buildings. They appear to have occupied the south-eastern corner of the city within the walls, their area having been bounded by East Street on

the north and by the line formed by Baffin's Lane and Friary Lane on the west. They were fortunate soon after their advent in gaining the favour of Eleanor of Castile, the Queen of Edward I., who in 1285 and the following year presented them with additional lands, thus enabling them to extend their early small habitation. In 1289 they obtained permission to enclose their acquisitions with a wall, a portion of which precinct wall may still remain, viz., that forming the east side of Baffin's Lane. Immediately to the south of East Street their cemetery was probably located, *i.e.*, between their Church and the main street, for remains were found when the foundations for houses on the west side of St. John's Street were being excavated. Mr. G. H. Catt, Chichester, has had brought to his notice a sculptured head found on this site, and which had probably formed the termination of a hood moulding or dripstone. Of this he has made an excellent sketch, which we have pleasure in reproducing. This stone was discovered by Mr. A. J. Kerwood while digging in his garden at No. 7, St. John's Street, and we may with some degree of confidence consider it a relic (the only one which has so far come to light, and which consequently should be carefully preserved) of this habitation of the Black Friars.

There appears a curious, but not singular, inexactitude in the existing nomenclature of the localities in which these two convents were situated. Priory Lane (derived evidently from Priory House which had formerly occupied a portion of the site of the Grey Friars domestic buildings) should have been called Friary Lane, it being inaccurate to describe as a priory a Franciscan House, whereas in designating a Dominican House either priory or friary would be equally appropriate. While therefore Friary Lane on the Black Friars' site is not incorrect, yet there would be a gain in accuracy by the exchange of names.





Archaeological Notes.

THE WAR AND ARCHÆOLOGY.

THE war is responsible for a vast amount of destruction of objects of antiquarian and historic interest and of priceless works of art and architecture. In addition to the continued bombardment of Rheims Cathedral we have to deplore the wanton destruction of the ancient castle of Coucy by the barbarians of the German army. Some objects, however, of important archæological interest the war has brought to light. In the Balkans the British Army is fighting on storied ground, and a number of interesting antiquarian "finds" have been made in the course of trench-digging. "A well-known English professor of Archæology," wrote Mr. Ward Price recently, "was here already as a lieutenant in the R.N.V.R., and he was put in charge of the collection of British finds, which he is arranging as a local archæological museum in the White Tower. The best things in the collection so far came from a tomb . . . near Langaza Lake. It contained a skeleton bedecked with ornaments of gold and bronze. . . . The bones . . . are in the White Tower, awaiting examination by an anthropologist."

UNEARTHED IN MACEDONIAN TRENCHES.

ATTACHED to the British and French forces at Salonica is an archæological party under the direction of an English officer, who is an ardent archæologist, and their work has proved both interesting and profitable. The digging of trenches has unearthed some fine fragments of statues, decorated vases, delicate sculpture, kitchen utensils, toilet objects, and pieces of money, and these have been installed at a museum in the White Tower at Salonica. This recalls the fact that in their European campaign the French took with them a number of savants, who accomplished similar work of great value. They were mounted on donkeys, and when a column was attacked a square was formed and they were placed in the centre. When danger threatened the French troops called out, "Donkeys to the centre!" a cry which even yet has survived to a limited extent in the French Army.

ROMAN COINS FOUND AT YEovil.

AN important find of Romano-British coins, numbering nearly a thousand, has been made near the line of a Roman road at Yeovil in excavating a trench to convey a water-pipe. They are of the Constantine period, dating approximately from A.D. 310 to A.D. 350. Traces of Roman occupation, in the shape of roofing tiles, tessaræ, and pottery fragments, have also been discovered. The coins are in a good state of preservation, which leads to the supposition that they must have been contained in a crock. The antiquarian value of the find is very considerable.

ROMAN PAVING AT YEovil.

ANOTHER interesting find of Roman remains has been made on the Westland Estate, Yeovil, a portion of a tessellated pavement being uncovered quite close to the spot where a hoard of coins was recently unearthed. The find was under a plot now being cultivated for war food. It is proposed to cover up the part of the pavement already laid bare till the crop has been harvested, and then a more thorough investigation will be made.

DISTILLED SPIRITS IN SCOTLAND.

AT a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, the Hon. John Abercromby, LL.D., President, in the Chair, Mr. R. Scott Moncrieff, Secretary, read a paper on the early use of spirits in Scotland.

Although there is distinct evidence that a malt distilled spirit had been manufactured as early as 1494, there is no evidence of its use as a common drink until the middle of the following century. Prior to that time it was apparently only used medicinally or chemically. In this latter capacity James IV had used it in the preparation of gunpowder, a fact which is of particular interest at the present time, looking to the use that is now being made of alcohol in the manufacture of high explosives. Even in the beginning of the sixteenth century the manufacture of aqua vitæ was of sufficient value to make it worth conferring the exclusive right of making and selling it in Edinburgh upon the Guild of Surgeon-Barbers. This monopoly seems to have been regarded as a perquisite of the barber part of the fraternity, for in 1556, when there occurs in the city records the first reference to its infringement, it is the barbers who alone are referred to as having right to make and sell aqua vitæ in the city. By that date aqua vitæ was

evidently in common use, for the entry refers to its being sold on market days. By 1579 its use had become so common all over Scotland and the amount of malt consumed in its manufacture so great as to call for the intervention of Parliament. On the preamble that grain was likely to be scant during the year, largely owing to the use of malt in the manufacture of aqua vitæ, the Act forbids anyone except Earls, Lords, Barons and gentlemen, for their own use distilling aqua vitæ. In regard to other countries there was evidence to show that a grain spirit was in use as a drink in Northern Germany by the end of the fifteenth century, and in Ireland probably by the beginning of the sixteenth century. In England, although spirits were drunk by the gentry by the middle of the sixteenth century, they do not seem to have been used among the common people until after 1585. The earliest use of the word "usquebagh" which Mr. Scott Moncrieff had found was in Fynes Morrison, writing in the end of the sixteenth century, and the earliest use of the word "whisky" in a letter from Inverness dated October 28, 1736.

A VETERAN SCOTTISH SOLDIER.

At a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Mr. J. A. Inglis, F.S.A.Scot., read an account of a veteran Scottish soldier, Colonel George Monro, who commanded the garrison at Fort William Henry, in the colony of New York, in 1757, when the fort was taken by Montcalm, after a gallant defence, and many of the garrison afterwards massacred by the Indians. Colonel Monro figures in Fennimore Cooper's "Last of the Mohicans," but the account of him is entirely fanciful. He was the younger son of another Colonel George Monro, who in 1702 bought the property of Auchinbowie, near Bannockburn.

HOARDS OF BRITISH COINS.

BEFORE the Scottish Society of Antiquaries, Mr. George Macdonald, C.B., LL.D., F.S.A.Scot., gave an account of two hoards of coins, one from Berwickshire and the other from Banffshire, both of which had been buried about the year 1800, and which afforded an excellent illustration of the condition of the currency at that period. The larger hoard consisted of coins ranging from the date of Charles II to George III. and, as an indication of their condition, it may be mentioned that of 134 shillings, 56 were illegible, and of 77 sixpences, 62 were in a similar state, while, with hardly an exception, the latter coins had been "crooked" to test their genuineness.

SYMBOL STONE, ABERDEENSHIRE.

MR. JAMES RITCHIE, corresponding member of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, at a meeting of that Society, described a sculptured symbol stone at Rayne, and a small cross at Culsalmond, in Aberdeenshire. The latter was accidentally discovered by the farmer, and is a block of reddish granite, bearing on one surface symbols, three in number—namely, mirror case, the double crescent, and a rectangle with rod attached, of which last mentioned no previous example has been found hitherto on any of the Scottish symbol stones.

DISCOVERY OF ANCIENT CHINA TRADE ROUTE.

Valuable Archaeological Finds.

A REUTER'S representative has received some interesting details of the discoveries made in Central Asia by Sir Aurel Stein, who has reached England on the conclusion of a two and a half years' journey, undertaken by order of the Government of India, through Eastern Turkestan, Westernmost China, the Pamirs, Russian Turkestan, and along the Perso-Afghan border. In endeavouring to find new routes he followed a line of march to the Pamirs which took him across Darel and Tangier, a territory in the Hindukush, never before visited by Europeans. After crossing into Chinese Turkestan, Sir Aurel Stein made his way as rapidly as possible towards the desert round the dried-up Lop Nor, visiting on his way a sand-buried old site in the Taklamakan desert. He discovered numerous quantities of ancient documents written on wood and in an early Indian language, dating from the third century A.D. Among other discoveries at the same desert site was a large ancient orchard, still showing with uncanny clearness the elaborate arrangement of fruit-trees and vines carried over trellis, all dead. The settlement had been abandoned close on 1700 years ago. The explorer followed up through the Lop desert the earliest route by which the Chinese carried trade and influence into Central Asia from the end of the second century before Christ. For over 20 marches the route was now quite waterless, a terrible wilderness of salt and wind and eroded clay, and ice sufficient to assure at least one month's supply of water for the party which, including excavation labourers, counted 35 people. Perhaps his most important discovery was the tracing of this ancient route and of the numerous ruins along that part of it which lay through a dried-up ancient delta.

The numerous pieces of exquisite Chinese silks and brocades found in the cemeteries will open up a new chapter in the history of the textile

art. In that part of the desert, which was waterless in ancient times for a distance of some 150 miles, he was able with accuracy to track the route of the ancient caravans by finds of coins and other small objects accidentally dropped. Ancient ammunition in the shape of bronze arrow-heads, probably from some arsenal, also strewed the track in the salt desert near that point. During another portion of his travels, Sir Aurel explored for a distance of 250 miles a further section of the armed fortified border line by which the Chinese had endeavoured to protect their westernmost marches in Kansu against ancient Hun raids. From the ruins of watch-towers found in continuous succession along the wall, he recovered intact numerous written records on wood dating from the first century before and after Christ. His travels involved over 11,000 miles of marching over mountain and desert.

TUMULI IN IRELAND.

AN interesting archæological find was made at Ardee (near Drogheda) recently, when during excavations workmen discovered large slabs of stone shaped like coffins. When opened one was found to contain a skeleton of great size, as well as some small stones of peculiar formation. Other coffins opened contained utensils of various kinds, made of stone and metal.

AN ANCIENT BASILICA AT TUNIS.

PÈRE DELATRE, who for so many years has carried out successfully the search for antiquities in Tunis, has recently reported to the French Academy that he has discovered the remains of a large Christian basilica at Carthage. From its position near to, and facing, the sea, and from the evidence of its original magnificence, there can be no doubt that it is the largest of the basilicas of St. Cyprian, which is famous for the entry into it of Belisarius on the day following his capture of Carthage.

The immense edifice, only part of which has yet been excavated, had no less than seven naves. Fragments of sculptural ornaments of funeral effigies, and of mosaics, and remains of hundreds of Christian lamps have been found. Near by was uncovered a tomb of a Christian lady, undoubtedly a wealthy person, which had never been disturbed. The body had been buried bearing superb gold jewellery, including a collar encrusted with precious stones from which is suspended a medallion, bearing the symbols of the Cross and Alpha and Omega.

Earrings and brooches, finger-rings, and some thousands of ornaments which are worked into a design on the robes, make this the richest find of the kind that has yet been made in Tunis.

Historians and antiquarians will be more interested in the lapidary inscriptions. Père Delattre already makes the fragments bearing writing amount to some 3,000, from which hundreds of sepulchral epitaphs can be reconstituted; of these he has published, in the *Comptes-Rendus* of the Academie, about 20. One of these, giving 12 lines, 10 of which are in metre, is in perfect preservation. It is an epitaph for a young lady, but for some reason her name has been omitted.

Three fragments of an inscription in Greek, which have been lying for some years in Alexandria Museum, have now been arranged by M. Seymour de Ricci and translated by him. The text concerns some derelictions of duty on the part of a body of guards, or police, who were caretakers of the vast cemeteries of the city. For some reason this corps of watchmen was recruited among the Lycian colonists, of whom there were many at Alexandria. The guard at a necropolis had to be strict and efficient because of the Egyptian custom of burying valued jewels with the defunct, making the temptation to tomb robberies very great.

The inscription, which is not quite complete, is an extract from the official register of the functionary called the *Idiologos* at Alexandria. He was administrator of the domains of the Roman Emperors, which in Egypt included not only land and buildings that the Cæsars had actually acquired, but, by a legal fiction, also all the territory and real estate the proprietors of which are alleged to be unknown. The inscription records the summons before the authorities of a certain *Ulpis Potamon*, a freedman of Trajan's, at the instance of his superior, the Magistrate at *Mareotis*. With *Potamon* would be arrested the Lycian police under his command. The date of this document is the fifth year of Hadrian, that is, A.D. 120. The inscription undoubtedly set forth the punishment awarded for negligence of duty, and was affixed probably outside one of the large cemeteries as a warning to the guardians, as notices of convictions are displayed at railway stations nowadays.

BONNYBRIDGE PLOTHOLDERS UNEARTH ROMAN WALL.

It was discovered recently (writes a correspondent) that Bonnybridge allotment holders, in their enthusiasm to increase the food supply, had in the course of their labours turned up the whole of the base of the Roman Wall running from the Caledonian branch line at Bonnybridge eastwards

to where the Antonine Wall takes an abrupt turn to the south. The part of the wall unearthed is that in the vicinity of what is known to archæologists as "Dicks' House Mound." The accumulated stones exhumed total many tons. General regret is expressed that the allotment holders did not realise that they had struck something unusual when they came across the course of stone and consult local archæologists, who would have staked off the ground, and thus ensured the preservation of the wall.

TREASURE-TROVE IN THE CITY

A Valuable Find of Jewellery.

At a meeting of the Corporation of the City of London, held last year in the Guildhall, Mr. A. C. Stanley Stone, relative to a find of treasure-trove in Friday Street and Cheapside, in 1912, said it was a very valuable collection of jewellery, apparently part of a jeweller's stock probably of the time of Queen Elizabeth. In ignorance of the fact that treasure-trove found in the City and in the Borough of Southwark belonged to the Corporation, it was sent to Mr. Lewis Harcourt, First Commissioner of Works, who submitted the find to the Treasury, which presented several of the articles to the British Museum, and returned the remainder to Mr. Harcourt for exhibition in the London Museum. It was not until two years later that the find came to the knowledge of the City coroner, Dr. Waldo, and as a result of the negotiations the rights of the City had been recognised, and Mr. Harcourt had sent to the Guildhall a very handsome selection of the articles for exhibition, and the remainder would be left in the custody of the trustees of the British and London Museums as the joint gift of Mr. Harcourt and the Corporation. The treasure-trove was found on the site of what was known now as Wakefield House, and it would be a fitting tribute if some tablet could be attached to the exhibit showing this fact and that the articles were recovered during the mayoralty of Sir Charles Wakefield.

RELICS OF THE BRONZE AGE FOUND AT SCARBOROUGH.

A RECENT fall of cliff at Scarborough has resulted in the discovery of 20 weapons of the Bronze Age—battle-axes, spears, chisels, gouges, and fragments of a sword. Twelve axes of the socketed type are in perfect condition.

NEW POMPEII EXCAVATIONS.

THE Italian Minister of Public Instruction has visited Pompeii and was shown the recent excavations. One of the most recent was the house of a great personage—Trebio Valente. Its peristyle, dining-hall with table, garden and tablinum or “summer-house,” are intact, and on its façade, protected by an enormous roof of tiles, is an album of inscriptions.

Another beautiful house has a coloured relief representing the fight between Achilles and Hector, and a splendid hall with grand paintings of elephants and seated figures. In another recently excavated house were a fine portico and triclinium with some remarkable mural paintings.

SAXON COIN MINTED AT MALMESBURY.

ONE of the very few Malmesbury coins now extant has recently come into the hands of the vicar. It is pronounced by the British Museum experts to be a silver penny of the reign of St. Edward the Confessor. The inscription on the obverse reads “Edpwar Recx”; on the reverse “Hvonna om Mea.” “Hvonna” is the name of the coiner, and so far as the local mint is concerned unpublished up to this time, and not to be found in any other record. “Mea” stands for “Mealmesbylig” or Malmesbury. The mint here is mentioned in the Domesday Record as follows: “From its mint the Borough pays 100/” —(to the King).

WANS DYKE IN EAST WILTSHIRE.

IN the Report of the Committee on Ancient Earthworks and Fortified Camps, of which Mr. Albany Major is Hon. Secretary, Messrs. H. C. Brentnall and A. N. Gidney announce that they have discovered several lengths of vallum and ditch in Savernake Forest in the line of Wans Dyke, which show that if the dyke was not continued through the Forest it was at least carried across the open parts of it. They have also discovered the point where the dyke entered the Forest on the west, and an unrecorded stretch of rampart between the Forest and Chisbury Camp on the east, which possibly marks the line of the dyke. In view of the negative observations of former archæologists, even of such distinguished men as Sir Richd. Colt Hoare and General Pitt Rivers, this tracing of this portion of Wans Dyke by Messrs. Brentnall and Gidney (some parts of whose work the Hon. Sec. to the Committee

confirms) is very valuable, and shows the importance of testing the conclusions of former workers in the field.

Wans Dyke, on the west side of "the wood called Safernoc," is mentioned as one of the boundaries of 5 cassates of land granted to the Abbess of Wilton by King Athelstone in the year 933, which estate remained in possession of that house till its dissolution. (*See Saxon Cartulary of Wilton Abbey, Harleian MS., British Museum.*)

THE ROMANO-BRITISH REMAINS AT SALTERSFORD.

THE Lincolnshire Naturalists' Union has printed for circulation among its members an interesting lecture on Romano-British remains at Saltersford, which Mr. Henry Preston, F.G.S., delivered at the annual meeting of the Union. These remains have been discovered in the course of excavations made from time to time on the site of the Grantham waterworks, and they clearly indicate that a Roman ford town existed in the neighbourhood. Practically the whole of the finds are of a Roman or late Celtic type, the period represented dating from early in the second century to the end of the Roman occupation of Britain, extending over 300 years. Saltersford was evidently a ford of some importance, and had a large population. Remains have been uncovered of a building which was probably the residence of the Roman official in charge of the ford, and of the town which had sprung up near the crossing of the river. A feature has been the extensive find of coins. There are no fewer than 600 coins, more than 200 of which have been identified, covering a period dating from A.D. 69 to A.D. 423, and representing over 40 rulers and their wives. The iron objects unearthed form a remarkable collection. Besides a quantity of unnamed pieces there are 44 articles which have been named. There are also numerous interesting articles in bronze, which mostly take the form of objects for ornament or personal use, such as brooches, rings, armlets, &c., which show that the town was inhabited by families wherein woman played an important part. Among the most striking finds in this respect is a small hand-mirror, which has been silvered or tinned over to give it a bright reflecting surface. A large collection of pottery has also been found, and also some glass. Nothing has been found to indicate any religious life at the station, but there is a grey Roman urn in which the ashes still remain from a cremated body.

TREASURE FOUND AT BRENTFORD.

WHILE digging his allotment at Brentford, a man turned up an old vase containing a large number of coins of the period of James I and Charles I. It is assumed that the coins were hidden at the time when the Royalist forces overran the district after the Battle of Brentford.

VERY EARLY CHALICE FOUND AT ANTIOCH.

ACCURATE portraits of Christ and the Apostles have, it is thought, been discovered on an old chalice, or Communion cup, dug up from the ruins of Antioch, and now in possession of Kouchaki Frères, of New York. With other silver treasures the chalice came into the possession of the present owners direct from the excavators in 1910, and sculptured in its original work are the portraits.

It is considered probable that the old chalice, some of whose worn figures bear witness to the imprint of the kisses of early Christians, is a relic of a cathedral erected in Antioch by Constantine the Great, upon his removal of the principal capital of his empire to Constantinople.

The chalice can be dated with certainty to the second half of the first century A.D., says Dr. Gustavus A. Eisen, the archæologist, who is now in the United States, and who has made a preliminary report on it in the "American Journal of Archæology." It was found by Arabs digging in a well in Antioch. At the depth of many metres they came upon underground chambers which contained the treasure.

The portrait of Christ has an expression of gentleness and divinity; that of St. Peter, which is near Christ, shows a rugged strength, and all are faces of enthusiastic believers. A number of British, French and American archæologists have examined the chalice, and pronounced it genuine

RECENT DISCOVERIES IN EGYPT.

DANINOS PASHA claims, says Reuter's Cairo Correspondent, to have discovered Canopus, one of the most ancient cities of Egypt, which before the foundation of Alexandria was the commercial capital of the country and the most important religious centre in Lower Egypt. For many years Daninos Pasha has insisted that the site of Canopus was to be found in the region of Aboukir Bay, and apparently his contention has proved to be correct.

Among the more important finds that have accompanied his discovery may be mentioned a great public bath of the Ptolemaic period

Bronze coins found in the different rooms bear the effigies of Ptolemy Soter, Ptolemy Euergetes, and Queen Berenice, and of several statuettes unearthed one of the most interesting is that of a Chinese figure, showing that relations must have existed in the dim past between China and the ancient capital of Egypt.

The difficulties in the way of printing any matter involving the use of varied types, such as required for a journal of a learned society, has caused the publication of the "Bulletin," of the Société Archéologique d'Alexandrie to be very much in arrear, but the editor, Prof. E. Breccia, who is also Curator of the City's Museum, has now brought out the first number for the season of 1914-1915. By far the most important article is that upon the most valuable Greek inscription of more than 50 well-preserved lines, which was found at Theadelphia and called Harit, in the Fayoum. The text records the petition of a certain Phillipos, son of Timocrates, to one of the officials and his wife, Cleopatra, praying that the rights of asylum which had appertained to the temple of the goddess Isis, under the special title of Eseremphis, should be respected, both by the people and by the officials. The inscription is really an embodiment of the petition and the formal granting of its proposition by the sovereigns. As it deeply concerned the rights of the shrine and its priestly hierarchy, they wisely had it engraved upon stone, and, doubtless, placed somewhere within the temple's precincts. The theophoric title given to Isis of Eseremphis was new when found, but has since been seen as accorded to her, among many others, in the wonderful papyrus containing a Panegyric of Isis, published by the Egypt Exploration Fund. Phillipos was an officer of the Corps d'Élite of the Machairophores, or Lancers of the Guard. The temples having the rights of Asyilia remind us of the cities of refuge of the Old Testament, and of many monasteries in the Middle Ages.

Although practically all Frenchmen of military age who were resident in Egypt have left to take their part in the war, the French Institute of Oriental Archæology in Cairo still continues the issue of the "Bulletin" under the auspices of the Director, M. George Foucart. The second fascicle for 1916 is almost entirely filled with essays upon the celebrated hieroglyphical record of the annals of the very earliest dynasties of the Pharaohs, which is preserved upon a monument, now in Sicily, known as the "Stele of Palermo." The reason for this recrudescence of literature concerning these records is that five more fragments of this inscription, some of them part of the very same stone, and others of one, or, perhaps, two duplicates of it, have been found in Egypt, and

are now in the Cairo Museum. The object of engraving these memorials upon the stone was undoubtedly to prove to posterity the real historical existence of the early kings, by giving not only their names, but the chief festivals held in their reigns, and the heights of the annual Nile inundations. The record is, therefore, also of scientific interest because it states the variations in the flood heights of the river for a long period—some 4,000 to 5,000 years ago.

A most interesting fact, too, is demonstrated by these annals, which is that at the time they were carved there were in existence lists of what are termed the prehistoric Pharaohs; that is to say, of princes earlier than Menes, the founder of the so-called First Dynasty. The writer gives in their case the name of each sovereign's mother, which is curious, as indicating either that we are dealing with what may be termed matriarchal times, or that, each Pharaoh being supposed to have had a divine father, only the human female parent is specified. Although the "Bulletin" is a French Government publication, an English Egyptologist, Mr. F. W. Read, has been welcomed to take part in the discussion in his native language, and we hope the precedent will from time to time be repeated.

An important paper is by M. Munier upon some Coptic manuscripts of the Old Testament. Of these, two fragmentary pages contain parts of the thirty-sixth chapter of Genesis, which is chiefly made up of a list of places and persons in Syria and Palestine. The spelling of these names varies very much in the Hebrew, Greek and Syriac versions. The Coptic scribe who wrote this manuscript must have been a learned man; for whilst he was copying a Greek manuscript giving a text closely akin to the Codex Alexandrinus, he amended the lettering where he thought the transliteration into Greek could be improved upon to make it more closely render the Hebrew. We therefore have now a valuable guide of great antiquity for the spelling of these names. The scribe also probably knew the Egyptian counterparts for some of the names; for many of them occur upon Egyptian royal monuments, and therefore his emendations are to be treated with wise respect.

In the Apocryphal Christian book known as the "Gospel of the Infancy" it is stated that the Holy Family, when taking refuge in Egypt, resided at Matarieh, near to Heliopolis. This would suggest that there were Jewish families there, as we know there certainly were at Tell-el-Yahoudieh, not many miles away. Epigraphical proof of the presence of Jews near Matarieh is now forthcoming by the finding of several funerary inscriptions with Hebrew names by workmen excavating for the New Cairo drainage scheme at Demerdash upon the

Heliopolis tramway. Some of the names upon the stela which have been edited by Mr. C. C. Edgar, such as Josephus, Eisakios, and Sabbataios, sufficiently illustrate the race to which their owners belonged.

The additions to ancient literature that have been obtained from Egypt during the last half-century are enormous, the reason, of course, being that, owing to the absence of rain and the sandy nature of much of the country, manuscripts are preserved for thousands of years. An instance of this is just given in a work entitled "The So-called Egyptian Church Order and Derived Documents," by Dom R. Hugh Connolly. The learned author shows that the oldest Egyptian codices containing the order of services for the Church are really a copy of a lost work of Hippolytus, his "Apostolike Paradosis," one of the earliest treatises upon Christian ritual ever written.

SAXON REMAINS FOUND AT POUNDBURY.

GERMAN prisoners working at Poundbury, the old earthworks near Dorchester, have unearthed a lead coffin, and two big ones of stone. Eight Germans were required to lift the lid of one coffin, which contained a small skeleton.

Mr. Thomas Hardy, who was attending a meeting of antiquaries in Dorchester, said that the discovery bore out the tradition that Poundbury was a Saxon burial ground.

THE TEMPLEBOROUGH EXCAVATIONS.

Some Interesting Discoveries.

MR. THOMAS MAY, F.S.A., who is superintending the excavation of the Roman Fort at Templeborough, Rotherham, has presented the following report to the Rotherham Free Library and Museum Committee:—

North.—The foundations of the bath-house on the north side near the river previously exposed have been completely uncovered and planned and recorded on the general plan. Another and later bath-house, slightly nearer to the fort, and a wall-complex formed of the enclosures and out-buildings connected with both bath-houses, have been partly uncovered and planned.

East.—On the east side of the fort, outside the main wall, the remains of (1) an outer defence, (2) walls of single enclosures crossing one another, (3) a well stined to a depth of 9 feet but not yet completely cleared

owing to water, (4) a drum of a column and other remains have been discovered.

Main Fortification.—The ridges generally regarded as the ramparts of the Roman fort have been cut into on all sides, N., S., E. and W., by long exploratory trenches 4 ft. wide, crossing them completely at N.E. and S.W. corners, and also by short trenches at intervals. On the south side there was found to be no rampart except at the corners, but on this side there has been exposed the bedding of a stone wall about 8 ft. or 9 ft. wide, with turrets causing a slight ridge.

The ridges or ramparts on the other three sides were found to cover the remains of walls of two or more occupations. Numerous openings have been excavated, and in all of them traces of walling in two stages, the result of two occupations have been traced and are now uncovered. The later fortifications on these three sides, N., E. and W., are now covered with earth composed of light brown sandy loam, which formed a rampart walk as at Malandra and Gellygaer, revetted on the outside with stone facing. The line of earlier and deeper wall remains were marked by a layer of burnt wood and reddened clay, fragments of bricks, &c., showing that timber was largely employed in its construction. Trenches 5 ft. to 7 ft. deep had to be opened in order to reach it.

The excavation of the north gateway showed remains of the butt-ends of walls surrounded by post-holes to support a gangway over the gates and wooden towers. Two drains passed through the opening.

The centre of the fort had been partly explored previously. The two twin granaries, with a verandah or colonnade on two sides have been again partly uncovered, and the position of the 11 columns carefully measured and planned for removal of the bases of the columns.

The plans of two other large central buildings have been traced. Two of the barrack buildings (for the accommodation of the rank and file) have been similarly traced.

The remains of a great wall appear to extend beyond the rampart at the S.W. angle of the later fort occupying the higher ground, but excavation at the lower level on the south has been deferred owing to the influx of water and water-logging of the trenches.

ANCIENT CROSS DISCOVERED.

In the course of recent excavations on the north side of the road westward of Low Warren Farm, Hartlepool, near the railway arch, the base of an ancient cross has been discovered. In the absence of the shaft it is difficult to assign a date, but local experts put it down as about the sixteenth or seventeenth century work.

MERTON ABBEY.

Old Walls to be preserved by National Trust.

A PORTION of the old walls of Merton Abbey has recently passed into the keeping of the National Trust—none too soon. The surrounding walls are practically all that remain of the once great priory, and though they have perhaps changed little in appearance for some centuries, signs are not wanting that without some careful guardianship they might soon be demolished and disappear. The walls have been purchased by the River Wandle Open Spaces Committee, a body formed for the purchase from time to time of strips of land on the banks of the river to save its amenities and preserve it as a pleasant and refreshing stream in the midst of the unlovely district through which it runs. There is, perhaps, no district on the outskirts of London more squalid than parts of Merton and Mitcham, yet this very district can boast of an unusual proportion of ancient and picturesque survivals, most ancient of which is the abbey wall on the banks of the once shining stream—the Wandle.

The Priory of Merton was built in 1115 by the Austin Canons under Gilbert the Norman on land given by Henry I. The first building—of timber—was near to Merton Church, but a few years later (1130–1136) the priory was built in stone on the present site, a mile eastward, the outer walls enclosing an area of some 60 or 65 acres of marshy land, bounded and intersected by the streams of the Wandle. The prior was a mitred abbot with a seat in Parliament. In the course of its history several notable events took place. Here peace was concluded between Henry III and France; here Hubert de Burgh sought and found refuge; and here the famous Statutes of Merton were passed at a meeting of Parliament held in 1236. Here Thomas à Becket was educated; and from Merton, too, came Walter de Merton, twice Lord Chancellor, and founder of Merton College.

The priory was dissolved in 1538, and it has been so freely used as a quarry for subsequent building that practically all of it but a few fragments of walls and a single rude Norman doorway have disappeared. Very soon after the Dissolution its site was used for industrial purposes. Calico-making was first carried on within the walls of the few remaining buildings; silk mills and copper mills were later established, and it was estimated by a writer in 1808 that at least 1,000 persons were carrying on some sort of manufacture on the space enclosed by the outer walls. In recent days the chief association has

been with William Morris, who took over some old mills at this point for the manufacture of silks and tapestries.

It is a happy thing that the activities of the River Wandle Open Spaces Committee have not been entirely suspended by the war, for a few years might see a great devastation in the ancient walls, which have reached the point at which protection is highly necessary. They are compounded mainly of flint, with occasional blocks of sandstone and brickwork, with here and there a few Roman tiles. On their grassy bank, rising behind the waters and reed beds of the Wandle, they form one of the most picturesque survivals in outer London.

WALTHAM ABBEY.

Remains of Royal Palace Found.

A LARGE elm-tree blown down by the gale in Theobald's Park had a quantity of bricks and mortar among its roots. Examination of the cavity in the earth has revealed part of the foundations of the extension of the palace of King James I (who died there in 1625), the greater portion of which was pulled down in 1650.

A PREHISTORIC FIND.

DURING trench-digging in the vicinity of Broughton, Oxfordshire, an observant officer noticed a peculiar flint thrown out in a spadeful from about 2 ft. deep. Picking it up, he found that it was a worked flint, chipped but not polished, and fortunately unbroken. Fortunately, also, he sent it to the British Museum to receive a judgment on its probable age and use. The flint proves to be an implement of rare interest. Ten years ago, when the undoubtedly deserved influence of Sir John Evans was predominant, it would have been pronounced to be beyond doubt of Neolithic age, chipped and shaped but unpolished. Since then the types of Neolithic and Palæolithic tools, and the transition from one period into another, have been more carefully studied throughout France, Belgium and England. The Broughton flint does not resemble the common types of unfinished Neolithic implements, whereas it very closely features some of the Palæolithic series found in the great deposit which extends from Dunstable to Luton. Some of these undoubtedly Palæolithic tools resemble a Neolithic celt, or axe turned upside down; that is, what was the handle in early times is the axe-edge in the later period; the early period used the sharp point as a tool, and the edges which lead from the butt to the point; the later

period used only the old butt-end changed to a cutting edge. The Broughton implement belongs to the earlier type of tool rather than to the later; very probably it marks a transition from one to the other. Mr. A. Montgomerie Bell, in a communication to the *Banbury Guardian*, says the find is of extreme interest, partly because the soil of North Oxfordshire has not as yet added to the Palæolithic story of England. He commends the judgment of the officer who found the tool, not only for observing it at all, but for sending his find to the British Museum, where Mr. R. A. Smith, the keeper of our English stone series, guards our national possessions of this kind with more judgment and care than these antiquities have yet received in any public museum in the country. Here is one antiquity of great interest in our national story preserved. How many are destroyed from ignorance, how many from a wanton love of destruction?

WEST HYTHE, LYMPNE, HYTHE.

THE REV. H. F. LORD, Vicar of Lympe, writes to ask for advice with regard to the restoration of the small church of West Hythe, which is in ruins. He says that it seems a pity that it should be allowed to fall further into ruin and to be more or less desecrated than it is now. A chapel of ease is wanted for the people living at West Hythe and in the marsh. He would very much like to see this church restored and put to its original use. Certain parts might be even used as it is now, and other parts rebuilt with the old stones. It is of late Norman date. The chancel is almost entirely destroyed and would have to be rebuilt, the old stones being used again. He would be very glad of expert advice, though he fears that nothing can be attempted until after the war.

EGYPTIAN AND WESTERN ASIAN DISCOVERIES.

It is probable that some very important archæological discoveries will be soon reported from Alexandria. For some time past M. Etienne Combe, who during the absence in Italy upon military service of Dr. Breccia, director of the Alexandria Museum, has been acting for him, has been carrying on excavations beneath the playground of St. Andrew's School. Accidentally a large shaft or descending approach to a series of subterranean chambers and passages was come upon, and workmen are now clearing some of the galleries of the *débris* with which at present they are filled. Other shafts are known to exist in the neighbouring Coptic graveyard and in the grounds of Victoria

House near by. It is to be hoped these remains will prove to be those of the long-lost and celebrated Cæsareum, or of the tomb of Alexander the Great.

An American scholar, Mr. Paton, is publishing a most costly and elaborate series of volumes, giving in full every ancient Egyptian record concerning any connection of Egypt with Western Asia. In the January number of the "Journal of Egyptian Archæology," Dr. Alan Gardiner gives translations of a most interesting series of hieroglyphic texts found in the tomb of an old Egyptian official named Akhthoy, who terms himself a "sea captain." He, however, like most ancient Egyptians employed by Pharaoh, or the State, at different times held various and divergent positions, and seems to have been chiefly an inspector, or a governor, of mining stations, for most of his eulogistic biography concerns mining operations. Dr. Gardiner calls him a "much-travelled Theban official." This is because he mentions mining of such varied character. His record gives the titles of the different sites from which he obtained turquoises, lapis lazuli, and various precious metals and copper; but these names we cannot at present identify with their localities. One was almost certainly in the Sinai peninsula, and as Akhthoy boasts of having "punished Asiatics in their countries," it is probable that all the mining regions that he visited were in that direction or in Arabia. Of course he may have obtained some of the articles he enumerates by purchase. Upon his return home with the riches he had accumulated at various mines and times, he tells us "he filled the heart of his king with their preciousness," so he was awarded a sinecure, being appointed to look after the saloon in which the Pharaoh performed his toilet. Probably this office carried with it no remuneration, and so he was also made "Recorder of the Cattle Lists of Upper Egypt." He appears to have been something of a "ladies' man," for he mentions, in addition to the treasures he brought back from his expeditions for the king, that he also "gave ornaments to the Court ladies and veils to the beautiful women." These veils would be of the lovely loom work of Babylon or Damascus, whose productions were world famous; and the gifts show that he certainly had business relations with the caravan merchants who came into Syria and Palestine from places farther east. This new inscription, which comes from a sepulchre excavated at Thebes for Earl Carnarvon, will form an interesting addition to records edited by Mr. Paton.

The famous Babylonian Code of Laws of King Hammurabi became so universally recognised as binding in Mesopotamia, that legal documents and deeds merely referred to one or two words indicative of any

particular clause, in order to invoke the binding direction of such clause as being that upon which the signatories to the transaction relied. An interesting instance of this practice can be given from a tablet concerning a loan, which was engrossed as far away from Babylon as Susa, in Persia, thus showing how widespread was the recognition of Hammurabi's laws as being binding. In the transaction referred to, Iluhasami was borrower of a sum of five silver shekels from Nursamas; and as security for repayment of the loan he handed over to Nursamas certain fields, that the latter might cultivate them and pay himself out of the produce, after making allowance for the cost of raising the crops. The loan tablet condenses the part of the deed of agreement concerning the letting of the fields and hypothecation to the lender of their next crop to but few words saying it was to be in accordance with the Ezip-tabal—that is to say, harvest and taking therefrom of its grain. This is a reference to the forty-ninth clause of Hammurabi's Code, which, somewhat condensed, is as follows:—

“If a man borrows money and has given for it a field cultivated for grain, and said to the lender, ‘Plant the field and gather the wheat and sesame produced,’ and the planter causes them to be produced, at harvest the owner may take the crop, but shall give to the lender for his silver and for his interest (thereupon) which he received, and for the cost of the cultivation.”

This, which may be termed an agrarian law concerning the mortgage of a crop, is a simple but significant specimen of the juridical acumen of the founders of early Mesopotamian legislation.

THE ROMAN CAMPS IN ABERDEENSHIRE.

At last we have in the fine volume, “Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Vol. I, 1916,” the considered conclusions of Dr. George Macdonald, C.B., on the Roman Camps at Glenmailen, Ythan Wells, and Raedykes, Stonehaven. It is more than a century since it was maintained that Aberdeenshire contains Roman earthworks, but in some strange way scholars—especially local scholars—have rather scoffed at the idea, and have deprived themselves in that period of the historical interest that the possession of such significant remains undoubtedly confers. However, by means of grants from the Carnegie Trust, Dr. Macdonald, Edinburgh, and Professor Haverfield, Oxford, made excavations at the reported Roman Camp, Glenmailen, Ythan Wells, in July, 1913, and Dr. Macdonald made excavations at the Raedykes camp in the summer of 1914. Dr. Macdonald now sets

out the results in this volume, and his paper marks an epoch in regard to Roman interests in the north of Scotland.

With regard to Glenmailen camp, Dr. Macdonald states that all the structure of the camp—the form and design of it, the arrangement of the gates, the slope of the ditch, the extensive use of clay, the presence of the traverses—all are characteristically Roman. And he goes on:—

“The camp at Glenmailen may confidently be set down as a memorial of the largest Roman army that ever penetrated to the remoter portions of our island.”

With regard to Raedykes camp that lies on the north of the “Slug” Road, about 3 miles from Stonehaven, Dr. Macdonald discusses at length the origin and significance of the plate of Raedykes that appears in Roy’s “Military Antiquities of the Romans in North Britain.” It is a brilliant piece of reasoning, but really of no consequence compared to the main facts. Dr. Macdonald’s detailed explanation of the digging operations—accompanied by a figured drawing—is fascinating, and shows how illuminating details can be made when handled in the right way. Here, too, as at Glenmailen, the work was characteristically Roman, and on the highest authority these two camps have been finally added to our Roman antiquities, and they establish once for all that the Romans were in Aberdeenshire. Nothing has been found, so far, to indicate either the date of these camps, or how long they were occupied by the Romans—probably it was later than is supposed, and they may have been occupied more than once.

Meantime, two intervening camps remain to be dealt with—the camp at Culter, the structure of which is still in wonderful preservation, and the camp at Kintore, the outlines of which can only be traced now with the greatest difficulty. Both these camps are directly on the line of march of the Roman army, and they are situated at the right distances from the others to make their genuineness—apart from all other considerations—definitely certain. But excavations must take place to put the matter entirely beyond doubt, and it is to be hoped that Dr. Macdonald will be able to undertake this work, too, at no very distant date.

POMPEII FINDS.

A CORRESPONDENT of the *Daily Mail* sends an interesting account of recent discoveries at Pompeii. Writing from Naples on May 12, he writes:—

“I have just examined, with the aid of Professor Spinazzola, the distinguished archæologist, who superintends the excavations, the

latest discoveries made in the little Roman city of Pompeii, a place of 20,000 inhabitants, buried by the eruption of Vesuvius in A.D. 79. The most interesting are in the Street of Abundance, where the interiors of the houses have recently been cleared and where, as I described some time ago, a complete tavern was discovered.

Most important finds have been made at the house of a rich personage named Trebius Valens. On its long front, protected by a broad roof of tiles, is painted in red letters an extraordinary display of advertisements of all kinds. One announces that a gentleman and patron of Pompeii, Lucretius Satius, will give a feast in the amphitheatre, providing 30 pairs of gladiators, while his son will add 10 more pairs. This seems to have been the usual number, as similar announcements have been found by other advertisers on other walls.

Trebius's entrance-hall, dining-hall and garden, are now intact as they were on that day of fire and terror 1,800 years ago.

Another remarkable find is a public armoury, with a municipal guard in charge. It has a very large room lined with cupboards to hold weapons. On the outer wall are frescoes representing trophies taken from barbarians in Roman triumphs. There is here an allusion to Britain, for the paintings of the trophies, as Professor Spinazzola has demonstrated, are copied from paintings which have been found in Rome celebrating the victories of the Romans in England.

In the recently excavated houses frescoes on the outer walls are common, while in the earlier excavations they were very rarely found, and have all vanished. The tiles which protected the inscriptions and paintings were for the most part found in the ashes, but have been carefully removed and replaced in their original position.

The fuller's house, opened up in 1912, has been further excavated to a parallel street. In a bedroom a bed was discovered which had wooden end boards and a wood panel closing the side next to the wall. No other of such date has been found before. All the woodwork and even the mattress and mark of the sheet have been preserved and covered with glass. The bed was richly ornamented, as it had ivory decorations.

At the side of the house is an underground passage decorated with figures and episodes from the Iliad, with the names of the heroes beneath the figures. Large openings gave access to the garden. The inhabitants first took refuge in the passage and then made their way up to the garden, only to die there of suffocation and exhaustion. The bodies of a mother and child, whose skeletons were found there, have been reproduced in the usual way by pouring plaster into the cavities left by the decay of the corpses, and they are a pitifully lifelike group.

The number of balconies on the south side of the Street of Abundance is very noteworthy. It must have given the street a very Tuscan appearance and a most cheerful air. Between the balconies of the different houses are walls to keep out an uninvited intruder. The profusion of shade afforded by the projecting roofs and overhanging balconies must have added to the pleasantness of the street.

We mounted to the ground level and looked over the latest but still unfinished excavation of a very fine house which is quite modern in its air. There were no fewer than six rooms in its upper story and they were large, with paintings on the walls. The pavement of one room was of pale-red cement with a smooth surface, decorated with white marble fragments to form a mosaic pattern.

Though the Street of Abundance contains noble private houses such as this, its large shop-windows and artisan premises suggest that it was of more business importance than the Stabian and Nola streets, which hitherto have been regarded as supreme in that respect."

ARCHÆOLOGICAL FINDS IN WIGTOWNSHIRE.

THERE has just been unearthed in a field on the farm of South Milton, near Glenluce, a cist which is of the form common to similar ancient places of interment discovered in the district. It consists of parallel slabs of stone surmounted by a large tabular-like lid of like material, and bottomed with gravel. Little of value was found in the grave except a few pieces of earthenware, probably the remains of an urn, and a large quantity of human bones. On the urn fragments are well-preserved decorated markings of primitive design.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL DISCOVERY IN PALESTINE.

A FINE mosaic of the early sixth century Christian Church has been discovered in Palestine, north-west of Beersheba, under works recently occupied by the Turks. It bears a Græco-Syriac inscription referring to a Saint George, whose bones were found beneath the mosaic.

The mosaic has been somewhat injured by Turkish trench digging, but is nevertheless a fine specimen. It is for the present stored at a depôt in Cairo, where it will remain pending a decision as to its ultimate destination.

The following letter from a soldier who is fighting in the British force refers to this discovery: "Knowing your interest in this country I must tell you of a discovery our men made in the Wadi Guzzi a few

days ago while digging. They turned up on a high hill the ruins of an old Greek temple, with beautiful mosaic floor of stones in green, red, white, black and yellow—pictures of fish, lions, tigers, birds and swastika.”

PRITTLEWELL PRIORY, ESSEX.

THIS Estate, containing all that remains of the Cluniac Priory of St. Mary of Prittlewell (a Cell of the Priory of St. Pancras, Lewes), recently came into the market, and of which about thirty acres have been purchased by R. A. Jones, Esq., of Southend-on-Sea. This portion, which comprises the mansion and picturesque grounds, has been presented by Mr. Jones to the Corporation of Southend for the perpetual public use of the Borough, and is to be known as the Priory Park. It has been made a condition of his gift that the house shall be utilised as a Museum, and that the Corporation shall excavate a portion of the site in order to ascertain the planning of the Priory Church. In the interior of the mansion it is also hoped that certain alterations may be permitted which it is thought may reveal portions of the monastic structures that have been incorporated in the house, and so assist in the location of the claustral buildings. Through the instrumentality of our associate, the Rev. Canon F. Dormer Pierce, M.A., Vicar of Brighton (formerly Vicar of Prittlewell), the Association will probably be entrusted with the superintendence of the work of excavation, in which connection Mr. Philip M. Johnston, F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A., and Mr. W. A. Cater, F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S., have been deputed by the Council to act on behalf of the Association.





Notices of Books.

A HANDBOOK OF COUNTY BIBLIOGRAPHY: Being a Bibliography of Bibliographies relating to the Counties and Towns of Great Britain and Ireland. By ARTHUR L. HUMPHRYS. (187, Piccadilly, London. 1917.) 15s. net.

It is seldom that it falls to one's lot to review a work of so great an interest and importance on the topography of Great Britain and Ireland as this. It is the result of immense labour and careful research compiled by one who has a great enthusiasm for his subject, and who has since his youthful days been a constant frequenter of the reading-room of the British Museum. The production of this very complete topographical work has been a labour of love and a hobby in his spare hours which he has devoted to the assistance of many students who are engaged in the same field of research, and to whom this book will be invaluable. It is not a bibliography of each individual town and parish history, nor does it cover the same ground as any existing work, but it attempts to go further than any book has hitherto done in providing clues to the discovery of the known as well as to the obscure publications relating to every district in the kingdom.

There have been included not only all the better-known county bibliographies, but many thousands of references are provided to the less-known but important items which have been buried in the transactions of local archæological societies, and which have hitherto never been tabulated and classified. The many existing valuable county manuscript collections and extra-illustrated copies of topographical books are alluded to, and important collections of local books in various public libraries are similarly treated. Local ballads, broadsides, chap books, and single-sheet literature are dealt with bibliographically, and exact references are given in all cases. Calendars of local documents, indexes to the various archæological societies' transactions, lists of maps, newspapers, portraits, and books and pamphlets relating to local printing and obscure private presses have been included as well as all

source books of a bibliographical nature. Calendars and indexes of wills are omitted, being reserved for a subsequent volume.

There are four appendices which deal with auxiliary bibliographies and lists for England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales. These appendices designedly omit all the well-known handbooks, such as those by Sims, Rye, Gross, Scargill-Bird, and others, full particulars of which are easily available, and limit themselves to the less-known bibliographies and lists which are of value to the student of local history. The arrangement of the counties is, for facility of reference, in one alphabet, beginning with Aberdeenshire and ending with Yorkshire, the materials for each county being dealt with separately. A full index of authors and subject-matter is provided.

Three hundred and fifty copies only have been printed, and as most of them have been disposed of before the book was issued, it will be extremely difficult to obtain one. The cost of the production of such a work must have been enormous, and it is perhaps too much to hope that the author may continue his labours and publish subsequent editions of this extremely valuable book.

BENCH-ENDS IN ENGLISH CHURCHES. By J. CHARLES COX, LL.D., F.S.A. With 164 illustrations. (Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press.) 7s. 6d. net.

It is a pleasure again to see Dr. Cox's name on the title-page of a new book. He is the most indefatigable of antiquaries, and the long list of books of which he is the author does him infinite credit, and would furnish a library with sound and useful knowledge on antiquarian subjects. Dr. Cox's favourite study is ecclesiology, and the present work deals with one of its branches which has hitherto escaped distinctive treatment. Although there are several important books on ecclesiastical woodwork, no monograph has previously been issued dealing with the subject of seats in churches from the thirteenth century downwards. It is a volume of the series of delightful books, richly illustrated, published by the Oxford University Press under the editorship of Mr. Francis Bond, and in no way falls short of the high standard to which those volumes have attained. Many splendid examples of the skilled carpentry of the mediæval period are here depicted and described. We rather regret that the author has been somewhat restricted in space, and should like to have read more extended descriptions of the curious

bench-ends, poppy-heads, grand manorial pews with their canopies which Swift satirised in the well-known lines :

“A bedstead of the antique mode
Compact of timber many a load,
Such as our ancestors did use,
Was metamorphosed into pews;
Which still their ancient nature keep
By lodging folk disposed to sleep.”

Some of these, as at Whalley, Lancashire, are survivors of late chantries, and if there had been space doubtless Dr. Cox would have given us the story of these Whalley pews which occasioned costly lawsuits for their possession by rival families, so costly that the expenses could have paved the floors with gold. The lore of pews is extensive, and the story of the objectionable pew-rents can be traced back to mediæval times, the custom arising in the innocent fashion of asking a small payment for the seating of old and infirm women. Dr. Cox treats his subject county by county, recording the various examples in each shire. Our only complaint is that we should like to have the book made twice the size. As in all the books of this series the illustrations are excellent. Uppington is a misprint for Uffington. Mr. Francis Bond is the author of the chapter on galleries.

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS—GENERAL CATALOGUE, NOVEMBER, 1916

MR. HUMPHREY MILFORD, the accomplished manager of the Oxford University Press, the learned successor of Mr. Henry Frowde, has sent us a copy of the general catalogue, which is a remarkable volume of 574 pp. of close print, and bears testimony to the extraordinary activity of the Press, of which its authorities may well be proud. The Press is now in the fifth century of its era, which dates from the Jerome of 1468. It can be said of it:—

“Age cannot wither her, nor custom stale
Her infinite variety.”

Archæologists will here find countless books after their own hearts dealing with the history of all ages, monographs on coins, illuminated manuscripts, Oriental, Greek and Roman architecture, Byzantine and mediæval art, and in whatever subject he may be interested books there are by the score to assist him in his labours. Mr. Milford and the Press are to be congratulated on the issue of this wonderful list of books.

PICTURES BY THE OLD MASTERS IN THE LIBRARY OF CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD. A brief catalogue with historical and critical notes on the pictures in the collection. By TANCRED BORENIUS, PH.D. With 64 illustrations. (Oxford University Press, 1916.) 5s. net.

SOME of us who are graduates of the University of Oxford will remember being matriculated by Dean Liddell, who sat in state in the Library surrounded by these so-called masterpieces of old painters, about the history of which we were totally ignorant. Few of us knew, and indeed few know to-day, how the college came into possession of these pictures. It appears that they were presented by an eccentric general, John Guise (1683-1765), a graduate of Christ Church, who had a long and honourable military career. He spent some time in Rome, and following the prevailing taste of his time collected works of art of the Italian school of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Some of these are copies and the general standard is not very high, but there are several which are worthy of attention. Unfortunately they were villainously restored by a wretched German, known as "Old Bonus," who destroyed much of their merit. In addition to the Guise Bequest there are other paintings, some of which were formerly in the possession of Walter Savage Landor and belong to the same Italian school. The whole collection has the charm attaching to a gallery which clearly reflects the taste of the persons who have contributed to form it at different periods, and this admirable description is the work of a distinguished connoisseur who had a wide knowledge of the subject of Italian art and who had devoted much time and labour to the production of this book. The numerous plates are extremely well produced.

A HISTORY OF MUSIC. BY CHARLES VILLIERS STANFORD and CECIL FORSYTH. Illustrated. (Macmillan and Co., 1916.) 7s. 6d. net.

THE archæology of music is not a subject which usually attracts antiquaries, though in these days of specialism it has its votaries. To anyone who desires to trace the development of music from Pan's pipe to Wagner's *Parsifal* or Elgar's *Gerontius* this work is indispensable. Antiquaries will perhaps concern themselves with musical origins and desire to trace the onward flow of song through the ancient world, and hear the music of the Egyptians, Assyrians and Babylonians, Hebrews, Arabians, Indians and Chinese. Four thousand years B.C. music was practised on the banks of the Nile, and the Egyptians had a large number

of instruments, specimens of which are continually dug up during excavation work, and drawings, paintings and sculptures of musicians show how much music entered into the life of the people. Moreover, Egypt was the teacher of all her neighbouring nations. The Hebrews owed much to Egypt, though they developed their own instruments, the trumpets of rams' horns which brought down the walls of Jericho, the lyre, the shophar, and in course of time the Jewish Temple songs formed the basis of the earliest Christian Church music. The authors have much to say about the music of the Greeks, that glorious race of men who stood forth in the sunlight of the time when the tide of Oriental civilisation seemed to be turning towards the West. They purified the art, rescued it from degradation and set it up before the face of the world as the worthy and honourable pursuit of free men and free minds. Greek vases often show their instruments. And so the authors lead us on through the ages, through the Roman and the dark ages, the work of Dunstable, Dufay, Des Près until we come to the golden age of the sixteenth century, when poets sang their sweetest and music came to its own. We cannot trace it further. Although the book is written for the general public it requires a thorough musician to understand the learned disquisitions on notations, hexachords, clefs, &c. ; but we are quite sure that the student could have no better guide than this work, the collector of old instruments will find here all that he needs, and the general reader all that he desires to know about the manners of composers, ancient and modern. We should especially draw attention to the chapter on folk-song, with the wise words of caution concerning it, and the enthusiastic praise of the folk-lorists, who are often better railway-travellers than musicians.

THE GOLDEN DAYS OF THE EARLY ENGLISH CHURCH from the Arrival of Theodore to the Death of Bede. By SIR HENRY H. HOWORTH, K.C.I.E., D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A. With illustrations, maps, tables and appendices. 3 volumes. (John Murray, 1917.) 12s net each volume.

SIR HENRY HOWORTH is to be cordially congratulated upon the completion of another stage in the extensive scheme of Church history which he has inaugurated. In 1912 he published his first volume on "Saint Gregory the Great." This was followed a year later by his substantial work on "St. Augustine of Canterbury," and now he has issued three large volumes on what he justly calls

“The Golden Days of the Early English Church,” the period that intervenes between the coming of the Greek, Archbishop Theodore, and the passing away of the Venerable Bede. It is a monumental work, full of ripe scholarship, the result of long and patient research and original investigation of charters and documents, and worthy of the veteran antiquary and ecclesiologist who during a long life has accomplished so much for the advancement of the study of Archæology in this country. We trust that he may have health and strength and vigour to pursue still further his researches into the history of the English Church and produce yet other volumes on subsequent periods.

He concluded his last book on a dismal note, the failure of the Augustine mission, and now he rejoices to chronicle the brief days of the golden age that followed like the bright sunshine after storm. He reminds us that we alone in all Europe possess a work of the matchless worth of Bede’s “Ecclesiastical History,” unequalled in its time in style, picturesqueness and extraordinary general accuracy, and presenting an historical and moral outlook of a very ideal kind. It is the one matchless literary work of art in the European literature of the first half of the eighth century, and it forms a splendid scaffolding upon which to raise our building, and on which to hang the various illustrative decorations or additions which lesser lights have provided for us. This is what the writer has accomplished. In a long preface he gives a brief sketch of the grand work of Gregory the Great, the miserable condition of New Rome when contrasted with the vigour of the elder city, the transference of the capital of the Empire to Constantinople, the spread of Arianism, the rise of monasticism, and much else that is involved in the history of the period. We see the great revival that took place under Theodore in the English Church, the devoted labours of the Irish missionaries and St. Columba of Iona and his followers who penetrated the Frankish realms and taught the true faith in countries as far off as Switzerland and the Appenines. In Northumbria literature and the arts flourished. Durham in Bede’s time was the most learned centre of light in England if not in Western Europe, and in the early days of the eighth century England held a lantern to all the Western world. To Theodore belongs the credit of inaugurating the first English Reformation. It would take too long to tell here his achievements, hindered as he was by the domineering Wilfrid, the abuses that arose, the superstitious cult of relics and the decay of monasticism. In a lengthy introduction Sir Henry gives a full and useful account of the materials on which the history is based and the authorities which he examines with careful discrimination.



Seal of St. Cuthbert.

never accepting a doubtful charter or a spurious letter. The work concludes with some valuable appendices of special archæological interest. The crosses of Ruthwell, Bewcastle and others are examined in the light of recent controversy, and the American Professor Cook, whose errors were pointed out in the last published Part of this *Journal*, receives a further castigation. The beauties of Cædmon's poetry are shown, and Sir Henry disputes with the "Higher Criticism" that would fain assign most of the poems to later scribes and imitators. There is also a long and learned treatise on Royal and High-born Nuns. Sir Henry in one matter has doubts about the spelling of the proper names. The present writer experienced the same difficulty in the editing of an important work, and consulted Bishop Stubbs of Oxford, who was opposed to any attempt to follow some modern writers and reproduce the original Saxon spelling. He advised strongly the adherence to the accustomed forms.

All through these volumes the author pursues his investigations and tries to solve difficulties and obscurities in accordance with modern scientific methods which contrast strongly with the methods of some popular guides, and helps to remove the charge that English writers on the period treated by him are so far behind the Germans and French in their methods of writing history. With the modesty of a great author he owns that there may be many lapses in so bulky a work, and trusts that "those who notice the book will be more patient with my trippings than Job's friends were with his human frailties, and that they will not converge all their adjectives upon the blurs which are to be found in everybody's pages who writes on difficult and intricate subjects, and which worry their authors more than anyone else. I shall be satisfied if they conclude that the book is generally written according to the better standards of composing history now in vogue, and that it is a substantial addition to the world's knowledge." With the assurance that he has accomplished this, and earned the gratitude of many students of Church history, he may rest content.

KING HENRY BEAUCLERK AND READING ABBEY. By JAMIESON B. HURRY, M.A., M.D. (Elliott Stock, 1917.)

DR. HURRY seems to have especially concerned himself with the Abbey of Reading and its royal founder. He compiled a history of the monastery, restored some of the heads in the carvings of the Abbey Gate, now the headquarters of the Berks Archæological Society, presented a monu-

mental cross in memory of Henry I which was erected in the Forbury of Reading town, placed a large handsomely-framed map for the guidance of visitors, a monument of Abbot Hugh in the Chapter-house and of the first English song composed by a Reading monk, and presented to the Mayor and Corporation a picture painted by Mr. Harry Morley of the funeral of the founder. In commemoration of this gift Dr. Hurry has compiled this small volume, which describes the abbey building and sketches the scenes of the death and funeral of King Henry, and the subsequent desecration of the tomb. The town of Reading should be grateful to the author for all that he has done to popularise the story of its great monastic establishment, and this little book will be very welcome to all who desire to know something of the founder and his foundation.

ENGLAND FROM EARLIEST TIMES TO THE GREAT CHARTER. By GILBERT STONE, B.A., LL.B. (George G. Harrap and Co., 1916.) 10s. 6d. net.

THIS is one of the volumes of a comprehensive series entitled "Great Nations," which seems to be a formidable rival of that other series, "The Story of the Nations," and to have higher aims. In this it is attempted to tell the stories of the great nations anew in the light of the modern conception of the object of history, to revive the true life of the past, and to show how the great men and women of other ages still deeply influence the present by their deeds and their thoughts. Art, Literature, Science and other civilizing influences claim attention. There are two methods of writing history: one is for the scholar and the serious student, and the other is for the delectation and information of that very important person, whom authors and publishers are always striving to catch and to interest—the general reader. This series is intended for both, and there is always a danger lest such works should fall between two stools. The present volume treats of the history of England from earliest times to the granting of Magna Carta, and is a portly book of some 600 pp. with many illustrations and an admirable index. The progress of archæological discovery has obliged modern historians to extend their historical horizon, and to take some account of the primitive folk who inhabited our islands before the arrival of Julius Cæsar. This Mr. Stone has done. He has wandered into the ante-room of history, and though he disregards Palæolithic man as being too remote an ancestor, he give a very fair summary of his Neolithic successor, of the Bronze Age, the Celts and their art, before

he embarks upon the Roman conquest. He writes with a fluent pen and in some cases quotes his authorities. Professor Haverfield is his main authority for the Roman period, but as a rule Mr. Stone does not seem to consider it worth while to give many references, and perhaps, as he appears to be writing for the above-named "general reader," they may not be altogether necessary. A large period of history is covered by this volume, and if his pages were loaded with references it would have swelled to a much larger size. The writer describes the scenes of history in a picturesque style and it is all good reading. He seems to have followed the best authorities and his work is to be cordially commended. The book is enriched with numerous illustrations.

WARWICK THE KINGMAKER. By RENÉ FRANCIS, B.A. Illustrated by MORRIS MEREDITH WILLIAMS;

QUEEN ELIZABETH. By BEATRICE MARSHALL. (George G. Harrap and Co., 1916.) 1s. 3d. each.

THESE are volumes of another series entitled "Heroes of All Time." As the former volume just reviewed is one of a series that recalls that of the "Stories of the Nations," so this reminds us of another, "The Heroes of the Nations," which if we remember rightly was published by Mr. Unwin. "Imitation is the sincerest flattery," and there can be no harm done provided the books are worthy of the heroes whose memory they recall. The "heroes" commemorated in this series are Alexander the Great, Jeanne D'Arc, Alfred the Great, Mohammed, St. Thomas of Canterbury, Marie Antoinette (one might question the right of her inclusion, though she was heroic enough in the tragedy of her end), Sir Walter Raleigh, and several others of both ancient and modern times. The great "kingmaker" is worthy of a place in this attractive gallery, though the appellation is more of a nickname than a logical title. The author tells very ably and clearly the story of the life of Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, who played such an important part in the making of England in the stormy days of the Wars of the Roses. The writing has not been easy, as there is little good contemporary detail to enable an author to compile an adequate record of his personality. But his deeds speak for themselves, and Mr. Francis has found an admirable guide in the work of Professor Oman, whose authority is indisputable. Warwick was a consummate warrior: brave, impetuous, and skilled in fighting whether on land or sea. His first "scrap" with 28 Spanish ships is graphically described by one

John Jernyngan, who fought with him. Mr. Francis tells of all his battles and vicissitudes, his power and wisdom, until he fell on the fatal field of Barnet. The illustrations by Mr. Williams are remarkable for their excellence. They are extremely spirited and well drawn, and the artist has carefully studied the details of the costume and armour of the period.

Mrs. Marshall's account of the life of Queen Elizabeth is a very pleasing sketch and is charmingly written. The writer has formed a very true and just estimate of the complex character of the imperious Queen.

EDINBURGH, A HISTORICAL STUDY. By the Right Hon. SIR HERBERT MAXWELL, Bart., F.R.S., D.C.L., LL.D., &c. (Williams and Norgate, 1916.) 10s. 6d. net.

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL has enriched the world with many books and a vast amount of good literature on various subjects. The biographies of great men, essays, novels, studies in piscatology have come from his prolific pen; but his chief field of research has been history and Archæology, as befits the President of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, and on these subjects he has produced many of his most important works. This historical study of Edinburgh will be cordially welcomed by all lovers of the old city. There are countless works in poetry, history and romance dealing with it, but Sir Herbert was right in thinking that there was still room and use for a review of the origin, growth and social phases of the capital city of Scotland—such an essay as R. L. Stevenson planned, set hand to, and left as no more than a tantalising fragment. The book is not intended to be either a guide-book or a historical treatise, but a retrospective sketch of the forces that have moulded the destinies of the city, and in this it is most interesting and valuable. We are told of the primitive settlers who occupied Castle Rock, and follow the story of the city through the ages. We should have been glad if Sir Herbert could have settled for us the derivation of the place-name Edinburgh, about which rivers of ink have flowed in controversy, and which I should like to propound as a puzzle for the etymologically inclined members of the Association, if they will bring their learning to bear upon this much vexed subject. It is pleasant to read again the story of the life of the saintly Queen Margaret, the wife of King Malcolm, to visit her chapel which has happily survived, to see the walls of Holyrood rising and to understand the origin of Canongate. Political measures were of a drastic character in early Scottish history, and many a troublesome heir has been removed

by violence to make way for his rival. Often bloody fights have occurred in the streets of the old city, such as the "Cleanse the Causeway" action battle, and chiefs and nobles have often by their quarrels created



The Castle, from the Grass Market.

a certain "liveliness," and horrible murders have often stained the pages of Scottish history. Sir Herbert tells the story of the city he loves in a very fascinating manner. He makes the characters to live again as

the various scenes pass before our eyes. It was worth doing, the writing of this Scottish story, and not the least interesting chapters are those which relate to the literary history of the place, and the anecdotes of the great writers who lived and wrote there and made the city famous throughout Christendom. The book is copiously illustrated with carefully chosen views and portraits of celebrities, and those who love Edinburgh, whether visitors or residents, will thank Sir Herbert for his pleasant book.

BUDDHA AND THE GOSPEL OF BUDDHISM. By ANANDA COOSMARASWAMY, D.Sc. With illustrations in colour by ABANIADO NATH TAGORE, C.I.E., and NANDA LĀL BOSE, &c. (George E. Harrap and Co., 1916.) 15s. net.

STUDENTS of Buddhism will here find a sure guide to the secrets and mysteries of the faith which is not without some fascination for Western minds. Popular books on this subject are plentiful, written by non-Buddhists possessing only a limited and outside knowledge of its teaching. This book is apparently the work of a believer in the gospel he proclaims, and whatever may be thought of his faith, which has exercised such a powerful influence over the minds of millions of the human race, it is important to study its claims as a true philosophy of life, whether we see it dressed in the attractive garb superimposed by Sir Edwin Arnold or in the sombre hues of the practical results of its teaching. There is much that is childish and even repulsive in the teaching of these Oriental religions. At any rate it is well to study what their professors have to say about them, and the object of this volume is to afford the general reader an introduction to the whole field of Buddhism. Following a record of the life of Buddha, with all its fantastic "miracles" and extraordinary occurrences, there is a full account of the so-called gospel that he delivered, including a discussion on Nirvana, Karma and Reincarnation, and the relation of Buddhism to Hinduism. Analogies are pointed out with the religious thought of the West. We read about the development of the Mahayana or "Great Vehicle" of later Buddhism, and finally the expression of Buddhist doctrine and the Buddhist view of life in literature and art, while examples of Buddhist art are illustrated from photographs representing the great schools of eastern sculpture and painting. There is much that is attractive in Buddha's philosophy, though its defects are no less glaring. The author seems to think that Asiatic thought which proclaims that the fruit of life can only be attained in a

society based on moral order and mutual responsibility would heal our troubles at the present time in the western world, "which is beginning to realise that it has failed to attain this fruit in a society based on competition and self-assertion." There is another gospel which, if acted upon, would provide a far better remedy than the whole range of Oriental superstition.

THE PRINTED BOOK. By HARRY G. ALDIS, M.A. (Cambridge University Press, 1916.) 1s. 3d. net.

THIS is one of the Cambridge Manuals, of which nigh a hundred have been issued dealing with a variety of subjects, Archæology, history, ethics, science, &c. Our readers will remember the little volumes on the "Ground Plan of the English Parish Church" and the "Historical Growth of the English Parish Church," by H. Hamilton Thompson, which appeared in this series; and there have been others on brasses, stained glass, heraldry and coins which would interest members of our Association. Our present volume treats of books, the origin and development of the printed book of the western world, and does not take cognisance of countless other forms, such as the dried palm-leaf manuscripts of India, the lacquered metal plates of the liturgical books of Burma and other peculiarities. We have the oft-told story of the invention of printing, and the question of its origin discussed. Mr. Aldis agrees with Mr. A. W. Pollard that although the art was invented at Mainz in 1440 as regards the manner in which it is now commonly used, yet the first prefiguration was invented in Holland from the Donatuses which were printed there before that time. Mr. Aldis goes on to trace the rapid spread of the art through various countries, until Caxton, the first English printer, a native of Kent, brought his press from Bruges and set it up at Westminster at the sign of the Red Pale under the shadow of the Abbey. The story of title-pages, colophons, printers' marks, sizes, types, scholar-printers, illustrations, book-bindings, is told in brief with much learning. Notable early books are mentioned, until we arrive at the modern book with some account of the awakening in the artistic aspect of typography, as set forth in the establishment of the Kelmescott Press by William Morris, the Vale Press and others. The book-lover will find much priceless information in this useful and attractive volume, which contains several charming illustration and a good bibliography.

HIGHWAYS AND BYWAYS IN NOTTINGHAMSHIRE. By J. P. FIRTH.
With illustrations by FREDERICK L. GRIGGS. (Macmillan and Co.,
1916.) 6s. net.

A NEW volume of "Highways and Byways" is always welcome, and this one not the least. Fuller described Nottinghamshire as a pleasant shire; "its pleasantness may be collected from the plenty of noblemen, many having their Baronies and more their residence therein." In spite of the modern disfigurement of many a country side, this is still true. The Dukeries still exist and contain the finest cluster of stately mansions, noble parks and ancient woodland that England has to show. The county has many historical associations; its important towns of Nottingham and Newark, Southwell Minister and Sherwood Forest, teem with interest. The Civil War left its abiding mark upon the shire, and the noble families have bequeathed a legacy rich in story and anecdote that cannot fail to attract all who peruse this volume. Mr. Firth knows his county well, its byways as well as its highways, and we wander with him through town and hamlet and find in him an ever pleasing and genial guide. He has the gift of humour, which brightens his pages. The town of Nottingham is described with fulness and accuracy of detail. It occupies a prominent place in history, chiefly on account of the seizure of Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, in 1330, the raising of the Standard at the commencement of the Civil War; and there is much to record of the famous Goose Fair, certain riots, Nottingham "Lambs," its churches, and its cricket ground by Trent Bridge. The wise men of Gotham occupy a place in the chronicles of the shire, and there is much lore about cuckoo pens; but Mr. Firth does not seem to have studied the learned book on the subject by the Rev. J. E. Field, who, if we remember rightly, connects them with Roman sites. Owthorpe Hall is connected with Lady Hutchinson, the devoted wife of the Parliamentary Colonel, and Langar with Samuel Butler, whose "Way of All Flesh" depicts the unhappy life he led in his father's rectory. Southwell Minster is full of interest, and all the great houses of the Dukeries have stories to tell. Byronic scandals cluster thickly around Newstead Abbey, but Mr. Firth is probably right in dismissing most of them as legend or exaggeration. Some of these may have been attributed to the misdeeds of the "wicked" fifth lord. Welbeck with its eccentric fifth Duke of Portland, prince of troglodytes, who had a passion for building underground and so spared the amenities of his mansion, Clumber. Thoresby, Haughton, and other great houses, all have their histories, which are faithfully

chronicled, and lovers of the county will thank the author for a very charming excursion through his interesting shire. Mr. Griggs's illustrations are as excellent as usual, and add greatly to the pleasure of perusing the book.

TRAVELS IN LONDON. By the late CHARLES MORLEY, with recollections by SIR EDWARD COOK, J. A. SPENDER and J. F. COLLINS. (Smith, Elder and Co., 1916.) 5s. net.

OF the making of books on London there is no end, but this one differs from most of them. It is really a memorial volume of a skilled, beloved and accomplished journalist, once Editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, a nephew of Lord Morley. Such a book is above criticism. We have the testimonies of his friends and colleagues who tell his life-story, his signs of genius, and his endearing character. Of the book itself, it was written in leisure moments, and it is deemed to be "the appropriate bequest of a man with whom the study of London past and present amounted to a passion." It owes much to the industry of his friend Mr. J. F. Collins, who diligently explored masses of manuscript, and transcribed it with some difficulty owing to its being written in a hand that was difficult to decipher. The various chapters give faithful pictures of certain unfrequented byways and survivals in London, described by a practised pen with little antiquarian lore. Mr. Morley visited Westminster Abbey and its precincts, the Tower, a bit of the Roman Wall, two City Company Halls—the Barbers' and the Clothworkers'—the Charterhouse, the Soane Museum, and goes behind the scenes at Drury Lane; and he describes all that he saw and heard. It is all charmingly written, though the student of Archæology will not find much that he did not know before, except perhaps in the last chapter. The gem of the book is an article, reprinted from "Cornhill," on "Rugby in the late 'Sixties," in which school Mr. Morley received his education.

THE ARTS IN EARLY ENGLAND. By Professor G. BALDWIN BROWN, M.A. Vols. III and IV. (John Murray, London.) 42s. net.

IN the year 1904 I had the pleasure of reviewing the first two volumes of Professor Brown's study of the life and arts of Anglo-Saxon England in the *Journal* of this Association; now, after the lapse of more than twelve years, two more sumptuous volumes are added to the work and, if permitted, the author proposes still two more to complete his survey.



Round-Headed, Cruciform and Bird Fibulae from the Cemetery at Bifrons, Kent, 475-550 A.D.
 (From "The Arts in Early England.")

In the first two volumes, it will be remembered, the Professor dealt (1) with what we may call the degree of "culture" attained in Saxon England—its life in relation to the Arts; and (2) that culture as specially manifested in their architecture. In each case he was able to show that their civilization was more refined and their architecture more finished and more original than had hitherto been allowed. These two will long remain the standard authorities on their subject.

The intervening years have been occupied with cognate studies connected with his professorial duties, but he has never allowed his great object to escape attention, and now, not in spite of, but rather by reason of, the *longum intervallum* which has elapsed, he is able to issue Vols. III and IV as the result of prolonged study and mature judgment. They deal exclusively with the pagan period, *i.e.*, with the period from A.D. 430 to roughly A.D. 670, when the Church was established by the great Archbishop Theodore, of York, and knowledge of the condition of the arts during that period is gained for the most part from an investigation of Anglo-Saxon graves and grave furniture. This to the unsophisticated mind may appear strange—who would expect to learn anything of *our* art from a study of our cemeteries?—but to the Archæologist it is quite natural, for he knows that in ancient times down to the establishment of Christianity it was the custom to inter with the deceased all their most cherished possessions—sometimes the wife, the horse, the dog, the slaves, but at any rate the weapons, accoutrements and ornaments of the departed warrior, and the jewellery, trinkets, ornaments, toilet requisites and such like of the lady. Thus a study of the graves gives us a sure criterion of the warlike and domestic arts, and therefore of the culture of the period.

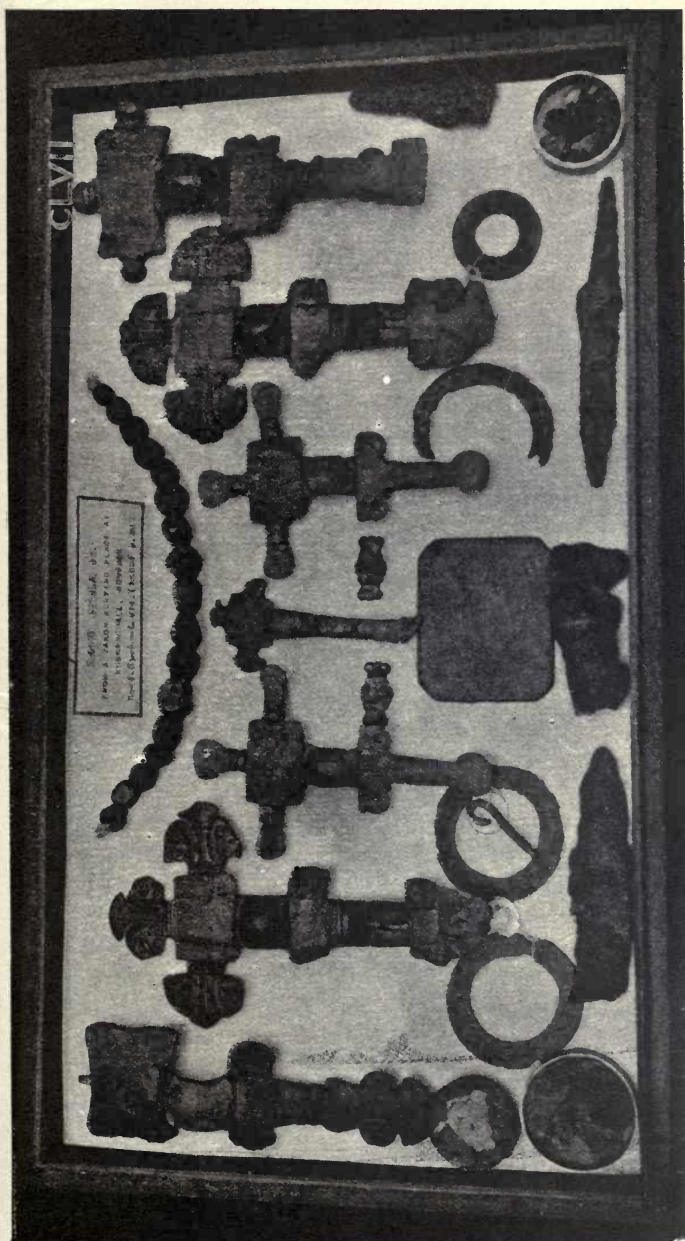
The work is conducted on the following lines:—After an introductory chapter describing the arrangement and scope of the volumes, the artistic aspects of the early Anglo-Saxon coinage are dealt with; this is succeeded by a chapter dealing with the Anglo-Saxon cemetery of the pagan period, and to this a detailed investigation follows, in Chapters IV to IX, of "Tomb Furniture," under the headings: arms; the morphology and ornamentation of fibulæ; buckles and other adjuncts of the dress; personal ornaments, such as pendants, bracelets, rings and ear jewels; concluding with a description of the various vessels comprised in the finds—buckets, bronze bowls and vases of glass. Chapter X. deals with pottery, inlaid jewellery and Romanizing objects in bronze. The remaining chapters treat of the migrations and settlements of the Anglo-Saxons and the establishment of the Anglian kingdoms. It is a great help to the reader that in these two volumes

the pages run on consecutively, so that any reference can be found by a glance at the Index in Vol. IV, which, by the way, is commendably full and complete. It will be seen at once that the subjects dealt with cover a vast field which it is impossible for us to discuss at any length in the space at our disposal; we can only briefly give some idea, which must be inadequate, of the author's methods and procedure. These may be summarized by stating that as each subject comes under review opportunity is afforded for a discussion of the origin and development of the several arts, and the whole field of research is covered so fully that nothing is left for any future investigator to add. For example, under the head of "Pottery" the whole question of the two methods of burial—inhumation and incineration—arises, and the view taken in these volumes is that "on the mainland over against our island, as in England itself, the difference between cremation and inhumation was not in this period a matter of race but rather of date and latitude. In regard to place, in any given Teutonic region early burials would be cremated, later ones inhumed—the remarkable prevalence of cremation in East Anglia may be due to an early occupation by the Angles of this province."

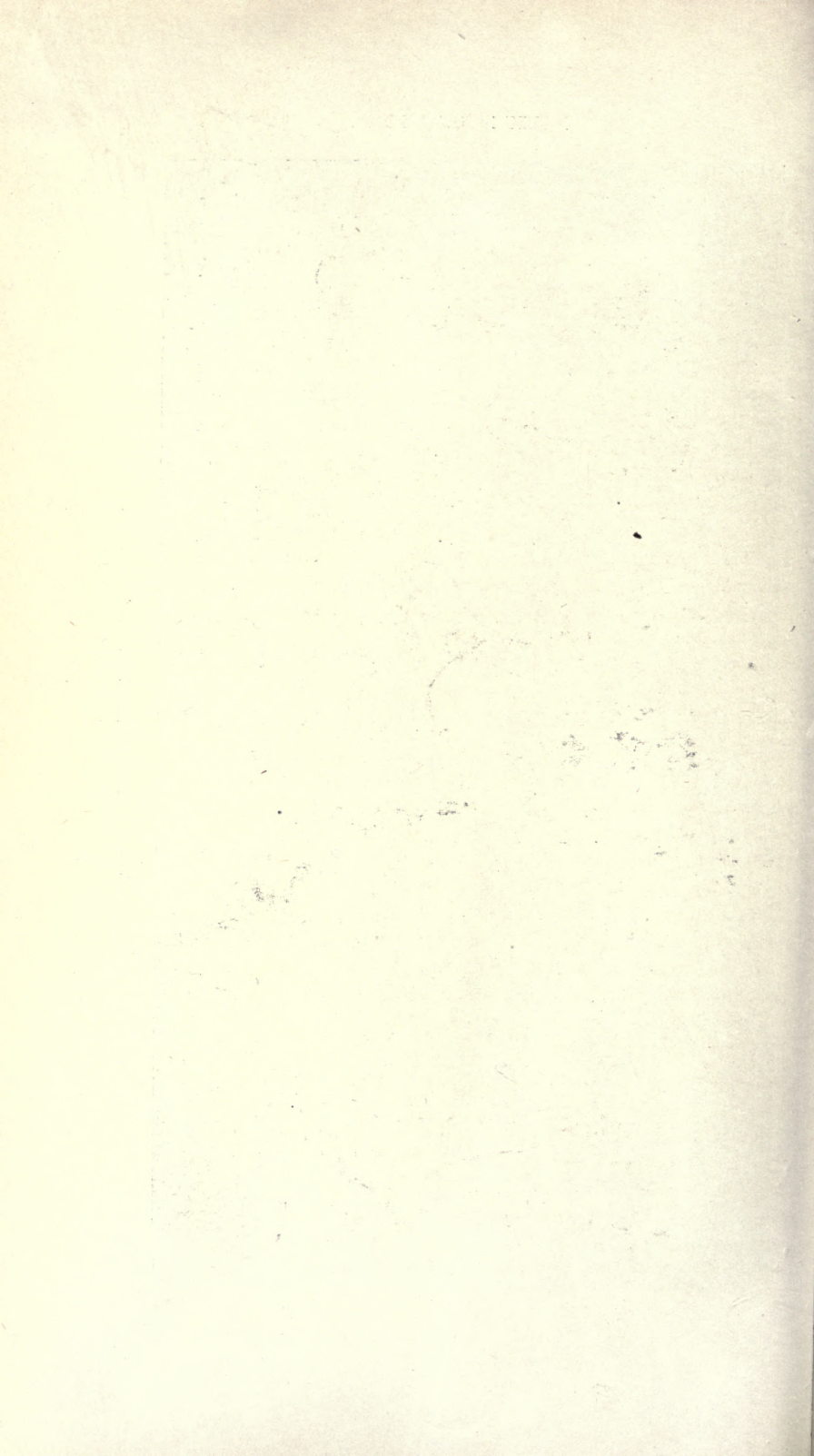
One of the most interesting investigations is that of the art of enamelling in connection with the magnificent Kingston brooch, one of the finest relics of the Jutes in Kent, and other similar jewels: here the author starts from the wonderful enamelled jewellery from the tombs in ancient Egypt and traces the art down the ages till he arrives at a possible reason for its splendid development among the heathen invaders of England; it followed the trade routes from the Mediterranean to the coasts of the Baltic and so found its way across the sea.

Within the compass of this review it is impossible to do more than draw attention to the salient points in a vast subject; otherwise there are many things one would like to have said. The most useful service we can render to the author and the reader will be, perhaps, to note the conclusions sketched in the Introduction, to which the whole investigation converges: these are that the art of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors in pagan times was characterized by (1) originality; (2) intrinsic qualities of design; and (3) workmanlike execution.

These conclusions are in every respect contrary to the ordinary notion of the "Anglo-Saxon," according to which he is credited with a racial character of a rather heavy order and it is easy to believe that he would not make a good artist. Indeed, this is just the type that to this day in the popular estimation represents the average Englishman, for the figure of "John Bull," made classic in the cartoons of *Punch*, is just



Objects from Kenninghall, Norfolk. Circa A. D. 520.
(From "The Arts in Early England.")



the figure of the supposed Anglo-Saxon farmer of the days before the Norman Conquest. But in each respect the student of this work will agree with the author's conclusions.

As regards originality: we must remember that there is really "no new thing under the sun"; at any rate absolute originality in art, though it does exist, is far rarer than we might suppose. In the vast majority of cases the artist builds on what has gone before. Thus while Anglo-Saxon art is a branch of the Teutonic school yet it shows traces of its descent from the art of Halstadt and La Tène, it has reminiscences of Late-Celtic and of Classic *motifs*, and in the gradual degradation of animal forms it connects with Scandinavia and Byzantium. But within the wide area of Germanic art there are distinct artistic provinces; of these Anglo-Saxon England is one, and here we find quite as much that is "original" as appears in any other province, Gothic, Frankish or Alemannic. Then, as regards technique and workmanship, it would be unfair to measure this art by the canons which befit Greece or old Egypt or China. It is all along barbaric art, but it shows a marvellous technical ability, especially in the art of inlaying and enamelling on gold. Indeed, the strongest side of the Anglo-Saxon art of the pagan period is its technique, and innumerable examples are adduced to prove that by this is conferred upon it an unquestioned patent of distinction. So then, if we would have an indubitable test, we have only to note the coinage of the period, and here we shall find evidence sufficient to prove that Anglo-Saxon artistic work is really of native provenance, that it exhibits an independent treatment of the motives common to Germanic art as a whole, and that in qualities of design and execution it is in the main equal to the best achievements of the period. These conclusions are confirmed as we study the entire area of art comprised in these volumes.

As will already have been divined by the careful reader, this work is a complete museum of the art with which it deals; it is not one to be read steadily through—such a feat would daunt any man—but after one has mastered the Introduction one will use the rest as a work of reference until one comes to the story of the migrations, when one can read again steadily to the end.

The illustrations are superb, and we congratulate both author and publishers on their beauty and their abundance. There are eight coloured plates, comprising such objects as the Kingston brooch, beads and necklets, and a variety of gold bracteates, fibulæ, &c., inlaid and enamelled, and no less than 158 half-tone plates comprising specimens of almost every object described in the text, besides a number of line

illustrations, and eight maps. There is also a complete list of Anglo-Saxon cemeteries.

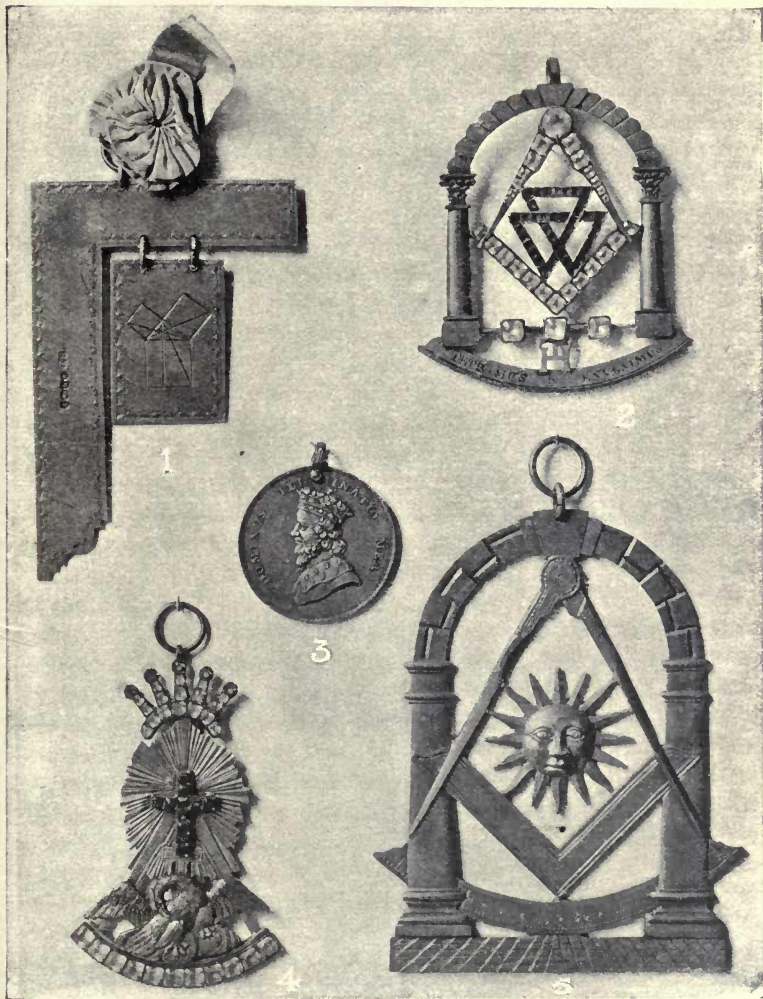
Thus the owner of these volumes possesses a catena of one of the important periods and provinces of art, and we shall look forward with unabated interest to the two remaining volumes of this great work in which the author will deal with the Anglo-Saxon art of the Christian period, apart from architecture, which as we saw was dealt with in the second volume, and so bring his herculean labours to a fitting close.

By the courtesy of the Publishers we are enabled to insert two of the Plates, Nos. XXXV and CLVII.

With the utmost heartiness we commend the work to the attention of all students of Art who agree with Dr. Johnson, that "man rises in the scale of being when the past and the future claim an importance in his mind above that of the passing hour," and who recognizes that "these remains of the ancestors of our race witness to the continuity of our civilization and make our English citizenship a nobler possession for ourselves and our descendants."—H. J. DUKINFIELD ASTLEY.

MASONIC EMBLEMS AND JEWELS AND TREASURES AT FREEMASONS' HALL, LONDON. By WILLIAM HAMMOND, F.S.A. (George Philip and Son, 1917.) 5s. net.

THE secrets of Freemasonry are unrevealed to the general public, to the cowans or the uninstructed and popular world who do not belong to that select body. It is regarded as a society of men who meet frequently and hold secret gatherings, collect large sums of money for charitable purposes and enjoy dinners and banquets. It is well that the veil should partially be raised, and Dr. Hammond has conferred a great benefit upon all members of the craft, on all antiquaries and connoisseurs, by producing this interesting book which records some of the valuable contents of the library and museum at Freemasons' Hall, over which he presides with so much care and advantage to the craft, and also discloses some of the masonic annals which the outside world would be interested to know. Freemasonry is in truth the oldest Archæological society in existence. Tradition loves to connect it with the dim records of the past, to all the arts of building from the earliest times, to Solomon's temple and Egyptian art; and the masonic student is tempted to build too imposing a structure of statement and theory upon an insufficient foundation of unsubstantial tradition, and to elaborate the mystical interpretation of a simple allegory into a complex doctrine based upon slender arguments or unsupported assertion. The



1. P.M. Jewel (Gallows Type). 2. First Principal's Jewel. 3. King Alfred's Jewel. 4. Rose Croix Paste Jewel. 5. Royal Arch Collar Jewel.

(From "Masonic Emblems and Jewels.")

masons of to-day are lineal descendants of the old operative fraternities who reared our noble minsters that amaze us by their almost super-human beauty, their symmetry, proportions and perfection. As Dr. Hammond says: "Freemasonry is probably the only body of men which has come down to modern times with an unbroken record, as a development of an old guild altered to suit the changing times, evolved from an operative and artisan trade society and endowed with many important trade secrets." When the monasteries were dissolved in the sixteenth century architecture declined, the operative guilds lost their influence, cohesion and power, but a new life was given to them by the gentlemen or speculative masons, and in 1717 the first grand lodge was formed, the bicentenary of which foundation is being celebrated during the present year. During these 200 years there has been accumulated large store of treasures and memorials of the craft, and these Dr. Hammond has exhibited to the world with a great wealth of illustration that will interest not only masons but all antiquaries. Curious aprons, jewels, certificates, jugs, mugs and bowls, collars, engraved ewers and goblets, firing glasses, state swords, &c., are amongst these treasures, all of which are described and illustrated. Modern makers of jewels are skilled in the art, but we venture to think that the ancient models are more perfect and attractive than many of those produced at the present time. The collecting of eighteenth-century masonic jewels has become fashionable, and one of the most perfect collections is that amassed by Mr. A. F. Calvert, who has written many monographs on masonic themes, and is the editor of the "Transactions" of the Author's Lodge. Two volumes of these "Transactions" have been issued under his editorship, and contain a vast store of valuable information concerning the lore of masonry. The Quatuor Coronati Lodge, the Lodge of Research and others, have produced much to enlighten the world concerning the science, and many students are engaged upon masonic records. We commend most highly Dr. Hammond's book. He holds out the hope and intention of publishing a continuation of the work dealing with pictures, books, manuscripts and medals. We earnestly trust that this expectation may be fulfilled.

BEDFORDSHIRE AND HUNTINGDONSHIRE. By HERBERT W. MACKLIN,
M.A. (Methuen and Co.) 3s. net.

THIS is one of the volumes of Messrs. Methuen's well-known "Little Guides." Though they are called "little," they contain a vast amount

of information, and on account of their size and convenient arrangement are just the books to take about with one who is exploring a shire. The smallness of the counties herein treated enables the author to combine two in one volume, and this book possesses all the merits of its numerous predecessors. It is sad to learn from the preface by Dr. Cox that the author has passed away just before he received the proofs. He was a learned antiquary who specialized in the study of monumental brasses, being the President of the Monumental Brass Society, and the writer of a standard work on the subject. We regret much that this book is the last of his erudite works. It follows the lines of the other volumes, dealing in the Introduction with the general features of the district, physical, geological, scenery, climate, &c. In the section dealing with the history and antiquities the old British track known as the Ickneild Way is traced. Roman traces are not very numerous, and the older civilization and the older people disappeared and in their place rose the new Saxon England with which the history of the two counties more properly begins. Nearly every existing place-name is Saxon, uninfluenced by anything that went before save such memories as are enshrined in "chester" or "street," and undisturbed by anything that came after. There are many places of special interest in the district. Naturally Bedford and Huntingdon receive special attention. Little Gidding recalls the saintly life of Nicholas Ferrar. Bedfordshire contains the great abbey of Woburn and very many other houses and places which tourists love to explore and antiquaries to write about. There is an excellent index by Dr. Cox, which shows the student where he can find important examples of brasses, screens, effigies, wall-paintings, &c., and there are numerous illustrations and two maps for his guidance.

HEREFORDSHIRE. By G. W. WADE, D.D., and J. H. WADE, M.A.
(Methuen and Co.) 3s. net.

THIS latest volume of "Little Guides" has just reached us as this *Journal* is going to the press. We are glad to welcome it, as the shire is none too well known to tourists, save the Wye valley and the region of the Malvern hills, and there is no county in England which possesses more historical and antiquarian interest than this western shire. As a border district it has suffered much from Welsh raids, and it has played no inconsiderable part in the history of the country. The chapter on the antiquities of Herefordshire is full of

interest, and the authors have accomplished their task with much careful and personal investigation, without which guidebooks are generally worthless and deceptive. There are many traps lying in the way of guidebook writers which only actual visits to the various places described enable them to avoid. The book has the benefit of an admirable series of photographs by Dr. Hermitage Day, F.S.A., and the present writer is glad to see that a work of his has been useful to the compilers. This "Little Guide" can be most cordially commended.

FOUR LECTURES ON THE HANDLING OF HISTORICAL MATERIAL.
By L. F. RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS, B.A., B.Litt., Professor of Modern Indian History in the University of Allahabad. (Longmans, Green and Co., 1917.) 3s. net.

THIS is one of the publications of the Department of Modern Indian History, Allahabad University, by its learned Professor. Although these lectures were delivered to an audience composed mainly of Indian students, the methods advocated are applicable to all historical workers, and the advice given is just as valuable to English scholars and readers and to those who first heard the lectures. Professor Williams tells of the startling progress during the last century in the study of history. We have arrived at the age of the specialist. Formerly the word "history" had no special significance. It embraced all writings professedly dealing with the events of the past. Monkish chronicles, grandiloquent histories of the universe, full of sound, but empty of sense, appealed to the taste of our forefathers. But historical research has made vast strides since then, methods have improved, and the critical faculty came into play which scrutinized old accepted theories and "facts," and demanded authority. These new writers of history showed a prejudice against the employment of literary style in the writing of history, and therein erred. Truth is no less attractive when it is clothed in decent language. Professor Williams dwells on the characteristics of the principal sources of information which the historian has to consider, and the kind of information which may be derived from each source. Some of these sources are non-documentary, such as inscriptions or epigraphy, numismatics and Archæology, embracing architecture, domestic arts, weapons, costume, &c., which enable the historian to understand the manners of the age he is studying. No historian can dispense with Archæology in elucidating early history, and then we pass on to documentary evidence of all

sorts and kinds, whether official or non-official. There are pitfalls to be avoided, such as the difficulty of preserving an impartial attitude of mind. Some writers of history have conceived a theory, and then tried to discover evidence to fit in with the theory, as did Froude. This is fatal to the true conception of historical writing. Anyone who contemplates embarking upon historical study cannot do better than to read this little and unpretentious book. It will save him from many errors, direct his steps in the right course and enable him to cultivate the modern scientific methods of writing history.

THE ROMANO-BRITISH SITE ON LOWBURY HILL IN BERKSHIRE. By DONALD ATKINSON, Research Fellow in Roman Archæology, University College, Reading. With an Introduction by F. HAVERFIELD, M.A., D.Litt., LL.D., Camden Professor of Ancient History in the University of Oxford. (University College, Reading, 1916.)

PROFESSOR HAVERFIELD, in his Introduction to this work, points out the unfortunate neglect of national, that is, local antiquities, by the older Universities not only in England, but in all foreign countries. Excavation work, the study of topography, do not seem to have appealed to University scholars, and Camden, Stukeley, Gordon, Horsley and the rest pursued their studies in a solitary and itinerant fashion, without much encouragement from these learned bodies. The newer Universities and University Colleges have set themselves to remedy this defect, and University College, Reading, has taken a very honourable part in appointing a Research Fellow in Local History, and in producing several monographs on the subject. Mr. D. Atkinson, in pursuance of this work, has with much diligence excavated an upland kraal on the rounded top of Lowbury Hill on the Berkshire Downs, that was used by summer shepherds and cattle-herds in Roman times, and at a later period as a refuge during the early English invasions. His task has been crowned with success. He has thrown some light upon the mode of life of the poorer class of people who inhabited the district, and has unearthed on the site of the buildings, which were probably of wattle and daub, and in a Saxon tumulus, a great store of objects of much interest. Amongst these are 758 coins, only eight of which are silver, 118 copper coins in the barrow trenches, fibulæ, pottery of various kinds, jars, cooking-pots, &c., bits of glass, beads, tools, weapons, bracelets, rings set with gems, bronze and bone needles, earpicks and nail cleaners, &c. Mr. Atkinson shows great knowledge of these objects, and is able to compare them

with similar ones stored in many foreign museums as well as in those of this country. One very remarkable find he has made, and that is of a foundation burial, the immuring of a living person in the walls of a newly rising building or the crushing of him beneath the foundation stones. This was believed to be a sure way for securing the stability of the house and the bringing of good luck. In this case the person so buried was a woman. It is well known that such a superstition has very wide currency, but we were not prepared to hear that as late as the 'sixties Lord Leigh was supposed to have built one or more persons into the foundations of a bridge at Stoneleigh, Warwickshire. Mr. Atkinson and the University College, Reading, are to be congratulated on the production of this work, which is a valuable record of a careful piece of excavation and an interesting addition to Berkshire history.

THE COLLEGIATE CHURCH OF OTTERY ST. MARY: With Plans, Photographs, Introduction and Notes. By JOHN NEALE DALTON, M.A., F.S.A., Canon of Windsor. (Cambridge: at The University Press, 1917.) 25s. net.

THIS is a magnificent monograph on the subject of which it treats, worthy alike of Canon Dalton, the author, of the Dean and Chapter of Windsor, who have so many connections with the neighbourhood, and of the great University by whose Press it has been published.

In a handsome quarto volume of some 300 closely-packed pages Canon Dalton first sets out to tell the story of the church and collegiate establishment at Ottery, and then gives a full transcript of the *Ordinacio et Statuta*—from the Exeter Chapter MS. 3521, and the Winchester Cartulary, vol. i, part ii, ff. 98-114—drawn up by Bishop Grandison, the founder, with a series of elaborate notes and an exposition. These latter afford a wonderfully complete picture of mediæval life in the fourteenth century.

There is no record of any Saxon church at Ottery, belonging to the old Diocese of Crediton; and the only evidence of a Norman church is to be found in the reputed remains of a Norman font and the heavy wall foundations said to exist outside the south-west corner of the nave in the churchyard. Bishop Bronscombe consecrated a church in 1259, in the early English style of that day, a good deal of which was incorporated in the later church. Before considering the work done let us first devote some attention to the founder of the collegiate establishment.

John Grandison, Bishop of Exeter from 1327 to 1369, is one among many outstanding examples of the unity and solidarity of the Church and of the confraternity of nations in the Middle Ages.

He belonged to a noble family of Burgundy, related to the Dukes of that country, which had come to England in the train of Eleanor of Provence, Queen of Henry III, and had already given several sons to the service of the Church in Holy Orders. He was born in 1292, and, after holding many preferments, was made Bishop of Exeter by Papal provision in 1327, and died in 1369, so that his bishopric was practically contemporary with the glorious reign of Edward III, and the best Decorated Style in architecture. As Bishop of Exeter he devoted himself to the improvement of his diocese morally and materially, setting himself to reform the lives of the clergy, and to rebuild and beautify the fabrics belonging to the Church.

How the mediæval Bishops got together the funds for the works they carried out is a marvel to the present age; but just as the monuments of to-day will be great engineering works—railways, canals, bridges, Assuan dams and such-like, of use in the material progress and comfort of mankind—so the monuments of the Middle Ages are found in the cathedrals and churches, which, while testifying to the engineering prowess of that age, aimed at the spiritual and moral improvement of the race. The mystery may, of course, be explained by the religious fervour of the people in the Middle Ages: Mr. L. Cope Cornford points this out in the preface he has written to a little book recently published on "The City Churches," by Miss M. E. Tabor.

The people of mediæval times regarded the Church as the supreme symbol of their faith in God's love and righteousness. Rich and poor alike laboured side by side. Stow, for example, tells us that St. Andrew Undershaft, at the corner of St. Mary Axe, was "new built by the parishioners there since the year 1520; every man putting to his helping hand, some with their purses and others with their bodies." Centuries earlier the people of Chartres renounced the vanities, not in fear of God, as in Savonarola's day, but as a token of their love for Him. That they might replace the fire-razed cathedral on the hill, they gave up their money and jewels; men, and even women, yoked themselves into stone-filled wagons, which they pulled up to the top of the rugged heights above the river. Dr. Jessopp pointed out the same thing in one of his illuminating studies of mediæval life, and, no doubt, it goes a long way to explain the work that was lavished on our cathedrals and parish churches at much less

expense than would be incurred in these more prosaic times, when the fire of faith is burning somewhat dim.

Just as Bishop Herbert de Losinga finds his memorial in the grand Norman cathedral of Norwich and the fine churches of Great Yarmouth and King's Lynn, so Bishop Grandison finds his memorial in Exeter Cathedral and the church of Ottery St. Mary.

It is the story of this latter that Canon Dalton tells in the volume before us. Belonging practically to one period, it is a fine example of the Decorated Style at its best, with fifteenth-century additions.

Bishop Grandison transformed the transepts of the existing early English church into twin transeptal towers, as at Exeter, and made the church a reduced model of the cathedral, the former having five bays each in the choir and nave to the latter's seven, just as Lindisfarne is a reduced model of Durham Cathedral.

The architectural details could not be better described than they are by Canon Dalton, but for these we must refer the reader to the book itself, and to the beautiful series of illustrations by which it is enriched. The fifteenth-century additions are found in the north aisle of the nave and the north porch, and were made by Cecilie, Marchioness of Dorset. This gives the author the opportunity of relating the story of her family and connection with Ottery. Some of the monuments and heraldic decorations of the church are very fine. The tomb of Sir Otho de Grandison is specially worth mention; the misericords, originally in the choir, now in the Lady Chapel, are noticeable; Bishop Grandison's eagle lectern is still in use, and his clock in the south transept—one of four fourteenth-century clocks in the West of England; the others are at Exeter, Wells and Wimborne Minster—is still going, after having been re-gearred in 1906-1907. Two beautiful ivory memorials of the Bishop are in existence, though divorced from their original associations—one a diptych, half of which is in the Louvre, and the other in the British Museum; the second a triptych in the British Museum. The representation of the Crucifixion and of the Coronation of the Virgin on this latter resemble closely the representation of the same subjects on the fragments of an alabaster reredos found at East Rudham and are characteristic of the age.

But Bishop Grandison was not content to make Ottery a great parish church; he made it, as we have said, a collegiate establishment, and of this the Canon gives a detailed history and description.

The bulk of the book is concerned with the *Ordinacio et Statuta* drawn up by the founder; some of these are very curious, and

specially interesting to present-day students, and the author's notes and disquisitions thereon are most illuminative and instructive. Space will not admit of our dwelling on these, but we may draw the reader's attention to those on the meaning of "Papal Provisions" and the necessity for the various Statutes of Præmunire, pp. 116-127, and to those on the "habit" of the clergy, pp. 194-203. In these latter we are shown, as Dean Stanley showed long ago, that there is nothing peculiarly sacred in "vestments," since these are, in their origin, simply a modification and adaptation of the ordinary dress of the laity of a preceding age. Here it may, perhaps, be permissible to quote Canon Dalton's statement of the case :

"As regards the apparel of the secular clergy it was at this period in England the same in shape and cut as that worn by an ordinary and sober-minded layman. Even the Mass-vestments themselves, the chasuble and albe, it is now agreed, were evolved from the pænula, an immense cloak, sleeveless and without any opening in front, and the sleeved and girded tunic, the ordinary costume of a well-to-do Roman citizen of the first and second centuries. . . . No distinctive vestment as to shape was set apart for exclusive use of the Christian minister, even in the most solemn part of Divine worship, during at least the first four centuries of the Christian era. What was worn was, however, always to be fair and comely, not mean or sordid. Then as the old cut gradually passed out of use in the world it was retained in the churches. Ecclesiastical conservatism would retard such changes as far as they concerned the dress worn at Divine service : small differences would spring into existence between every-day dress and the dress of the ministrant, and those differences would increase till the two styles of costume became sharply distinguished from one another ; and the one would become ever hallowed more and more with a multitude of sacred associations. . . . From the historical standpoint, then, the Eucharistic vestments are one of the most valuable heirlooms that the Church possesses ; that they are retained and used by the whole of Catholic Christendom, East and West, is a public external witness to the age, continuity and universality of the Church ; and it is their natural origin which gives them their real value. Clergy still stand at the altar in the same habit as they did at the beginning, in the costume which St. Paul and the other Apostles wore as citizens of the world-wide Roman empire. The chasuble may thus be regarded as a visible token of the inherent unity of the Church and of the universality of her mission."

The regulations as to the duties of the Master and Prebends, as to

behaviour at meals, as to the conduct of the choir-boys in and out of church, and all the minute directions as to services, lights, provision for the altars and such-like read very quaintly to our modern ideas, but are worthy of serious and careful study by all who would understand something of mediæval life in England and the rules of a great collegiate establishment more than five centuries ago. Amid all the changes of the passing years human nature seems to have been very much the same then that it is now !

Canon Dalton has done his work so well and so thoroughly that we can find nothing to criticise : we can only bid the reader study his book for himself, and let him tell his own story. Once again we would draw attention to the fine series of illustrations by which the book is embellished, and which greatly enhance its value, so that the reader is almost as well off as if he had studied the buildings on the spot. There is a good index. If we must criticise, it is only the binders, for some of the illustrations in our copy were very loose and have fallen out !

H. J. D. A.

THE GREEK HOUSE : Its History and Development from the Neolithic Period to the Hellenistic Age. By BERTHA CARR RIDER, M.A., D.Lit., Lond. (Cambridge : at The University Press.) 10s. 6d. net.

THIS book is the thesis submitted by Miss Rider and approved for the Degree of Doctor of Literature in the University of London ; the subject is an extremely interesting one, and the working out of it does the author great credit.

The object she had in view may be stated as an endeavour to show the continuity of the Greek house-plan from the earliest times down to the Classic period ; such an aim has only been made possible by the use of the spade, and this book may be described as the outcome of the scientific employment of that humble implement of the explorer.

Those of us who are in middle life will remember that the only notion we imbibed of the Greek—or Roman—house in our youth was derived from the scattered notices in Homer and Pausanias, combined with what we could gather from Bekker's "Charicles" and Archbishop Potter's "Antiquities of Greece" ; these latter could add little to what we obtained from the literature—and that was little enough and often contradictory, in the absence of detailed statements, for it is a well-known axiom that "what every one knows, no one takes the trouble to write about !" Details full of interest to posterity are the very opposite to a writer's contemporaries.

But within the last 25 years the earth has been made to yield her secrets as never before in all the classic lands, and a rich treasury they have proved, following the previous half-century's discoveries in regard to primitive man.

It is with him that Miss Rider begins, starting with man's earliest shelters in the caves of the earth; in the Neolithic period she finds three types already prevalent, each derived finally from the Dolmen type—the round, the oval, and the rectangular. First, she follows Neolithic man in his wanderings across North Africa and the western Mediterranean through Spain and France into Britain, and then describes his progress in the Eastern Mediterranean lands, including Egypt, Asia Minor and the Grecian Islands and mainland. In the course of this survey she gives an interesting conspectus of the remains of Dolmens, the so-called Cyclopean works like Hagiari Kim (Malta), Carnac and Stonehenge, the Nuraghi of Sardinia, the Talayots of the Balearic Islands, and other such relics of that period. As regards the round type of dwelling, it finds its counterpart to-day in the beehive huts of the Zulus and other native races in Africa; the oval type survived in the long barrows and continued into the Bronze Age in such constructions as we find at Newgrange in Ireland, and elsewhere—the so-called *Allée Couverte* leading to the inner cella, shrine or burial-place. As to the vexed question of the priority of the dwelling-place for the living or the depository for the dead, we agree with the author that man would first devise a shelter for himself and his belongings in life, and would then proceed to fashion the resting-place of his dead after the model of the abode he inhabited when alive; in many cases, no doubt, that final resting-place would be the very shelter in which he had lived when alive.

But the rectangular type of dwelling achieved the conquest over the other—we may suppose on the principle of “the survival of the fittest”; for one thing, it is more easily adapted to an agglomeration of buildings and takes up less space. Thus, in all succeeding ages, after the Neolithic, it is always the rectangular model—whether house, palace or temple—that is followed, and such buildings as the exquisite little circular temple of Vesta and the glorious Pantheon at Rome are merely survivals of a fashion that had long passed away.

The earlier and rather haphazard investigations of Dr. Schliemann on the sites of Troy, Mycenæ and Tiryns, and the later and splendidly scientific explorations of Sir Arthur Evans and others in Crete and the Islands of the Aegean afford scope for a graphic account of the palaces and humbler dwellings of the age, and here we are able to

compare the actual results of exploration with the inferences previously drawn from the descriptions of palace and house in Homér. From this the following conclusion, in which we concur with the author, may be deduced: that, while on the one hand, "it is clear that in romantic poems like the Iliad and the Odyssey we must not look for scientific accuracy with regard to the arrangement of an Homeric palace—indeed, so confusing are some of the details that it is difficult to reconcile all passages bearing on the subject, whatever be the theory adopted," yet, on the other hand, "speaking generally, the essential parts would seem to be the same in the Homeric and Mycenean palaces, viz., the courtyard with its propylæum, and the megaron with vestibule abutting on the courtyard. The bathroom also occurs in both; and though we may not find any actual palace which we can dub Homeric, yet there is enough in common in the palaces excavated and described to enable us to recognize a continuity of type from Minoan and Mycenean into Homeric times, and a correspondence in detail of decoration and order."

From the twelfth and eleventh centuries B.C. we pass to consider the Greek house of the fifth and then of the third century B.C., and finally are asked to compare these with the Greco-Roman house as revealed by the excavations at Pompeii and the account given of the Greek house by Vitruvius, a celebrated architect of the age of Augustus and the only ancient writer on architecture. "His description," says the author, "has been the cause of much dispute, and many have been the attempts to emend the passage, but in the light of recent excavations it now seems clearer." This elucidation we must leave the reader to discover from the book, merely remarking that Miss Rider certainly appears to us to make good her point.

One thing comes out very clearly in the course of this study, viz., that even in its best period Athens was a city of mean houses; from our modern standpoint the private gentleman would appear to have been most uncomfortably housed, while the populace seem to have been content with veritable slums. In mitigation of this the climate must be taken into consideration, which made an outdoor life, and one in which the men at least passed the greater part of their time in the open air, more a thing of course than it can ever be in our more northern latitudes, even as the life of Paris is far more spent in the open than is that of London. The streets, too, must have had a very gloomy appearance, since they were faced with nothing but lofty, unlighted walls; within, however, plenty of light and air would be derived from the courtyard, much as is the case in any eastern

city to-day. On the contrary, the houses in the great Egyptian Thebes and in Minoan Knossos, and the other cities of the Mycenaean Age, would appear to have been, like the fashions in dress as displayed on the wall-paintings in the palace at Knossos and in Minoan statuettes, much more "modern" in every respect; in these the houses were often three, four and even five stories high, with windows in each story facing the street, so that the appearance must have resembled very closely that of any modern town. This is one of the unexpected and fascinating results of recent exploration. We may just note in passing a rather serious slip on the part of the author, viz., in discussing Egypt in the Neolithic Age she lumps together the buildings of historic and of prehistoric times, and speaks of the five-storied houses and of the temples and palaces of Thebes as though they were existing then!

We can heartily recommend this book to the attention of all who are interested in its subject; it contains some 50 excellent plans of the various buildings described from the earliest down to classic times, and there is an adequate index.

H. J. D. A.

PRIMITIVE SUNDIALS AND SCRATCH DIALS. By Dom ETHELBERT HORNE. With a Preface by Dr. J. CHARLES COX, F.S.A. With 18 illustrations. (Barnicott and Pearce: the Wessex Press, Taunton.) To be obtained from the author, Downside Abbey, Stretton-on-the-Fosse, Bath. 4s. net (postage 4*d.*).

Too much praise cannot be given to Father Horne's treatment of this fascinating subject. We have had many books on sundials which have attracted the attention of numerous antiquaries and of writers such as Mr. Alfred Gatty, whose "Book of Sundials" is a very attractive volume. But no one before the issue of this present volume has studied the subject so systematically and thoroughly as its author. He has rambled in search of this single detail of church lore throughout Somerset, and visited every single old church to take notes and photographs of these primitive or mediæval dials wherever extant. It is only by carefully photographing a large number and comparing the resulting pictures that final conclusions can be drawn. They present various problems. Some have doubted whether these "scratch" dials (I think Father Horne is the inventor of this title) are sundials at all. They have been found on the north side of churches or in corners where no sunlight can shine upon them. The gnomon is always inserted at a right angle and does not slope as in a properly

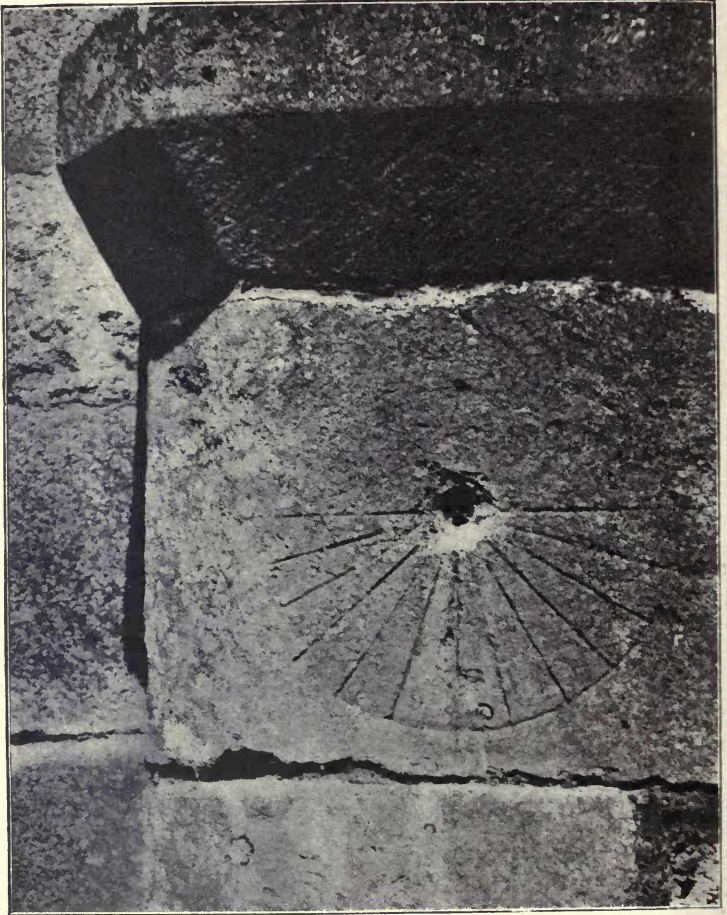
constructed sundial. There are no figures at the ends of the lines, and sometimes the latter are cut all round the circle like the spokes of a wheel, and of course the sun's rays cannot strike on the upper ones. They have been called "protractors" or masons' marks, or



Sundial at Portbury Church, Somerset.

emblems of the sun. All these various theories are discussed by the writer of this book, who with much patience describes the various types, their positions, the style or gnomon, the lines and holes, and also their age and use, giving careful descriptions and illustrations of

all the Somerset examples. He overthrows the theory that scratch dials are all Saxon, and concludes that they were intended to mark the hour for Mass and not as a general time-keeper for the parish. It is important that in any church restoration they should be care-



Sundial in South Brewham Church, Somerset.

fully preserved; and as Father Horne states: "They are few and feeble now, for the winds and storms of five or six centuries have nearly worn them out, but the remnant seemed worth saving for the sake of the story they tell."

A CENTURY OF ARCHÆOLOGICAL DISCOVERIES. By Professor A. MICHAELIS: Translated by BETTINA KAHNWELLER, with a Preface by PERCY GARDNER, Litt.D. (London: John Murray, 1908.) 12s. net.

WE cordially commend this book to the attention of all who are interested in the progress of archæological discovery during the nineteenth century, more particularly as it concerns the classic lands of antiquity.

It was published, as will have been noticed, nearly ten years ago, and therefore before the tremendous cataclysm of the world-war cut Germany and her *Kultur* adrift from the civilized portion of mankind. When we shall be able once more to study with patience what Germany has to teach us it is impossible to say; meanwhile we may be thankful for such a book as this to help us to remember that there is another side to the Germany we have learnt to detest—a side which we may hope will revive and once more flourish when “this madness is over-past.”

As Professor Gardner points out in his preface, Professor Michaelis treats of “the archæology of the spade,” and of the results of excavation more particularly as it is connected with the work of German explorers; this is treated with graphic details which dwell in the memory. Other discoveries which he has not watched with the same closeness, or which have been published in a form less accessible to him, are spoken of with brevity. In the former we may note the account of the work done in Lycia, at Pergamus, at Olympia and elsewhere; in the latter the work of the British and American schools at Athens, and the excavations of Sir Arthur Evans in Crete, and others. This is the less to be deplored seeing that English readers have all that is needful in their own language to turn to, while they are necessarily less familiar with the special results with which Professor Michaelis deals.

The book gives an account of archæological discovery during the last century; it is no dry summary, but rather a record of what the writer with intimate knowledge and watching all with the greatest interest, learned as the scroll of excavation and research was gradually unrolled. As our space is limited it may be useful to give a conspectus of the author's method by mentioning the order of the chapters. Commencing with the state of knowledge of ancient art at the close of the eighteenth century he passes briefly through the Napoleonic period and the resurrection of Hellas with the discoveries of the Elgin marbles and the Venus of Milo to the sepulchres of Etruria and ancient painting; thence e takes us to the discoveries in the East, Egypt, Lycia and other parts

of Asia Minor, and returning again to Greece gives a graphic *résumé* of the discoveries in the Greek sanctuaries at Olympia, Delos, Delphi and elsewhere; next he travels through a variety of ancient cities, and after surveying Prehistory and Primitive Greece in only 27 pages, finally describes single discoveries on classic soil and in outlying countries with concluding remarks on the influence of the spade and the new standpoint it has made necessary in our views as to ancient art—sculpture, painting and architecture.

The book is eminently readable and the translation is excellently performed; there is a useful chronological table, and a good index. The illustrations are well chosen and much enhance the value of the work.

H. J. D. A.

PAPERS AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE HAMPSHIRE FIELD CLUB AND
ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY: VOL. VIII, PART I. Edited by JOHN
HAUTENVILLE-COPE.

IN spite of war-time and the difficulties of printing the proceedings of the Hants Society appear with the utmost regularity. The present volume contains a continuation of the list of Church Goods in Hampshire, A.D. 1552, with notes by the Editor; a third paper on Some Hampshire Wells, by W. Whitaker, F.R.S., founded on notes stored in the Geological Survey Office, and containing much of geological interest; and interesting notes on some Blacksmiths' Legends and the observance of St. Clement's Day by Gordon P. G. Hills, who has collected much folk-lore of the craft associated with Hampshire villages. Sir William Portal, Bart., F.S.A., contributes a valuable paper on Cowes Castle and the History of the Royal Yacht Squadron; and Mr. F. H. Baring writes on Aclea, its Battle fought in 851 and the early synods that were held there. This place he identifies with Oakley near Basingstoke, and not with Ockley in Surrey, as some previous writers have contended. Dr. J. P. Williams-Freeman contributes a valuable paper, with an excellent plan of a fine mosaic pavement, on Roman Building at Grateley; and there are various notes on Natural History and other matters connected with the archæology of the county. In addition there are the accounts of eight excursions held in 1916, one of which took place in conjunction with the British Archæological Association when the two societies joined forces and explored the western portion of the Isle of Wight. The Editor is to be congratulated upon compiling another volume of exceptional interest, and one in every way worthy of the reputation of this active and flourishing antiquarian society.

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1. By holding communication with Correspondents throughout the kingdom, and with provincial Antiquarian Societies, as well as by intercourse with similar associations in other 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 to make 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.

MEETINGS are held from November to June, on the first Thursday in each month, at 4.30 p.m., at the Headquarters of the Association, for the reading of Papers and discussions, and for the inspection of any objects of Antiquarian interest which have been sent to the Council for this purpose.

Associates have the privilege of introducing friends to these Meetings.

The Annual Meeting is held in May, at which a general Report upon the position of the Association and its work is laid before the Associates, and the ordinary business, such as the election of the Council, Officers and Auditors, is transacted.

ELECTION OF MEMBERS. Candidates for election must be proposed by an Associate and seconded by one of the Council. Names should be sent to the Hon. Treasurer, Robert Bagster, Esq., F.S.A., 15 Paternoster Row, London, E.C.4, to whom remittances and enquiries should be addressed.

The Annual Subscription is One Guinea payable in January—there is no entrance fee—and the Associates are entitled to the *Journal* as published.

A Subscription of Fifteen Guineas will constitute a Life Membership with all the privileges.

Members are requested to assist the Objects of the Association by sending Papers to be read at Evening Meetings, and by reporting *every* item of Antiquarian interest that may come under their notice, however small.

Papers submitted for Reading at the Meetings will be laid before the Council and, if accepted, will in due course be printed in the *Journal* with any Illustrations which can be provided and will be considered the property of the Association, each Author being responsible for the statements contained in his Paper.

It should be particularly noticed that Lectures with Lantern Slides are much appreciated. All the expenses connected with the Lantern are paid by the Association.

The
British Archaeological Association.

LIST OF ASSOCIATES.

DECEMBER, 1917.

*The past-Presidents marked * are permanent Vice-Presidents.*

The letter L denotes Life-Members.

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- 1917 Aberdeen University Library, Aberdeen
 1915 Adelaide, Public Library of, South Australia (care of Messrs. Kegan Paul and Co., Carter Lane, E.C.4)
 1890 American Geographical Society, New York (care of Messrs. Stevens and Brown, 4 Trafalgar Square, W.C.2)
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 1911 Asher and Co., 14 Bedford Street, Covent Garden, W.C.2
 1905 Ashmolean Library, Oxford
 1894 Astley, Rev. H. J. Dukinfield, M.A., Litt.D., F.R. Hist. S., F.R.S.L., *Vice-President*, The Vicarage, East Rudham, King's Lynn
 1876 Athenæum Club, Pall Mall, S.W.1
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 1913 Barry, Sir Edward, Bart., Ockwells Manor, Bray, Berks
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 1905 Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (care of Messrs. Simpkin, Marshall and Co., 32 Paternoster Row, E.C.4)
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 1872 Birmingham Free Library, Birmingham, The Librarian
 1912 Blore, Cosmo, Esq., St. Barnabas Vicarage, Clapham Common, S.W.11
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 1905 Boston Public Library (care of Messrs. Stechert and Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey Street, Chancery Lane, W.C.2)
 1892 Bowen, Rev. Canon David, B.A., Monkton Priory, Pembroke

- 1913 Bradbury, Fred., Esq., Tapton Lodge, Sheffield
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 L. 1886 Bramley-Moore, Rev. William, M.A., 26 Russell Square, W.C.1
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 1914 Bremner, Alexander, Esq., 38 New Broad Street, E.C.2
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 1893 Cardiff, The Free Library, The Librarian, Cardiff
 1906 Cater, W. A., Esq., F.S.A., F.R. Hist. S., *Hon. Lecture
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 1891 Detroit Library (care of Messrs. Stevens and Brown, 4
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 1915 Dickinson, Mrs. M., Eastern House, Brighton
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Editor, Barkham Rectory, Wokingham
 1912 Dixon, Miss Rebecca, 2 Cheniston Gardens Studios, Kensing-
 ton, W.8

- 1911 Dobson, Fred. W., Esq., J.P., 470 Mansfield Road, Nottingham
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- 1911 Hance, Edward M., Esq., 305 Woodstock Road, Oxford
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- 1907 Harris, P. Traer, Esq., 23 York House, Kensington, W.8
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 1914 Lloyd, C. V., Esq., East India United Service Club, St. James's Square, S.W.1
 1906 Lott, H. C., Esq., 10 Carlisle Parade, Hastings
- 1876 Manchester Free Libraries, The Chief Librarian, Manchester
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 1914 Meares, Mrs. Brooke, 106 Warwick Street, S.W.1
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- 1917 New York Public Library (care of Messrs. Stevens and Brown, 4 Trafalgar Square, W.C.2)
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- 1913 Philadelphia University Museum, U.S.A. (G. B. Gordon, Esq., Director)
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- 1899 Reading, The Free Library, The Librarian
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- 1917 Smith, Charles J., Esq., Clayton Castle, Hassocks, Sussex
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- 1901 Tarner, Geo. Edward, Esq., 35 High Street, Marylebone, W.1
- 1915 Taylor, Edward Reginald, Esq., F.S.A., F.R.G.S., F.R.Hist.S., *Council*, Medomsley, Sidcup, Kent
- 1906 Tickner, T. F., Esq., F.R.I.B.A., High St. Chambers, Coventry
- 1907 Topham, J. R., Esq., Newcastle Drive, The Park, Nottingham
- 1891 Touche, Sir George Alexander, M.P., Broomfield, Westcott, near Dorking
- 1875 Trappes-Lomax, Mrs., Clayton Hall, Accrington
- 1904 Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington, S.W.7
- 1903 Walker, Allen S., Esq., 1 Warwick Court, W.C.1
- 1915 Walter, Miss, Goldwell, Newbury
- L. 1871 Warde-Aldam, W., Esq., Frickley Hall, Doncaster

- 1917 Warner, Reginald Graham, Esq., Clayton Old Rectory,
Hassocks, Sussex
- 1911 Watson, Charles C., Esq., Poonah Lodge, Cadnam,
Southampton
- L. 1914 Watson, Miss F. E. Cradock, Poonah Lodge, Cadnam,
Southampton
- L. 1912 Watson, L. H. C., Esq., 3 Campden Grove, W.8
- 1914 Watson, Mrs., 40 Cadogan Place, S.W.1
- 1898 Watts, Chas. E., Esq., 20 Mercers Road, Tufnell Park, N.19
- L. 1887 Westlake, N. H. J., Esq., F.S.A., The Studio, 20 Clifton
Gardens, W.9
- 1912 Weston, Francis, Esq., F.S.I., *Council*, Whitelea, Selborne
Road, Croydon
- 1916 Whitfield, A. Stanton, Esq., 16 High Street, Walsall, Staffs
- 1904 Wigfull, J. R., Esq., A.R.I.B.A., 14 Parade Chambers,
Sheffield
- 1903 Williams, Rev. Alan, Burton House, Sherborne, Dorset
- 1913 Williams, Miss E. C., Broomgove, Goring-on-Thames
- 1913 Williams, Professor W. Carleton, Broomgrove, Goring-on-
Thames
- 1912 Williams' Library, The Secretary, Gordon Square, W.C.1
- 1914 Williams and Norgate, Messrs., 14 Henrietta Street, Covent
Garden, W.C.2
- 1908 Winconsin, State Historical Society, Madison, Winn., U.S.A.
(care of Messrs. H. Sotheran and Co., 140 Strand, W.C.2)
- 1901 Winstone, Ernest W., Esq., M.A., 36 Victoria Street, S.W.1
- 1901 Winstone, Miss, 16 Allen House, Allen Street, Kensington,
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- L. 1881 Wood, C. F., Esq., M.A., Twyford House, Twyford, Winchester
- 1890 Worsfold, T. Cato, Esq., LL.D., M.A., F.R.S.L., F.R. Hist. S.,
Hon. Solicitor, Hall Place, Mitcham, and 9 Staple Inn, W.C.1
- 1911 Wynford, The Lady, Warmwell House, Dorchester
- 1914 Yale University Library, Conn., U.S.A. (care of Messrs.
Edw. G. Allen and Son, Ltd., 14 Grape Street, W.C.2)
- 1876 Yorkshire Philosophical Society, The Museum, York

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1848 WORCESTER . . .	
1849 CHESTER . . .	
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1851 DERBY . . .	SIR OSWALD MOSLEY, BT., 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 . . .	
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1860 SHREWSBURY . . .	BERIAH BOTFIELD, ESQ., F.R.W., F.S.A.
1861 EXETER . . .	SIR STAFFORD H. NORTHCOTE, BT.
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1863 LEEDS . . .	LORD HOUGHTON, M.A., D.C.L., F.S.A.
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1865 DURHAM . . .	THE DUKE OF CLEVELAND
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1872 WOLVERHAMPTON . . .	THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH
1873 SHEFFIELD . . .	THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, E.M.
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1875 EVESHAM . . .	THE MARQUESS OF HERTFORD
1876 BODMIN AND PENZANCE . . .	THE EARL OF MOUNT-EDGCUMBE
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1884 TENBY . . .	THE BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S
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1886 DARLINGTON AND BISHOP AUCKLAND . . .	THE BISHOP OF DURHAM
1887 LIVERPOOL . . .	SIR J. A. PICTON, F.S.A.
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Obituary.

JOHN FERGUSON, F.S.A., Professor of Chemistry at
Glasgow University.

PROFESSOR FERGUSON was a Vice-President of the Association and has been a Life-Member since 1890. He has had a most distinguished career in his University, and has combined with his professorial work and scientific studies an affection for antiquities and archæological investigations. He was a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, President of the Glasgow Archæological Society, Hon. LL.D. of St. Andrews University and of the Imperial Military Academy of Medicine, St. Petersburg, Foreign Member of Société Française d'Archéologie, President of the Bibliographical Societies of Edinburgh and London, and Member of the Royal Company of Archers, the King's Bodyguard for Scotland. He had the honour to represent his University on many public occasions, such as Jubilees and centenary celebrations—at Bologna, St. Petersburg, Krakau, Oxford, Leipsig, Breslau, Christiania, etc. Professor Ferguson's publications were mainly confined to the history of chemistry and technology. He was a contributor to the *Dictionary of National Biography*, and was much interested in the study of bibliography. His University has lost by his death one of its ablest and most distinguished scholars, and the Association regrets extremely the loss of one of its most learned Vice-Presidents.

WALKER, T. J., Esq.

WALKER, T. J., Esq., was a resident of Peterborough, and has for many years been a Member of the Association, having joined it in 1898.

TALBOT, CHARLES HENRY, B.A., J.P.

MR. TALBOT was born 1842, the only son of the late William Henry Fox Talbot, M.P., and was educated at Harrow and Trinity College, Cambridge. He was the owner of the historic and beautiful Lacock Abbey, near Chippenham, which he restored with much care and architectural knowledge, Mr. Harold Brakspear, F.S.A., acting as his architect. He was always delighted to welcome antiquaries and archæological societies to his noble home, and to explain to them its

architectural and monastic features and associations. Personally he was much beloved by all who had the pleasure of his friendship and acquaintance.

MRS. MARSHALL.

MRS. MARSHALL has been a Member of the Association for many years, and a constant attendant at its Meetings while her health and strength lasted. She will be much missed by the older Members of the British Archæological Association and her many friends.

MRS. B. F. COLLIER.

ALL the Associates deeply regret the death of Mrs. Collier, who has been a Member since 1893. She was the wife of Colonel Collier, a constant attendant at our Meetings and Congresses, and much beloved by all who had the pleasure of her acquaintance. Mrs. Collier took a keen interest in antiquarian subjects, often spoke at the Meetings of the Association, and wrote gracefully and well, having contributed to the *Journal* the following papers: "About some Yew Trees and Yew Hedges" (Vol. xix, p. 257); "Ancient Recipes and Old World Cures" (Vol. xxii, p. 13). Mrs. Collier passed away from earth in April last, and will be much missed by a large circle of friends, and not least by our Members.

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