

p. 30.


VOL. XXVIII.

1906.



JOURNAL

OF THE



DERBYSHIRE

ARCHÆOLOGICAL

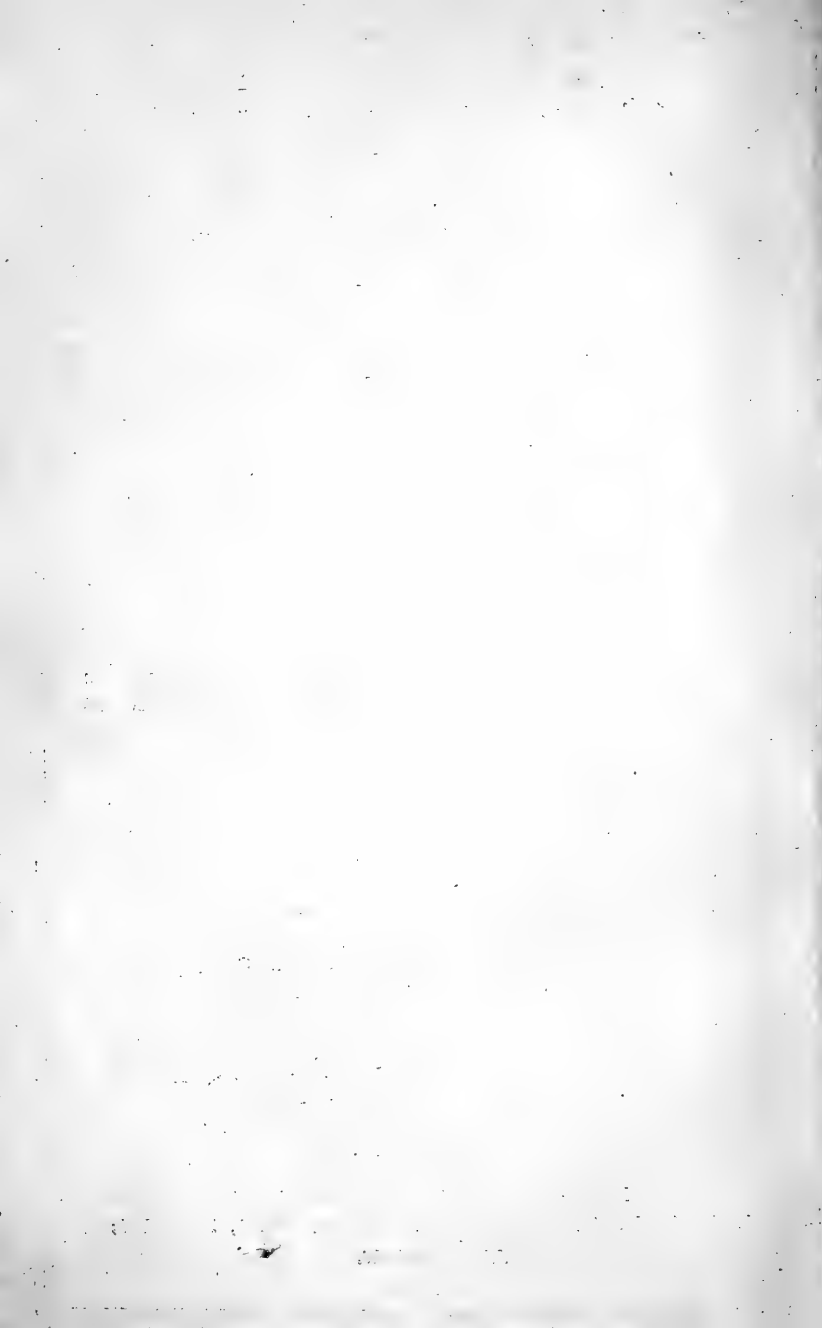
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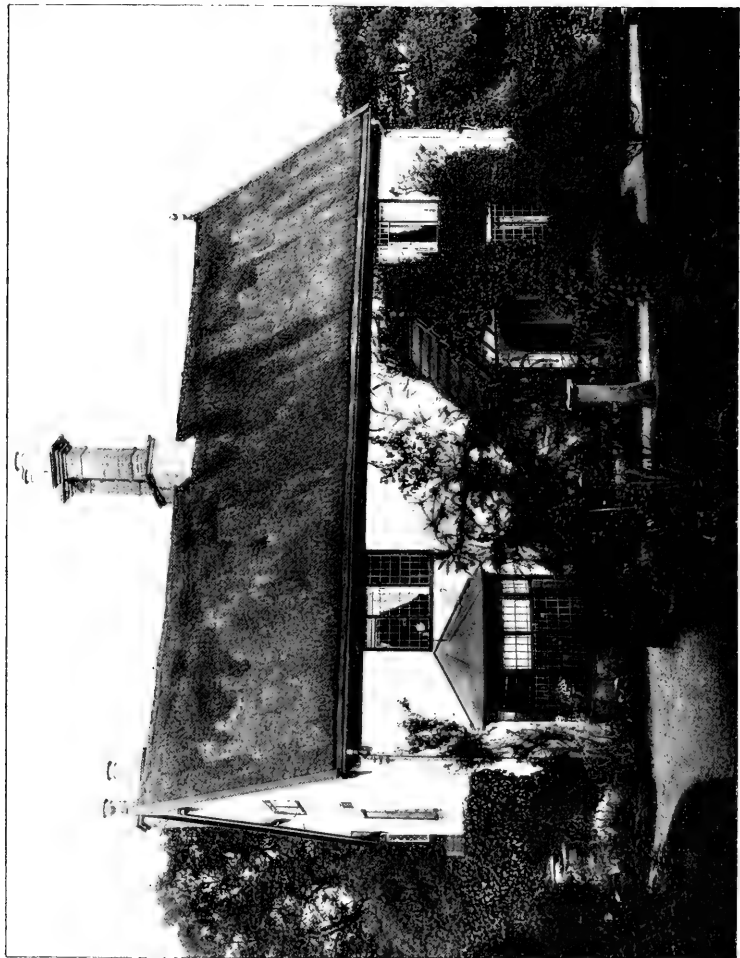
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SOUTH SITCH, IDRIDGEHAY.

JOURNAL

OF THE

Derbyshire Archæological

AND

NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY

EDITED BY

C. E. B. BOWLES, M.A.

VOL. XXVIII

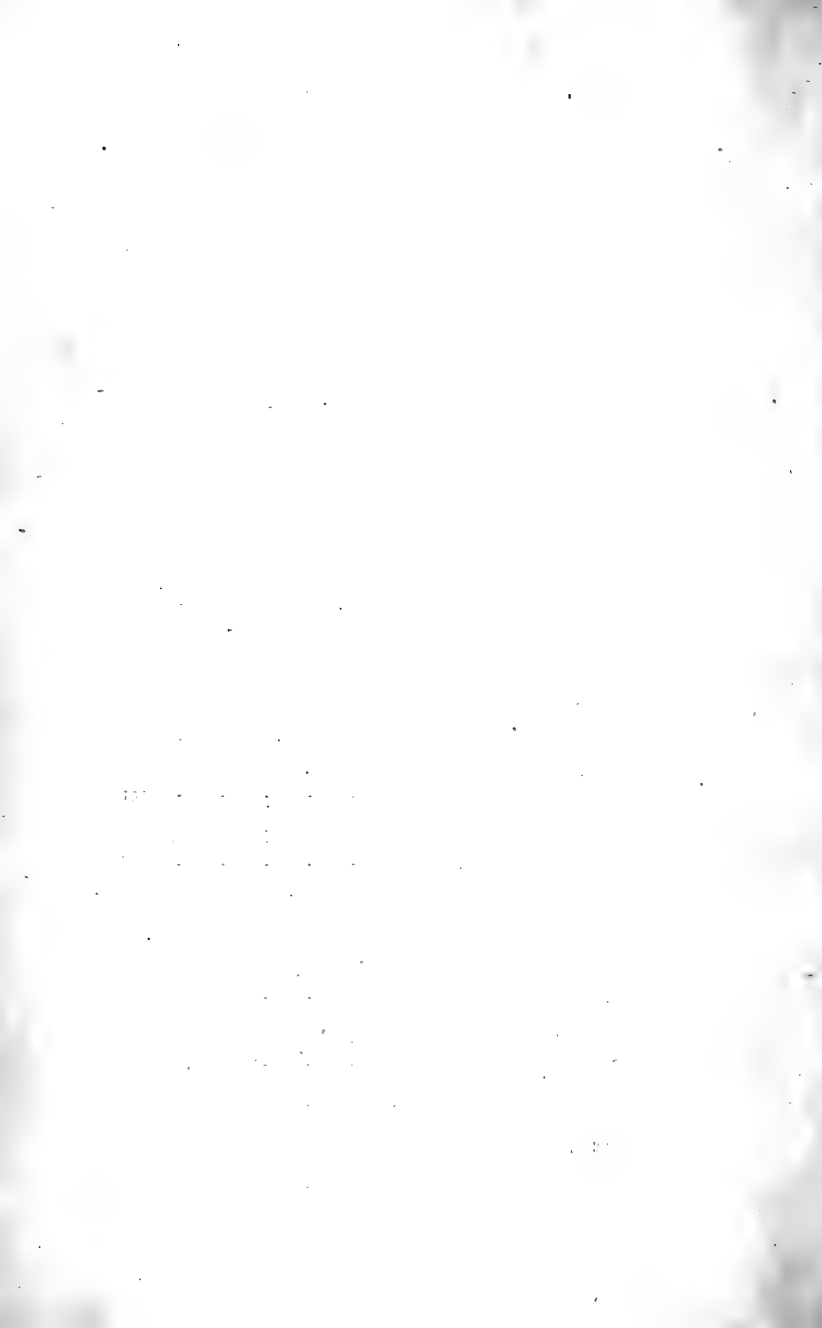
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DERBYSHIRE ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY.

South Sitch, Edridgehay.

By PERCY H. CURREY.



TIMBER BUILDINGS, owing to the cheapness of good building stone, are in this county comparatively rare, though in the middle ages they must have been almost universal; those which remain are chiefly seventeenth century works of a humble character, cottages and farm buildings constructed in the simplest manner possible, the timbers framed to form large square panels filled in with "wattle and daub," which has usually been replaced by brickwork. When we find here a timber-framed house of substantial construction, such as is comparatively common in Worcestershire, Cheshire, and elsewhere, it is an object of much interest. Such an example exists, though it does not from the outside reveal its interest at first



The Fountain. The yew tree arbour in the distance.

sight, in the house known as South Sitch, at Idridgehay, the residence of Mr. Bemrose, F.S.A., a member of the Council of this Society. Idridgehay (Iderich-hay or Ithersay according to Lysons, and to local pronunciation, fast dying out) lies in the prettiest part of the Ecclesbourne valley, and the picturesque situation and delightful old garden combine with the quaint character of the house to make an ideal summer residence.

With respect to the name, Mr. W. J. Andrew writes :—" The name Sitch very frequently occurs in old field names ; I have always thought it meant a *marshy* dell or valley. It no doubt comes from the Saxon SICHT, which means a furrow, gutter, watercourse, etc., so if you combine the furrow and the watercourse you have what I thought it meant. In either case the name is applicable to South Sitch." The house is supposed to have been built by a member of the family of Mellor, who held considerable estates at Idridgehay until recent times. The family came originally from Mellor in the High Peak ; Robert Mellor, of Mellor, is mentioned in the Hundred Rolls of 3 Ed. I. (1274). Lysons considers that the Mellors, of Idridgehay, who were settled there as early as the time of Henry VII., were a younger branch of this family ; their pedigree is given fully in Glover's *Derbyshire*.* The direct line ceased with the death of Samuel Mellor in 1795, whose granddaughters and co-heiresses married

Cresswell and Cock, from the former of whom the present owner of South Sitch, Mr. F. Thornley, is descended. In 1638 a member of this family became the first Mayor of Derby ; in 1637, according to Simpson's *History of Derby*, but in 1638 according to Hutton, King Charles I. granted to the town a new Charter, under which the two bailiffs were to become in succession the first Mayors ; Henry Mellor was the first to take office, but died during his mayoralty, and was succeeded by his colleague, John Hope. Simpson's *History*



OLD IRON
CANDLESTICK
SOUTH SITCH

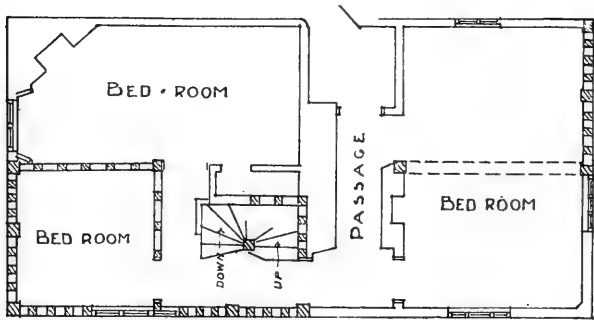
* Vol. ii., p. 561-2.

quotes a quaint punning epigram on Derby's first Mayor, from a book of epigrams published by Bancroft in 1639—

“ You seeme the prime bough of an ample tree
Whereon if fair expected fruits we see
Whilest others' fames with ranke reproaches meete
As mel or manna shall your name be sweete.”

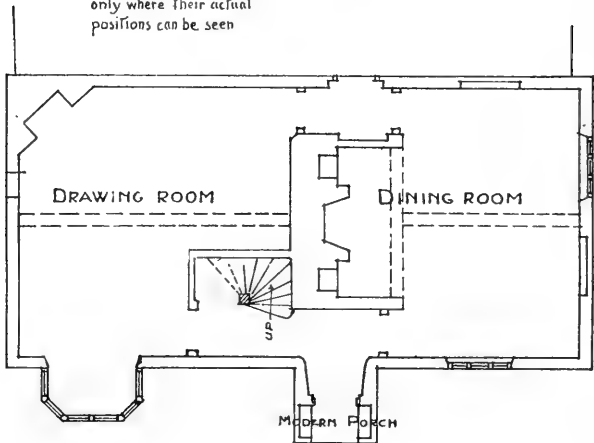
From Glover's account of this family we learn that Robert Mellor, of Iderichaye, who died in 1616, by will dated May 6th, 1615, devised a copyhold estate in Iderichaye to his son George in tail male, with remainder to his son Thomas in tail male, remainder to his right heirs. George Mellor, who appears to have been the youngest of four sons, married Millicent—and is described as in 1617 of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and in 1621 of Derby, B.A.; in 1659 he surrendered his copyhold at Idridgehay to his son Robert. This George Mellor would appear to have been the builder of the house at South Sitch, for on the oak tie-beam of the north gable of the house is cut 16211GMM, clearly indicating George and Millicent Mellor.

Externally the house does not proclaim its interest; most of the windows have been more or less altered in later times, and the whole of the walls covered with rough-cast, though the thatched roof, now becoming a rarity in Derbyshire, is still retained; but immediately upon entering, the position of the door in relation to the fireplace and the stairs, and the construction of the stairs themselves, tell the great age of the building; on mounting the stairs and examining the walls on the first floor the timber construction can in many places be easily traced through the wall papers with which it is covered, and when the attics are reached it is clearly exposed to view. The plan of the original house was extremely simple, and typical of the ordinary comfortable farmhouse of the period. It comprised on the ground floor two rooms, with the staircase between the two; the present dining-room, with its deeply recessed and cosy fireplace, would have been the general living room or house-place. If the second room, now used as a drawing-room, originally had any fireplace it seems that it must have been in the corner as at present, though



FIRST FLOOR PLAN

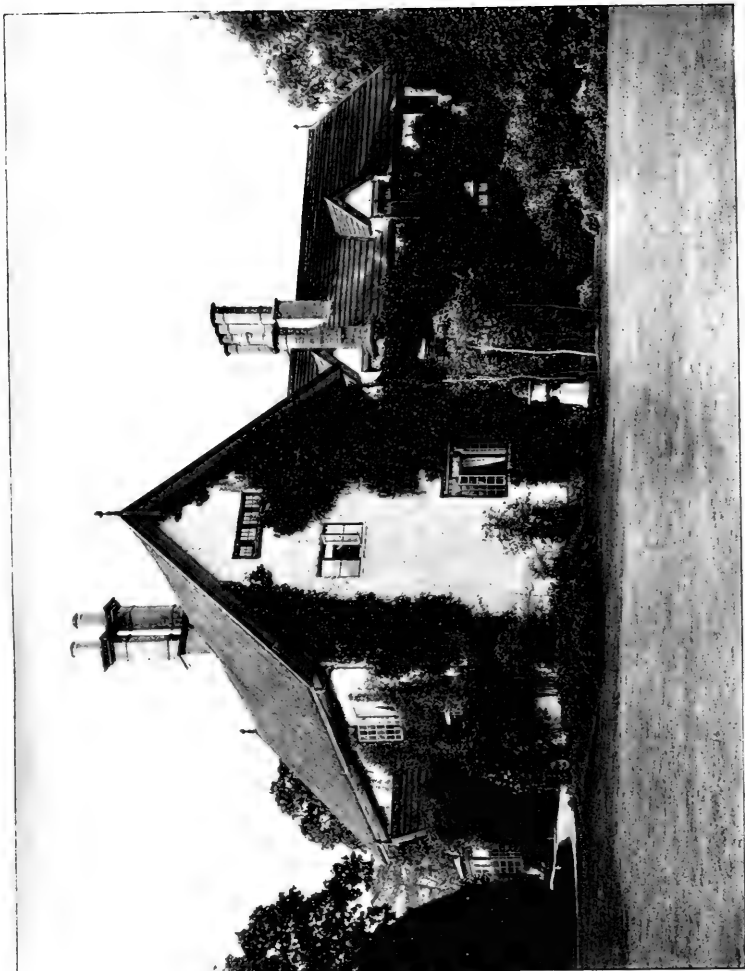
NOTE The timbers are shown only where their actual positions can be seen



GROUND PLAN

SCALE OF 10 5 0 10 20 30 FEET

P.H.C.
delf.



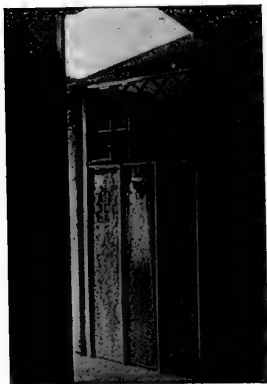
SOUTH SITCH, FROM THE GARDEN.



this would have been rather an unusual position; it seems likely that there would have been a "lean-to" at the back for pantry, etc. The entrance to the house was in the usual place opposite the "speer," or side of the large chimney recess. The chamber floor comprises three bedrooms, and in its plan seems to be unaltered, except that a passage has been cut right through the great chimney to connect this part of the house with the more modern wing at the back. In the roof there are two large rooms practically unaltered since their first erection. The original staircase is worth noticing for the very small space which it occupies. A modern architect, wrestling with the intricacies of house planning combined with limited means and space, cannot help envying his predecessors who could dispose of a whole flight of stairs from floor to floor in an area of 6 ft. 6 ins. by 3 ft. The way in which the second flight of these stairs wriggles itself up into the attics so as to give head-room both above and below is quite ingenious. To suit a more luxurious age, a second staircase of easier ascent has been added in the modern wing of the house, but in the days when a step ladder was often the only means of access to cottage bedrooms, these winding stairs were probably considered more than adequate.

The construction of the building is of a simple and substantial character. The walls rest on a stone foundation forming a plinth all round; the framing consists of principal upright timbers from 8 ins. to 10 ins. square and spaced at 4 ft. 6 ins. to 5 ft. apart, framed into heads and cills and stiffened in the usual manner by diagonal braces at the angles; between these are framed the intermediate timbers, about 7 ins. in breadth and little more than that distance apart; the spaces between the timbers have originally, of course, been filled in with lath and plaster, but, as has been before mentioned, the whole of the exterior has since been covered with a coating of rough-cast or pebble-dashed cement. If this coating were removed it is easy to picture the pretty effect of the black and white building, surrounded by its old-fashioned garden and background of fine old trees. Whether it would really be desirable to remove it is, however, question-

able. It is impossible to say how the original plastering between the timbers is carried. At Somersall Herbert Hall, probably the

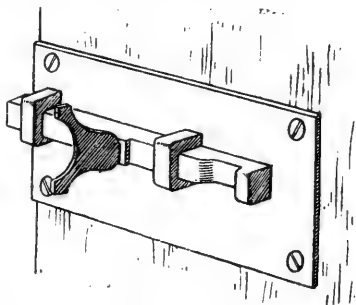


* Door made of yew tree wood.

finest timber building in Derbyshire, the timbers are grooved about an inch back from both faces, and short oak laths are slipped into these grooves to carry the plaster; but this must have been rather a troublesome method, as each lath required somewhat careful fitting.

Both the chamber and attic floors are carried by heavy stop-chamfered oak beams running through the centre of the house from end to end and supporting the smaller floor joists. The floors are the ordinary "plaster floor" of the district; these were formed by laying reeds across the joists, on which was spread a layer of floor plaster, a coarse quality of calcined gypsum, sometimes mixed with crushed brick or other material; this was usually finished to a thickness of about $1\frac{1}{2}$ ins. and trowelled to a smooth face. These plaster floors were in common use in Derbyshire and the neighbouring counties up to the middle of the last century; before the introduction of the power-driven circular saw, when every board had to be laboriously cut by hand over a pit, floor-boards were an expensive luxury only found in first-class work.

The main entrance door is original, and a good example of the heavy studded



Bolt on door.

type, but, possibly in the eighteenth century, the upper portion has been glazed to light the entrance and stairs. The furnishings were no doubt added on the occasion of this alteration. The door at the foot of the attic stairs is also worth noting for the quaint wooden bolt by which it is secured. Some of the other doors, which can scarcely be so old as the house, seem like a rude attempt by country joiners to imitate a higher class of work than that to which they were accustomed; from outside they look like ordinary eighteenth century panelled doors,



THE CHIMNEY IN THE ATTIC
SOUTH SITCH

P.H.C.
del.

but when opened they are found to be made in two thicknesses, the panels being formed of oak boards nailed to the back of the framing; some of these have early metal work fastenings, such as an iron handle to the drawing-room door, and a wrought-iron bolt of unusual design to that of one of the bedrooms. The only windows that have not been altered at one time or another are the four little square lights high up in the south gable.

One of the most interesting features of the house is the great timber and plaster chimney in the attic; this is now crowned

externally with a brick chimney stack, and it is difficult to say how it originally finished above the thatched roof. A wooden chimney seems, according to our modern ideas, a very dangerous contrivance, and there is no doubt that in the days of timber building fires were of very frequent occurrence, but it has to be remembered that with wood fires on an open hearth and with a wide chimney the heat would never be very great. A plastered chimney was taken down about ten years ago in a very old cottage at Little Eaton, and the timbers showed but slight traces of the action of the fire.

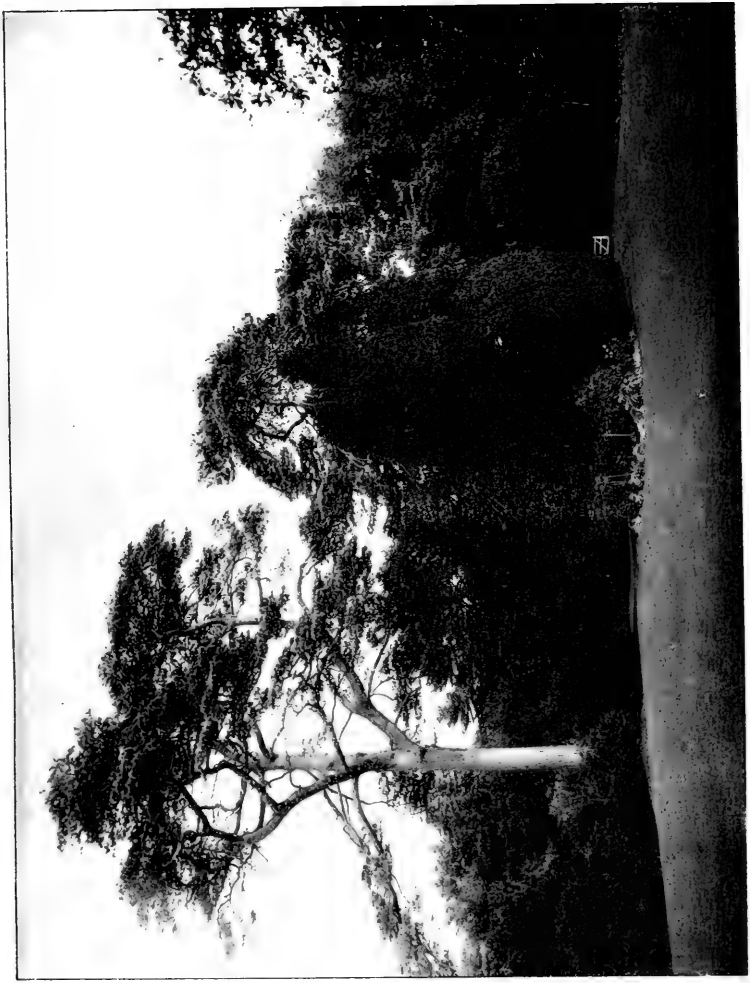
Not the least pleasant feature of South Sitch is the delightful old-fashioned garden, with its well kept turf and sheltering belt



Stems of Trees.

of trees, which contains a curiosity in its yew arbour, well shown in one of the accompanying photographic plates. This was fashioned of seven yew trees planted to form three sides of a square, the fourth being left as an entrance; the boughs of the trees have been arched over and grafted into the stems of their neighbours opposite and on each side, so that each tree now draws nourishment from the roots of the others. It would be interesting to ascertain the date of this very unusual example of the gardener's art. Topiary work was popular at the time when the house was built, and was revived in the days of Queen Anne.

In the *sich* or dell of the garden winds a tiny stream, which nevertheless supplies a large fishpond and a fountain in its

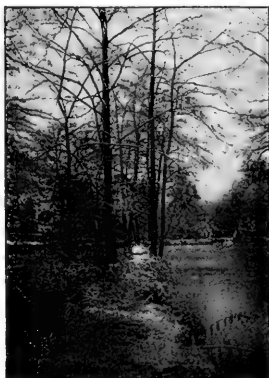


THE YEW TREE ARBOUR.



course. Originally there were two fishponds, but that opposite the house has long ago been drained and planted. These ponds are probably survivals of the time when even an older house stood at South Sitch, for in mediæval days fishponds were an almost necessary adjunct to a manor house. At Hullahd, for instance, three or four miles away, the ancient moated hall has gone, and the moat is dry, but the fine series of fishponds, constructed, to quote an ancient charter, "where the place gives opportunity," remain to remind us of an age when fresh-water fish formed an important item in the larder of a self-contained community.

In these days, though, thanks to our Archæological Societies, our more monumental antiquities are generally well cared for, the buildings of a humbler but not less interesting class are rapidly disappearing to make way for more pretentious, but not always more comfortable, houses. Our thanks should, therefore, be given to anyone who will undertake the trouble and sometimes the expense of maintaining them. May South Sitch always have an owner who will lovingly preserve it so long as its old wooden walls will hold together.



The Fishpond.

For the photographic plates illustrating this article we are indebted to Mr. A. Victor Haslam, and for the small photographs and the sketch of the bolt to Mr. J. Somes Storey.

The Religious Pension Roll of Derbyshire, temp. Edward VI.

By REV. J. CHARLES COX, LL.D., F.S.A.



THOSE who have but slightly studied the question of Henry VIII.'s destruction of the monasteries generally hold the opinion that all, or almost all, the dispossessed religious—whether canons, monks, friars, or nuns—received comfortable pensions; and in this view they are supported by two or three of our national historians who ought to have known better. The facts, however, of the case lead to very different conclusions.

To begin with, it should be recollected that the terms of the Act of Parliament, passed in February, 1536, for the suppression of all monasteries possessed of an income of under £200 a year, merely provided for an annual pension being secured "to every chief head and governor of every such religious house."* As to the rest of the community, the Act gave them the choice of being committed to a larger monastery of the same order, or to have their "capacities," with "some convenient charity disposed to them towards their living." By having their capacities was meant permission to act as secular clergy. The largest sum ever given by way of charity to the ejected of 1536 was 40s., but the men usually had a priest's gown also given them, and the nuns such apparel as was worn by ordinary secular women.

Moreover, the royal visitors appointed in 1535, the chief of whom were the evil-lived Doctors Legh and Layton, appear to

* 27 Henry VIII., cap. 28.

have strenuously carried out the order at once to eject from the monasteries all under twenty-four years of age, or who had been professed under twenty. This two-fold enactment would at once cast forth penniless at least a fourth of the members of religious communities.

So far as Derbyshire was concerned, the Act for dissolving the smaller houses ought to have extinguished all save the Austin Abbey of Darley, which was the only religious house in the county that had a larger income than £200 a year; its annual value at that period was estimated at £258 13s. 4d. But among the almost incredibly mean ways adopted by the Crown and its agents for squeezing as much as possible out of the religious houses, was the encouraging the smaller houses to contract out of the first Suppression Act by big fines, well knowing all the time that the suppression would shortly become universal. In Derbyshire this odious action was carried out in two cases. The Black Canons of Repton obtained the royal grant to remain undissolved by paying into the Treasury the sum of £266 13s. 4d., and the White Canons of Dale a like favour on payment of £166 13s. 4d.*

Of the smaller religious houses whose suppression was carried out in 1536, the ex-prior of Breadsall received a pension of £3 6s. 8d.,† and the ex-prior of Gresley £6.‡ In the latter case two canons also received £5 16s. 8d. each, but that was on account of their serving the respective vicarages of Lullington and Gresley, which they were called upon to resign. No record has been found of any pensions to the communities of Beauchief Abbey§ or of King's Mead Nunnery.

The great body of friars, who were not dissolved in the earlier suppression, were all sent forth, as were the Dominicans of Derby, penniless.

* Gasquet's *Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries*, ii., 529-30.

† Aug. Offic. Misc. Books, ccxxxii., f. 196.

‡ *Ibid.*, ff. 37b, 53b.

§ Beauchief Abbey had an average of 15 canons; it was surrendered on 4th February, 1536. Pegge's *Beauchief*, 202.1

Nor must it be forgotten that in the general suppression of 1538, those who had taken refuge in the larger houses of their Orders when their own were dissolved, found themselves incapable of receiving pensions, for it was expressly provided that those only were to be pensioned who had been inmates of the particular house for a long time (*diu antea*).

Again, it was distinctly laid down that those only who made "voluntary surrender" to the King were to be pensioned. In several cases, where there was passive resistance—there was no such instance in Derbyshire—the religious were ejected in complete beggary.

Altogether it may be safely estimated that less than half the members of the suppressed religious communities received pensions throughout England, and such was certainly the case in Derbyshire.

Darley Abbey surrendered on 22nd October, 1538. The surrender was signed by Thomas Rage, abbot; William Stanbanke, prior; Richard Machyn, sub-prior; and by ten other canons, namely, Walter Rey, William Sawter, Thomas Haryson, Thomas Trippet, Edward Cradocke, Thomas Coste, Henry Hey, William Holiley, Nicholas Jevons, and Henry Cosst.* Two days later the pension list was drawn up, whereby £50 a year was assigned to the abbot, £6 13s. 4d. to the prior, £6 each to the sub-prior and two other canons, £5 6s. 8d. to each of three canons, and £5 to each of the remaining five canons.†

Repton Priory surrendered on 25th October, 1538, when the priorship was vacant. The surrender was signed by Ralph Clerke, sub-prior, and by eight other canons, namely, John Wirksworth, *alias* Wood, Thomas Strynger, James Yong, John Peter, Thomas Pratt, Thomas Webstar, Robert Ward, and Thomas Abell.‡ On the following day the pension list was drawn up, whereby £6 a year was assigned to the sub-prior, and sums varying from £5 6s. 8d. to £4 to nine other canons.

* Dep. Keeper's Reports, viii., app. 2, 19.

† Letters and Papers Henry VIII., xiii. (2), 839.

‡ Dep. Keeper's Reports, viii., app. 2, 38.

that is to one more than those who had signed the surrender. In the pension list they are specified (evidently one or two *aliases*) as John Wood, Thomas Stringar, James Yonge, John Asshby, Thomas Pratt, Thomas Webster, Robert Warde, Thomas Brauncetoun, and Thomas Cordall.*

Dale Abbey surrendered on 24th October, 1538. The surrender was signed by John Bebe, abbot, Richard Wheyetteley, prior, and fifteen other canons, namely, John Cadmon, Richard Hawston, Thomas Bargshaw, William Smyth, John Bank, George Cokke, Ralph Harison, Robert Harvy, John Shemeld, Robert Wylson, James Cheriholme, James Clutun, John Bate-man, Robert Gerratt, and Roger Page.† On 30th October, 1538, the pension list was put forth, whereby £26 13s. 4d. was assigned to the abbot, £5 6s. 8d. to the prior and to five canons, £5 each to three canons, £2 16s. 8d. to each of three canons, £2 to two, and 16s. 6d. to one.

The priory of St. James's, Derby, was but a cell of the great Cluniac Abbey of Bermondsey. When Bermondsey was suppressed a pension of £7 was assigned to the prior of St. James's, but nothing apparently to the few monks who kept him company.

The royal meanness with regard to these pensions was almost incredible, for the amounts were made subject to deductions on account of all subsidies granted to the Crown by Parliament. A tenth part was withheld for that reason in the very first year after the general dissolution. Two years later, a fourth part was abstracted from the pensions "of all the late religious persons having £20 and upward," and when the half-year was due, on 25th March, 1543, the religious only received one quarter of the annual payment. By these two methods Henry, within a few years after granting the pensions, retained for himself out of that very fund the sum of £9,443 15s. 6d.‡

* Letters and Papers Henry VIII., xiii. (2), 839.

† Dep. Keeper's Report, viii., app. 2, 18.

‡ Harleian MSS. 604, f. 108; Aug. Off. Treas. Roll, ii., 45-48. Cited by Gasquet, ii., 465-6.

There was also a definite reduction made of 4d. on each quarterly payment, by the officials of the Augmentation Office in London, or by the royal receiver of monastic properties appointed in different parts of the country. In the earlier days after the dissolution but few of the pensioners had to visit London to obtain their instalments, as there were official "receivers of augmentations" in almost every county or group of counties; but as time went on and the monastic spoils became absorbed, the numbers of those who were obliged to go to headquarters or to send authorised agents materially increased, with the effect of still further reducing the amounts.

After a few years' experience of the pension system, it was found that pressing necessity or the cajoling of unprincipled speculators had caused various of the disbanded religious to part with their pension-securing patents or certificates for small sums of ready money, "supplanting them to their utter undoing." To prevent this evil an Act was passed in the third year of Edward VI., entitled, "An Act against the crafty and deceitful buying of pensions from the late monasteries."* By this statute it was provided that all persons who had obtained pension patents, to which they were not entitled, were to restore them within six months, when they were to receive back what they had originally paid; but if they failed to restore it the grant was to be forfeited, and future payment made to the original holder. By the same statute all officials and receivers were ordered to pay all pensions on request under a penalty of £5, and if they demanded more than the legal fee, they were to forfeit ten times the amount taken.

To secure the due working of this Act, and to check all kinds of pension frauds, commissions were appointed to hold full inquiries in each county. Most of the reports of these county pension commissioners are extant, but some of those are imperfect. Among them is the interesting and full report for Derbyshire, to which, so far as I am aware, no one has

* 2 and 3 Edward VI., cap. 7.

hitherto referred, and I believe it is now printed for the first time.*

Appended to the report is the statement or confession of William Bolles, in his own hand, acknowledging to "the crafty and deceitful buying of pensions" or annuities in two several cases. It may be as well to put on record a few facts relative to this man who thus abused a position of trust. He dates his letter from Belvoir Castle, perhaps to overawe the commissioners, but his place of residence was at Felley, Nottinghamshire. William Bolles came from London as one of Cromwell's numerous agents to help in the work of monastic suppression. In April, 1536, he was appointed receiver of monastic spoils for the Crown for the counties of Derby, Nottingham and Cheshire, at a salary of £20, with "profits," that is to say, with a variety of fees and perquisites. In August of that year, when acting as receiver for Beauchief Abbey, he managed to secure several plots of land for himself. In addition to obtaining other small Crown grants of monastic lands,† he was able to obtain the grant of the house and site of Felley priory, turning the conventual buildings and church into his residence. He was also the receiver of all the plundered church plate and valuables throughout Derbyshire. In 1540, he was

* Exch. Accts., K. R. Bundle lxxvi., No. 12.

† "Grant to Wm. Bolles out of the particular receivers of the Court of Augmentations and to Lucy his wife in consideration of the sum of £236 10s. of the house and site of the late priory of St. Mary, Felley, Notts., with all its lands in Felley and Annesley in as full a manner as Christopher Bolton, the late Prior, held the same."

(Pat. Rolls 30 Henry VIII., pt. vi., M. 19, 1 Sept.)

The pedigree of Wm. Bolles is recorded in the Visitations of Notts., 1569 and 1614, where he is represented as the son of "William Bolle, alias Bolls of Wortham in Co. Suff., descended out of the house of Bolles of Haugh in com. Linc." He was, in fact, "descended out of" the *first* Bolles of Haugh, being a son of John Bolle, High Sheriff for Co. Linc., 16 Edward IV. (1476), by his marriage with Katherine, daughter and co-heir of Richard Haugh, of Haugh, Co. Linc. He bought a portion of the estate of Osberton, near Worksop, Co. Notts., from one of his brother Commissioners, viz., from Robert Dighton "one of the jobbers in the estates of the dissolved religious houses." The family "ultimately became possessed of the whole of Osberton, where they lived for several generations" (Thoroton). William Bolles died at Osberton in his 88th year and was buried at Worksop 5th April, 1583 (Registers). A portion of an old window containing the first four generations of this family in pedigree form is preserved in the Museum at Osberton.—ED.

one of the King's commissioners for receiving the surrender of the collegiate church of Southwell. Bolles' avarice and cunning in securing Derbyshire monastic annuities was not his only venture in that field, for the Nottinghamshire commissioners found that he was holding the pension patent of a religious of Worksop priory.*

It will be noticed in the report that those receiving annuities, as distinct from pensions, were very numerous, and survived in 1548 in larger numbers than the religious. This may be readily accounted for, as the annuitants were, as a rule, men in far better and more easy circumstances as compared with the ejected pensioners. Who were these annuitants? In the vast majority of cases they were friends of the King's visitors and commissioners, occasionally local magnates, but oftener humbler folk, who belauded Cromwell and his agents and endeavoured to help them in their suppressive work. The very last use, save sealing the surrender, to which the common seals of the religious houses were frequently put, sometimes even on the very day of the surrender, was the granting of these deceitful and crafty annuities, whereby the commissioners were enabled to recompense their tools. In a very small minority of cases, such as that of the corrody† of Agnes Smythe at 40s. a year, the annuity was one which had been genuinely granted by the Darley convent in reward for some special grant or service. It would also appear that the old annual gift to one Elias Raggi‡ of a coat of the best quality, by the same house, was also continued.

If we look back to the arrangements made by the commissioners on the days when they granted the pensions for the three houses suppressed in 1538, we shall find that these annuities had then their origin, and were not granted, as might have been supposed, to the servants of the convents. In the case of Darley, for the surrender of which Dr. Legh, with William Cavendish as

* Letters and Papers Henry VIII., xi., 216; xiii. (1), 1520; xiii. (2), 491; xvi., 93, 275; xvii., 220; xviii. (1), 226, etc.

† See page 21, note.

‡ See page 30.

accountant, acted as commissioner, they had the face to write down "Mr. Doctor Legh" as an annuitant for £6 13s. 4d. The Earl of Shrewsbury was entered as an annuitant for £3 6s. 8d., and forty-one others for smaller sums, running up the total sum to be paid out of monastic property to secular pensioners to the annual sum of £69 7s. 2d. The same commissioners had the arrangements of the dissolution of Repton and Dale in their hands; in the former case they put twelve civilians on the annuity list to the amount of £22 18s., and in the latter case twelve others to the amount of £18 13s. 4d.

It is some satisfaction to find that Legh and Cavendish got into serious trouble over the winding up of the accounts of the suppression of these three Derbyshire and a few other midland houses, it being alleged that the latter had made entries after the clerks had withdrawn.*

It only remains to add that the larger portion of this report is concerned with the pensions assigned to those who held chantry or collegiate or hospital preferments, and gives fresh information in several cases, particularly as regards the College of All Saints. The Act for securing the surrender of these to the King was passed in 1545; but Henry VIII. died before much of this destruction had been carried out, and its completion was left to his successor, Edward VI.† Letters patent, with the great seal of the Court of Augmentations, were issued on 22 June, 2 Edw. VI., by Sir Walter Mildmay and Robert Keylwaye, general commissioners for the purpose, to fifty-seven different incumbents or ministers of suppressed colleges, chantries, free chapels, and stipendiary priests in the County of Derby.‡

* Letters and Papers Henry VIII., xiii. (2), 1233.

† Further particulars as to each of these suppressed chantries, etc., can be found in the four volumes on the *Notes on the Churches of Derbyshire*.

‡ Aug. Office Accts., Exch., K. R. Bundle lxxv., No. 8.

PENSION COMMISSION, COUNTY OF DERBY. 1548.

Edward the Sixt by the grace of God King of England France & Ireland &c To our right trusty and well beloved Sr William Cavendisshe knight Treasurer of our Chambre Sr John Byron knight Sr John Porte knight and Thos Powtrell esquier send greeting Know ye that for the good opynion we have reposed in your wisdomes and dexterities we have ordeyned named constituted and appointed you to be our Commissioners giving to you thre or two of you full power and authorite to assemble yourselves in such and so many places in our Countie of Derby as to your discretions shalbe thought convenient and to enquire as well by the othes of honest and lawfull persons of our said countie as by all other wayes and meanes semyng to your discretions convenient for the tryall of the truthe in these matters followinge firste ye shall enquire how many of the late Abbots Priours Abbesses Prioresses Monkes Channons ffryers nonnys Incumbents and other mynyster of any Abbey Priory hospital howse of ffryers colleges chauntries free chapels guilds or ffraternities and stipendiary priestes or eny other having rent chardge annuytie or pencion going oute or charged of any Abbey Priory hospital &c or out of any their possessions for term of life mentioned in a Sedule or book hereunto annexed be or shalbe at the tyme of your session deade and what time and where every of them died Also how many of the said persons named in the said Sedule be unpaid of their annuyties or pensions and for how long tyme and for what occasion they be so long unpaid. Also ye shall enquire how many of them have solde granted and assigned over their anyties or pensions to whome when and for what somes of money the same sales grants & assignments over were made And further we give you full power and authoritie by theis presents to call before you at such tymes and places as ye shall appoint within our said countie as well all and every the persons in the said Sedule mentioned as all and every other person whome ye shall thinke convenient and to examine them & every

of them of the premisses as well by their corporall othes and sight of their patents or otherwise by your discretions And herein we will and command you and every of you to endeavor yourselves with all dylgence for the speedie & perfecte accomplismente of the premisses and that ye thre or two of you shall satisfie us of your doings and procedings herein distinctly and plainly into our court of Augmentations & Revenues of our Crown by writing in parchement subscribed with your hands & sealed with your seallys or with the sealls of two of you at the least the morow next after the feast of S^t Martin next comyng together with the Commission Straitly cheryng & commanding as well the Sheriff of our said Countie as all other our officers & mynisters in the said county to be attendaunt ayding and assisting to you in thexecution of the premises as they tender our pleasure & will answer to the contrary In witness whereof we have caused these our letters to be made patent & sealed with the great seal of our Court of Augmentations & Revenues &c 1st Sep^r in the 6th yeer of our reign

[Letter attached to the Report.]

To the right worshipful S^r William Caudisse [Cavendish] S^r John Porte & Master Thos Powtrell esquier and others Commis^{rs} of our sovereyn lord the King for examynation of the patents of annuities pensions & others

Right worshipful &c understanding that you (among others whom I know not) ar in Commyssyon for thexamination of sondry paymentes whereof Robert Goche esquier the Kyngs majestys receivor in the Counte of Derby take allowance at Mychelmas the 5th Edwd VI As others (& I unworthy) ar in this shire of Not, pleeseth you to be advertised inasmoche as I bought of Robert Ragge of Derby goon a sixe yeres past for the some of twenty nobles or therabout one annuytie of fowrtye shillings by yere graunted owte of the late suppressed Abbey of Derley to the name of the said Robert. And also haue another anytie of fourtye shillyngs by yere graunted by the late Prior & Convent of Repington to my own name of the

which said two annuyties I am onpaid for two hooll years endid at Mychelmas last past for that ther are reconyngs betwixt the said receyvor and me moreover I bought one other annuytie graunted by the said late prior and convent of Repyngton to one Adam Bardissey for the which as I remember I paid six poundes and ye shall understand as I am creditly informed (by my lord Chaloner whose servant the said Adam Bardissey was) he the said Adam died of the swet after th Annunciation of our Lady the 5th yere aforesaid And am owing for one half yere due at the said Annunciation for the cause above written Theis are to praye you of your lurful favours in the premises and to pardon me that I cannot personally wate upon you as I gladly wold (if Laissur wold permyt it) and if I can do for you or any of yours the lik pleasure you shall comaund me And thus praying you to give order unto this bringar Thomas Comyn my servant I rest at your comandemente From Belvoir Castel this last day but one of October (30th Oct) 1552 6 Ed 6 with the hand of yours to comaunde as before

Wm Bolles

Accounts &c
Exchequer K R
[Report Translated.]
County of Derby

Fees Annuities Pensions & Corrodres paid by Robert Goche esquire Receiver of the Court of Augmentations & Revenues of the Royal Crown in the said County in the Account of the said Receiver determined for the year finishing at the feast of St. Michael Archangel as appears by particulars below.

Fee of the Officer—John Beamond esquire surveyor of the lord King in the said county of Derby at	£13 6 8 per ann	...	...	...	nil because not paid
Gresley—Pension of John Okeley late Prior there at	£6 per ann	...	...	...	£6

Bradsall park—Annuity of William

Dethycke esquire at 40^s per ann... 40^s

Beawchlyff—Annuity of Ellen Oxpringe

at 20^s per ann 30^s for 1½ yrs

Derley.

Pension of Thomas Harrison* at 106^s 8^d

per ann

Richard Machill at £6 per ann ... 6^{li}

William Sandbanke at £6 13 4 per ann 6.13.4

Thomas Tofte at 100^s per ann ... 100^s

Trustram Banfford at 40^s per ann ... 40^s

Annuity of Herman Curte at 20^s per ann 20^s

William Harrison at 20^s per ann ... 20^s

Richard Poole at 20^s per ann ... 20^s

Alice Bayley at 20^s per ann ... 20^s

Gilbert Thacker at 40^s per ann ... 40^s

Robert Warmyngton at 40^s per ann ... 40^s

Thomas Brodeshawe (Bradshawe) at 40^s

per ann 40^s

Alice Lumley at 26^s 8^d per ann ... 13^s 4^d first half of year

John Cokerham at 53^s 4^d per ann ... 53^s 4^d

Elizeus Ragge at 20^s per ann ... 20^s

Peter Pole at 20^s per ann ... 20^s

Richard Waters at 40^s per ann ... 40^s

Robert Ragge at 40^s per ann ... nil because not paid

Anne Ragge at 66^s 8^d per ann ... 66^s 8^d

Robert Barker at 20^s per ann ... 20^s

Hugh Wilson at 20^s per ann ... 20^s

Edward Merynge at 40^s per ann ... 40^s

Thomas Sutton at 20^s per ann ... 40^s for 2 years

George Eyre at £6 13 4 per ann ... 6^{li} 13 4

John Skelton at 26^s 8^d per ann ... 26^s 8^d

† Corridy of Agnes Smythe at 40^s per ann... 40^s

} £25

* Thomas Harrison, ex-canon of Darley Abbey, died in 1558; he was buried at St. Alkmund's, Derby; he is entered in the register as "presbiter."

† A Corrody was a yearly allowance in food and chambers, sometimes commuted for money, granted by a convent for services rendered; it was usually granted to old persons who assigned their property to the convent on condition of a life maintenance.

John Brampton at 66^s 8^d per ann ... 66^s 8^d

Sum £68 6^s 8^d

Dale.

Fee of William & Henry Zacheverell

Stewards of all the possessions there

at 26^s 8^d per ann 53^s 4^d for 2 yeres

Pension of Ralph Harrison at 100^s per

ann 100^s

John Cadman at 106^s 8^d per ann ... 106^s 8^d

John Banks at 100^s per ann ... 100^s

Richard Wetherby at 106^s 8^d per ann... 106^s 8^d

James Cleyton at 40^s per ann ... 40^s

Gregory (George) Coke at 100^s per ann 50^s for first $\frac{1}{2}$ year

Richard Halsame at 106^s 8^d per ann ... 106^s 8^d

John Shelmefeld at 66^s 8^d per ann ... 66^s 8^d

John Bateman at 40^s per ann ... 20^s for first $\frac{1}{2}$ year

Robert Gerard at 16^s 8^d per ann ... 16^s 8^d

James Conyholme at 66^s 8^d per ann ... 66^s 8^d

Annuity of John Willoughbye at 20^s per

ann nil because not paid

Edward Thacker at 53^s 4^d per ann ... 53^s 4^d

Adam Bardsley at 20^s per ann ... 20^s

Nicholas (Richard) Powtrell at 20^s per ann 20^s

Sum £46 6 8

Repyngdon.

Pension of Thomas Webster at 100^s per

ann nil because not paid

Ralph Clarke at £6 per ann ... £6

Thomas Prate at 100^s per ann ... 100^s

Robert Warde at £4 per ann ... £4

Thomas Stringer at 106^s 8^d per ann ... 106^s 8^d

Thomas Cordall at 106^s 8^d per ann ... 106^s 8^d

Annuity of John Smythe at 40^s per ann 20^s for first $\frac{1}{2}$ year

Robert Clarke at 13^s 4^d per ann ... 20^s for one year

Richard Haye at 40^s per ann ... 20^s for first $\frac{1}{2}$ year

William Bolles at 40^s per ann ... nil because not paid

Thomas Bradshawe at 53^s 4^d per ann ... 53^s 4^d

Sum £31 6 8

The late Priory of S^t John of Jerusalem.*

Annuity of Robert Machell at 56^s 8^d per

ann 56^s 8^d

Fee of Henry Zacheverell Steward of all

the possessions there at 40^s per ann £4 for two years

Sum £6 16 8

COLLEGES CHANTRIES & GILDS WITH LAND OBITS ETC IN SAID
COUNTY.

Pension of Richard Machyn priest late

celebrating in the church of Yol-

grave 4^{li} per ann 4^{li}

William Fysher one of the incumbents of

the Chantry of Boylston at 64^s per

ann 64^s

William Bondy Incumbent of the chantry

of Merstone at £4 17 10 per ann ... 48^s 11^d for first $\frac{1}{2}$ year

Ralph Corke one of the incumbents of the

Chantry of Boylstone 64^s per ann ... 64^s

John Maryowe Incumbent of the Chantry

of S^t Nicholas & S^t Katherine in

Criche at £6 13 4 per ann £6 13 4

Robert White incumbent of the chantry

of Alfreton at £6 per ann £6

Edward Benette one of the incumbents of

the chantry in Houghe at 42^s 8^d

per ann 42^s 8^d

Richard Newbold at 100^s per ann one of

the priests of the Guild of Chester-

feld 100^s.

William Topley incumbent of the chantry

of ffeneye Bentleye at £4 4/- per

ann £4 4/-

* The order was suppressed in 1540, including the Derbyshire preceptory of Yeaveley (or Stydd) and Barrow.

- Richard Sandall incumbent of the chantry
called Babington's Chantry in Assh-
over at 100^s per ann 100^s
- William Ragge one of the priests of the
Gild of Chesterfeld at 100^s per ann... 100^s
- William Kinge one of the priests of the
Gild aforesaid at 100^s per ann ... 100^s
- John Parre incumbent of the Chantry of
Alkemanton Spittle at £4 18 2 per
ann £4 18 2
- Robert Bradshawe incumbent of the
chantry of Saweley at 100^s per ann 100^s
- Thomas Robotham Incumbent of the
chantry of Leighe at 52^s 8^d per ann 52^s 8^d
- Robert Bywater incumbent of the chantry
of Werburghe in the town of Derby
at £6 per ann £6
- Thomas Borough priest in the church of
Walton at 65^s 3^d per ann 65^s 3^d
- Christopher Lytton one of the incumbents
of the chantry of Blessed Mary in
Tiddeswelle at 100^s per ann 50^s for first ½ year
- Thomas Somersall incumbent of the
chantry of Brampton at 71^s 4^d per
ann 71^s 4^d
- Roger Bartilmewe priest of the late Gild
of Holy Trinity in the parish of All
Saints in the town of Derby at 66^s 8^d
per ann 66^s 8^d
- Robert Swynestowe incumbent of the late
Chantry of Blessed Mary in Criche
at 100^s per ann 100^s
- Robert Handcoke one of the priests of the
late Gild of Dronesfeld at £4 per
ann £4

- Michaell Bridwe late incumbent of the
 Chantry of Monyash at £ 4 13 4 per
 ann £4 13 4
- Christopher Grene one of the incumbents
 of the chantry of Ekington at £4 10/
 per ann £4 10/-
- William Oldeffeld incumbent of the late
 chantry of Holy Cross in Bakewell
 £6 per ann £6
- Relph Shawe one of the incumbents of
 the late chantry of Chadesdon at £6
 per ann 60^s for first $\frac{1}{2}$ year
- Robert Thacker subdeacon of the late
 college or free chapel of All Saints in
 the town of Derby at £6 12 4 per
 ann £6 12 4
- Richard Hill incumbent of the late chan-
 try of S^t Michael in Chesterfield at
 100^s per ann £7 10 for $1\frac{1}{2}$ yeers
- Richard Jorden one of the fellows of the
 said late College at 100^s per ann ... nil because not paid
- Thomas Gilbert one of the fellows of the
 same college at 100^s per ann nil because not paid
- Philip Durante one of the incumbents of
 the chantry of S^t Michael in Chester-
 field at 100^s per ann nil because not paid
- Christopher Synderbye one of the incum-
 bents of the chantry in Tiddeshall at
 100^s per ann 100^s
- George Hawkwell incumbent of the late
 chantry of blessed Mary in the parish
 of S^t Peter in the town of Derby at
 48^s 8^d per ann 48^s 8^d
- John Lorde incumbent of the late chantry
 of Bradborne at 100^s per ann ... 100^s

- William Cartleche incumbent of the late
chantry or Gild of Chaddesdon at £6
per ann £6
- Thomas Parker one of the incumbents of
the chantry of Houghe at 42^s 8^d per
ann 42^s 8^d
- Thomas Bronehed at 48^s per ann incum-
bent of the free chapel of Staley ... 48^s
- Edward Calton one of the incumbents of
the late chantry or Gild of Chaddes-
den at 6^{li} per ann £6
- Henry Jerves incumbent of the chantry
in Boyton at £4 9 4 per ann ... £4 9 4
- Richard Wylkes one of the two preben-
daries of the late college or free
chapel of All Saints in the town of
Derby at 40^s per ann 40^s
- Thomas Smythe one of the two chief
secretaries of the lord King & one of
the two prebendaries of the said late
college at 60^s per ann 60^s
- Christopher Haslame late incumbent of
the chantry of Dronsfeld at 4^{li} per
ann 40^s for first $\frac{1}{2}$ year
- John Wymesley (Wymeslowe) otherwise
Savage incumbent of the Hospital of
Castelton at 70^s per ann 70^s
- Laurence Sponer incumbent of the chantry
of Blessed Mary in the church of All
Saints in Derby at 100^s per ann ... 100^s
- Richard Whitworthe one of the preben-
daries of the late Gild of Chesterfeld
at 100^s per ann 100^s
- Geoffrey Glyne late one of the prebends
of the church of All Saints in Derby
at 14^s 3^d per ann 14^s 3^d

Richard Rawson late incumbent of the late chantry of S ^t Nicholas in Netherhaddon at 100 ^s per ann 100 ^s
Richard Holme late "cantrist" of the chantry of Doveridge at £6 per ann £6
Miles Whitworthe late incumbent of the chantry of Blessed Mary in the parish at Asshover at 4 ^{li} per ann £4
William Tayllor one of the prebenderies of the College of All Saints in Derby at 14 ^s per ann 14 ^s
Henry Howe priest late celebrating the service of Blessed Mary in the parish of Hathersage at 74 ^s per ann ... 74 ^s
James Chereholme incumbent of the late chantry of S ^t Nicholas in the parish of St. Peter in Derby at 53 ^s 4 ^d per ann 53 ^s 4 ^d

Fees £10

Annuities £51 6 8

Sum of all the payments aforesaid in the said County of

Derby £360 18 7

whereof in pensions £294 5 3

Corrodies 106^s 8^d

Exam^d by me William Ryggs
Auditor

The certificate of John Porte knt and Thomas Powtrell esquire commissioners of our sovereign lord the King by virtue of his majestyez commission to them and others directed aswell declaryng all those whose names hereafter followe whiche appered offere us and shewed their patentes of ther annuyties and pencyons what they be by yere and how mych unpayed and the causez of their non payment as the names of the others whych did not appere whose note is made over ther heedes non comporant As also all those whyche be dead And when and where they dyed with the

names of them which have assygned over or sold ther petents and upon what consideration as hereafter more at large may appere made at Derby the syxt day of Novembre in the sixt yere of the raign of our most drad souerayn lord Edward the sixt by the grace of God Kyng of England ffrance and Ireland defender of the ffaythe and in earth supreme head of the church of England and also of Ireland

John Beamond esquire surveyor of the county of Derby does not appear

Monastery of Gresley

John Okeley late prior there for pension
 £6 per ann: in arrears for one year
 who seythe upon his othe was for that
 M^r Gooche sayd he had a commys-
 sion for the first half yere to stey the
 payment thereof until the Kyng's
 mejestyez pleasure were knowen

Bradsall Park

William Dethyck esquire for annuity 40^s
 per ann

Beawchiff

Elena Oxpring does not appear
 The Earl of Shrewsbury chief steward of
 all the possessions there does not
 appear

Monastery of Derley

Thomas Harrison for pension per ann
 £ 5 6 8 in arrears for one year who
 upon his othe seyth was as John
 Okeley affore hath seyed.

Richard Machill for pension £6 in arrears
 for half a year

William Sandbanke for pension per ann
 £ 6 13 4 in arrears for half a year

Thomas Tofte for pension per ann £6
 who ys the same man whiche is

entred in the Sedule Thomas Tofte
 as Sr William Sandbanke Thomas
 Harreson both late Chanons of the
 said late Monasterye and John
 Cokeram nowe baylyff of the seyde
 dyd depose by their corporall othes
 affore us . And also they doe sey
 that Thomas Tofte was also late
 chanon of the seyde howse And the
 said John Cokeram said that he payed
 hym £5 by the year 3 or 4 yeres
 togeder but the seid Tofte sheved
 no patent

Thrustram Bamfford does not appear.*

Herman Curtall for annuity per ann 20^s
 in arrears for one year for cause as
 above

William Harryson for annuity per ann 20^s
 in arrears for one year for cause as
 above

Richard Pole for annuity per ann 20^s
 in arrears for one year for cause as
 John Okely has before said

Alice Beyley widow for annuity per ann
 20^s in arrears for half a year

Gilbert Thacker for annuity per ann 40^s
 in arrears for half a year

Robert Warmyngton does not appear

Thomas Bradshawe for annuity per ann
 40^s in arrears for one year for cause
 as John Okeley has before said

Alice Lumley does not appear

John Cokerham for annuity per ann
 53^s 4^d in arrears for half a year

* In most of the cases of non-appearance, it seems fair to assume that there had been some fraud which made the nominal pensioner or annuitant afraid to face the commissioners.

Elizeus Ragge for annuity per ann 20^s in
arrears for half a year And also his
patent ys to have a cote of the best
cloth yerely that they house dyd gyff

Peter Poole per ann for annuity 20^s in
arrears for one year cause by John
Okeley before said

Richard Waters for annuity per ann 40^s in
arrears for half a year

Robert Ragge did not appere for he hath
sold the same to William Bolles as
appereth by this letter hereunto
annexed

Anne Ragge now wife of Oliver Thacker
for annuity £3 6 8 in arrears for half
a year

Robert Berker for annuity 20^s in arrears
for one year for cause as John Okely
has before said

Hugh Wylson for annuity 20^s in arrears
for one year for cause as John
Okeley &c

Edward Meryng for annuity 40^s in arrears
for one year for cause as John
Okeley &c

Thomas Sutton does not appear

Gregory Eyre who ys namyd George Eyre
in the sodule dyed abowte pentycost
last past

John Skelston for annuity per ann 26^s 8^d
in arrears for one year for cause that
John Okely has before said

Agnes Smythe for a corridy per ann 40^s
in arrears for one year for cause as
John Okely &c

John Bramston for a corrody per ann
 £3 6 8 in arrears for one year for
 cause as John Okeley &c

Monastery of Dale

Henry Sacheuerell and William Sacheuerell do not appear but Richard Blackewall esquier came affore us and deposed apon his othe that he hathe ther patent of 26^s 8^d rent charge at London in his studye whereby the said Henry and William are stuards of the possessions of Dale Abbey And that he hath also in lykewyse there another letter patent made to the said Sr Henry Sacheuerell of 40^s of yerely rent of Saynt John in Jerusalem in England of a commandrye in Derbyshire called Yevale and Barrowe whyche patent of 40^s and offyce therein the said Sr Henry for debyllyte of age hathe assygned over to the said Rychard and the said Sr Henry ys yet in lyffe at Morley in the countye of Derbye And the said Feez are behind for 2 years bycause Mr Goche refused to paye it

Ralph Harryson for pension per ann £5
 in arrears for one year for cause as
 John Okeley &c

John Cadman for pension per ann
 £5 6 8 in arrears for half a year
 and the seyd John shewed affore us a dede under Covent seale of the seyd house of Dale of a corrody of 40^s by yere byhynd for $\frac{1}{2}$ a year

John Banks for pension per ann £5 in
arrears for $\frac{1}{2}$ a year

Richard Wheyteley for pension per ann
£5 . 6 . 8 in arrears for one yeer for
cause as John Okeley &c and further
sayeth that ther be dead that had
pensions further of the said house
John Bebye last Abbot there who
dyed at Stanley Grange in ye seyde
countye of Derbye on Saynt
Gregorye's day whiche shall be 12
yeres now nexte and that Thomas
Bagshawe dyed at lyttyll Eyton in ye
seyde countye aboute 10 yeres now last
past And Robert Hervye dyed at
Alton in the countye of Stafford
abowte 9 yeres last past and Wyllyam
Smythe dyed at Stanley aforesaid
about 10 yeres past and Robert Her-
wood dyed about seven yeres past

James Cleyton has not appeared

George Cok who ys named in ye serule
Gregorye Coke for pension £5 in
arrears $\frac{1}{2}$ a year

Richard Halsume for pension per ann
£5 6 8 in arrears for one yeer for
cause as John Okeley &c

John Shelmeffeld for pension per ann
£3 6 8 in arrears for $\frac{1}{2}$ a year

John Bateman has not appeared

Robert Gerard has not appeared

James Conyholme for pension per ann
£3 6 8 in arrears for one year for
cause as John Okeley &c

John Willoughbye has not appeared

Edward Thacker for annuity per ann
53^s 4^d in arrears for $\frac{1}{2}$ a year

Adam Berdesley has not appeared

The foreseyd John Cadman seyth that
Rauff Hauk dyed in October in the
5th year of the King that now is
And that Rychard Wheyteley dyed
abowte 7 yeres past and Robert
Wheyteley dyed abowte 6 yeres past

Nicholas Powtrell for annuity per ann 20^s
in arrears for one year because paid
once a year

Monastery of Repyngdon

Thomas Webster has not appeered be-
cause he dyed at Kyrby in the county
of Leicester about the feast of the
Assumption B V M in 5th Edward VI.

Ralph Clerke for pension per ann £6 in
arrears for one year cause as John
Okeley &c

Thomas Pratt for pension per ann £5 in
arrears for one year cause as above

Robert Warde for pension per ann £4 in
arrears for one year cause as above

Thomas Stringer for pension per ann
£5 6 8 in arrears for one yere cause
as above

Thomas Cordall has not appeered

John Smythe dyed in ffeb. last past and
was unpaid for the half yere 20^s as
all they afforeseyd have seyde

Robert Clerke has not appered

Richard Heye for annuity per ann 40^s in
arrears for one year and a half for
cause as John Okeley &c

William Bolles for annuity per ann—note
his letter afore annexed

Thomas Bradshawe for annuity per ann
53^s 4^d in arrears for one yeer cause as
above

The late priory of St John of Jerusalem in England

Robert Machell has not appeared

Henry Sacheuerell has not appeared but
ys certefyed in Richard Blackwall's
seying

Yolgrave

Richard Machen for a pension per ann £4
in arreers for $\frac{1}{2}$ a year

Chantry of Boylston

William Fyssher for pension per ann
£3 4/- in arrears for one year cause
as above

Chantry of Merston

William Bonde does not appear

Chantry of Boylston

Ralph Corke for pension per ann £3 4/-
in arrears for one year for cause
abovesaid

Chantry of St Peter & St Katherine
in the Church of Cryche

John Merryott for pension per ann
£6 13 4 in arrears for $\frac{1}{2}$ a year

Chantry of Alferton

Robert Wryghte for pension per ann £6
in arrears for $\frac{1}{2}$ a year

Chantry of Hough

Edward Bennett for pension per ann
42^s 8^d in arrears for $\frac{1}{2}$ a year, but
he shewed no patent but toke his
othe with wytness wyth hym that y^t
was Imbesyld from hym

Gild of Chesterfield

Richard Newbold for pension per ann £5
in arrears for $\frac{1}{2}$ a year

Chantry of ffynnye (Fenny Bentley)

William Topley for pension per ann
£4 4/- in arrears for $\frac{1}{2}$ a year

Chantry of Assheover

called Babyngton Chauntre

Richard Sandall for pension per ann £5
in arrear for $\frac{1}{2}$ a year

Gild of Chesterfield

William Ragge for pension per ann £5
in arreers for $\frac{1}{2}$ a year

William Kyng for pension per ann £5
in arreers for $\frac{1}{2}$ a year

Chantry of Alkemanton Spytill

John Parre for pension per ann £4 18 2
arreers for $\frac{1}{2}$ a year

Chantry of Sawley

Robert Bradshawe for pension per ann £5
in arreers for $\frac{1}{2}$ a year

Chantry of Leigh

Thomas Robothom for pension per ann
52^s 8^d in arrears for $\frac{1}{2}$ year

Chantry of S^t. Wilburghe (Werburgh) in the
town of Derby

Robert Bywater for pension per ann £6
in arreers for one year for cause as
John Okely has said

Church of Walton

Thomas Boroughe for pension per ann
£3. 5. 3 in arrears for $\frac{1}{2}$ a year

Chantry of Blessed Mery
in Tyddeswalle

Christopher Lytton has not appeared
because he died about the feast of
St John Baptist last past as
Sr William ffrost deposed

Chantry of Brampton

Thomas Somersall for pension per ann
£3 11 4 in arrears for $\frac{1}{2}$ a year

Gild of Holy Trinity in the parish of All
Saints in the town of Derby

Roger Bertylmewe for pension per ann
£3 6 8 in arrears for one year cause
as above

Chantry of Blessed Mary in Cryche

Robert Swynestowe for pension per ann
£5 in arrears for $\frac{1}{2}$ a year

Gild of Dronfield

Robert Hancoke for pension per ann £4
in arrears for one year cause as above

Chantry of Monyasshe

Mychell Brydwell for pension per ann
£ 4 13 4 in arrears for one year
cause as above

Ekyngton Chantry

Christopher Grene for pension per ann
£4 10/- in arrears for one year cause
as above whoe seyeth upon his othe
that Robert Hyde one of the
chauntre prystes there dyed the 29th
of May 3rd of Edwd 6.

Chantry of Holy Cross in Bakewell

William Oldesfeld for pension per ann
£6 in arrears for one year cause
abovesaid

Chantry of Chaddsson

Ralph Shawe for pension per ann £6 in
arreer for $\frac{1}{2}$ a year

College or ffree chapel of All Saints in
the town of Derby

Robert Thacker for pension per ann
£6 13 4 in arrears for $\frac{1}{2}$ a year

Chantry of St Michael in Chesterfield

Richard Hill for pension per ann £5 in
arreers for one year cause as above

College of Derby

Richard Jurden for pension per ann in
arreers for one year & a $\frac{1}{2}$ Who upon
upon his othe seyth that at the sup-
pression of the seyd college there
were thre prysts to serve the cures
belongyng thereto whereof he was one
and admytted to a pension of £5 by
yere of which he cold not have allow-
ance except he wold serve the cure
there as affore he had done whiche
hath not bene served under £6 13 4
by the yere Whereupon the said
Jurden hath opteyned a warrant from
Mr Chauncellor of thaugmentations
to augment the same 33^s 4^d by yere
in consideration that the said Jurden
Jurden shall serve the same as
affore he hathe done whose patent and
warrant dothe remayne with Master
Bygges & Master Goche for that he
hathe not the same readye to shewe
In arrears $\frac{1}{2}$ a yere loke more in the
end for the seying of Roger Bertyl-
mewe one of the other prystes for
servyng the cures there

Thomas Gylbert for pension per ann £5
 in arrears for 3 years whoe seyeth
 upon his othe he oft demaunded it
 and cold not gett it

Chantry of S^t Michael in Chesterfield

Philip Durant whoe had a pension there
 of £5 by the yere dyed abowt
 Mydsomer 4 Edwd 6 as Richard
 Newbold reported

Chantry of Tyddeswell

Christopher Synderby for pension per ann
 £5 in arrears for $\frac{1}{2}$ a year

Chantry of Blessed Mary in the parish of
 S^t Peter in the town of Derby

Gregory Hawkeswell came affore us and
 toke his othe that he is the same man
 that ys namyd in the sedule George
 Hawkeswell who was late Incumbent
 of the seid Chauntre which was
 in value £6 18 10 And by the
 meanes of John Beamont esquier who
 was then serveyor the said chauntre
 ys valued in M^r Myldmeyes offyce
 but 56^s 8^d by means whereof the said
 Gregory had his pension graunted
 furth of the courte of Augmentacions
 but 48^s 8^d And bycause he was soe
 wronged he repayred to London to sue
 for remedye thereof havng of his
 counsell therein one Thomas Sutton
 esquier with whom he hathe lefte his
 patent wherbye he hathe it not now
 ready to shewe in arreers for one
 yeer cause as above

Chantry of Bradburne

John Lord hath not appeared

Chantry or Guild of Chaddesden

William Cartelache for pension per ann
 £6 in arrears for one year cause
 as above

Chantry of Houghe

Thomas Parker for pension per ann
 42^s 8^d in arrears for $\frac{1}{2}$ a year

Free chapel of Staley

Thomas Bromhed for pension per ann 48^s
 in arrears for one year cause as above

Chantry or Gild of Chadesden

Edmund Calton for pension there £6 in
 arrears for one year cause as above

Chantry of Boyton

Henry Jerves for pension per ann £4 9 4
 in arrears for $\frac{1}{2}$ a year

Prebend of the late College or free chapel
 of All Saints in Derby

Richard Wilkes has not appeared

Thomas Smyth has not appeared

Chantry of Dronfield

Christopher Haslame dyed in October
 5 Ed 6 and was unpayed 40^s for half
 a yere as William Byng deposed upon
 his othe

Hospital of Castelton

John Wymesley otherwise Sahaye has not
 appeared

Chantry of Blessed Mery in the
 Church of All Saints Derby

Laurence Sponer for pension per ann £5
 in arrears for $\frac{1}{2}$ a year

Gild of Chesterfield

Richard Whytwurth for pension per ann

£5 in arrears for $\frac{1}{2}$ year

Prebend in the church of All Saints Derby

Geoffrey Glyne has not appeared

Chantry of S^t Nicholas in Nether Haddon

Richard Rawson for pension per ann £5

in arrears for one year cause as John

Okeley &c

Chantry of Dovebrig

Richard Holme for pension per ann £6

in arrears for one year cause as above

Chantry of Blessed Mary in Asshover

Miles Whytwurth for pension per ann

£4 in arrears for $\frac{1}{2}$ a year

Prebend in the church of All Saints Derby

William Teyly (?) has not appeared

Chantry of Hathersage

Henry Howe for pension per ann £3 14/-

in arrears for one year cause as above

Chantry of S^t Nicholas in the par
of S^t Peter Derby

James Cheryholme for pension per ann

53^s 4^d in arrears for one yere cause

as above

Those whose names hereafter follow appered affore us which
were not named in the Sedule

Gild of Chesterfield

William Heythcote appeared before us

who hath of the said Gild by warrant

not shown £7 10/- in arrears for $\frac{1}{2}$

a year

William Lache of Chesterfield shewed

affore us a patent made by Hugh

Cluwurth late Aldereman of the

Gyld afforesaid of 6^s 8^d by yere with

a clause of distresse byhynd for 2

years for lycense he wold not gve for

it untill it came to a greater sum

Chantry of Norton

Robert Alen for pension per ann £5 6 8
in arrears for $\frac{1}{2}$ a year

Chantry of Fennyie Bentlye

Thomas Bedford for pension per ann 30^s
in arrears for $\frac{1}{2}$ a year

College of Derby

Henry Brytylbank clerk one of the
Chauntre prystes there sayeth upon
his othe that he had by warrant furth
of the same college £10 by yere and
delivered the same warrant to M^r
Rygges Auditor bycause he wold not
take so great a cure upon him, his
request was as he seythe to the seyd
M^r Rigges to gett him a patent of £5
by the yere And hathe bene payed
the same £5 vntyll this last yere for
the cause afforesaid And also Robert
Thacker late sub Dean of the said
College Laurence Sponer clerk Roger
Bertylmew clerke chauntre prystes
there and Richard Jurden clerk one
of the fellowez there upon upon their
othes done affirme all the premysses
to be true

S^r William Frost of Todyngton in the
parish of Bakewell which hath 5
markes by the yere which goeth furth
of a free chapell there by warrant
not shewyd which doth remayn in the
hands of M^r Rygges Auditor behind
for one year cause as above

Roger Bertylmewe one other of the three
prystes which dothe serve the cures
belongyng to the said College saythe

that Thomas Gylbert named in the sedula one of the fellowez of the said College bycause he cold not haue further allowance seruyng the said Cure then £5 which he had for his pension wold not serve the same wheruppon the perysshioners there got the seyd Roger Bertylmewe to serve the same promysyng hym for his steypend to opteyne a warrant to the Kyng's officers to paye hym £6 13 4 by the yeer as the other hath whiche he dyd accordyngly whereof he ys behynd for one hoole yere

John Porte
Thomas Powtrell

CARDINAL POLE'S PENSION ROLL.

Seven years after the drawing up of this Derbyshire pension roll of Edward VI., another inquiry was held throughout the country as to the pensions and annuities that were then being paid as the result of the variqus religious suppression Acts from 1536 to 1548. This inquiry produced the great parchment roll so often cited and generally known as Cardinal Pole's Pension Roll, which has been in the British Museum for nearly a century. It is dated Michaelmas, 1555 (2 and 3 Philip and Mary).* The Derbyshire entries follow the same order as the report of 1548, and show remarkably little alteration from the return of the earlier date; only a very few of the names had dropped out.

In one particular this latter return supplements the one of Edward, for it specifies six ex-chantry priests whose pensions

* Add. MSS. 8,102. The skins relating to Derbyshire are numbered 45 to 50.

had been paid by the Duchy of Lancaster. They were:—
William Holme, chantry priest of the Holy Rood, Wirksworth, 100s.; George Davie, chantry priest of Scropton, £4; Thomas Haidake, chantry priest of Belper, £4; Edward Bennett, chantry priest of St. Oswald, Ashbourne, 100s.; Robert Tarleton, chantry priest of Melbourne, 70s.; and Thomas Russell, chantry priest of Kniveton chantry, £4.

Little Hucklow : Its Customs and Old Houses.

By S. O. ADDY.



THE village of Little Hucklow, in the parish of Hope, is about midway between Bradwell and Tideswell. According to the six-inch Ordnance Survey, the ground on which the houses and their gardens stand embraces an area of rather more than seven acres. The houses are few, and are mostly built on the north and south sides of a piece of open land, which answers both for road and village green, and is called the Town Gate. The middle of this open land has been encroached on by a Sunday School, now used as a Dissenters' Chapel, built in 1854, and the owners of the various tenements have from time to time enclosed bits of the green to enlarge their homesteads. But some of the houses still abut on this open space. The road by which the houses stand goes from east to west up the hill to the top of the village, whence it still ascends in the direction of Peak Forest. Parallel to the road on the south side is a back lane, and between this lane and the road are the crofts of the houses, most of which are on the south side, and have a southern aspect. The village is nearly a thousand feet above the level of the sea, yet it is so sheltered from the prevailing wind that a crop of wheat, tall, strong, and golden, may be seen, as I am now writing, at this height. But if shelter from the wind is an advantage, the lack of water more than countervails it. Old people remember how the lads and lasses used to fetch water in the evening from a place called the

Sinings (the first "i" is long), half a mile from the village. They carried it on their heads in large *burn-cans*,* which had a ring on the top and a handle at the side, their heads being padded with neatly-made round cushions, hollow in the middle like a quoit.

A sycamore, an elm or two, or a mountain ash grow near one or two of the homesteads, but there is hardly a tree in the fields to protect the cattle from the heat and rain. The moorland air is fresh and cool; the short, green turf springs under the feet, and there is no better pasturage for sheep and cattle. A novelist might call the place Grey Walls. The grey limestone fences that surround the narrow enclosures are very numerous, and the building of them must have been costly, for they cover the green sward for miles together like patchwork on an old bed-quilt. On a bank near Windmill, looking to the south, a number of terraces, here called *lenches*, rise one above another, as if frequent ploughing had thrown the earth down the hill. Some of the enclosures near the village are long strips placed at right angles to each other. In these *lenches* and strips we have the remains of the ancient open-field husbandry. The homesteads of the village adjoined the unenclosed moorland on the west, whence the inhabitants fetched heath to light their fires. They call this heath "kindling," and a handful of it is enough to set a fire going, without using paper, the roots being turned upwards and the match applied to the flowers or leaves. You may still see a woman dragging a great bundle of kindling with a rope for a mile or more.

The early settlers came here to dig for veins of lead, not to stub up heather and furze to make good land. This metal has been worked in the village beyond historic memory, and the discontinuance of lead-mining is said to be due not to the exhaustion of the mines, but to foreign competition, tithes, and manorial dues. The cessation of this industry has been followed by the decay of the village; nearly a third of the

* *Burn* is used dialectically as a shortened form of *burden*.

houses are unoccupied and ruinous, and the old men and women look back with regret to the days of their youth and manhood when, as lead-miners and little freeholders, they worked short hours in the mines, kept a cow or two each, and were as happy as the day is long.

For more than two centuries the number of houses in the township has remained stationary. When the hearth-tax was imposed between 1663 and 1689 there were fifty houses, and the inhabitants of eight of them "paid to church and poor." Of these eight persons half were Poyntons—viz., Adam Poynton, whose name occurs first in the list, and who was probably the owner of the house which I shall describe further on; and Ellis, William, and Edward Poynton. Only four persons—viz., Adam Poynton, Adam Furniss, Rowland Smith, and Willow Alleyn, had as many as two hearths each.* In 1851 there were 49 houses and 235 inhabitants.† In the present year (1905) there are 49 houses, of which 15 are unoccupied, and 105 inhabitants.‡

No distinction is made in *Domesday* between Great and Little Hucklow, the former being locally known as Big Hucklow. The word Hucklow (in *Domesday* Hochelai, and in the *Hundred Rolls* Hokelawe) means the burial-mound of Hoca, and the older form of the word would have been *Hocan-hlāw*. Hoca, or Hocca, is a man's name, and Mr. Searle gives five examples of it in his *Onomasticon*.

There are indications that the village had an organized community of landowners at an early time. There was an officer called the headborough,§ known at a later time as the constable, and he, according to some, held two pieces of land, by way of salary, so long as he retained his office. These "headborough lands" lie in different parts of the township, and

* From information kindly supplied by Miss Lega-Weekes.

† White's *Gazetteer of the County of Derby*, 1857, p. 629.

‡ Information kindly supplied by Mr. Martin Chapman, Assistant Overseer.

§ In 1833 the neighbouring township of Abney was "governed by a headborough."—Glover's *History of Derbyshire*, ii., p. 3.

are otherwise known as Brockdale and Withered Bush. They are held in eleven undivided shares, six of which have become the property of one landowner, and there seems to be no reason why all the shares should not ultimately become the property of one man. For a long time past the shareholders have held the headborough lands in turn, usually for more than a year each. This periodical holding of land has been found to be very inconvenient, for the tenant for the time being could plough up and exhaust it, leaving it in a bad condition for his successor. Others say that these lands were left to the poor by an old woman whose name they do not remember. It seems to be very likely that the eleven landowners, or the owners for the time being of the eleven ancient messuages which may have composed the township, took the office of headborough in turn, and received payment in this way. We are reminded of the "town hams" in the Aston village community, such as the Constable's Ham, the Smith's Ham, the Water Steward's Ham, and so forth.* In 1903, the Charity Commissioners gave notice that the trustees of "the charity called the Constable Land," containing 1a. or. 20p., at Wentworth, in the parish of Wath-upon-Dearne, proposed to sell it. It is a mistake to call such properties charities; as well might the wastes and commons of a township be so described. They belong not to charities, but to the landowners of a township. I am told that at Treharris, in Glamorganshire, is a piece of land which belongs to the burgesses, and is divided into a certain number of shares; when a shareholder dies, the next oldest burgess takes his share.

Formerly the herbage by the road sides was let by candle to the highest bidder, and the money went to the overseers or township. There is a saying in the village that a yard of land is worth a pint of ale. In the county of Cavan, in Ireland, land was formerly measured by pints of six and a quarter acres, pottles of twelve and a half acres, and so on.†

* Gomme's *Village Community*, p. 163.

† O'Curry's *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, i., p. xlv.

Now and then one hears a curious saying in the village, as "We shall all be on a level when we get into a bed without a pillow." An old inhabitant can remember that his father had a cart drawn by a bull. The bull used to lie down in the cart shafts when he was tired. As soon as the cows were milked, one of the milkers went round with an "aftering-can," into which the last drops were pressed from the udders. This was regarded as the best milk.

A rope is tied across the road to impede the progress of a wedding party and make the bridegroom pay something. This is also done at Castleton, Bradwell, Edale, and Bamford. At Castleton a hay rope was used, and the bridegroom and bride had to jump over it. On the 6th of September, 1901, I saw a newly-married pair returning to Castleton after their honeymoon. A rope was tied across the road, the bells were rung, and people came out of their houses to throw rice at them.*

Sods were thrown at the bride and bridegroom at Castleton. People kicked these up with their feet or pulled them up with their hands in the churchyard. Horse-beans and hen-beans are still thrown by the farmers at Castleton, and these often hurt or cut the face. I have heard people say that sods mean luck in the produce of the earth, shoes plenty of clothes, and rice plenty of children. In some places they now throw bits of paper instead of rice.

At weddings they had bunches of ribbons tied into love-knots, the men wearing theirs on their hats. On the morning after a wedding the neighbours came into the bedroom where the bride and bridegroom lay and pelted them with anything they could lay their hands on, such as brooms or clothes-brushes.

* At New Mills, in Lancashire, the bride and bridegroom paid a fine called "pass money" on coming out of church, the gate being fastened until payment. In Livonia the bridegroom held in his hand "a stick cleft at the upper end, where he puts a piece of brass money, which is given as a reward to the person who opens the wicket, through which he passes."—Scheffer's *History of Lapland*, ed. 1704, p. 399. Is not this English custom a survival of the old *merchet* or fine paid on the marriage of a daughter?

On Shrove Tuesday the one who remained last in bed was called the "bed-churl," or "bed-churn,"* and was swept with a broom. An old woman describing this custom to me said that she was once a bed-churl, and "he kept sweeping me with his broom, and I kept skriking" (shrieking). To avoid being made bed-churls people have been known to stay up all night. On this day the miner who came last to his work had a pole or stake put under his legs, on which he was carried and "tipped down th' hillock." A miner who was being treated in this way once stabbed his persecutor with a knife.

On New Year's Day a "barm-feast" was held in a barn.

There is a spring on the hill to the east of the village called Silver Well, into which, both on Easter Sunday and Easter Monday, children threw pins, and then poured water from the well into bottles containing broken sweetmeats, and shook the bottles. A Methodist preacher who had asked a boy what happened on Easter Sunday was told "we shakken." At Chapel-en-le-Frith and at Doveholes, near Buxton, the process of filling the bottles with water and shaking them is called "rinsing," and Easter Sunday is called "Rinsing Day." This shows that the putting of sweetmeats into bottles is a modern addition to the rite, the object of the shaking having been to cleanse or purify. At Tideswell they call the practice "Sugar-cupping."† On Palm Sunday—the Sunday before Easter—they laid a ring of "palms"—*i.e.*, the buds or catkins of the common willow (*salix cinerea*)—round Silver Well, using no other flowers.‡ There are other wells called pin wells in the neighbourhood.

* *Bed-churn* is more frequently heard than *bed-churl*, but I think the latter is right.

† It is so described in a letter from Tideswell, dated 1826, printed in Hone's *Every-day Book*, ii., 451.

‡ Horace mentions the custom of offering flowers to springs:—

O fons Bandusiæ, splendidior vitro,
Dulci digne mero non sine floribus.

In Rochdale, Lancashire, Spaw Sunday was celebrated on the first that fell in May, "when the devout, provided with what were called *spawen-bottles*, betook themselves for the most part to a well called Brown Wardle."—March's *Nomenclature of East Lancashire*, p. 27. Here *spaw* is the O.N. *spā*, prophecy, divination, and a *spawen-bottle* is a divining bottle.

On Easter Monday the men "cucked up," or lifted, the women; and the women cucked up the men on the next day, when they could. One of my informants remembers a man lying flat on the ground, defying the women to cuckold him. This practice seems originally to have been a magical rite for the purpose of making the crops spring up, according to the well-known ancient belief that like actions produce like. If you imitate the rise of the crops from the earth by jumping or lifting people up, you will make them grow.

The act of gathering the last wisp of hay or straw from a corner of the field was called the "hare-catching." The last wisp was supposed to be caught like a hare and put into the barn.

The wakes begin on the second Sunday in September, and last a week. On Wake Eve all kinds of mischief were indulged in. Gates were lifted off their hinges, "they took all loose things, such as brooms," and they "bowled th' carts down into th' watter"—*i.e.*, into the wet place at the Sinings. It is curious that the same thing should have been done at Bradwell, two miles off, where they dragged their neighbours' carts into the stream at the bottom of the hill. They speak of "holding up"—*i.e.*, maintaining—the wakes.

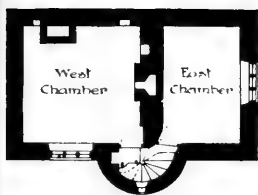
They had a game called "pin-play" or "pin-holes." A hole was made in the ground, and each player laid a pin or two in, the pins being so arranged as to form a circle with a hole in the middle. He or she who could bowl a marble into the centre of the hole got a pin.

A woman in the village bore the singular Christian name of Pennina.

Two of the houses in the village are worth describing, as they contain points of interest rarely to be found elsewhere.

I.—THE DIVIDED HOUSE.

The first of these is a building in the form of the letter T, standing in the Town Gate. This building now contains three dwelling-houses, which have been distinguished from each



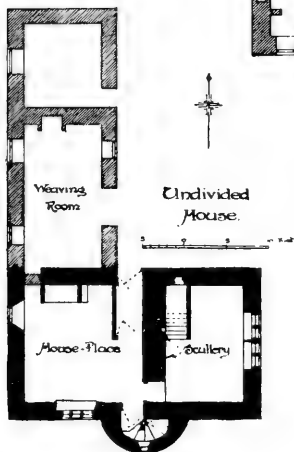
Chamber Plan



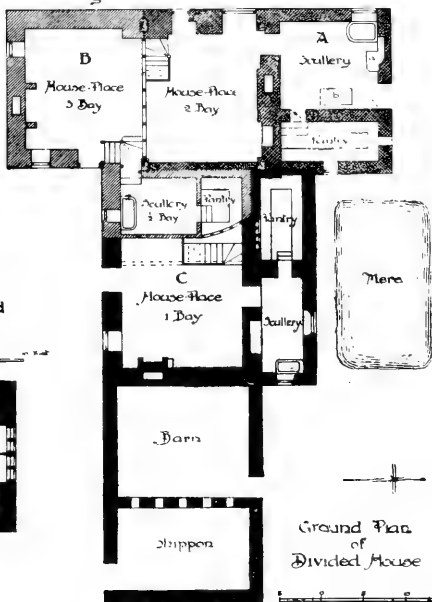
Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Ground Plan



Ground Plan of Divided House

PLANS AND SECTIONS OF HOUSES AT LITTLE HUCKLOW.



other by the letters A, B, and C on the plan, and by a difference in shading, so that the reader can see the whole arrangement at a glance. The building is ruinous, and only the house marked "B" is now occupied. These three dwelling-houses have been formed by alterations and additions out of one house or original nucleus, which consisted of three bays and a half of "housing," marked respectively 1, 2, 3, and $\frac{1}{2}$ on the plan.

The original house or nucleus can be readily distinguished from the alterations and additions, not only by the appearance of the walls themselves and the ashlar corner-stones of the original structure, but by the bays of that structure. It is now well ascertained that houses were usually built in bays, presumably of uniform size, buildings being described by surveyors as consisting of so many bays, including half-bays.* The bays are usually, but not always, separated from each other by pairs of "crucks," crutches (Lat. *furcæ*) or principal timbers,† which rested on stones placed near the ground, and extended from them to the ridge-piece, the partition walls between them being made of a framework of wooden beams, laths, and plaster. Two pairs of these "crucks" are yet *in situ* in the building which we are considering, and one of the pairs is represented in fig. 1. The stones on which the "crucks" rest are here buried in the ground, and are not shown in the drawing.

The existence of such "crucks" implies the existence of bays, and if we measure the bay numbered 2 in the house marked "A" we shall find that it is approximately sixteen feet in breadth by fifteen feet in length. In such measurements we must allow for error in the work of the old builders, and for the fact that in such houses the present external walls are rarely the original walls. In most cases wood and plaster walls have been replaced by stonework.

* See my *Evolution of the English House*, p. 32 *seqq.*, and *Notes and Queries*, 9th S., vi., 461.

† The Anglo-Saxon word for such a beam may have been *feor-studu* (far beam?) which occurs in a vocabulary of the tenth or eleventh century, and renders the Lat. *obstupum* (for *obstipum*) an inclined post.—See the Wright-Wülcker Vocab., 281, 10, and 461, 3.

It will be seen that the size of the bay numbered 1 conforms very nearly to the size of the bays numbered 2 and 3, and that the half-bay, numbered $\frac{1}{2}$, is approximately a moiety of the full bay which it adjoins. In these $3\frac{1}{2}$ bays we get, as I have said, the whole of the original building. The barn and "shippon"* at the east end of the house marked "C" are not so old as the house itself, though they may have replaced older outbuildings upon the same site.

I have elsewhere tried to show that the bay of an English peasant's house was a space of $15 \times 16 = 240$ square feet, and it will be noticed how near the bays of the building which I am now describing come to this rule. It is obvious that such a rule, if firmly established, would be very useful in enabling us to distinguish the older parts of similar houses from later additions. And, in the days when houses were divided piecemeal between children and wives, uniformity in the area of bays would have been of great service—indeed, equality of partition would have been almost impossible without it.

Turning now to the house marked "A," it will be seen from the plan that it is bounded on the south by a frail wooden partition which goes from the roof to the floor. It is bounded on the west by another man's land, on the north by the village green, and on the east by the houses marked "B" and "C," which belong to another person. Thus we have here the singular fact that the owner of the house marked "A" has not an inch of land adjoining it, except so far as he may claim a share in the green on which the end of his house abuts. On every side he is hemmed in by his neighbour's property. In a word, the owner of this house has no *privilege*—a term to which I shall refer again. There is a concealed tank or well on the green in front of the door, but no garden, outbuilding, or outside accommodation of any kind on the land surrounding the house. And yet this house, when occupied, was a farmhouse! It contains on the ground floor a scullery with a bakestone (*a*) and a large cheese-press (*b*), a pantry, or dairy,

* Anglo-Saxon *scipen*, a stall or fold for cattle.

surrounded by milk benches, and a house-place, in which is a wooden staircase later in date than the rest of the building. Over the fireplace is the date 1723 (fig. 1); but the building is older than that, and the fireplace was put there when the original house was divided. On the upper floor are two bedrooms, and there has been a fireplace in the room over the house-place (fig. 1), the fireplaces of both rooms being served by the same chimney. The owner of this remarkable farmhouse has a shippon, or cow-house, big enough to hold four cows, about seventy yards off on the other side of the green, with a pigsty and privy annexed, but no land adjoining these outbuildings. He has also a little more than five acres of old enclosure in different parts of the township, one of the fields containing "lenches," and five or six acres which were formerly common land, and allotted in respect of rights of common.

If we ask ourselves the question how it came to pass that a farmhouse should be thus inconveniently jammed in between other men's land and houses, the answer is not far to seek. It was once a frequent thing for a man to build his house on the verge of his neighbour's property, this being done to save expense in making walls. But that is not the main reason why the house marked "A" is a portion of a larger house. The main reason is that when a man died his wife and children, or other representatives, divided his buildings and land piecemeal amongst them, according to his will or the settlement which he had made of it.* In our time, when a division of property is contemplated, the owner settles it on trust for sale, so that the beneficiaries take not actual parts, but shares in the proceeds of sale—a practice which avoids the old and inconvenient method of doling out a bay of a house to the widow and the other bays amongst the children, or otherwise dividing the property into actual parts.

The scullery and pantry of the house marked "A" are newer

* We must not forget that the old rule was to divide the estates of intestates equally.

than the rest of that house, and were probably added because bay 2, which was the portion allotted to a former co-parcener, was insufficient for the accommodation of a family. Fortunately, we know from written evidence that the practice was to allot single bays to widows and others as their portions, and as the bays were, in theory at all events, of uniform size, it was easy to make fair apportionments or divisions. Thus it appears from the marriage settlement in 1617 of Edmund Waterhouse, of Bradfield, and Helen, his wife, that if the wife survived the husband, and they were childless, she was to have "one bay of housing, with the chimney, being the west end of the fire-house (dwelling-house), with the chamber over the same." If children were born of the marriage, she was to have the same bay and one-third of her husband's other buildings and lands as her full dower.* Again, in 1682, it is recorded that Thomas Jennings, senior, late of Sheffield, hardwareman, was in his lifetime seised in fee of a moiety or half part of a house in Sheffield in which Abiel Rollinson then dwelt, and also of the fourth part of a house in Sheffield where Joshua Bayle then dwelt, together with two closes called Channel Ings.† Here, then, we have a house divided into four parts, and probably consisting of bays. Had the parts been undivided shares we should have been told so. Somebody—widow, perhaps, or child—had acquired a bay (bay 2) without a fireplace in the original house at Little Hucklow, which was separated from the next bay by a wooden partition wall, and which had also a wooden wall at its north end. Thus came the necessity for making a fireplace between the "crucks" in the north gable, and substituting a stone wall for the original wooden one. That this was done is made highly probable by the fact that the "crucks" are a foot from the north wall in the chamber over the fireplace, and by the fact that a large piece has been cut out of one of them to

* Abstract by J. D. Leader in the "Local Notes and Queries" of the *Sheffield and Rotherham Independent*, 1876.

† Sheffield Court Rolls.

make room for a doorway between this chamber and the chamber over the scullery. Moreover, there are old sockets or mortices in the "crucks" showing that tie-beams and angle-braces have crossed them for the purpose of strengthening the wall, which was originally a gable end or outer wall. It is very likely that the side walls, now seven feet high, were originally lower, and that the roof was thatched, as some houses in the village have been within living memory. It is even possible that the thatch extended down to the ground.

The houses marked "B" and "C" now belong to the same owner (not the owner of the house marked "A"), but have been separately occupied as long as can now be remembered. The scullery and pantry of the house marked "B" are under one of the chambers of the house marked "C." The scullery and pantry of the house marked "C" form an outshoot, with no chambers above them, and were evidently added at the time when the original house was divided into portions. To effect this division a fine stone-mullioned window of four bays, or lights, was built up, and other changes made which cannot now be traced, though the large recess in the pantry of the house marked "C" makes it likely that a window corresponding to the built-up window stood there. A modern window on the south side of the house marked "C" has been omitted from the plan.

Such an intermixture of dwellings must often have caused trouble. Disputes about rights of way, light, and air, to say nothing of questions about repairs of roofs and walls, can hardly fail to have been a source of annoyance and expense to the owners of such property. Yet one cannot but admire the ingenious way in which these three houses were made out of one. See, for example, how neatly the three pantries of the three houses, with their adjoining sculleries, are clustered or fitted together. When a man's house adjoined his neighbour's land it was difficult for him, without trespass, to rebuild his wall, to whitewash it, or repair it. Hence some property-owners in this neighbourhood have claimed what they call a

right of *ladder-stead*—i.e., a right to put a ladder on the adjoining owner's land to do repairs.

The intermixture of houses and other buildings, such as barns, is not less remarkable than the scattered or intermixed ownership in the open fields of an ancient English village, to which Seebohm and other writers have drawn attention. No feature of the mediæval land system is so puzzling and interesting as this, and various attempts have been made to explain it. Why, for example, should a man's holding have been composed, not of thirty acres in a ring fence, but of sixty strips of half an acre each lying on all sides of the township? In endeavouring to answer such a question, we ought not to separate the house from the land, but to consider them together, for in both cases the intermixture may have arisen from the division of property amongst heirs or children. When we find, as we often do, that a man is described as the owner of a single bay of a barn and a strip of land in the fields held with it, we may be sure that we have to do with a case of partition.

In 1568 a man came into the lord's court at Ecclesfield and obtained leave to inherit the sixth part of half a bovate of arable land and the sixth part of a messuage and certain arable lands in Ecclesfield.* Here we have a case of minute partition, the bovate being split into fractions of one acre and a rood each, and the house into six parts. To this day, parts of houses in Little Hucklow belong to different owners; you find that an owner has bequeathed one part of a house to one child, and another part to another child, or else that the children have agreed to divide the house between them. To such an extent has this practice been carried that it is difficult, even yet, to get a complete house—you have to buy part of a building and get the other part if you can. At Aston, four miles off, a man has a barn in the middle of another man's

* "Et dat domino iiijs pro licentia hereditandi sextam partem dimidiæ bovate terræ . . . ac sextam partem unius mesuagii ac certas terras in Ecclesfeld," etc.—Sheffield Court Rolls, in the custody of the Duke of Norfolk.





THE DIVIDED HOUSE (FROM THE SOUTH).

courtyard, with a right-of-way thereto, and he has also two fields in the middle of his neighbour's land. This is not less remarkable than the case of a single acre wedged in between two acres belonging to two other men, as we find it in the ancient open-field system.

The two chambers of the house marked "C," one of which, as I have said, extends over the scullery and pantry of the house marked "B," are separated from each other by a wooden framework made of strong beams of oak resting on a thick joist (fig. 2), with a doorway in the centre. This framework, which stands in the position of the dotted line on the plan, is far too strong to have been intended as a mere partition wall, and the sockets or mortises in the blades or side-trees show that rafters have once been fitted into them. The present roof, therefore, is not the original roof, but was substituted for an older roof laid close to the blades, the side walls being raised when the new roof was put on. Hence, as may be seen in the photograph, the present decapitated chamber windows were originally dormer windows, the chambers being contracted and low. Owing to the ruinous and dangerous state of the building I could neither photograph nor measure the framework (fig. 2), and could only make a sketch. The framework is locally known as a coupling, and is very interesting because it gives us an actual representation of what was known in the fourteenth century as a couple of syles.*

Writing of old Scottish buildings, Jamieson says in his *Dictionary*: "Two transverse beams go from one sile-blade to the other, to prevent the siles from being pressed down by the superincumbent load, which would soon make the walls 'skail'—that is, jut outwards." The newer roof of the house marked "C" on the plan has already made the walls jut outwards to a dangerous extent.

* "Unam domum, vocatam le Fire-house, continentem quinque coples de syles et duo gavelforkes."—Lease, dated 1392, in Greenwell's *Feodarium Prioratus Dunelmensis* (Surtees Soc.), p. 167. The lease was for 200 years, and the lessees undertook to repair and maintain these "syles" and "gavelforkes" during that period, and to yield them up at the end of the term in good condition.

In the fourteenth century houses were estimated by the number of gavelforks ("crucks") and couples of siles which they contained. Thus the "fire-house," or dwelling-house, mentioned in the last footnote contained five couples of siles and two gavelforks—*i.e.*, one gavelfork at each end of the building. In other words, it contained six bays, and they, we may presume, were of uniform size. It will be seen that, whilst a gavelfork, or "cruck," extends down to the ground (fig. 1), resting only on a stone, a sile rests on a tie-beam which serves as a joist for the chamber floor (fig. 2). These two kinds of coupling—*viz.*, "crucks" and siles—were often used in the same building; but "crucks" were the rule in this neighbourhood, and this is the only "couple of siles" which I have seen.

This divided house, as I have called it, may remind us of the old days when equal division of real property was the rule after intestacy.* According to the Laws of Cnut, if a man died intestate his wife and children took the inheritance, probably following the Roman law.† And in the Laws of Cnut we have this enactment: "Where the husband dwelt without claim or contest, let the wife and children dwell in the same."‡ When, however, they continued to live in the house of the dead husband and father, they parcelled it out amongst them.

II.—THE UNDIVIDED HOUSE.

I have now to describe another type of house, which differs essentially from those which have just been examined, and only resembles them in the fact that it consists, as they do, of a house-place, scullery, or pantry, and two chambers. Such are its present, and such were its original, contents, but the building was enlarged on the north side at a later time. This house, which belongs to me, is a colour-washed dwelling, built

* *Si quis paterfamilias casu aliquo sine testamento obierit, pueri inter se hereditatem equaliter dividant.*"—*Laws of William the Conqueror*, c. 33. The French version renders "pueri" as "les enfans."

† C. 71.

‡ C. 73.



THE UNDIVIDED HOUSE (FROM THE SOUTH).







LOWER EAST WINDOW OF UNDIVIDED HOUSE.

of the limestone of the district, with quoins and windows of ashlar. Its two best windows are in a broad east gable end. Half the south side is a blank wall, and part of the circumference of the stair-turret projects from that side. The building is uninjured by modern change, and nearly in the same condition as it was when it left the builder's hands. In a panel over the lower east window is the legend "A. P., 1661," the initials standing for Adam Poynton.* For the last year or two I have used this place as a summer residence. Little as it is, we have managed to squeeze ourselves in, and we regard it as a stone tent on the moors where fresh air and open windows make us forget the luxuries of the town. Here, if anywhere, a man can lead "the simple life"!

The interest attaching to this building lies in the fact that it reproduces in the seventeenth century a type of dwelling-house which prevailed in the fourteenth century and earlier.

The plans will show the sizes of the rooms. The house-place, or hall, is entered by a door on the north side, exactly opposite the winding stair, the door being protected by a screen, formerly known as a "spere," with an inner door. The passage thus formed is here called the lobby. Above the lobby is a cupboard which serves as a receptacle for hats, etc. This room is 8 ft. high. The rafters which support the floor above it are of oak, resting on the north and south walls and on a large oak beam which crosses the room from east to west. The beam is neatly moulded, and rests on stone corbels. The south window is recessed at a height of 3 ft. 4 in. from the floor, and its stone mullions are elegantly moulded. The small west window has no mullions, and appears to be of more recent date than the other windows in the house. The "spere" also appears to be modern, as one or two of the old inhabitants say that they can remember when it was put up thirty or forty years ago. The stone projection, 1 ft. 6 in. high and 9 in. broad, next to the east jamb of the fireplace,

* I have had a search made at Lichfield down to 1700 for his will, but nothing was found. In 1658 Hercules Poynton and his daughter paid 1s. 8d. for Easter dues.—*Derbyshire Archaeological Journal*, XI., p. 28.

may have been used, in the days when the fireplace was open, for the same purpose as the modern hob is now used—*i.e.*, to put kettles or cooking vessels on. There is another of these projections in the house marked “C” on the plan of the divided house already described.

Adjoining the house-place is the scullery, or “bower,” as we call it, entered by a doorway only 5 ft. 3 in. high. To get in you descend a step as you go through the doorway. The floor is of concrete. This room is only well lighted in the morning, and the absence of a window in the south wall makes it rather gloomy and damp. A cellar, here called a pantry, lies beneath the northern half of the floor, which is supported by a stone arch. The cellar steps are guarded by an oak framework reared on a foundation of stone. A small sink-stone, not drawn on the plan, has been fitted into the window, which is recessed at a height of 2 ft. 4 in. from the floor. Oak rafters support the floor above. This room is 7 ft. high.

The two chambers or upper rooms are approached by a winding stair, formerly known as a “vice” or “turngrees.” We are so accustomed to our modern stairs, and regard them with such indifference, that we are apt to lose sight of the difficulty which the means of ascent from a lower to a higher storey presented to the old builders. At Padley Hall, near Hathersage, there was a winding stair, now removed, outside the house; at Overton Hall, near the same village, the staircase is a rectangular projection from the building, like a tower, inside which wooden steps go circling round in sets of four. At Garner House, near Bamford, the stone steps were contained in a round *case*, the outer half of which projects from the north side of the building like a segment of a round tower. There is a winding stone stair in a house at Upper Midhope, near Penistone. Examples of such stairs are now rare in English domestic architecture. The outside staircase was, however, frequent in English houses of the thirteenth century, and the upper rooms of an old Egyptian house were reached by such a contrivance.* It is probable that many of these

* Maspero's *Manual of Egyptian Archaeology* (English ed.), p. 11.





TOP OF STAIR IN UNDIVIDED HOUSE.

structures have been destroyed to be replaced by something more in accordance with modern taste; indeed, I have been advised by utilitarian people to knock down the stairs and put a front door there! In very many old houses the stair is, in fact, enclosed in a *case* with a door at the bottom, which you might think led into a cupboard, and sometimes a door at the top. Here and there this door has degenerated into a mere wicket or piece of lattice-work.

Such doors can only have been intended as a protection against intrusion, or against cold draughts. In this house at Little Hucklow there is an oak door, painted black on the outside, at the foot of the stair. It has a wooden latch and a wooden hasp, and you raise the latch by putting your finger through a hole in the door. The turret is lighted by a small latticed window, headed by a semi-circular arch. The window is splayed inwardly, and is glazed by old bottle-green glass, so that if you sleep next the "spere," and the moonlight comes through the open stair-door upon your face, you may fancy that you are lying in an old church, so quaint and weird is the scene.

The steps radiate from a newel, which, like the doorway of the staircase, is 6 ft. high. Ascending eight steps and keeping to the right you find yourself at the door, 5 ft. 3 in. high, of the east chamber, here called the house chamber, into which you enter by another step. The eighth step is made broad enough to form a small landing in front of the door of this room, and from this landing you ascend two other steps to another small landing in front of the door of the west chamber, into which you enter by another step, making the floor of the west chamber 1 ft. 3 in. higher than that of the east chamber. The last-named landing is guarded by an oak framework, now whitewashed, and it is very interesting to notice that this rude contrivance is the original or simplest form of the rails, often elaborately decorated, which guard our modern stairs and landings. There is only just room to turn round on a landing 2 ft. in length and 1 ft. 7 in. in breadth.

Nevertheless, this stair, though rather dangerous, is not altogether inconvenient, for there is room enough to carry up furniture, such as beds and chests of drawers. The cutting and fitting of these steps, from the rounded ends of which the newel is formed, must have been costly, and the builder has shown great ingenuity in adapting the stair to the two upper rooms, so that the one could be entered without going through the other. It is in such work that the character of the house appears. The owner of such an appendage to a house would naturally regard it with some pride, for a mere ladder was a sign of poverty and rusticity, as when the men of Totley, in this county, taunted their neighbours of Dore by saying :

Up a ladder and down a wall,
A penny loaf will serve you all.

The doorway of the east chamber, here called the kitchen chamber, is 5 ft. high. The height of this chamber, measured to the place where the rafters spring from the walls, is 7 ft. 9 in. ; to the ridge-piece it is 12 ft. 2 in. It is lighted by a beautiful window in massive stonework of three lights, the central light being exactly a foot higher than the others. The recess of the window is 2 ft. 11 in. from the floor. There is no fireplace in this room, and it can only be ventilated by opening the window and door. As both the upper rooms were insufficiently lighted by the old windows, I have had two "glass slates" put in the roof of the east room, and three in that of the west room. These take the place of ordinary slates, and are fixed between the rafters. Hence they do not disfigure the building, and make the interior brighter, drier, and healthier. The practice may be recommended to all occupants of old houses with small windows and open roofs. The flue of the fireplace in the hall projects 2 ft. from the wall of the room above, and tapers on all sides upwards. It is of stone, and not of wood, as some old flues of this period are, but so thin and porous that the smoke of the fire below colours it like a meerschaum pipe. You may whitewash it as often as you like, it still turns brown. The height of the west



UPPER EAST WINDOW OF UNDIVIDED HOUSE.



chamber, measured to the place where the rafters spring from the walls, is 6 ft. 7 in.; to the ridge-piece it is 10 ft. 7 in. The recess of the window is 2 ft. 1 in. from the floor; the lintel of the window is 1 ft. 3 in. from the rafters. The fireplace was originally open; it is not in the middle of the wall, but placed a little to the north, so that the flue may escape the ridge-piece. The timbers which support the spars of the open roofs of the two chambers are oak trees, of irregular shape, roughly squared by the adze, and now whitewashed. The thickest of them has a circumference of 42 in. Adjoining the north side of the house are two apartments, now roofless, the larger one being still called the weaving-room. This room has a fireplace of good ashlar stone, with an overhanging mantelpiece and moulded jambs. Near the fireplace a bake-stone stood. The room was lighted by three small windows, now built up, and has a door in its east wall. An aged woman who lived in this house in childhood remembers a loom and two spinning-wheels in this weaving-room. She remembers, too, a printed song nailed to the loom, which a woman sang as she wove. It began:

When first from sea I landed
 I had a roving mind;
 Undaunted then I rambled
 My true love for to find.

Her bare neck was shaded
 With her long raven hair;
 And they called her pretty Susan,
 The pride of Kildare.

Addison, in *The Spectator* (No. 85), mentions the printed papers which, in his time, were pasted on the walls of country houses, one of these being the old ballad of "The Two Children in the Wood."

The apartment to the north of the weaving-room is said to have been a bakehouse, and it had a window, now built up, on its west side. These two apartments had a lean-to roof sloping to the east. The masonry of these buildings differs from that of the older part of the house; there are no grit-

stone quoins, and the stonework of the windows is plain and unmoulded. Moreover, the doorway between the hall and weaving-room is only 2 ft. wide; an original doorway would probably have been made wider by setting the fireplace more to the east. There is no doubt that these two apartments on the north side are comparatively modern additions. This is proved not only by the style of building, but by the fact that Adam Poynton only paid tax on *two* hearths.

The small building at the south-east corner of the house, now used as a coal-place, is a later addition, and was intended for what is here called a pig-spot. It is only shown in the photograph. The word "spot" is used in this neighbourhood as the name of any small outbuilding—*e.g.*, a calf-spot, a hen-spot. At the bottom of the two little crofts on the south side of the house is an old barn which formerly had other buildings on either side of it. Over the south door of the barn is an arched lintel, and on it the figures 1619 are cut. This stone has been removed from some other building, now destroyed.

It does not seem to have occurred to the builder of this house that a fireplace in an upper room could have been erected most conveniently over the fireplace in the room below, so that one chimney-stack would suffice for both. The fireplace in the chamber over the hall is formed in the wall, 2 ft. 8 in. thick, which divides the building into two unequal parts, and extends from the floor of the cellar to the ridge-piece. This is the thickest wall in the house. Such an arrangement involved an unnecessary loss of space as well as expenditure of money; to find room for a chimney the partition wall was made six inches thicker than the outer walls. Originally both the fireplaces were open—that is to say, a fire of wood or pit-coal burnt on the hearth-stones.

There are eight holes in the walls, which were formerly used as repositories for keeping things.* Three of these holes are in the room over the hall—one at the head of the winding

* In Percivall's *Spanish Dictionarie*, 1591, we have: "*Alhazéna*, a hole in a wal to set things in, an Ambrie."

stair, one in the hall, and three in the kitchen. These rectangular apertures are of various sizes, the largest being about 1 ft. 6 in. square; the depth is about 1 ft. In an old house near Sheffield one of such holes is filled by a small oak cupboard with figures carved on the door. Similar holes in walls, with arched tops, resembling the so-called *piscina* of churches, are found in houses of the thirteenth century. One of these at Stoke Say is near the jamb of the fireplace in the solar,* just as here there is a hole near the jamb of the fireplace in the room over the hall.

The house is built of the limestone of the district, except that the corner stones, the stonework of the windows and fireplaces, and the corbels which hold beams are of ashlar, or "greatstone," as it is called in the neighbourhood. The stairs are, however, of limestone, much worn by use. The outer walls are rough-casted with grey plaster, and until late years have been whitewashed; but the stonework of the windows has been coloured light red, and the date and initials over the lower east window blue. That these red and blue colours were laid on when the house was built is rendered probable by the fact that they are the lowest of numerous layers that have been scraped off. The south windows are now coloured yellow, as many others in the village are, the custom being to renew these decorations yearly at the wakes. The inside walls have been coloured by a deep tint of archil; they are now whitewashed. Our English ancestors disliked bare stones, and they coloured them, often with gaudy hues. I have seen the stone mullions of old houses in Yorkshire coloured by archil on the outside. Few objects in a landscape are more beautiful than an old whitewashed cottage glistening in the morning or evening sun.

On removing the plaster or whitewash from the inner parts of the window-jambs certain marks were found. In the east chamber on the south side of the window a pair of cross scythes is incised, with the blades turned outwardly.

On each of the stones forming the window-jambs of the

* T. Hudson Turner's *Domestic Architecture in England*, 1851, p. 160.

north side is also a pair of cross scythes, with the blades turned inwardly. The handles of the scythes are about three inches in length. Taverns have often been called "Cross Scythes." On the west jamb of the south window in the hall is a representation of the swastika. No marks of this kind have been discovered in other parts of the house; they are only found on the jambs of the upper east window and the lower south window, and they are in such a position that the light of the morning and mid-day sun would fall upon them. In Derbyshire the sign of the cross is still made to attract the sun. Thus it is said that "if it rains hard and you wish it to be fine, lay two straws across and the rain will cease.*" Moreover, it is well-known that the swastika was intended to be a representation of the sun. It may be, therefore, that these marks are not symbols used by masons to distinguish their own work, but magical devices intended to attract sun and light to the building.

I have now to compare this house at Little Hucklow with a much larger and much older house called Padley Hall, near Hathersage. The comparison will show that the two houses, separated as they are in time by an interval of perhaps three hundred years, are examples of the same type of building, and closely resemble each other.

1. In the first place each house consists of a larger and a smaller room on the ground floor with corresponding rooms above.†

2. In both houses the best windows are in the east gable end, one in the upper room, and one in the lower. In the photograph the east window of the lower east room at Padley is concealed from view.

3. If the photographs of the two houses, printed on the same page, be compared, it will be seen that at Padley as well as at Little Hucklow a winding stair, built against the wall,

* Addy's *Household Tales, etc.*, p. 85.

† I have given plans of the house at Padley in *Evolution of the English House*, pp. 136, 141.



HOUSE AT LITTLE HUCKLOW (FROM THE SOUTH).



PADLEY HALL (FROM THE NORTH-EAST).



once led to the upper rooms and served them both. At Padley the winding stair has been removed, but the two doorways at its summit, one for each upper room, will be seen in the photograph, and it will also be seen that one doorway is higher than the other, as at Little Hucklow. If a portion of the turret at Little Hucklow were removed, so as to exhibit a section, two doorways would also be seen, one higher than the other. At Padley, as at Little Hucklow, the floor of one upper room is higher than the other.

4. In each house the winding stair is exactly opposite the entrance, and in each house the entrance is in one of the long sides.

5. In both houses there is a fireplace in each of the two larger rooms, and none in the smaller.

In a word, the house at Little Hucklow is a later, plainer, and diminished copy of the house at Padley—that is to say, both houses belong to the same type. We may call it the “hall-and-bower” type.

The land on the south boundary of my house belongs to one man, and that on the west boundary to another man, so that, having a bit of land on the north and east sides, I am better off than the owner of the house marked “A,” who has no land on any side. Land adjoining a house is here called “privilege,” and perhaps I ought to consider myself lucky in having such an advantage on two sides, even though my neighbours tell me that my privilege was formerly stolen from the village green.

In old times there were in England houses which were not divisible amongst co-heirs. Bracton, who died in 1268, has told us that when several co-heirs were entitled to a messuage it was to be divided into shares, unless they could agree that one should take the whole and pay compensation to the rest. Even when the property was held by military tenure, “a hall,” he tells us, “is sometimes divided into two or more parts, and sometimes a chamber is divided from the hall, and so with regard to the several buildings (*domus*) in the court

(*curia*).” But as regards the larger houses held by military tenure, he says that the capital mansions of a county, or barony, castles, and other edifices, were not divisible.* They followed the rule of primogeniture.

Now, with regard to the hall at Padley, it appears that in 1451 Robert Eyre, Esq., held it of John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, by the service of the fortieth part of a knight’s fee, and by two reasonable aids.† It was, therefore, held by military tenure, and from its size, the character of its architecture, and its strength, we may presume that it was not divisible. At all events, no signs of partition can be discovered in the existing building. It seems to have been no more divisible than a castle was. I do not, of course, suggest that the house at Little Hucklow was held by military tenure—indeed, such tenures were abolished in the very year when it was built. But it is evident that the two houses which I have compared belong to one and the same type, the similarity being due to imitation.

The plans have been drawn by me and copied by Mr. J. R. Wigfull, of Sheffield, architect, who is not responsible for their accuracy. Mr. Wigfull has also kindly supplied one of the photographs.

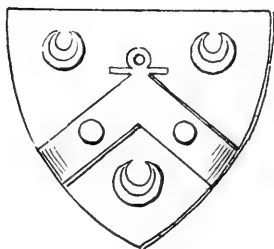
* Bracton, *De Legibus, etc.*, ed. Sir Travers Twiss, i., p. 602 *seq.*

† MS. *Feodarium* in the custody of the Duke of Norfolk.





RICHARD SHALLCROSS, 8 JAC. I.



WALKER, QUARTERED BY SHALLCROSS, *temp.* CAR. II.

The Owners of Shallcross.*

By THE REV. W. H. SHAWCROSS, VICAR OF BRETFTON,
CO. WORCESTER.

(1) *The Name and Place.*—The surname of the long line of owners is the identical name given by its Norse progenitors and others to A CROSS, erected between A.D. 627-685, which gave its name to a vill, not mentioned in Domesday, within the King's liberty and Forest of the High Peak, in the north-west boundary of this county, and it was assumed by the family before the time of Henry I., A.D. 1103. An enumeration of some variations of orthography, of which Shacklecross, Shallcross, and Shawcross are the standard forms, shews that this ancient place-name, wherein a store of history lies couched, has undergone some remarkable handling. We find, in the *twelfth century*, Sachalcros, Scakelcros; in the *thirteenth century*, Sakelcros, St. Cruce, Shacrosse, Shorecroft, Schalkros, Schalkiros, Schakilkros; *fourteenth century*, Schakilcros, Schalecros, Scalecros, Shakelcros, St. Schalcross, Schallecrosse, Schalcrosse; *fifteenth century*, Schalcros de Shalcros, Schalcress; *sixteenth century*, Shalcrosse, Shawcrosse of Shawcrosse, Shawlcrowe, Shakel(s)cross, Shacrost, Shallcrosse or Shawcrosse, Shawcrofte, Sharcrofte, Shallcross, Shawcross; *seventeenth century*, Shaw-Crosse, Shalcroste, Shalcroft, Sholecross, Scholecrofte, Shacrofte, Shawcroft,

*And, incidentally, of Yeardsley. We enlarge on the Jodrell connections in view of Mr. Gunson's articles on these Halls in the last *Journal*, Vol. xxvii., p. 185.

Shalcrowe, Shercross, Shedcrosse, Showcross; *eighteenth century*, Shaircross, Shellcross, Sholcross, Shallcrop, Shallcraft, Shallcrass; and in the *nineteenth century*, Shellcross, Sarlcrosse, Chalcross, Shaucross, Shullcross. Among many suggestions on the difficult etymology we have now only space to note that this patronymic is of Scandinavian derivation—there are traces of Danish settlements between 855 and 1016 in the Peak; and that the Anglo-Saxon *scacal*, or *scacal*, or shaft, or shackle, may explain the first half of the name, contracting to *Shall* and *Shaw*. Before Mr. Andrew's find,* Professor Skeat had thought (in 1896) the spellings *scakel*, *schakil*, and *schakel*, more likely to be right. He adds: "The contraction from *Shackle* to *Shall* is violent, but not without precedent: and I do not see what else it is. The old spellings are too numerous and consistent to be explained away. It is clear, in any case, that the '*Shaw*' in *Shawcross* is a totally different word from the '*shaw*' in *Bradshaw*. The latter is merely the common *shaw*, a wood, A. S. *sceaga*; which never could have been *Shall* at any time." As to the terminal "cross," Norse *kross* and *cross*, the last form being first used in that part of England which was occupied by the Danes, it may be added that Shallcross is near the junction of four ancient roads, spots frequently sanctified in early Christian days by the erection of wayside crosses. On the whole name I express cordial concurrence with Mr. Andrew's article, upon his interesting discovery of the original shaft of THE SHALLCROSS, in the last *Journal*, pp. 201-4. We cannot spare the regret that neither the evident beauty of its workmanship, nor its utility as a landmark, nor its pre-Gothic antiquity, nor its connection with an ancient and worthy family, spared this relic of early Christianity, the sign of the victory that overcometh the world (*in hoc signo vinces*), from the merciless havoc of the time.

Sachalcros, as it is written under the first orthography, between 1103-8, was within the great Peak possessions of William Peverel, I. To the Clugniac priory of Lenton, founded by him

* Vol. xxvii., page 201, of this *Journal*.

at this period, he gave, for its support,* tithes out of his pastures in Sachalcros. Later, in 1272, an inquisition of tithes due to Lenton gives, amongst others, Shalcross and Fernilee, 115. Three generations of the Peverels held the Castle of the High Peak. The Shallcross family had a descent from PEVEREL through the Gousell family, lineal ancestors of the wife of Leonard (XIII.). The Gousells, of Hoveringham, co. Notts, sometime lords of Hathersage, through marriage with its heiress, also espoused Elizabeth, an heiress of the Fitzalans, Earls of Arundel, who brought with her, among other quarterings, viz., Fitzalan, Albany, Meschines, Lupus (Earl of Chester), Hamlyn Plantagenet (*az. florettée or, on a bordure gu., eight lions of England*), Warren, Marshall, De Clare, and Macmurrough, the arms of the fierce and haughty Peverel (*quarterly, gu. and vairé, or and az. a lion ramp. arg.*).

(2) *The Owners: their Male Succession.*—The earliest certain patriarch of this house appears, like that of the house of Douglas, in the tree, not in the sapling. Of those who bore the early place-name of this family, both the Widdrington Roll (*infra*) and Jewitt's Pedigree† commence with the Danish name (Sueno, Suanus, Suenus, or Svanus) of

SVAIN DE SCAKELCROS, or Skakelcros (I.), of Scakelcros, the immediate founder of this ancient family. He lived, *temp.* John and Henry III., within the vill of Scakelcros, in the wide parish of Chapel-en-le-Frith, in a wild and romantic part of England, on the banks of the Goyt, a stream which divides Shallcross from Taxal, the counties of Derbyshire and Cheshire, and the Forests of the High Peak and of Macclesfield. It is certain that Svain was a landowner, and derived his name from the vill. A brother of this Svain, or at least a near relative, may appear in John de Shakelcrosse, dead in 36 Hen. III., who in 7-12 Hen. III.,‡

* He gave a tithe of game, viz., of stags and hinds, of bucks and does, and of boars and sows (*Mon. Angl.*, i., p. 648).

† *Reliquary*, vol. vi.

‡ *Feudal History of Derbyshire*, by Mr. Pym Yeatman, Section VI. Other valuable items are from this work.

assarted five acres at Kinder, part of Longdendale, Thomas fil. Richard being the tenant. His relative, Oswald, or Oswyn, born *temp.* Hen. II., daughter of Stephen Shalcrosse, married *temp.* John, Walter, son of Sir John Rudston, lord of Hayton, county York (*Arg. three bulls' heads coupéd sa. two and one*). Svain, who may have been born *temp.* Ric. I., lived apparently *c.* 1197-1265, and was probably one of the foresters who shared in the original building, *c.* 1225, of the "Chapel" in the frith. Dying about the time of the battle of Evesham, where Ferrars, eighth Earl of Derby, fought against his King, Svain left issue, possibly by a daughter of Benedict de Worth, of the Worths of Worth (*arg. a cross raguled sa.*); the Shalcrosses invariably married in "a fair degree":—

I.—RICHARD, of whom presently.

II.—John, living 1259-60.

III.—Robert, bail, with others, in 36 Hen. III. for Mathew de Scorches.

His son and successor,

RICHARD DE SCAKELCROS (II.), of Scakelcros, of whom, with his younger brother John, we first hear in connection with ameracements under the forest laws in 1259-60. In 36 Hen. III. he was bail, with others, for Peter de Gaham. In the same year he was amerced in vert in the demesne Park, 6d., and fined $\frac{1}{2}$ d. in the same year. In 41 & 42 Hen. III., a Richard Shakelcross rented land at Chapel-en-le-Frith. This Richard held lands purchased by him in fee from Sir Robert de Hyde, as we note from the family chartulary, to which we must now advert.

Two copies of the chartulary of the Shallcross family were made under the supervision of John (XV.) after the visitation of 1634, which are still extant. Of the original charters, which would be upon small membranes, nothing seems known. These copies are preserved in three quarters, viz. :—(1) In the breviat of 5 July, 1639, found in *Harleian* 1093, ff. 19-22. (2) In a roll of a skeleton pedigree of the family, upon paper mounted on strong linen, made probably in connection with (1).

Originally among the Shallcross muniments, it is even now in the possession of the heirs of line.* This important document, which is 8 ft. 4 in. long by 2 ft. 1 in. wide, is expanded with twenty copies of the original charters. The pedigree is illustrated with forty-two uncoloured shields, $2\frac{1}{8}$ in. by $2\frac{1}{2}$ in., of the family, sixteen being impaled with its alliances: 1, Wendesley; 2, Beresford; 3, Jodrell; 4, Bagshawe of Ridge; 5, Browne of Marsh; 6, Jodrell; 7, Davenport; 8, Jodrell; 9, Downes; 10, Bradshaw; 11, Walker; 12, Cressy; 13, Smith; 14, Jodrell; 15, Walker; and 16, Bagshawe of Ridge. This skeleton pedigree, which has the names within circles, commences with Suanie de Skakelcros, to whom is given the family coat, and it terminates with the birth of six children of John (XV.). A third copy of the charters (3) is to be found in *The Reliquary*, vol. vi., printed from the *Harleian MSS.* by Mr. Jewitt, with a skeleton pedigree of Shallcross. Copies were fortunately available of the appendant seals, where they occur, in each of these three transcripts.

The present and fourth copy of these documents has been sorted out from each of these three quarters, in elucidation of the mediæval history of the family; and these Latin deeds appear for the first time in order and in English. They number twenty-three, and according to date may be thus described:—Eight have no date, and, as we have not the assistance afforded by a sight of the mediæval handwriting, we classify them before 1290; there are twelve between 1290 and 1400, and three after 1400. They name many persons and places of historical interest, over which our present limits do not allow us to linger.

The first purchase is within the vill of Scakelcross itself, and refers to land purchased by Richard de Scakelcross before 55 Hen. III., from Sir Robert Hyde, Knt., lord of several manors in Cheshire, and of Shalcross and Ferneley in Derbyshire.

* I would express my acknowledgments to Mr. Shallcross F. Widdrington, of Newton Hall, for the kind loan of this valuable roll, which I have named the "Widdrington Roll" for convenient reference.

This vill, "de Sakelcros," and Fernilee, came to the Hydes between 1209 and 1228; the charter was witnessed by Roger de Dunes and Benedict de Worth, *infra*; and the land remained with them till sold by Sir John Hyde,* who served under the Black Prince. Sir Robert Hyde married the cousin and heiress of Thomas de Norbury, of Norbury, in Stockport parish, and there, observes Webb in 1615, is "the fair seat and demean of the Hides." Leonard (XIII.), in his Will, speaks of Hamnett,† son and heir of Robert Hyde, of Northbury (*az. a chev. or betw. three lozenges of the second*), as his kinsman; and it is stated in the *Old Halls of Derbyshire*, vol. i., p. 164, that the Peak Hydes, whose coat was similar to that of Shalcross, but with the addition of a *chief ermine*, and who were, perhaps, connected with the old Cheshire house, intermarried with the Shalcrosses. This charter thus runs:—

[Undated, *temp.* Hen. III., 1216-1272.]

With a Seal of Richard de Scakelcros.

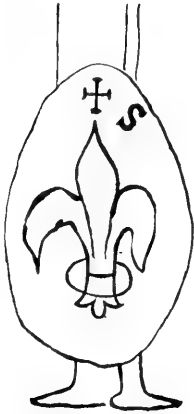
No. 1.—Know all men, etc., that I, Robert, lord of Norbury, give and yield and by this my present charter confirm to Richard, son of Svain de Scakelcros a moiety (medietatum) of all the arable land (terra) in Scakelcross except‡ that land which Hamor de ffernley holds (or held). To hold, etc., to him and his heirs freely and quietly in fee and heirship, in wood, in arable, in meadow, in pasture, and in all other liberties to the aforesaid vill of Scakelcros appertaining. Paying thence annually to me and my heirs 18 pence on the feast of the Apostles Peter and Paul for all service. And for this grant I have received 20 shillings and 1 horse and my wife 1 cow. These being witnesses:—Sir Roland, then Steward of the Peak, Sir S— de Beyley, Richard de Hedneshouse, Hamor de ffernley, Robert Talebott, Richard de ffernley, and others.

Appendant to this charter is a copy of the personal seal of Richard de Scakelcros, which was upon green wax. This may be an armorial ensign, anterior to the coat-armour borne 16 Edw. III., being an heraldic lily, surmounted by a cross and capital S. There is no legend. There is a similar device upon a headstone in Didsbury Churchyard to the memory of

* John Joudrel, of the Yeadsley family, was an archer under him.

† 1563-1643.

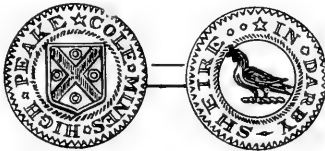
‡ *Vide* Charter 13.



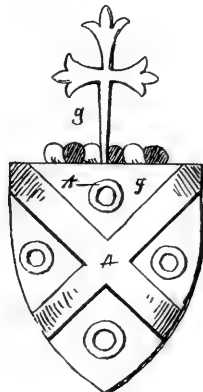
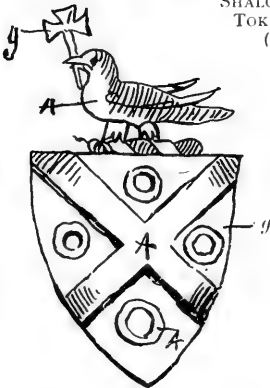
RICHARD DE SCAKELCROS,
temp. HEN. III.
(page 74).



SIR RICHARD SHAWCROSS,
16 EDW. III.
(page 83).



SHALCROSS TRADERS'
TOKEN, circa 1670
(page 114).



ARMS AND CRESTS OF LEONARD SHALLCROSS, FROM THE VISITATION
OF 1569 (page 97).



William Shalcross, of Withington, who died 1648. We give facsimiles (1) from the *Harleian* and (2) Widdrington transcripts.

In 8 Edw. I., 1279, this Richard assarted six acres of land at Shakelcross. At the same date he held in Shakelcross six acres of the fee of Thomas le Ragged, and enclosed it by a ditch. On the south side of Shallcross Hall there is a curious semi-circular mound enclosing about six acres, which may be the remains of an ancient mound and ditch. It is now the site of an avenue of forest trees.* In the same year he, with others, was bail for William de Bagshawe, who had committed an offence against the forest laws. In 13 Edw. I., this Richard was amerced in vert under the forest laws—doubtless the family often tasted the royal venison. He was a witness, a decade later, to a grant from Adam de Ferneley to Luke Heyley. Subsequently, this deed came into Richard's own possession:—

[Before 23 Edw. I., 1294. Widdrington Roll.]

With a Scal.

No. 2 recites that Adam, son of William de Fernely, grants to Luke, son of Geoffrey de Heyley and his heirs, one whole fourth part of his land in the Midliste Fernely, together with the Puxhill to the same land pertaining, which land Aldusa, mother of the said Luke, formerly held. Witnesses—Thomas le Ragged, Richard de Schalicros, and others. Seal.†

[23 Edw. I., A.D. 1294.]

No. 3.—Know all men, etc., that I, Luke, son of Geoffrey de Heyley, have given, etc., to Richard de Schalcross for a certain sum of money which the same Richard has given me, the whole of the fourth part of my land in the Middilfernyleye which fourth part I had by gift and feoffment from Adam the son of William de ferneley. To have and to hold, the aforesaid Richard and his heirs and assigns from the Chief Lord without let or hindrance. Attached to it is the Pughull, a piece of the aforesaid land which my mother Aldusa at one time held on that vill; from this was rendered to the Chief Lord customary service, viz., three silver pence at the end of the year, etc. In witness whereof, etc., these being witnesses:—Richard de Huitemon, Bailiff of the Peak, Robert le Ragged, and others. Given, etc., in the 23rd year of the reign of King Edward.

* *Journal*, vol. xxvii., p. 193.

† A copy of a private secretum, a common thirteenth century device of an estoile and crescent; oval, 1 in. by $\frac{5}{8}$ in.; the marginal legend probably:—S.[igillum] ADA[MI . DE . FEREN]NLE[IE.].

About this time Richard acquired the land which was called Birtherley:—

[Undated, before 19 Edw. I., 1290.]

Not in Widdrington Roll.

No. 4.—To all Christ's faithful people, etc., Thomas le Ragged, health in the Lord. Know all men that I have given, etc., to Richard de Schakilkros and his heirs or assigns all that land as it is more fully (sicut plenius jacet) in the place which is called Birtherley, which land I held by the gift and feoffment of Richard de ffernley, with two acres of new land with the appurts, etc., to hold to the said Richard de Schakilcross and his heirs, etc. In witness, etc., these being witnesses:—William Folejaumbe, then Bailiff of the Peak, Thomas le Ragged, Lord of Berde, Richard de Esebury, Henry de Tunsted, John de Smalleye, and others.

This Richard, who was apparently living *c.* 1230-90, probably married a daughter of Downes, lord of the manors of Downes and Taxal. Ormerod gives some interesting particulars relative to the tenure by Downes of the ancient manor of Taxal. From charter 6, which refers to property on the Cheshire side, it will be observed that Benedict (III.) was a "cousin" of Edmund de Dounes, who was of Dounes and Taxal, and a forester of the forest of Macclesfield, 18 Edw. III. These families also inter-married later. Richard had, at least, several sons, including:—

I.—BENEDICT, his successor.

II.—William, living 35 Edw. I. and 1 Edw. II.*

III.—Another son, possibly the John de Holshawecroft living 14 Edw. I. He may have been the father of JOHN DE SCHALCROSSE who became Parson of Taxal in 40 Edw. III., presented thereto by a relative, Edmund de Dounes. In 50 Edw. III. he was executor to the Will of William Joudrell, who was with the Black Prince, and a Shallcross ancestor, *vide* under Anthony XII., to that of William de Shore (Shore witnesses charter 22), and to the Will of Agnes his wife.† To him, 52 Edw. III., the Abbot of St. Werburgh, county Chester, granted certain burial

* *Chester Eyre Roll*, No. 1, 6 m. The *Eyre Roll* extracts from the Record Office were kindly communicated by Mr. Arthur Carrington, together with another copy of the Fine of 19 Edw. II., etc.

† *Eyre Rolls*, No. 13, m. 29.

rights and mortuaries at Prestbury. Later, in 3 Ric. II., he fines by licence of Robert del Leigh (Legh witnesses charter 22) and Robert del Dounes.* He died 1383.

Dying at Scakelcros, after 23 Edw. I., having lived apparently c. 1230-90, Richard (II.) was succeeded by his eldest son,

BENEDICT DE SCHALECROS (III.), of Schalecros, born about 1260, who may have received his Christian name to honour the memory of Benedict de Worth, related to the Condys, living before 13 Hen. III., his possible ancestor. (See under Svain (I.) and charter 8.) He was a regarder and verderer of the forest, 12 Edw. II., and a forester in fee of the Peak. The latter held hereditary office by virtue of their lands. Chaucer's forester will be remembered.† About 1290 Benedict extended the privileges of the family in an important concession. The mill was a valuable property of the lord, its owner, and especially when each neighbouring family was compelled to grind its corn there.

[Undated, *temp.* Edw. I. or Edw. II.—*Harl.*]

No. 5 is a deed similar to No. 6, but without the last clause. The same witnesses sign both these instruments. Thomas de Hyde may have been the Thomas, youngest son of the Sir John Hyde (*Harl.* 2161), who sold the manor and estate of Shalcross.

[Undated, *temp.* Edw. I., A.D. 1272-1307.]

No. 6.—Know all men, etc., that I, Edmund de Dounis, have given, etc., to Benedict de Schalcros, my kinsman by blood, in consideration of kinship and affection, and of a certain sum of money which the same Benedict has paid me in hand, that the same Benedict and his heirs be quit of toll and toll paid at mill (multura) for ever in my mill of Tacysall, with all their corn for their own table to be there ground without hindrance whenever they wish to come there for grinding. So that neither I, Edmund, nor any of my heirs and assigns shall have power to exact and recover in any way for ever from the aforesaid Benedict or his heirs anything in name of toll or mill-toll on account of their own corn as aforesaid, in the aforesaid mill. In witness, etc., these being witnesses:—John de Sawtton,‡ Thomas de Hyde, etc.

In 8 or 10 Edw. II., 1314-16, Benedict was third witness to a Fritborn charter (No. 12 *infra*). In 8 Edw. II. he was first

* *Eyre Rolls*, m. 35.

† *Prologue*, 101-17.

‡ Sutton.

witness to a deed of the Ferneley family (No. 16, *infra*) at Ferneley. Soon afterwards he appropriated a certain waste land:—

[10 Edw. III., A.D. 1335.]

No. 7 is an indenture, 10 Edw. III., between Thomas, son of Thomas le Ragged, and Benedict de Schalkros, whereby the latter, for himself and his heirs, encloses a certain piece of waste land (name undeciphered by seventeenth century copyists).

Benedict's wife's name was Margery (*Eyre Rolls*), who in 34 Edw. III. was executrix of the Will of Roger de Bosdon, a suit being brought against her that year by Robert del Bothes.* She may have been of the Bosdon† family (*arg. a fesse sa. betw. three fish hooks of the second*). In 32 Edw. III. she had a servant Isabell.‡ They had issue at least four sons and one daughter:—

I.—RICHARD, in holy orders, of whom presently.

II.—JOHN, apparently the first of the nine representatives of this family name, of whom hereafter.

III.—Robert. He was living apparently between 1290 and 1370, and was a witness of the deed of 16 Edw. III. (No. 15). He extended his possessions at Shalcross by purchase, 19 Edw. III., as evidenced by the next charters:—

[Undated, *temp.* Hen. III., A.D. 1216-1272.]

No. 8 recites that Robert de Worth grants to Henry de Condy, his nephew, all his lands in the vill of Schakilcros which Adam de Worth, his brother, formerly held of him, of which he had confirmation of King Henry. Witnesses:—Robert de Dounis,§ Richard le Ragged, Richard de ffernilegh, and others.

This record, referring to lands in Shalcross, may be attached to the next one, wherein Sir Robert Holland, knt.,|| gives a

* *Eyre Rolls*, No. 14, m. 25.

† Earwaker mentions several isolated members of this family. Entered at *Visit. of Cheshire*, 1613.

‡ *Eyre Rolls*, No. 19, m. 18.

§ A forester of Macclesfield Forest, 16 Edw. I., and father of Edmund, charter 6.

|| Eldest son of Robert de Holland, who received large grants in Derbyshire from the Crown, 1307. In 1335 he had livery of all his father's lands, and was in the expedition against France, 1342. In the latter year he was summoned to Parliament, as the second baron. He died in 1373. The wife of Leonard Shallcross (XIII.) descended from his brother Thomas, who became Earl of Kent on his marriage with Joan Plantagenet.

warrant or formal power of attorney for conveyance of land:—

[19 Edw. III., A.D. 1344.]

No. 9.—Be it known to all by these presents that I, Robert de Holland, knt., have authorized and appointed in my place Richard Burchecar, my attorney, to deliver to Robert de Schalcros full possession of 1 messuage 22 acres of land, and 1 plot of ground called Personeshogh, and 3 shillings of Rent, with the appurts, in Schalcross, for the term of his natural life. Settled and agreed, etc., in witness whereof, etc. Given, etc., in the 19th year of the reign of King Edward the Third after the Conquest.

Dying probably before his brothers, Robert made a conveyance to his elder brother John, in whom the male line of the family was continued; it runs:—

[20 Edw. III., A.D. 1345.]

Bracketed portion omitted (a clerical error) in Widdrington Roll.

No. 10.—To all Christ's faithful people, etc.; Robert the son of Benedict de Schalcros, eternal health. I fully make known that I have granted to John the son of Benedict de Schalcross my brother, his heirs and assigns, all the right which I have in those lands and tenements, with their appurtenances, together with the tributes of homage and service which the aforesaid John had by gift and feoffment from Richard de Schalcros, Chaplain, his brother, in the Middleleste fernilegh [below the village of Wormhill, etc. In witness whereof, etc., these being witnesses:—Hugh de Stredelegh], then Bailiff of the Peak, and others. Given at the Mideliste fernilegh, A.D. 1345.

He is probably not identical with the Robert Shalcrosse who, in 27 Edw. III., was charged in that he cut off dead wood in the forest at Noryndwode, to the damage of the Earl of Chester, and fined 40*d.* Dying at Schalcros, he left issue, MARGARET, living 12 Edw. III., who married her neighbour, William, living 11 Richard II., son and heir of Thomas de Bagschagh,* of the Ridge (*arg. a bugle horn sa., stringed vert, betw. three roses gu., barbed and seeded ppr.*). This William probably witnessed charter 18. The *Add. MSS.* 6668, f. 399, mentions certain evidences in the custody of Mr. Bagshawe of the Ridge, including

* On the first mention of this name, I would express special thanks for the courteous and constant assistance of Mr. W. H. G. Bagshawe, of Ford Hall, in compiling this paper.

"42 Edw. III. A ffeoffmt by William Bagshawe of his landes to Margaret, daughter of Robert Shawcrosse, for her life, the remainder to y^e heires." This deed is now missing.

IV.—Thomas, the fourth son, probably the witness to charter 13. His son, THOMAS, assessed to the Poll Tax, 4 Ric. II., at 2s. 2d., and grandson, JOHN, 12d.

V.—Agnes, the daughter of Benedict, married William, son of Thomas de le Lee, of Somersal. Her marriage settlement is now in the possession of Major FitzHerbert, of Somersal Hall, being one of the 22 mediæval deeds given to his family by the present Mr. S. F. Widdrington, to whom we are indebted for a sight of the "roll." Nothing seems known about the Lees, except that a family of that name, Ley, was resident in Somersall between 1648-62, who may have been of the same blood as the de le Lees of the fourteenth century. It thus runs:—

[*24 July, A.D. 1325.]

Know all men, etc., that I, Thomas de le Lee, of Somersale, have given, granted, and by this my present charter confirmed unto William, my son, and unto Agnes, daughter of Benedict de Schalecros, and her heirs between herself and the said William lawfully begotten, All that land with the messuage and rents adjoining in lower Somersale, which land with the appurtenances I sometime purchased of Robert my brother, together with one plot of meadow which I purchased of William de Saundebi. To have and to hold the aforesaid land of the Chief Lords of that fee by the services therefore due and of right accustomed. And I the said Thomas de le Lee of Somersale and my heirs will warrant against all persons all the aforesaid land in lower Somersale which I bought of Robert my brother with all its appurtenances as is aforesaid to the aforesaid William my son, and to Agnes the daughter of Benedict de Schalecros, and the heirs of their bodies lawfully begotten. And if it chance that the said Agnes die, then the said land with the appurtenances shall revert to the said Thomas without any gainsaying. In witness whereof I have set my seal† to this present charter. These being witnesses:—Sir Henry fitz Herebert, then Chaplain of Somersale; William at Wood of Doubregge; John of the same place; John de SchaWenton; Thomas son of Margery of upper Somersale, and others. Given at Scalecros on the eve of St. James, A.D. 1325.

* For original, in Latin, see *Journal*, vol. iv., p. 11.

† The seal is wanting.

The long days of Benedict were now drawing to a close. He died at Shalecros, 14 Edw. III., 1339. In the *Receipt Roll*, *Mortuary Lists*, from the appropriated parishes of the Dean and Chapter of Lichfield, is the entry: "Parochia de Hope, Benedictus de Shakelcros pro decimis de Fernilee, xij^s." He was succeeded by his eldest son,

RICHARD DE SCHALKIROS (IV.), of Schalkiros, in holy orders. He was apparently living from *circa* 1290 to the middle of the fourteenth century, and he largely increased the family estate. He had previously purchased land in his father's lifetime, in 1314 or 1316, his father being a witness, as thus evidenced:—

[23 Edw. I., 1294 (Widdrington Roll); *temp.* Edw. I. or Edw. II. (Hartl.).]

No. 11 recites that Richard le fritborne grants to Hugh his son and his heirs, an whole eighth part of the land lying in Midliste fernileye with the appurtenances. Witnesses:—Richard de Hotteman,* then Bailiff of the Peak; Richard, son of Luke†; John de Smalelheyys; Richard de Schakilcros; and others.

[*Cir.* 8 or 10 Edw. II., A.D. 1314-16 (Widdrington).]

[*Cir.* Edw. II. (Hartl.).]

No. 12.—To all Christ's faithful people, etc., Hugh, son of Richard de fritborn, health, know ye that I have given to Richard, son of Benedict de Schalkros, and his heirs or assigns one whole eighth part of land with appurtenances, lying in the Middilyste fernileye adjoining, etc., to have, etc., yielding thereout to the Lords of that fee 1½ pence per quarter at the two terms of the year, etc., in consideration of a certain sum of money which he has paid me in hand. In witness whereof, etc., these being witnesses:—John de Smalley, Adam de ferniley, Benedict de Schalkros, and others.

Shortly after Richard was further acquiring land in Ferneylee, and another member of his family is introduced as a witness:—

[12 Edw. II., A.D. 1318.]

No. 13.—Know all men, etc., that I, Richard, son of Adam, son of Hamor de fernileche, have given, etc., to Richard son of Benedict de Schaleros one piece of land in Upper fernilech with all appurtenances, which is called the Brocset, and the Broche adjoining, etc., to have, etc. In witness, etc., these being witnesses:—John Weyt, then Bailiff

* Compare Charter No. 3. †? de' Heyley.

of the Peak, Thomas le Ragged, Richard de Bucston, John de Smaleleyes, Thomas de Schalcros, William de Bradeschaye, and others. Given at fernileghe in the 12th year of King Edward,* son of Edward the King.

Concerning this Richard we find an entry in the *Calendar of Fines*,† 17 Edw. II.—Over Farmleygh, Ric. de S. v. Adam de Farmleygh, Mich. (No. 152, Record Office); and the deed is found in both the *Harleian* and Widdrington chartularies. The transaction was a transfer of land, though nominally the official memorandum of the “Finis” of a fictitious judicial action. It thus runs:—

[*Fees of Fines*, York, 17 Edw. II., A.D., 1323.]

Words in brackets are from Record Office copy.

No. 14.—This is a “Final Concord” made in the Court of our Lord the King, at York, within 15 days after the day of St. Michael,‡ in the 17th year of the reign of King Edward the son of King Edward, before William de Bereford, John de Mutford [Mitford], William de Herle [John de Bousser, Walter de friseneye, Justices, and other faithful lieges of our Lord the King then and there present], between Richard, son of Benedict de Shaklcros, “complainer,” and Adam son of William de ffernelegh, “deforciator,” concerning 1 dwelling house, 30 acres of land, 30 acres of pasture, 8½d. of rent, and the rent of one barbed arrow, with the appurts, in Over farnileygh, whence [this] “plea of convention” was raised between them into [this] same court, Namely, that the aforesaid Adam admits that the aforesaid tenements with the appurts are the right of the said Richard, And he remises and quit claims the same for himself and his heirs for ever. And further the said Adam grants for himself and his heirs that they will warrant to the aforesaid Richard and his heirs the aforesaid tenements with their appurts against all men for ever. And for this acknowledgment, remission, quit claim, warranty, fine and concord the same Richard gave the aforesaid Adam 20 silver marks.

This Richard subsequently followed his youngest brother Robert’s fraternal example (charter 10) and conveyed some of his lands, those by inheritance of his father, to his second brother, John, the next family representative:—

* The copy of this deed in *The Reliquary*, vi., p. 151, is incorrectly dated.

† Other early fines were:—4 Edw. I., Eyton. Ric. de Shorecroft v. Nich. de Mertinton, Trin. No. 9. 4 Edw. III. Horwych. Ric. de Shakelcross v. Thomas de Wormehull, Trin. No. 35.

‡ *i.e.*, in Michaelmas Term.

[16 Edw. III., A.D. 1341.]

With a Seal of Arms of Richard de Schalcross.

No. 15.—Know all men, etc., that I Richard de Schalcross, Chaplain, have given to John son of Benedict de Schalcross, my brother, and his heirs and deputies, all my lands and tenements with the appurts, which I held by the gift and feoffment of the aforesaid Benedict de Schalcross, my father, and Hugh de Guyt,* in the Middeliste fernilegh, etc., To have, etc., Paying therefore annually as rent to me and my heirs one pair of white gloves at the feast of the Translation of St. Thomas the Martyr, etc. In witness whereof, etc., these being witnesses: Hugh de ffredelegh,† then Bailiff of the Peak, Robert son of Benedict de St. Schalcross, and others. Given at fferneleigh the Saturday next after the feast of St. Dionysius the Martyr, A.D. 1342.

The ancient arms‡ of the Shallcross family (*A saltire between four annulets*), within an ornamental border, appear on the two copies of the Seal attached to this deed. That in the Widdrington Chartulary is somewhat larger than in *Harl.* 1093.

This charter apparently concerns this property:—

[8 Edw. II., A.D. 1314.]

No. 16 recites that Maud, daughter of William de ffernley, remises to Adam, her brother, her right and claim which she has in her father's lands and tenements in Middlefernley. Witnesses:—Benedict de Schakelcross, Thomas son of Thomas le Ragged, and others. Given at ffernilegh.

* (?) Fritborn.

† Stredelegh, *vide* charter 10.

‡ The arms of Shallcross were painted on the walls of Taxal Church, 1586, together with Jodrell and Downes (Earwaker). There were also "two coates in the glasse" of Shalcrosse and Downes. The arms were fully displayed, with helmet and mantling, as of Shawcrosse of Shawcrosse, by Randle Holme, *Harl.* 2113, f. 38.

All the seals mentioned in the text, whether originals or drawings, are preserved in the British Museum. There is, however, another old seal extant, not there, that of John Shall Crosse, of Bledlow, together with his signature, on a deed of 1681. He died in 1723, aged sixty-five, and was buried in Bledlow Church, under a slab with an inscription. He was probably a member of the Tower Ward branch. His wife was a daughter of Paul Jodrell, of Duffield, clerk to the House of Commons, of a younger branch of Jodrell of Yardsley (*vide* Jodrell, Bart., in *Baronetage*), so that—singular to relate—the Shallcrosses intermarried with both the senior and junior lines, though widely separated, of Jodrell. He left a son, Henry, B.A., Oxford.

Showcrosse, co. Dorset, bore the arms of the High Peak family.

Dying at Schalcross, probably about 25 Edw. III., or later, (Sir) Richard was succeeded in the representation of the family by his younger brother,

JOHN DE SHALCROSSE (V.), of Schalcross, through whom, not through Robert, the direct line was continued. He may have been Benedict's youngest son. We have already noticed, in deeds Nos. 10 and 15, that his brothers Robert and Richard largely dowered him with their lands. Little is known about him, except that he died, aged, probably soon after 48 Edw. III., 1373. He was probably progenitor of the two EDWARD SHALCROSSES, and the JAMES SHALCROSSE of the *Indictment Roll* of 1471 by younger sons.

His eldest son,

JOHN DE SCHALCROSSE (VI.), de Schalcross, is mentioned, his father living, 48 Edw. III.* He is described as a forester in 1375, and may have been living *cir.* 1320-95. He and his wife were assessed at 2s. 4d. under the Poll Tax of 4 Ric. II. He was a juryman of the Forest Court. He may be identical with the John who, *temp.* early Richard II., was fined 40 pence in that he overburdened the pasture of Taxal with one horse, doing damage to the amount of 11 pence.† This representative parted with some of his landed estate:—

[8 Rich. II., A.D. 1384.]

No. 17.—Know all men, etc., that I, John de Shalcross, have given etc., to John de Walkeden, Nicholas de Ravenow, and others, the half of my estate in fernilegh, near the Guyt in the Okenclow, etc., to have, etc. In witness whereof, etc., these being witnesses:—John Hally, ‡ etc. Given at Shalcross on the Saturday next after the feast of St. Barnabas the Apostle, the 8th year of King Richard II., after the Conquest.

Regarding this John, there is a copy of a bond of reference in a suit at law, which introduces another of this surname, without doubt nearly related; there was another Henry later, in 10 Edw. IV., of Hordern, Ridge, and Whitehills; which thus runs (Norman-French):—

* *Cal. of Indictments*, No. 2.

† *Fines and Amercements*, m. 3.

‡ (?) Heyley.

[13 Ric. II., 1389.]

Not in the Widdrington Roll. *With Seals (copies wanting).*

No. 18.—This Indenture made between Henry Schalcrosse of Wingworth of the one part and John de Schalcrosse of Schalcrosse of the other part, Witnesseth that the said Henry and John have taken oath and sworn upon the Holy Gospels at Derby in the presence of Sir Robert Redych, Chaplain, William Bagschagh, etc., and all those who were summoned on the Assize of novel disseisin between the said Henry de Schalcrosse and John de Schalcrosse to bind themselves each to other in £20 of good money to submit to the decision and judgment of Thomas de Tildesey and John Pygot, Hugh del Clough, and Richard del Ferme, touching all the lands and tenements which the said Henry claims as his right in a place called The Over fernelegh within the vill of Wormehull in the High Peak, and that in case the said Thomas Tildesey and his three associates may not be at leisure nor produced by the said Henry and John de Schalcrosse, then they will take four others of a similar position, to wit: two men of law of the realm and two other good persons. And that in case the said four cannot agree without an umpire, they shall take an umpire. And that he that refuses of the said Henry Schalcrosse or John Schalcrosse to stand by the decision and judgment of the said Thomas and his associates, or the four others of a similar position as aforesaid, or of the umpire with respect to the aforesaid lands and tenements, then he shall forfeit £20 and pay it to him who agrees to submit to their decision, so that an end be put to this matter before the feast of Saint Martin the Evangelist Bishop in winter, and that in case the said Thomas and his associates, or the four others of a similar position, or the umpire neither put an end (to the matter) nor give judgment between the said Henry and John before the said Feast, then they shall be at large and in the same position as they were previously. In witness of which things the aforesaid parties have in duplicate to these present indentures put their seals. Given at Derby the Wednesday next after the feast of Saint Cedde, in the 13th year of King Richard the Second after the Conquest.

Nine years later we find this John enjoying landed possessions:—

[*Harleian Charter*, 17 Ric. II., A.D. 1393.]

Missing in Widdrington Roll.

No. 19.—Let all know by these presents that we, Robert Bukhard and Gregory Broune, Chaplain, have remised, released, etc., to John de Shalcross and his heirs the whole right and claim which we have, etc., in all lands and tenements with the appurtenances, which we had lately by gift and feoffment from John himself, in Schalcrosse, ffernylegh, Horewich, Wormyl, Herdewickwall, and Moinesall, in the county of Derby. Yet so, etc. In testimony, etc. Given at Shalcross on Friday next after the feast of the Circumcision of our Lord in the 17th year of the reign of King Richard.

His son and successor,

ROBERT DE SCHALCROSSE (VII.), of Schalcrosse, was a considerable landowner, apparently content without buying or selling. An interesting reference to certain dues and tenures appropriate to this representative on some adjoining lands, appears, however, in the following deed, which seems too late for his great uncle, though rather early for this Robert:—

[38 Edw. III., A.D. 1363.]

No. 20.—Know all men, that I, Maurice, the son of Adam de Clogh, have given, etc., to John, the son of Roger de Ashton, all the lands and tenements together with one place called the fflalle, and another place called the Rondeokker, which formerly belonged to Richard de Clogh, and his heirs, etc., Paying in rent therefore annually to Robert de Schalcrosse, his heirs and assigns, six silver pence, etc. In witness whereof, etc. Given at Horewich in the year of the Lord, 1363.

Robert de Shalcrosse apparently married Margery, daughter of Richard, son of Margery de Longstone (*purple, an eagle disp. with two heads, or*), by Joan, daughter of Nicholas de Ingwardby. The Longstones were of Little Longstone, in Hope, in the twelfth century; they had a charter of free warren*; they built here their old Manor House. Living probably from about 1340 till the usurpation of Bolingbroke, this representative, dying under 50, left a son,

JOHN SCHALCROSSE (VIII.), de Schalcrosse, born about 1363. In 1384 he appears to have sued Robert Derby and Isabella, his wife, for 5 marks of rent in Little Longeston. Between 13 Hen. IV. and 10 Hen. VI., this John, or his son and successor, held an ancient farm in Fernilee,† and was still in possession of rents from the lands last recited:—

[9 Hen. V., A.D. 1420.]

No. 21.—Know all men, etc., that I, John Ashton, have given and granted and by this charter have confirmed to my son Roger a certain piece of land with the appurtenances called Horwych, and a piece of land called Rondeokker, lying below the Township of Wormhull, to be held by the aforesaid Roger my son and his heirs or assigns, without

* *Reliquary*, vol. ix.

† *Duchy Rent Roll*.

let or hindrance for ever, paying thence annually as rent to John Shalcrosse, his heirs and assigns, six silver pence on the feast of the Assumption of the B. Mary, and rendering to the Chief Lords of the fee the services therefore due and of right accustomed. In witness whereof, etc. Given, etc., in the 9th year of the reign of King Henry V. after the Conquest of England.

This representative left issue, by Ellen his wife,

I.—JOHN, of whom presently.

II.—Another son; probably the father of BENEDICT SHALLCROSS, yeoman, whose son, JOHN, and some of his relatives and friends we find outlawed on a "plea of land" in the following notice.*

Court held at Chester before Lord Stanley, Knt., 12 Ed. IV. And that John Shalcrosse, late of Fernelegh, in co. Derby, gentleman, Edward Shalcrosse, late of the same, etc., gentleman, James Shalcrosse, late of the same, gentleman, John Shalcrosse, late of the same, gentleman, John Bronkehurst, Richard Coup, Thomas Benet, Thomas Redferne, of the same, yeomen, John Shalcrosse, son of Benedict Shalcrosse, of the same, yeoman, Edward Shalcrosse, late of the same, yeoman, Richard, son of Robert Pedley, late of Horwich, yeoman, Thomas Pedley, brother of the said Richard, of the same, yeoman, etc., Nicholas Broune, son of Edward Browne, late of Taxsall, yeoman, on the Saturday next after the feast of the Annunciation (10 Ed. IV.) at Ketelshulme, with force and armed, viz., with swords, bows, and arrows, in 2 acres of land and appurtenances of Peter Dutton† and Elizabeth his wife, who was the daughter and heiress of Robert Grosvenor,‡ now dead, forced their way and expelled them from the premises and disseized them of the occupation and tenancy thereof, in contempt of the Lord the King, and against the statute made and provided.

III.—Ellen; who probably married George Lister, of Little Chester (*erm. on a fesse sa. three mullets or*).

John de Schalcros died, like his father, in middle age, 5 Hen. VI., immediately after making the following deed:—

[5 Hen. VI., A.D. 1426.]

No. 22.—Know all, etc., that I, John de Schalcros, de Schalcros, have given, etc., to John my son and Agnes his wife all my lands and

* *Indictment Roll*, No. 15, 18 m., Welsh Records.

† Of Hatton, buried in the chancel at Waverton.

‡ Lord of Hulme; see *Peerage*, under Duke of Westminster. His grandfather was the defendant in the Scrope and Grosvenor controversy. It was doubtless of the Shalcrosses mentioned above that the Richard Shawcross derived who married Catherine (born *temp.* Henry VIII.), daughter of Sir Thomas Grosvenor.

tenements, with all their appurtenances, in the Over ferneleigh in the vill of Wormehull, in the county of Derby, to have and to hold, etc., paying in rent to me the aforesaid John de Schalcros and to my heirs four shillings. In witness whereof, etc., these being witnesses:—James le legh, Richard de Shore, John de Bradeshawe,* and many others. Given at Chapel-en-le-Frith on the Tuesday next after the feast of St. Luke the Evangelist, in the 5th year of the reign of King Henry VI. after the Conquest of England.

He left as successor his son,

JOHN SHAKELCROSS or SHALCROSS (IX.), of Shalcross.† In his favour his mother immediately made a release of her widow's dower:—

[5 Hen. VI., A.D. 1426.]

No. 23.—Know all men by these presents that I, Ellen, formerly wife of John, son of Robert de Shalcros, in my free widowhood have given, granted, released, and for myself altogether quitclaimed to John my son, the whole right and claim which I had, or in any wise in future can have, by reason of any statute, feoffment, or dower in all those lands and tenements in the Over ferneleigh in the vill of Wormehall in the county of Derby, etc. In witness whereof, etc., these being witnesses:—James de Legh, William de Ashton, and others. Given at Chapel-en-le-fryth on Friday next after the feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist, in the 5th year of the reign of Henry VI. after the Conquest of England.

Among the Bagshawe of Ridge Hall evidences there is a note of one, now lost, dated 9 Hen. VI., "A feoffment from Thomas sonne of William de Bagshawe, to Edm. Trafford, Knt., and Geffrey Bagshaw, Preist, of all his lands in the county of Derby, with lettre of attorney to John Shawcrosse to make livery." In 1431-2 he had rights of property at Tunstead Wood. He was assessed as "gentleman" at the inquest of knight's fees, 9 Hen. VI., having free tenure by socage land in Wormhill. He appears to have inherited his father-in-law's fidelity to the House of Lancaster, with other residents in the Duchy, being enrolled among the gentry of the county in the Return of the Commissioners, 12 Hen. VI., an enactment of the Commons presumed as intended to disclose and restrain the favourers of York. In 1441 he appears to have been excused

* *Vide* "Bradshawes of Bradshaw," *Journal*, vol. xxiii., pp. 20, 21.

† Shawcrosse de Shawcrosse, *Add. MSS.* 6668, f. 392.

frank-pledge at Hucklow. In the *Subsidy Roll* of 28 Hen. VI. he is assessed at 2s. 6½d. He was a witness to a deed at Chapel-en-le-Frith, 23 Hen. VI.* He may be the free tenant—John Shalcross, Esq.—named in default of service at Chelmorton, 1471, and also identical with the John Shalcross, senior, who was witness to a deed in 14 Edw. IV.† It is possible that he was concerned with other members of the Shalcrosse family, together with members of the Kirke and Bagshawe families, in the assault at Tideswell, 1442, on the house of Nicholas and Henry Bradshawe.‡ He married Agnes, a daughter, it would appear, of Sir Thomas de Wendesley, of Wendesley, knight of the shire, 13 and 17 Ric. II.; of a family seated there before the reign of John. There was another of his name and place at this period who married Agnes, a daughter of Robert de Downes, of Shrigley, which Agnes was born in 1376 and was living 15 Hen. VI. The arms of Shallcross and Wendesley (*erm. on a bend gu. three escallops or*) are impaled in the Widdrington Roll. This Sir Thomas, the patron of the prior of Breadsall, in 1384, was “an exceedingly despotic knight”; he fell mortally wounded at Shrewsbury, with sword in hand for the Red rose. He was buried under an altar-tomb in Bakewell Church; his effigy, in armour, wears the SS. collar, the *crux antiquariorum*; on his helmet is the inscription “IHC NAZAREN.”

Lineal ancestors of the Shallcross family were engaged on opposite sides in Shrewsbury field. For the King, besides Sir Thomas, were Sir Hugh Shirley§ and Sir Edmund Cokayne,|| the two last being ancestors of the wife of Colonel Shallcross (XV.). From Peter Warburton, who fought for the elder royal line, represented by Roger Mortimer, the wife of Leonard (XIII.) lineally derived.

* *Rutland Charters.*

† *Rutland Charters.*

‡ There is another side to this story, in an assault “from sunrise to sunset” by the above Bradshawes on the house of Bagshawe, brother of Edward of Ridge Hall, at Tideswell (*Rutland Papers*).—*Archæological Journal*, vol. xxiii., p. 55.

§ Burke's *Peerage*, under Ferrers.

|| Glover.

By his alliance with this equestrian house—his wife was a babe when her father was slain—John de Schalcros had issue,

I.—JOHN, of whom presently.

II.—Edward, living 18 Edw. IV., married a daughter of Broster, widow to Hollingshed. He bore the family arms, tinctured *gu. and or, differenced with a crescent sable*.^{*} His male line, descended from his son OTTWELL, of Stoneshaw (Widdrington Roll), whose two sons, EDWARD and DARBY, left surviving sons, CHARLES, OTTIWELL, LAWRENCE, JOHN, DARBY, and EDWARD, has been traced with details to *temp.* Chas. II., and beyond, with probability, in some of the families in Cheshire, and in Lancashire bordering on the Cheshire boundary.† It included Shallcross of Tower Ward, who bore *an annulet for difference* (*Visit of London*, 1633). The great-grandson of this Edward, Randle Smith, married Anne, daughter of Anthony (XI.).

III.—Anne, married Edward Allen, or Aleyn, of Wheston Hall, near Tideswell (*sa. a cross potent or*), a near relative of one whom Pursglove made feoffee of the Grammar School at Tideswell; of an ancient Peak family, enrolled among the gentry in 1570, whose male line expired in 1700.‡ There is a notice of Thomas Aleyn under John (X.). Their old house came to the twelfth Duke of Norfolk, by whom it was sold.

IV.—Elizabeth, married, *temp.* Ric. III., Christopher Needham, of Thornsett (*arg. a bend engrailed az. betw. two bucks' heads cabossed sa.*), and left issue.§ Her son, Ottiwell Needham, married the heiress of Cadman of Cowley. Her daughter Agnes married John Cresswell,|| county Chester, and has issue, probably, Robert Cresswell, who married Dorothy, daughter of Leonard (XIII.).

^{*} *Harl.* 1535, f. 26, where the arms of "Shawcross of Stowshawe" are coloured. See also *Visit. of Cheshire*, 1580; *Harl.* 1424 and 1505; *Lanc. Visitations*, seventeenth century.

† Including the family of the writer.

‡ Glover, ii., 304.

§ *Harl.* 1484, f. 36.

|| In 1438, John de Cresswall signs an inquisition at Macclesfield. Perhaps son of the John Cresswell, forester, who died 1397.

V.—Another daughter (Emma); she married Edward Browne, of Marsh Hall,* of that old Peak family (*arg. on a chev. gu. three roses of the field*). Her son, Nicholas Browne, married Elizabeth, daughter of John (X.), and continued his line. A daughter married Nicholas Bagshawe of Abney and continued that line.

VI.—Another unnamed daughter; she married Nicholas Bagshawe, of Abney, and probably had issue Nicholas Bagshawe, of Wormhill and Abney, *temp.* Hen. VI., who continued his line (arms as Bagshawe of The Ridge, but the field *or*).

John de Schalcros attained probably the ripest years of any of this family. He died at his ancestral home, and was buried at Taxal, crossing the Goyt for the last time; apparently living about 1400-92, and seeing all the Wars of the Roses. He was succeeded by his eldest son,

JOHN SHAKELCROSSE, or Schalcross, or Shawcrosse (X.),† of Shalcros, or Shawcrosse. He held the office of Bailiff of the High Peak, 12 May, 8 Hen. VII., 1492.‡ There is a complaint, *temp.* Hen. VII., to the Chancellor of the Duchy by Robert Hollingworth, of Bowden, that this John Shalcross, and others, pulled down the floors of his house, carried off divers “grete arkes and coffers” and other “erlomes”; the answer being that Hollingworth was attainted of felony.§ He may have had to do, as Bailiff, with the complaint against a relative, John Shalcross, of Greenlow,|| 10 Oct., 13 Hen. VII. (*Court Roll*), for being seen in the forest by night with greyhounds and bows. He married Alice, eldest daughter, but among the younger of the twenty-one children of Thomas Beresford, of Fenny Bentley, who here built his castellated stone mansion; and she has her place among the shrouded figures on her parents’

* *Add. MSS.* 6668, f. 392.

† *Add. MSS.* 6668, f. 392.

‡ Duchy of Lan., *Miscell. Books*, No. 21, p. 99b, Patents.

§ Cox’s *Royal Forests*, p. 170.

|| A list of disconnected but undoubted kinsmen might be added from the various Duchy and Court Rolls, etc. The above was perhaps identical with the John Shalcross of Greenlow Grange, 3 Hen. VII. (*Court Roll*).

altar-tomb in the chancel at Fenny Bentley. Her father* participated in the glory of Agincourt,† and died in 1473. The arms of Shallcross and Beresford (*arg. a bear saliant sa. armed gu., muzzled, collared, and chained, or*) are impaled in *Harl.* 6592, f. 25, and in the Widdrington Roll. These families again intermarried, *vide* under Richard, XVI. They had issue, descended maternally from Hassall, of Arcluyd, county Chester, and Basset, of Blore, county Stafford, the following:—‡

I.—ANTHONY, next representative.

II.—John. May be identical with the John Shalcros, who with Humphrey, pledged themselves before the justices of the peace at Derby, in 1496, to pay 2s. for a fine due from James Carryngton, of Chapel-en-le-fryth, for trespass. They were also pledged for similar amounts due from Thomas Aleyn and George Baylle, also of the same place.§ In 12 Hen. VIII., 1520, a John Shalcross was a juror. (*Court Roll.*)

III.—Another son, Humphrey, named after his uncle Humphrey Beresford, of Newton Grange. From whom HUMPHREY SHALCROSSE, who bore a *mullet for difference* (*Visit. of London, 1633*). His seal is found on a conveyance from Thomas Savile, Earl of Sussex, Receiver of the Honour of the High Peak, 1629, to Francis and Sandford Neville, 1647. The seal is red, indistinct, from a signet ring with marks of the setting, $\frac{5}{8}$ in. by $\frac{1}{2}$ in., on the saltire is an obscure mark of cadency; crest. The Will of this Humphrey was sealed with his seal. His son, HUMPHREY, a loyalist, who purchased the manor of Digswell, co. Herts., about 1625, left a daughter, Dorothy, whose arms are impaled with her husband, Sandford Nevill, of Chevet, on a fine marble tomb in the chancel of Roystone Church, co. York; her daughter Dorothy married Algernon, second son of William, second Earl of Salisbury, and had issue. Humphrey's eldest

* Burke's *Peerage*, under Waterford.

† A Beresford was at Cressy and Poitiers bearing banner or pennant charged with black bear (*Eight Centuries of a Gentle Family*).

‡ *Harl.* 886, f. 15.

§ Butlerage of the Forests, *Exchequer Accounts*, Bundle 113, No. 39.

son, FRANCIS, of Degsworth, a spendthrift, married Julia, one of the daughters and coheirs of Sir Francis Boteler, Knt.,* of Hatfield Woodhall, and the arms of Shallcrosse and Boteler (*gu. a fesse, chequy or and sa. betw. six crosses pattée ar.*) are displayed quarterly, in Hatfield Church, on the monument of their son, FRANCIS BOTELER SHALLCROSS, who died in 161 $\frac{3}{4}$, aged 17 years. To this Julia Shallcrosse her cousin, Dean Stanhope, dedicated, in 1742, his edition of the *Imitation*. Humphrey's fourth son, HENRY, of Diggeswell, left an extant seal, 1695; red, $\frac{3}{4}$ in. by $\frac{5}{8}$ in., oval shield. The male line of this family expired with THOMAS, of Digswell Manor House, who died in 1770, aged 77 years. His seal, 1716, is preserved; red, *en placard*, on tape, $\frac{5}{8}$ in. by $\frac{1}{2}$ in.; crest only, within oval shield. This gentleman lies at Digswell, under an altar tomb bearing the Shallcross arms. Many details are known about this branch.

III.—Jane, or Johanna, named after her aunt Johan Beresford, married her neighbour, Edward Bagshawe, of Ridge Hall,† and had issue, which continued that line. Her great-granddaughter, Elizabeth Bagshawe, married Colonel Shallcross (XV.). The arms of Shallcross were emblazoned with others at the Ridge in stained glass, existing 1710.‡

IV.—Elizabeth, married her cousin, Nicholas, son of Edward Browne, of the Marsh Hall, a grandson of John (IX.); *vide* a notice of him in the interesting *Indictment Roll*, under John (VIII.) They had issue, Nicholas (Will of Leonard, 1605). A descendant, Edmund Bradbury, of Ollerset Hall, married Helen Jodrell, of Yeadsley Hall, and had a son, Edmund Bradbury, whose Godfather was Edmund Jodrell of Yeadsley Hall. With him that line suddenly expired.

V.—Agnes; named after her aunt Agnes Beresford. In the Widdrington Roll, where the arms are impaled, she married Roger Jodrell of the family of Yeadsley Hall.

* His wife was Anne, sister of Sir Aston Cokayne, of Ashbourne.

† The late Mr. W. A. Carrington, of Bakewell, who descended from this marriage, took much interest in the Shallcross family, and his widow kindly allowed me to make the abstracts of Wills in this paper from his valuable MSS.

‡ *Reliquary*, vol. viii. Arms impaled in Widdrington Roll.

John de Shakelcross died probably not many years after his aged father, and not long before the foundation of the chantry at Fenny Bentley,* 4 Hen. VIII., by his brother-in-law, Canon James Beresford, LL.D. He was succeeded by his eldest son,

ANTHONY SHALCROSSE (XI.), of Shalcrosse. We cannot suggest why "Anthony," which is not among the names of his notable Beresford uncles. The period of 179 years between the determined dates, 1426, when John (IX.) flourished, and 1605, when Leonard (XIII.) died, appeared to require more than four generations. The formal visitations are not always authoritative, nor the Widdrington Roll, and a search disclosed this representative.† His first alliance was with a daughter of Bagshawe of "the Rigge"; his second, with a daughter of William Davenport, of Bramhall Hall, co. Chester. He left issue,

I.—ANTHONY, of whom presently.

II.—Agnes or Amy, married Nicholas Jodrell, of Yeardsley,‡ who died 1528. She had three sons and three daughters, who continued the line of her husband's ancient family, and hence derived the wives of Leonard (XIII.), and of Richard (XIV.). From this marriage descended Edmund Jodrell, a cavalier, and other distinguished soldiers; and, through the Leighs of Jodrell Hall and High Leigh, who are lineal descendants, the second Lord Dunfermline, K.C.B., born 1803; and hence also lineally derives the present COL. E. T. D. COTTON-JODRELL, the owner of Shallcross Hall, and also of Yeardsley Hall, who is twelfth in descent from Agnes Shalcrosse.

III.—There was, at least, another daughter, Anne, who married Randle Smith, of Oldhaugh, a descendant of John (IX.), and whose son, Randulph, married Amy, daughter of Leonard (XIII.).

Living apparently c. 1460-1520, Anthony Shalcrosse was

* John Shawcrosse, of Shawcrosse, is named in this chantry deed, with his wife Alice, to be prayed for.

† *Harl.* 6592, f. 35b.

‡ We here follow the old pedigrees.

buried at Taxal with a stone memorial. He was succeeded by his son,

ANTHONY SHALLCROSS, or Shawcross (XII.) of Shalcross, or Shawcross.* It may have been in his time, perhaps later, or even after the Civil Wars, that researches were made upon the estate for coal, which became a source of profit to the family. They were among the oldest collieries in North Derbyshire. In Glover's list of collieries they bear the family name—"Shallcross, or Shawcross, E. of Taxhall, 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ m. W.S.W. of Chapel-en-le-Frith." He was doubtless the last representative who lived and died in the original Hall, described in the last volume of this *Journal*. His estate in an inquisition, 7 Eliz., is called the OLD FEOFMENT, or SHALLCROSS-HALL MANOR. He married before 1528† Eleanor, daughter of Nicholas Jawdrell, of Yeardsley Hall, in Taxall, of a family settled in the Peak in the thirteenth century, and descended from Roger Jaudrell, of Yeardsley, an esquire of the body to Richard II., and at Agincourt; which Roger was son of William Joudrel, with the Black Prince (to whom John de Schalcrosse was executor, *supra*). The wife of Anthony Shalcrosse was lineally descended from the old families of Bradshaw, Sutton‡ of Sutton (Sir Richard Sutton, who died 16 Hen. VIII., a co-founder of Brasenose College, was nephew of George Jodrell, of Yeardsley), Le Despencer, Dutton of Dutton, Venables of Kinderton, and Savage. She traced a descent from the Earls of Chester and of Mercia through the families of Davenport of Woodford, Arderne of Arden and Alvanley, Orreby, Montalt, Albini (Earls of Arundel), Ranulf I. and II., and Hugh II., Earls of Chester, and De Talbois, to Algar, of Mercia, son of Leofric, of Mercia, renowned for his ecclesiastical foundations.

Anthony Shalcross was overseer in 1529 to the Will of Roger

* *Add. MSS.* 6668, f. 397.

† The Shallcrosses were a halfway house, connecting the chivalrous honours of the long descended Cheshire lines with the best of the Peak families. The arms are impaled in the Widtrington Roll; *sa. three buckles arg.*, for Jodrell.

‡ Sutton witnesses charter No. 6.

Jodrell, his brother-in-law, his son Leonard being left a stryke of corn. In 1548 Ellin Jodrell of Yeardsley, widow, bequeathed to her brother-in-law Anthony Shalcross xls.

By Eleanor, or Helen, his wife, Anthony Shalcross left issue,

I.—LEONARD, or LIONELL, of whom presently.

II.—Peter. Living 1565. Apparently of defective intellect. Named as an executor, with his brother, of their father's Will.

III.—Emma, married, about 1554, Godfrey, son of William Bradshaw, of Bradshaw Hall (arms* impaled *Harl.* 6592, f. 16). But in the Widdrington Roll, Godfrey is described as of Windley, county Derby (*arg. two bendlets betw. as many martlets sa.*—seal of Bradshaw of Windley, 1431, in B.M.). The first is, however, correct.† Thus he was a descendant of John de Bradshawe, jun., who signs the Shallcross charter No. 22.‡ This Godfrey died in 1607, aged 76, when letters of administration were granted his widow. She was great-aunt of President Bradshaw. Her son, Francis Bradshaw, of Eyam Hall (*jure uxoris*), was overseer to the Will of Leonard (XIII.), 1605, and was a visitor at Shallcross Hall in 1614.

IV.—Anne, married, after 1565, Humphrey Downes, probably the second son of John Downes, of Overton, Downes, and Taxal, which Humphrey died before 1588. They had issue, Reginald Downes, 1577-1610, in whom that line was continued. The arms of Downes (*sa. a hart lodged arg.*) and Shalcross are impaled in the Widdrington Roll.

Anthony Shalcross died, aged about 75, in his mediæval Hall§ in 1565, his wife surviving him. His Will was dated 3 August, 1557, and proved, P.C.C., 29 May, 1565 (abstract):—

To be buried in Taxall Churchyard under the same stone my father was buried. To Leonard my son ii best oxen, xii silver spoons, a chalice, etc., ii best potts and ii best pannes, and vi of my best

* An annulet for difference, both here and in the Widdrington Roll.

† Bradshaws of Bradshaw, *Journal*, vol. xxiii.

‡ A William de Bradeschaye signs charter 13.

§ Said to have been haunted. We are unaware of the tradition, or of any family skeleton. *Inconstantia dux illæ quas in hoc libello citamus a lectore vigili observari possunt.*

qwnstens.* To every one of my sisters, ijs. To my son's children, each a sheep. To my daughter Anne, £40 on her marriage. She to keep from Nicholas Marchington, or otherwise to have nothing. To my son Peter ii messuages for his life, with remainder to my rightful heirs, etc. Leonard to be good to him. My wife to live with son Leonard; if she will not, then she shall have £20 of my goods, with certain houses and land for her life= $\frac{1}{3}$ d share. To my daughter Em', 10s. To Whaley brigge, £vi towards the making of a landshowte.† To my poor men my gowns of black clothe, to be with me after my decease till I be buried, and if I die in the night I will be buried or none, the nexte daye following, as my executors will make answer in another world. All such as do come to Shalcrosse to have meate and drink enough, and I give xx nobles to xx of my poorest neighbours. My two sons executors. Witnesses:—Master Raygnolde Downes, John Caryngton, Nicholas fidlar,‡ parson of tacsale.

Anthony Shalcrosse was succeeded by his son,

LEONARD SHALLCROSS, or Shawcross (XIII.), of Shallcross. Born before the Reformation, *c.* 1520, he was probably named after "Saynt Leonard att Tackessall." The Visitation (Flower) of 1569 entered his pedigree and arms.§ There are two crests—(1) *A martlet arg. holding in the beak a cross pattée fitchée gu.*, and (2) *A cross pattée fitchée gu.*; the last being of unique occurrence.

Leonard was enrolled among the landowners of the High Peak in 1570. The Attorney General of the Duchy entered a pleading against him in 1585 for various encroachments on Tunstead Wood, Horwich, and the Marshe. On 26th March, 1588, he contributed £25 to the fund for the defence of the kingdom, on the threatened invasion by the Spanish Armada. The following year he paid his contribution to the forced loan in Derbyshire. He was summoned, 19th January, 1593, with Nich. Browne, of the Marshe, and John Pott, of Stancliff, to appear at Tideswell. In the same year he was executor to the Will of his eldest son, who died in his father's lifetime. In June, 1595, the High Peak Bailiff collected 6s. from this Leonard towards furnishing three horsemen to serve in Ireland,

* Quernstones. † Landshut. ‡ Rector of Taxal, 1532-88. Witness also to the will of Roger Jodrell, of Yeardsley, 1547-8.

§ *Harl.* 886, f. 14b; 1093, ff. 19-22.

and again for four horses in 1599-1600, and again in 1601 for three horses, 15s. He was commended by Sir Edward Hastings, of the Abbey of Leicester, whose father was Lord-Lieutenant of the county in 1552, in a letter to the Lord High Treasurer, 1591-4:—

Jan. 23rd. Leicester Abbey. No. 23. Sir Edw. Hastings to Lord Burghley. Recommends Leonard Shawcross, of Shawcross, in the High Peak, as a fit person to be put into the Commission, he being a religious and honest man, and the only gentleman in all the Peak who is a favourer of religion, that part of the country being mostly frequented by recusants.*

In 1597 Leonard Shalcross had his arms carved upon an oak panel, now in the possession of Mr. S. F. Widdrington, who has kindly sent a drawing for this paper.

The *Hist. MSS. Commission* (Duke of Rutland) has preserved a copy of an autograph letter from him to his *cousin*, Roger Rowe (Rowe of Macclesfield):—

6 Sept. 1599.—Shalcrosse.—I have sent my shepherd, Ralph Bagshawe, to you, to Haddon, to receive the money owing for my wethers. (Signed.)

In 1601, in connection with his eldest son's untimely death, he made an agreement with his grandson and successor, Richard Shalcross.

This representative doubtless built the second of the three Halls of the family,† towards the end of the sixteenth century. It was erected in the Elizabethan style, with its walls adorned with tapestry of silk and silver.

Leonard Shallcross married, first, before 1557, Margaret, daughter of William Davenport,‡ of Bramhall Hall (his MS. copy of Wycliffe's Bible sold a few years ago for £1,750). She was a sister of Sir William Davenport, knighted in Scotland in 1544, who was grandfather of the Sir William Davenport, an executor of Leonard's Will, 1601. The arms of Shalcross, impaling Davenport (quartering Bromell), are in *Harl.* 6592, f. 16 (*arg. a chev. betw. three crosses-crosslet fitchée, sa.*, for

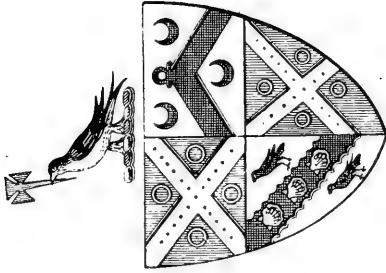
* Roman Catholics.

† Taxal Church was rebuilt about the same time.

‡ Male line extinct in 1829. The Davenports were rangers of Macclesfield Forest: their crest, the haltered felon.



ARMS OF LEONARD SHALLCROSS ON THE OAK PANEL.



ARMS OF JOHN SHALLCROSS.
 QUARTERLY: 1 SHALLCROSS,
 2 WALKER OF BRAMSHALL,
 3 ROWLEY OF ROWLEY,
 4 SHALLCROSS (SEE PAGE
 119).



Davenport). Leonard was himself a descendant of Davenport of Woodford, the parent stock; and his wife, descended from the ancient Cheshire houses of Warren of Poynton, Eton, Legh of Adlington, Bulkeley, Wynnington, Hesketh of Rufford, and Fitton of Gawsorth, had also royal lineage. She was a grandchild of Sir John Warburton, of Arley, who was with Richmond at Bosworth in 1485, which Sir John, who was great-grandson of Peter Warburton, who fought for Mortimer at Shrewsbury, married Jane, daughter of Sir William Stanley, of Holt, whose mother, Jean Goushill (see descent from Peverel, under Introduction), was grandchild of Richard Fitzalan, tenth Earl of Arundel, by his wife Elizabeth, daughter of William de Bohun, commander of the second division at Cressy, who was son of Humphrey de Bohun, fourth Earl of Hereford, by his wife, Elizabeth, daughter of King Edward I. and Eleanor of Castile. Again, the wife of the above Sir William Stanley, of Holt, Joyce Cherlton* (see under Peverel descent, Introduction), was grandchild of Thomas Holland, second Earl of Kent, who was son of Joan, mother of Richard II., which Princess Joan's father, Edmund of Woodstock, was son of Edward I. by his second wife, Margaret of France. By Margaret Davenport Leonard had issue,

I.—JOHN, of whom hereafter.

II.—Edward, *ob: s. p.*

III.—Anthony, living 161 $\frac{3}{4}$.

IV.—William, living 1601.

V.—Leonard. He was of Leek, having, apparently, by his wife Jane a son, Leonard, who died in 1671.

VI.—Peter, *ob: s. p.*

VII.—Dorothy, married Robert Cresswell,† who may have been grandson of Elizabeth, daughter of John (IX.) Arms:—*Quarterly of six gu. and or, three squirrels sejant betw. as many trefoils slipped all counterchanged.*

* The Duke of Rutland quarters the arms of Edmund Plantagenet, Earl of Kent, through this Joyce Cherlton.

† Ralph Cresswell purchased lands at Edale in 1619, and founded the Chapel there in 1630. This family resided there until the end of the eighteenth century.

VIII.—Anne, married Rowland Litton. Arms:—*Erm. on a chief indented az. three crowns or.* Probably not identical with Sir Rowland Litton, who died in 1601, aged 38, who sold Lytton in 1597, but a descendant of a younger branch of the Lyttons of Lytton. They had issue, Nicholas* and Ann.†

IX.—Alice, married Nicholas Clayton, probably of Clayton of Kettlehome, and perhaps connected with Christopher Clayton, of Strindes Hall, county Chester, whose daughter, Margaret Clayton, married William de Bradshaw, of Bradshaw, whose son married Emma Shalcross, the aunt of this Alice. There was a daughter, Elizabeth. “*Atque Elizabethæ supra-dictæ Aliciæ filiæ putativæ, £5.*”‡

X.—Bridget, married John Sherd,§ or Shirt, or Shert, son of William Sherd of Sherd and Disley, Forester of Macclesfield Forest by inheritance, whose grandfather, William Sherd of Sherd, was slain at Flodden. Arms:—*Arg. on a bend sa. a rose of the field, in the sinister canton a hunting-horn of the second.* They had no issue. He appears to have been shiftless.

XI.—Ellen.

Leonard Shalcross married, secondly, his cousin Bridgett, daughter of Roger Jodrell, of Yeadsley Hall, and relict of John Pott, of Dunge, in Kettlehulme, county Chester. In the Widdrington Roll she married, secondly, John Pott; she was, however, his widow. By her Leonard had issue,

XII.—Elianor, unmarried.

XIII.—Mary, married William Cressy, of Owldcotts, county Notts.,|| living 1614 (*arg. a lion ramp. double queued sa.*, impaled in the Widdrington Roll), and left issue, with others, Leonard.¶ Both executors to the Will of her mother, 1608.

* Will of L. S., 1603.

† Will of B. S., 1608.

‡ Will of L. S., 1603.

§ Nicholas del Sherd was an executor to the will of Roger Jodrell, 1423.

|| *Harl. Soc.*, xxxvii. 526.

¶ Will of L. S., 1603.

XIV.—Amy, or Anne, married Randall Smith,* of Oldhaugh, county Chester, bailiff of Warmincham, 1599 (*per pale or and gu. three fleurs-de-lis, counterchanged*, impaled in the Widdrington Roll), and a descendant of John Shalcross (IX.). They had issue, Walburga Smith, who married John Pott, of Stancliffe Hall, in Darley Dale (*barry of ten, arg. and sa. ; on a bend az. three trefoils slipped, or*), and had issue. This John Pott was son of Leonard's second wife.

Leonard Shallcross died under the roof of his new mansion at a good old age, July 7th, 1605, and was buried in Taxal Churchyard. His Will, dated 9 Nov., 1603, was proved, P. C. C., 10 Feb., 1605-6. An abstract:—

Recites deed dated 16 Jan. 44 Eliz. (1601) between the Testator and Richard Shallcross cousin (described as grandchild and heir-apparent later on) and heir-apparent of the testator, Sir William Davenport, of Bramhall, Knt.; and Edmund Jodrell, of Yeadsley, Esq. My will is that Bridget my wife have all my lands (tenements, limited in the above recited deed). To my grandchild Anne Shallcross, sister of Dorothy Walker, wife of George Walker, £50. To my daughter Alice, wife of Nicholas Clayton, £15. To my daughter Anne Litton, £5. To my son-in-law William Cressye and to Mary his wife £30. To Leonard Cressye son of the said William £5. To Randle Smith my son-in-law and Amye his wife £20. To my son Anthony one bed with furniture. To my son-in-law Francis Lodge and Bridget his wife £20 to use of William and Peter, his two sons. To my daughter Bridget Shert £10 to be deducted from the money her husband oweth me. To my sister Emma Bradshaw £10. To my cousin Anthony Browne £10. To my godson Leonard Pott, of Macclesfield, £5. To Leonard Pott, son of Henry and Grace Pott, £5. To Nicholas, son of Rowland Litton, £5. To my Godson Mr. Henry Bagshawe, 40s. To my son-in-law Mr. Jo. Pott, 40s. To my loving kinsman, Nicholas Browne the elder, 40s. To my son William £100. Residue of goods to Leonard my son. Appoints cousin and friend Sir William Davenport of Bramhall and his wife Bridget executors. Overseers, his kinsman Hamnett Hyde,† son and heir of Robert Hyde, of Northbury, co. Cheshire, and Francis Bradshaw‡ of Eyam, gent.

His widow, Bridgett, died three years later, and was buried at Taxal. To elucidate the otherwise conflicting Wills, we add

* Pedigree of Smith, of Oldhaugh, in *Ormerod*, iii., 231, old ed.

† *Vide* Charter 1. Hamnet Hyde, of Norbury and Hyde, 1563-1643, was grandson of Robert Hyde, 1541-71, by his wife, Jane Davenport, the sister-in-law of Leonard Shalcross.

‡ See under Anthony (XII.).

the names of her previous family :—(1) John Pott, of Stancliff, in 1611, married, first, Elizabeth Newsom, and had issue, George and Percival, who both left issue; he married, secondly, Walburga, daughter of Randall and Amy Smith (*née* Shalcross), and had issue, John, Thomas, Edward, Bridgett, and Edmund. (2) Leonard Pott, of Dunge, had issue, Leonard and John. (3) Bridgett, married Francis Lodge, and had issue, William and Peter. (4) Grace, married Henry Pott, and had issue, Leonard and Mary. We append an abstract of her Will, dated February 24th, 1607-8, and proved June 14th, 1608 :—

To be buried in Taxall Churchyard among my ancestors, and near to my late husband Leonard Shallcross. To my sister Emma Bradshaw* 20/- To Leonard Shallcross, my son-in-law, 20/-, and to Jane, his wife, 20/- To my cousin Robert Eyre of the Spittle, near Blithe, co. Notts, gent., 20/- To my son John Pott,† gent., who has had the benefit of Dunge Farm, in which I have a life interest, certain bequests. I have already given Randall Smith, my son-in-law, and Anne his wife, my daughter, £20. I have already given Francis Lodge, my son-in-law, and Bridget his wife, my daughter, £20. I give unto Henry Pott, my son-in-law, and Grace his wife, my daughter, £20. I give to Bridget Pott, my Goddaughter, and daughter of my son John Pott, £5. To Mary, daughter of Henry Pott, 30/- To John Pott, grandchild and Godson, and son of Leonard Pott my son, 20/-, and to Leonard Pott my grandchild, and son of my said son Leonard Pott, 10/- To Bridget Shirt, my daughter-in-law, a debt due to me made by John Shirt her husband. To Alice Clayton, my daughter-in-law, wife of Nicholas Clayton, one cow. To Anne, daughter of Rowland Lytton, one cow, and to Anne, wife of the said Rowland Lytton, 10/- To Dorothy Walker, my Goddaughter, a ryall of gold. To my cousin Elizabeth Cressey, 40/-, to Susan Cressey my grandchild, 40/-, to every other Cressey child, my grandchildren, each 40/- To William Cressey, my son-in-law, and to Mary Cressey, my daughter, at the entreaty of my late husband Leonard Shallcross her father, all my goods and chattels at Oldcotes, co. Notts. Legacies to their children. The said William Cressey, and Mary his wife, executors and residuary legatees.

Leonard Shalcross was succeeded at his demise, at an advanced period of life, by his grandson, Richard, the only son of his eldest son. This eldest son of Leonard,

* Vol. xxv., p. 32, of this *Journal*.

† John Potte of the Dunge was witness of the Wills of Roger Jodrell, of Yeardsley, 1547, and of his wife, 1548.

JOHN SHALLCROSS, was born before 1565,* and was of Leek, county Stafford. His first wife was Prue, second daughter and co-heiress (with her sister Isabell, who married Anthony Kinardsley, of Loxley, living 34 Eliz., and, dying 1624, left issue) of Lewis or Ludowick Walker, of Bramshall,† near Uttoxeter, by whom he left issue,

I.—RICHARD, successor to his grandfather.

II.—Anne, unmarried in 1601. Buried at Taxal June 14th, 1617.

III.—Dorothy, or Prew, God-daughter of Bridget Shallcross, married before 1601 George Walker, of Weston, county of Stafford, a scion of Walker of Salt, who died 1662, and had issue. Under Walker of Salt at the *Visitation* of county Stafford, 1663, the wife of George Walker is described as the daughter of George Shallcross of Shallcross.‡ But the present entry seems correct, as it corresponds with the Wills (1603) and with the Widdrington Roll, where the arms (*vide* Richard XIV.) are impaled. They had issue.

John Shalcross married, secondly, Ellen (? daughter of John Vernon, of Ipstons), relict of William Forde,§ of Mosse, near Leek, but had no further issue. His Will, an important one in elucidation of the family pedigree, is dated October 19th, 1592, and was proved P. C. C., July 2nd, 1593. Abstract:—

To be buried in the Church of Leek. To my wife Ellen $\frac{1}{3}$ rd of goods To my son Richard, and Margaret his wife, a silver flaggon. To my daughters Anne and Dorothy Shallcross the other two parts of my goods. Lands for two daughter's benefit, until my son Richard attains 21 years. Residue to my wife Ellen, and daughters. Executors, Ellen my wife, and Leonard Shallcrosse, the elder, my father. Overseers, Mr. Henry

* Grandfather's will.

† The old Church, destroyed in 1835, did not contain any monuments.

‡ A George Shallcross, of "the ffoarde," Chapel-en-le-Frith, who died 1637, left by Jane his wife, who died 1664, a son Richard, born 1633, and a daughter Elizabeth, born 1636.

§ Pedigree of Forde, of Forde Green, in Sleigh's *Leek*, p. 65. Arms—*Per fesse or and erm., a lion ramp. az.*

Bagshaw* of the Ridge, and Mr. Nicholas Browne† of the Marsh, gent. Witness, Will'm Shallcrosse,‡ gent. Lands in Uttoxeter, Baggotts Bromley, Stoneshall, and Marchenton Woodland.

This John Shallcross thus never succeeded to the family estate, and desired to be buried elsewhere than among his ancestors at Taxal. There does not appear to be any memorial within Leek Church, and the registers do not go back further than 1637. His only son,

RICHARD SHALCROSS (XIV.), of Shallcross, was under age in 1592, and about 33 years old on succeeding, at his grandfather's death, to the family estate. He was entitled to quarter the arms of Walker of Bramshall with his paternal saltire—viz., *Argent, on a chevron ringed at the point, between three crescents sable, two plates*. It is thus depicted in the Widdrington Roll; but it is noticeable that in the Kynnersley pedigree, 1648, which has been communicated by Rev. G. A. Sneyd, who has a portrait of Isabel Kinnersley, sister of Prue Shalcross, in his possession, the impaled arms are:—*Argent, on a chevron sable between three pellets, as many crescents of the field*. Richard Shallcross attended the Heralds (St. George) in 1611,§ and his arms are drawn,|| the tinctures being now *gules and or*, formerly *gules and argent*.

Francis Bradshaw (? senior, of Eyam) writes from the house of his relative at Shalcross in 1614 to Sir George Manners, the father of the eighth Earl of Rutland, at Haddon, returning him “the Council's letter and orders concerning the eating of flesh meat, and a warrant to the High Constable for effectuating the same.” A poor man “who died at Shallcross Hall” was buried at Chapel-en-le-Frith, September 2nd, 1622. Richard

* Grandfather of the wife of J. S. (XV.).

† Ob. 1624.

‡ Perhaps testator's brother. There was, in Leek, Shallcross of Moote Hall, and at Leek, in 1852, died Mary S., aged 100 years 3 mo. and 19 days.

§ *Harl.*, 1486, f. 32, b., etc.

|| *Harl.*, 1537, f. 10.

Shalcross first married, before 1592, in his nonage, Margaret,* daughter of William Forde the younger,† of Mosse, Leek, his stepmother's daughter, and widow of John Wedgwood, of Harracles, who died 1658, aged 87 years, by whom he had no issue. He married, secondly, Mary, daughter of Edmund Jodderell, of Yeardsley Hall and Twemlow (arms impaled in the Widdrington Roll), sister of Edmund Jodrell, High Sheriff of Cheshire 1650-1. By her, who was buried at Taxal March 24th, 1652-3, aged about 80, he left issue,

I.—JOHN, of whom presently.

II.—Edmund. B.A., Oxford, 1625, from Emman. Coll., Camb., M.A. 1629, in holy orders, paid ship-money, £14, in 1636, and was presented to the rectory of Stockport July 3rd, 1637, by his mother, Mary, widow. He was named as one of the disaffected clergy by Sir W. Brereton, in the list of delinquents, as having "the parsonage house at Stockport,‡ the glebe land thereto belonging and severall tenements in the sayd towne and tythes of the parish . . . sequestred about the 10th of August, 1644."§ His goods valued at £268 14s. 10d., of which a list is given,|| were seized for the use of Parliament, February, 1644, some being claimed out of the inventory by his wife and by Mrs. Rideard, Mary Hullme, the Mrs. Maid, and some glasses by Mrs. Jodrell; and his wife tried to hide some of her own treasures, valued at £34 15s., in a chimney. He appealed, and journeying, as before, to London to see the Committee, in July, 1645, with an escort of Parliamentary

* Her son, John Wedgwood, of Harracles and Mosse, was buried at Leek in 1651, leaving male issue. A lineal descendant was Penelope Boothby, to whom the monument in Ashbourne Church by Banks. Her daughter, Elizabeth Wedgwood, married John Jodrell, of Moor-house, Leek, a scion of Yeardsley, and left issue.

† Son of W. Forde, of the Mosse, by his wife Margaret, daughter of John Bowyer, of Knipersley.

‡ There is a tradition at Stockport that his father was a physician, and attended the Sovereign on several occasions. Thomas Shallcross, Esq., was a gentleman of the Privy Chamber in 1737.

§ *Add MSS.* 1569, f. 125.

|| *Harl.* 2130, ff. 151-4.

Horse, they were attacked by the King's party while passing Dudley Castle, and he was accidentally slain, aged about 42 years, and there buried. He had found much opposition from Mr. Sergeant (President) Bradshaw. An administration of his goods was granted in P.C.C. June 26th, 1646, to his brother, Edmund Shalcross, who is described as a man of ability, benevolent, strictly just, and of learning. His study contained 588 volumes,* secured with one Roger Harpur, of Stockport, and viewed under the sequestrator's orders by William Thomson, of Bramall. In the Stockport registers are five autograph entries of sums received by him in connection with bequests to the poor. He married Mary, or Margaret, daughter of Thomas Rudyerd, of Rudyerd, county Stafford (*arg. fretty sa., on a canton gu. a crescent of the field*), of an eminent Saxon family (Royalists), which then contained Sir Benjamin Rudyerd, a statesman and orator, and, as poet, commended by Ben Jonson, but he died without issue. His widow made her Will, in 1677, with charitable bequests. James Rudyerd, of the Abbey, confirms in his Will, dated 1709, a grant made by his aunt of twenty shillings yearly, on Roach-grange, for repairing books left by her to Leek Vicarage, and for buying new ones.†

Richard Shallcross died at The Hall in 1623, aged about 51 years, and was succeeded by his son,

JOHN SHALLCROSS (XV.), of Shallcross, born in 1603. He and his wife appear to have resided at Ridge Hall, with her parents, until his father's death. He is named in the *Lay Subsidy Roll* of 2 Car. I.; and as "armiger," 1633, in the *Frecholders of Derbyshire*. He received from the King in 1634 the office of Receiver and Bailiff of the King's Rents in his honour of High Peak. His report, "Comp. Johannis Shallcross, Armigeri, Receptoris et Ballivi ibidem,"‡ makes the total receipts £361 7s. 4d. In the same year the Heralds (Chitting) took down "Mr. Shawcrosse of Shawcrosse his

* An Edward Hill was his servant for seven years.

† See Earwaker's *East Cheshire*, i., 386-7, for further information.

‡ *Harl.* 6673, ff. 129-152.

pedigree.* Some additions were then made to the visitation of 1611,† and the breviary of 1639 may about this time have been added, or later, by the same representative, in 1663; and the brief but important pedigree, with twenty inclusive copies of the charters (the Widdrington Roll), was made under his direction about this time (*vide* under Richard (II.)). He was High Sheriff of the county in 1638. We find in 1639 a long lease between the King and John Shalcross, Esq., concerning land in Bowden Middlecale, and nine cottages in Youlgrave, and other small plots and houses over the Peak district.‡ He made an indenture of feoffment June 3rd, 1640, with Philip, fourth Earl of Pembroke, whereby he received, on payment of £1,600, two parts in three in the manors of Monyash, Chelmorton, and Flagg. John Shallcross,§ loyal to the King *in esse*—as was his progenitor, John (IX.)—became Colonel of Horse in the royal forces. In particular, during the Civil Wars a petition for compensation was made by some Parliamentary soldiers who were wounded in their assault upon his Hall at Shallcross. The old house,|| the scene of this rencontre, stood a little to the west of the present Hall. In September, 1645,¶ the Colonel gallantly held Chatsworth (old house) for the King, on behalf of the young Earl of Devonshire, with a fresh garrison from Welbeck, from the Earl of Newcastle, and a skirmishing force of three hundred horse. It was then besieged by Major Mollanus for fourteen days with four hundred foot, but the siege was raised by command of Colonel Gell, who ordered the Major and his forces to return to Derby (Glover). The year after these deeds of honour he sold, probably from necessity, some of his estate. An abstract of a conveyance, February 26th, is found in *Add. MSS.*, 6670, f. 453, from him to Thomas Gladwin, of Tupton Hall, of

* *Add. MSS.*, 6668.

† *Harl.*, 1093.

‡ *Duchy Misc. Books*, No. 58, f. 108.

§ Another John Shalcross, of Stockport and Hyde, about 1640, was a Royalist. He had children baptized at Stockport.

|| See Mr. Gunson's paper in *Journal*, vol. xxvii., pp. 186-7

¶ The King marched through the Peak, with about 3,000 men, the month before, from Ashbourne to Doncaster.

his two shares of the manor of Monyash, the purchase-money being £1,715. About the year 1645* an official return was made of all the estates in the Macclesfield Hundred which were owned by delinquents, and which Parliament had sequestered for the use of the public; among them:—

John Shalcrosse, Esquire, hath an auntient message and some cottages in the parish of Taxall, all of them sequestred about the time ut supra.

The number of those who sought to obtain peace and freedom from the Parliament now largely increased as the Royalist cause sank; yet it was doubtless with a keen pang, especially under his private circumstances, that the Colonel the next year sued out his pardon, paid the fine, took the Solemn League and Covenant, and swore never to bear arms against the Parliament. He was cleared of delinquency January 3rd, 1647:—

John Shalcross of Shalcross, Esquier.—He is a Darbieshire man, and hath sued out his pardon.

It is deducible that this staunch Cavalier kept the peace for about three years, and his wife possibly resented the precarious allowance, not more than one-fifth of the delinquent's income, which was then all that was allowed them. She thought that the estate, free from fines, should have been allowed her, as she had ever been loyal to the Parliament, and she made an application for the benefit of the Colonel's sequestration. But subsequently, in 1651, the Colonel, probably deeply moved by the event† of 1648, was again restless, for the following entries concern him in the *Calendar of State Papers*:—

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1651.
from C. O. S.
To.
Serjeant
Dendy. | Warrants from the Council of State. To apprehend Col. John Shalcross, who corresponds with the enemy, and seize all the papers & writings in his lodgings and bring them sealed to Council. |
| 1651.
May
20. | No. 15. Col. John Shalcross to be discharged on like bond in £1,000, with two sureties in £500. |
| May
27. | Council of State. Day's Proceedings.
No. 5. John Shalcross to have liberty to continue in London for one month to settle his estate, & the order of Council for seizing and securing his estate to be taken off, unless there be some other cause for continuing it. |

* *Harl. MSS.*, 2130, f. 26, etc.

† He lineally derived from Bradshaw through Jodrel of Yeardsley.

June 2. Council of State to the Sequestration Commissioners, co's Cheshire & Derby. We formerly gave order for seizing & securing the estate of John Shalcross, but having since taken off such seizure we desire you to do so & set free his estate, unless there shall be some other cause for continuing it under security than the Order of Council.

An autograph letter from him to John Kendal, in 1652, on one side of a paper 8 in. by 6 in., on a business matter, is preserved in the Egerton MSS.* We add a *fac-simile* of his signature:—

Sr
I have caused those words Mr Tourner writ wth his owne hand and thought fit to be Inserted in Mrs. Rigbys Answer unto the bill p^rferred by the Attorney Gen^rall to be put in to macke the same plene.† And uppon the excusyon of the commissyon saw her swere‡ soe that I question not now you will hould It full to all the charges therein expressed and lickwise preside§ wth effectt to Joyme In com[']issyon & soe to herringe.¶ Mrs. Rigby Intending to p^rfere a crosse bill hath caused her son in law Mr. Allexander Rigby sarved with a suppine¶¶ & whom hath promised to appere and not Rune Into contempe the bill. My son'e will show you-& Deliver you the suppine & I shall Desier your p^rformanse according to your undertack in the note you gave Me under y^r hand.

3 u

y^r fathfull servant
Jo Shalcross

May 4th 1743
1652

To his Respected frend Mr. John Kendall, May 17, 1652, thes p^rsent.

We find him again unsettled in 1654.

** April 4. Council. Day's Proceedings. No. 4. A bond entered into May 23, 1651, to the late Council of State by John Shalcross of Shalcross, co. Derby, also by Nich. Higgenbotham and Anth. Leyborne, for Shalcross' appearance before Council when summoned, and doing nothing to the prejudice of the State, to be delivered up to Mr. Shalcross, to be cancelled.

* 2648, f. 198. † Plain. ‡ Swear. § Proceed. ¶ Hearing. ¶¶ Subpœna.

** Cal. of State Papers.

In 1655 he compounded for his estate, the composition money being £400; the fines inflicted on composition varying from two-thirds to one-tenth of the compounder's estate, when money was worth four and a half times its present value. Next year occurred the marriage, at Hope, of his eldest surviving son. In 1658 he was, at six shillings, a subscriber among the thirty-one from Shalcrosse to the Easter Roll (total, £35 3s.) for the parish of Hope. In the following year he was again in trouble:—

* 1659. Sept. 14. No. 29. Col. Shawcrosset and the 2 taken with him, to be sent up in custody to Council.

Happily, this stout and valiant soldier lived to witness the rejoicings of the Restoration. Subsequently he recorded his arms and pedigree at the Visitation (Dugdale) taken September 17th, 1663.† This pedigree is in the records of the College of Arms, and a copy§ was truly extracted in 1779 by J. C. Brooke, Somerset, for the Rev. Simon Jacson. The arms are *arg. and gu.*, and the pedigree, the last taken at the Visitations, is of eight descents, ending with three children of Richard and Anne Shalcrosse. But these pedigrees are scanty. He sat on the magisterial bench at Bakewell March 27th, 1673, in which year he died.

He married Elizabeth, eldest of the three daughters of Thomas Bagshawe, of the Ridge, who was descended from John Shalcross (X.), whose arms—impaled in the Widdrington Roll—show the quarterings of Cockayne, Herthull, Deyville, Savage, Rossington, and Edensor, with a seventh quartering of unknown derivation. Unfortunately, Mrs. Shallcross strongly differed from her husband's politics. Her political sympathies were so objectionable to the Royalists, that Sir William Savile writes thus, under date September 22nd, 1643—"for Lt. Coll. Shaw-

* *Cal. of State Papers.*

† Not the first of his name to be apprehended (*Shackles* on *Schakilcros*) for political troubles, for in 1582 William "Shacrost," described as an honest citizen, was a prisoner in the Tower of London.

‡ *Add. MSS.* 6668, f. 390.

§ Kindly lent by Col. J. H. J. Jacson.

crosse wife, if you can conveniently gett her, take her prisoner, and wee will treat of the rest of the businesse"—in a letter to Major Beaumont, Governor of Sheffield Castle.* We find her name mentioned, subsequently, under the ordinance of March 27th, 1643,† in a payment to William Barrett, collector for the Macclesfield Hundred:—

Item, Received Sept. 6, 1644, of Mrs Elizabeth Shallcrosse of Shallcrosse for Cookes ffarme which was omitted in my last accompts, *li.* 12 : 5.00 : *d.*00.

Item, more of Mrs Shalcross of Shalcross for books bought of the Committee for Sequestration, wh. bookes were part of sequestred goods belonging to Edmund Shalcross late parson of Stockport, a delinquent deceased, *li.* 13 : 5.06 : *d.*08.

The last entry may refer to Edmund's mother.

Their political differences were probably accentuated by the dolorous fates of their respective brothers, for of the lady's two brothers who fought for the Parliament, Edward and Henry, the former was slain at Tutbury. Nor would the attack on their mansion, nor the lady's tending the beds of the Parliamentary wounded, nor the Colonel's wars and financial troubles, relieve their domestic disunion. We find an affidavit from her in 1647 in apparent connection with her claims upon her husband's estate. This affidavit does not contain all the facts mentioned in her depositions, for she charged Mr. Bretland with obstructing her brother, either Edward or Henry, when he was at Glossop, and preventing, as far as he was able, recruits from joining the Parliamentary Standard. This interesting document thus runs (abstract):—

Royalist Composition Papers, June 2nd, 1647. Bullocke Smythy. Elizabeth the wife of John Shallcross of Shallcross, Esquire, aged 42 years, sworne and examined saith, THAT about a month agone Captain Henry Bagshawe, her brother, told her that he being in Glossop in a house there in company withe John Bretland of Thorncliffe in the County of Chester, he heard the same John Bretland utter these words following viz., that Sir John Gell, Sir Wm. Brereton, Sir John Curson and divers others were no better than traitors. And this deponent saith that Sir John Gell, Sir William Brereton, and Sir John Curson are to this deponents

* Hunter's *Hallamshire*, p. 139.

† *Return of Estates of Delinquents*, p. 270.

knowledge friends to the Parliament, and so also are those whom Bretland named not friends to the Parliament. And this deponent saith that about two years ago she hearing that Mr. Bretland had gotten the books whereby his Majesty's rents were formerly gathered by her said husband of & for the hundred of the High Peak and being in Chapel-en-le-Frith demanded of him the said books, that she might procure (if she could) the place granted over to her brother Captain Edward Bagshawe, now deceased, for the better maintaining of herself and her family (her husband's estate being then under sequestration) he Mr. Bretland answered that he would not part with it for that he took it for her husband's good (who was then a delinquent) whereinto she answered "Why then will you not deliver them unto me?" To which he said, "Because the Country saith you are your husband's enemy," which Sir Edward Bagshawe, Knt., being then in (our) company hearing said, "I pray you, Sir, wherein is she her husband's enemy," to which Mr. Bretland said, "In that she is of a contrary opinion to him, and would dispose of it to such persons as her husband would not have to deal with it." And further, this deponent being asked whether Mr. Bretland were well affected to the Parliament, she saith she hath heard it generally reported that he is a man disaffected to the Parliament, and she rather is induced to believe so because she has known him several times to travell on the fast days and not come to Church.

ELIZABETH SHALLCROSS.

From the above affidavit it would appear that the benefit of Colonel Shallcross's sequestration was first given to Captain Edward Bagshawe, and that after his death Mr. Bretland (of Thorncliff Hall, 1607-54) obtained it, or, at least, the collection of the King's rents.

By Elizabeth Bagshawe, who was 17 years old at the time of her marriage, he had issue:

I.—A son, buried in the chancel at Chapel-en-le-Frith January 15th, 162 $\frac{2}{3}$, unbaptized.

II.—John, born 1629, living 1638, died before 1650, *s.p.*

III.—RICHARD, born 1631, his successor.

IV.—Edmund, baptized at Taxal April 1st, 1633. Buried April 4th, 1633.

V.—Leonard, baptized at Taxal July 26th, 1634; he had a daughter, Sarah, baptized at Taxal July 24th, 1692. (A Leonard was buried in 1637.)

VI.—Thomas, of Brasenose College, Oxford, matriculated July 23rd, 1656; died before 1675 (Will of R. S.).

VII.—A daughter, buried in the chancel at Chapel-en-le-Frith, December 18th, 1623.

VIII.—Elizabeth, baptized at Chapel-en-le-Frith December 22nd, 1624; married Edward Downes, of Shrigley and Worth, 1630-94, and had issue Edward Downes, 1662-1747, who continued his line.* She was buried at Prestbury July 20th, 1677.

IX.—Frances, married Thomas Higginbotham,† of Buglawton, Macclesfield.‡ They had issue, Frances, her uncle Richard's God-daughter, living 1675, and Elizabeth, who married Hulme, of Buglawton. This Elizabeth, in 1725, left £4 per annum for providing clothes for six poor inhabitants of Taxal, distributed on St. Thomas's Day; 10s. for a sermon on the 16th of October, being the day of the death of her father; 5s. yearly to be laid out in penny loaves; and 5s. to be expended in repairing the tomb of the family (Earwaker). Mr. Joshua Hulme used to pay this charity. The 5s. for tomb repairs is annually paid into the Whaley Bridge bank.

The vicissitudes of the career of Colonel Shallcross ended in 1673, when he died§ aged 70 years, and was interred at Taxal. We hope that the little rift within the lute—differences which had allied the Shallcross and Bramhall cousins against their relatives at the Yeadsley and Ridge Halls—had been long healed, and both, we trust, *dormiunt in somno pacis*. His wife may have been intombed January 18th, 1681. Upon an extant altar-tomb, with an arched canopy, east of the Church, is an inscription|| on the flat-stone under the canopy, which thus runs:—

Here Lyeth the Body of Elizabeth | Shallcross Wife of Joⁿ Shallcross, Esq.^e | of Shallcross, & y^e Body of Frances | Higginbothom, Daughter of y^e said | Joⁿ Shallcross, Wife of Tho. Hig|ginbothom, Esq. of Buglowton | Buried y^e 2d day of Decem^r 1682. | Also y^e body of Tho. Higginbothom, | Esq. buried October y^e 21 | Anno Domini 1706.

* Earwaker's *East Cheshire*, vol. ii., p. 321.

† He gave a silver paten to Taxal Church the year he died.

‡ Will of R. S. (XVI.)

§ Another Jo. Shalcross of Shallcross died in 1667.

|| It is remarkable that this memorial does not notice the Colonel's burial. There is an obvious conjecture.

We append an abstract of the Colonel's Will, dated April 6th, 1672, proved December 6th, 1673:—

To be buried in Taxall Churchyard where my ancestors have been buried. To Edward Downes of Shrigley, Gent, and Elizabeth his wife, my daughter, £50; and to every child £10. To Thomas Higginbotham, of Buglawton, co. Chester, gent., my son in law, and to my daughter Frances, his wife, £40, and to every child XX nobles. Residue of lands, leases, goods, chattels, &c., unto my son and heir-apparent, Richard Shallcross, the sole executor.

He was succeeded by his eldest surviving son,

RICHARD SHALLCROSS (XVI.), of Shallcross, or Shawcrosse of Shawcrosse,* baptized at Taxal February 1st, 163½. He was admitted to Gray's Inn November 12th, 1650, as his father's son and heir. Here he probably met Roger Rowley "de hospicio Grayensi," whose daughter he married. He would appear to have been concerned at an early period in his gallant father's affairs, as may be noticed in the letter, 1652 (*supra*), and if he be identical with the following:—†

No. 27. The petition of Richard Shalcross, for discharge from the extraordinary tax,‡ set on lands mentioned in deeds recited in the petition, referred to the Major-General and Commissioners for co. Derby, to settle the matter at their next full meeting. Approved 8 Jan.

He was Surveyor of the North Duchy of Lancaster and Bailiff of the High Peak. Either he or his father, or perhaps his son, issued a copper token, still extant,§ in connection with his coal mines. Sir John Evans describes it as especially interesting (see illustration).

Richard's generosity is engraven in brass in the school at Buxton: "A gift by Richard Shallcross, of Shallcross Hall, of £5 towards the establishment of the Grammar School, 1674." He was made a justice for the county July 17th, 1675. He appears to have purchased the land of the Heathcotes|| in

* *Add. MSS.* 6668, f. 39.

† *Cal. of State Papers*, 1656-7, Jan. 1.

‡ The decimation tax, against which Humph. Shallcross petitioned for discharge, 1656 (see under John, X.). An arbitrary measure, carried out by Major-Gen. Henry Bradshaw, brother of the President (they were connections of Col. Shallcross).

§ Glover, vol. i., 274; *Reliquary*, vol. vi., p. 150; Boyne's *Tokens*, p. 46.

|| The Heathcotes of Taxal, 1666-1775 (*Earwaker*, ii, 543).

Taxal, or it may have been his son. Subsequently he confirmed an indenture with the Duchy in respect of a waiver of manorial rights, in consideration of the satisfaction of 100 acres of land in lieu thereof. Among the papers of Mr. W. H. G. Bagshawe is the original conveyance between Richard Shallcross and Thomas Eyre, dated May 3rd, 1674. This indenture refers at length to the arrangement made shortly before the outbreak of the Civil War between the Crown and the free tenants of the Peak Forest as to disafforesting, whereby Charles I. was to have a third of the wastes for enclosing, and the tenants two-thirds. John Shallcross, his father, was a principal manager for the King of the partition of the commons; and he himself claimed a considerable part of the wastes of Shallcross, Fernilee, and Fairfield, as pertaining to his manorial rights. In recognition of this claim, the Crown agreed to assign 100 (Cheshire) acres of the King's award to John Shallcross when the agreement was completed. It was not, however, until after the Restoration that the division* was carried out, then equally between the King and the freeholders, and as soon as this was completed Charles II. sold the Crown's share (1674) to Thomas Eyre, Esq.,† who covenanted to carry out the stipulated arrangement as to the 100 acres with the then Shallcross representative, the allotted portion being in Fairfield township. We give a copy of this representative's signature.

In 27 Car. II. Richard Shallcross signed the Duchy Special Commission to enquire into the bounds of Duchy lands.

Richard Shalcross was married, first, at Hope, June 12th, 1656, by Launcelot Lee, Esq., J.P., Salop, in the presence of Roger Rowley, Esq., and Mr. Francis Barney, Minister of the Church of Woodfield (Worfield), county Salop, to Anne, daughter and heiress of Roger Rowley, of Rowley, county

* In a plan showing the division of the Commons in the possession of Mr. W. H. G. Bagshawe, of Ford, a house at Cadster, in Taxal, belonged to Richard Shalcross. He is not the R. S. of the text, but one R. S. who died 1662.

† See *Journal*, vol. xxiv., page 32.

Salop.* For 500 years had this ancient line held the lands of Rowley, in Worfield, near Bridgnorth, one Roger carrying the standard of de Montfort at Evesham, where he was slain, and another fought at Agincourt, while Elizabeth, wife of Stephen, was a benefactor of the chantry at Worfield in 18 Hen. VII. *The Visitation of Shropshire*, 1623, records six generations, the alliances including Foxhall of Chelmershe, Baker of Severnhall, and Kinge of Birmingham.† Branches of this family have held several baronetcies. Roger, the father of Mrs. Shalcross, a barrister-at-Law of Gray's Inn, had first adhered to the Parliament, but in 1647 he became the assignee for his friend and neighbour, Sir William Whitmore, of Apley, owner of Bridgnorth Castle, which had been captured by the Parliamentarians in 1646, and he now gives Anne, his sole daughter and the heiress of the pleasantly-situated dwelling-place of his race, to the son of the Cavalier, to whom his estate was eventually carried. By her, who brought the second quartering of the Shallcross family (*Arg. on a bend betw. two Cornish choughs, sa., three escallops of the first*), he had issue, not apparently baptized at Taxal:

I.—JOHN, born in 1662, of whom presently. II.—Roger.

III.—Elizabeth, born in 1660, had a bequest of £1,000 under her father's Will. She became, by licence, at Stockport Church, January 20th, 1684, the second wife of Captain John Beresford (arms as under Shakelcross (X.)), an influential county magistrate and a strong Tory in Queen Anne's time, then head of the Beresford family, and who left many traces behind him. His branch was that of Fenny Bentley, but in 1681 he bought back again to the Beresfords the old hall at Beresford, as did Lord Beresford once again in 1829. He died at Ashbourne; his wife at Cheadle, in Cheshire. There is a memorial in the chancel at Fenny Bentley, near the tomb of their ancestor, the hero of Agincourt, which has an interesting (Latin) inscription:—

* *Harl.* 6668, f. 391, Mr. Shawcross of Shawcrosse, his pedigree.

† *Harl.* 1396 f. 274 b.

Near this place rests that which was mortal of John Beresford, who married Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Shallcross, of Shallcross, in the county of Derby, by whom he had five sons and four daughters. He was a near friend to many of honourable degree, on account of his liberality of mind. By their hands he could have been carried to his grave, but he himself forbade it, and committed his body for burial only to his brother Edward, and his three sons (in a humble and obscure spot). He died in the year of Christ, 1724, of his age 70. His sorrowing widow discharging the last duty to her husband erected this memorial, who also died 21st March, 1745, at the age of 85. May they both with their children rest in peace.

Among their descendants is the Rev. E. A. Beresford, who informs me that there was in the possession of the late Canon Gilbert Beresford, of Hoby, some plate and books (the library was sold in 1899) with the Shallcross arms, presumably brought by this marriage. He has a portrait in oils of John Beresford and of his wife. John Shallcross (XVII.) was one of Captain Beresford's executors. Agnes, second daughter of their grandson, Rev. W. Beresford, married Sir H. FitzHerbert, of Tissington, in 1805, leaving issue.

IV.—William, living 35 Car. II., 1682. In that year on March 20th, he signed at the Derby Assizes a loyal memorial to the King from the Grand Jury, directed against an association of the Protestant party, supported by William, subsequently first Duke of Devonshire, which attempted to exclude the right of the Duke of York (James II.) to the Crown as a professed Roman Catholic.

V.—Anne.

VI.—Ellen; had £500 under father's Will; under 21 in 1675.

Richard Shallcross married, secondly, Dorothy, daughter of William George, of Shrewsbury, a connection of the families of Hazlewood and Chadwick, whom he may have met at Shrewsbury while visiting his wife's relatives there at "Rowley's Mansion."* By her, however, he left no issue.

* William Rowley, a scion of Rowley, settled as a draper at Shrewsbury, and there built the fine brick house known as "Rowley's Mansion," in the street now called Hill's Lane. There is an illustration of this house in Owen and Blakeway's *Shrewsbury*, i., 408.

Richard Shallcrosse married, thirdly, October 10th, 1667, Jane, daughter and co-heiress—with her sister Anne, who married, firstly, Henry Bagshawe, of the Ridge—of Edward Brereton, of Hurdlow (*arg. two bars. sa.*), and the widow of Robert Dale, of Flag Hall, who died March, 1665,* by whom she had George Dale and Milicent Dale. Richard Shallcrosse lost his father at about the same time as he lost his third wife; she was buried at Chelmonton† December 16th, 1673, leaving issue:

VIII.—Jane, baptized at Taxal October 7th, 1669; had £600 under her father's Will at 21.

IX.—Helen, buried at Taxal October 19th, 1676.

X.—Francesca, baptized at Taxal July 23rd, 1673; buried there January 13th, 167 $\frac{3}{4}$.

Richard Shallcrosse was the fourth and last representative who died at the second mansion, having lived there since just before 1669. Only surviving his gallant father three years, he died at the early age of 45. He was buried March 21st, 167 $\frac{5}{8}$, in the chancel at Taxal, near his Jodrell ancestors, Roger who had served at Agincourt, and buried there in 1423, and Nicholas, who died in 1528. A ledger stone, with inscription, was placed over his remains. His Will, which shows that he was Surveyor of the North Duchy of Lancaster and Bailiff of the High Peak, was dated October 15th, 1675, and proved April 9th, 1676. It mentions some decayed kindred, as will be seen in the abstract below:—

I give and bequeath out of the rents and issues of all my real and personal estate unto my daughter Elizabeth £1,000, and unto my daughter Jane £600, and to my daughter Ellen Shallcross £500 on attaining 21 years of age. Whereas I married 10th Octr, 1667, Jane, daughter of Edward Brereton of Hurdlow, gent., relict of Robert Dale of Flag, gent., who died Dec. 5th, 1673, during which time and since Joseph Bēebē hath received the rents of George Dale, son and heir of the said Robert Dale, [$\frac{1}{3}$ rd of which did belong to me in right of my wife], I give unto the said George Dale £1,000 out of the same on his attaining 21 years of age. Whereas I promised Dorothy, my late wife, to give unto her two Goddaughters, Dorothy, one of the daughters of my brother Hazlewood, and

* Glover, ii., pp. 46, 47. He died aged 20.

† Chelmonton and Taxal Parish Registers.

[blank] one of the daughters of my brother Chadwick, £50 each, I now direct my executor to pay the same to them on attaining 21 years of age. To my kinswoman, Mrs. Elizabeth Downes, daughter of my brother-in-law Edward Downes of Shrigley, Esq., all my silver plate, now in the possession of my said brother-in-law. To God-daughter Frances, daughter of my brother-in-law Thomas Higginbotham, Gent., silver plate. I have assigned my office of Surveyor of the North Duchy of Lancaster for the benefit of my son John until he attains 21 years. I have assigned to my kinsman, William Rowley,* of Clifford's Inn, Gent., my office of Bailiff of the High Peak for the use of my son John. Names his late brother Thomas. To my kinsman, Henry Bagshaw,† son of Henry Bagshaw, late of Ridge, Esq., an annuity of £20 until he attains the age of 21. To brother Peter Barker‡ £5. To cousin,§ William Blackwell, now living with me, an annuity of £5 for life. My old servant, Thomas Shallcross the elder now living with me to be maintained at Shallcross during his life. To his five children, John, Ralph, Richard, Thomas, Anne, £5 to purchase waste lands. To my servant, Thomas Shallcross the younger, 20s. My mansion house at Rowley, co. Salop, &c., to my son John. Thomas Higginbotham to be manager during minority of my son.

Richard was succeeded by his son,

JOHN SHALLCROSS, or Shawcross|| and (XVII.) of Shallcross, entitled to quarter the arms of Walker and Rowley. Born in 1662, he was early bereft of four parents, and but 14 years old on his succession. He was admitted to Gray's Inn May 23rd, 1677, and matriculated at B. N. C., Oxford, in 1680. On attaining his majority, he became Surveyor of the North Duchy of Lancaster and Bailiff of the High Peak. The same year he doubtless attended, at Chelmsorton, the funeral of his step-brother,¶ George Dale, of Flagg Hall, who died in his nonage

* Probably son of Roger Rowley, of London, merchant, his wife's uncle. Also his wife's sister's son, born 1666, living 1697.

† Born 1667.

‡ This connection was rather complicated. Peter Barker, brother of the wife of the Apostle of the Peak, married, after 1665, Elizabeth, daughter of William Greaves, of Tideswell, and relict of William Brereton, of Hurdlow, the brother-in-law of Rich. Shalcross. Peter Barker was baptized in 1632, at Darley.

§ The testator was a descendant of Blackwall, of Blackwall, through his mother.

|| *Magna Brit.*, 1738.

¶ His step-sister, Millicent Dale, the heiress of her niece Jane, married Thomas Powell, of Park, co. Salop, and had three daughters. He survived, and sold the Flagg estate to Thomas Bagshawe, of the Ridge, in 1735.

—tablet in the Church—leaving a posthumous daughter, Jane, who died young. In 1684 he sold his estate at Rowley to the Rev. John Harwood, of Shrewsbury, from whom, in 1709, it passed to Sir Richard Hill, of Hawkestone, Salop, who sold it to the Davenports in 1723, in which family it still remains. The mansion is now a picturesque old farmhouse. The year following Monmouth's rebellion, he served as High Sheriff for the county (1686). In 1689 he was made a Commissioner under the Court of Conscience Bill,* for the recovery of small debts. In 1691 a conveyance was made to him by Reginald Downes, of Overton, and his son Edmund, of the manor and advowson of Taxal, which had been held by their family since 1344. A release was executed in 1715 to confirm the same by John Downes, second son of Reginald.† John Shallcross sold the advowson in 1730, after presenting in 1703 to Rev. Roger Bolton, in 1714 to Rev. William Newton, in 1726 to Rev. Joseph Dale, and in 1727 to Rev. Edward Potts.‡ The manor he sold in 1733. He was a considerable landowner on both sides of the Goyt. In 1695 his "tyth" at Wormhill, to carry on the war against Louis XIV., was £5 6s. He presented the Market House at Chapel-en-le-Frith in 1700. On March 20th, 1700-1, he, with Peter Wilbraham, of Dorfield, made an arbitration in the dispute of the governors of the Grammar School at Prestbury. A note of rents payable to Thomas Eyre, Esq., assesses him, March 25th, 1703, at £3 for Black Edge. He served a second time as High Sheriff in 1710 (Glover gives John Harper, of Twyford, Esq.; both served), and he qualified as a justice for the county April 29th, 1712. He is identical with the John Shalcross who in 1712 was awarded allotments in Bowden, but not with the John Shallcross of Shallcross, 1714, named in the "Return of Papists' Estates." § Apparently about 1725, he built the

* *Hist. MSS. Commission.*

† Ormerod.

‡ Or Pott, attended last illness of Roger Jacson, 1743.

§ *Exch. Q. R.*

present Hall at Shallcross, as represented in the last *Journal*, though the first and last of his ancient line to reside there. A pretty story of a practical joke which Mr. Legh, of Lyme, indulged in at his expense, in connection therewith, is told in the Ford Hall papers:—

Mr. Legh,* of Lyme, and Mr. Shallcross, of Shallcross, met in London, and agreed to return to the country together. On the way Mr. Legh observed that his friend several times put his hand to his pocket, as if to assure himself that something was safe. At last Mr. Legh said, "May I ask what you have got there, that you seem so anxious about?" Mr. Shallcross replied, "To say the truth, it is a £1,000 note, with which I am intending to rebuild my house at Shallcross." Some hours afterwards they arrived at a wayside inn, and Mr. Legh suggested that they should take a walk, whilst the horses baited. "But," said he, "as it is rather a lonely neighbourhood and highwaymen are not unknown, I should recommend you to hide that note until we come back." So they looked round the room into which they had been shown, for a place of security, and Mr. Legh finding a ledge just out of sight at the bottom of the chimney, persuaded Mr. Shallcross to put his treasure there. They then sallied forth, but Mr. Legh professing to have forgotten something, returned by himself to the house for a moment, took the note from the chimney, and told the waiter to have a good fire made whilst they were out. On coming back from their stroll, the horror of Mr. Shallcross at the sight which presented itself was as great as Mr. Legh's amusement. Eventually taking compassion upon his friend's distress, Mr. Legh produced the note. Whether they continued their journey together the story does not say, but Shallcross Hall was rebuilt.

We find two references to John Shallcross of great interest in a letter written by Mr. Bagshawe, of Ford, in 1727, to Miss Wingfield, of Hazleborough Hall, shortly before their marriage: "Your will shall be obeyed, though I am afraid we shall be laughed at for it, because Mr. Shallcross, who is reckoned to have £1,500 a year had never but one, and Mr. Jodrell, who has a better estate than ever I pretended to, I have heard ridiculed for this," etc. Miss Wingfield appears to have expressed a wish that their men servants might have a state livery as well as the ordinary one.

He married, by licence, at Stockport, October 28th, 1686,

* Peter Legh, of Lyme, 1669-1744. A relative of Mrs. John Shallcross, *infra*, under his son Legh.

Anne, daughter of Sir John Arderne,* of Harden (now represented by Lord Haddington), Knt. (*gu. three crosses crosslet fitchée arg., on a chief, or, a crescent of the first*),† then aged 19 years. Major FitzHerbert, of Somersal Hall, has in his possession a silver tankard, with a hall-mark of 1669-70, on which are engraved the arms of Arderne. It came to him from Mr. C. R. Jacson, of Barton Hall, who died 1893. He looked upon it as one of the things belonging to what he called the "Somersal affinity," coming to his family from the Shallcross marriage, through the FitzHerberts of Somersal. John Shallcross died September 26th, 1733, and was buried in the chancel of Taxal Church. His will is dated 1731. His wife predeceased him, having been buried in the chancel at Taxal June 25th, 1729. By her he had issue,

I.—JOHN, born at (old) Shallcross Hall, and baptized at Taxal May 10th, 1688. He was of B. N. C., Oxford, 1706, and student of the Middle Temple, 1707. He died in the lifetime of his father, and was buried December 29th, 1709.

II.—Legh, named after his mother's grandfather, Thomas Legh,‡ of Lyme, D.D., Rector of Walton and Sefton, co. Lancaster; baptized at Taxal July 25th, 1694. He died September 28th the same year.

III.—MARGARET, born April 6th, 1690, eventual representative, of whom presently.

IV.—Frances, died young.

V.—Elizabeth, born July 9th, 1692, died unmarried January 24th, 1729-30.

VI.—Letitia, baptized at Taxal December 7th, 1695, died July 29th, 1717, unmarried.

VII.—FRANCES, born 21st November, 1699, of whom presently.

* A descendant of Robert Hyde, of Norbury (charter 1).

† This same coat was tricked by Dethick and Camden in 1599 to be quartered with Shakespeare, though not assumed by him (*MS. Coll. of Arms*, R. 21).

‡ This branch is now represented by Lord Newton. Legh signs Shallcross charter, 5 Hen. VI., No. 22. See also under Richard (II.) The wife of Leonard (XIII.) descended lineally from Legh.

VIII.—ANNE, born December 2nd, 1708, named after her mother, died in 1776, unmarried; she was co-heir with her sisters, and the last surviving member of the family.

Portraits of Margaret, Frances, and Anne, the latter being a copy from the original at Tissington Hall, are in the possession of Major FitzHerbert, of Somersall Hall.

On the floor of the chancel at Taxal,* carved in bold letters, are several ledger stones, usually covered with a removable boarding, bearing these names:—

No. 1.—“Roger Jacson, of Shallcross, Esq., Dyed November the 12th, 1743, and was Buryed under this Stone aged 58 years.”

2.—“Elizabeth, sister to John and Lætitia Shallcross, 1730.”

3.—“Lætitia Shallcross, sister to John the younger, 1717.”

4.—“Richard Shallcross of Shallcross, 1675. Anne, daughter of Sir John Arden, 1729.”

5.—“John Shallcross of Shallcross, son of Richard and father of John and Lætitia, 1733.”

6.—“John Shallcross, Junior, dyed in the 21st year of his age, In his father's Life Time, 1709.”

9.—“Frances Jodrell of Yeardsley, Esq., buried 1756. Mrs. Mary Jodrell, buried Feb. 8th, 1654.”

10.—“Edmund Jodrell of Yeardsley, Esq., † buried Oct. 13th, 1657. Edmund Jodrell of Yeardsley, Esq., buried 1713. Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Mollenez, Baronight, at Teversall, Nottinghamshire, died July 2nd, 1756. (The Jodrells had a royal descent through Molyneux of Teversal.)

John Shallcross died at his new Hall on September 26th, 7 Geo. II., 1733, aged 71 years. He probably died suddenly, as no illness is mentioned in a letter written at Shallcross Hall on September 9th by Mrs. Anne Gisborne to her husband at Staveley.

FRANCES SHALLCROSS, the youngest daughter, was born November 4th and baptized at Taxal November 12th, 1699. She

* There are more in these graves than are accounted for in the inscriptions.

† Royalist, and cousin of Col. Shallcross, XV.

married at Stockport, December 4th, 1722, ROGER JACSON, of Ashbourne, M.B., who was born in 1687.* He inherited lands in Suffolk and Essex from his father, George Jacson, M.D., of Derby, and was executor and devisee of his eldest brother, George, of Leek, in 1719. He purchased the Shallcross estate from his father-in-law in 1728, and at Shallcross Hall he died November 12th, 1743, aged 56, leaving no issue. His wife survived him, dying May 15th, 1748. He bequeathed his estates to his nephew, Simon, the son of Simon Jacson, his younger brother, who married, in 1749, Anne FitzHerbert, the daughter of Margaret Shallcross (*infra*). Roger Jacson's sister, Mrs. Anne Gisborne (there are two portraits of this lady at Ford Hall), thus writes, November 15th, 1743, about his death, from Staveley, of which place her husband was Rector, to her daughters, then visiting at Derby (extract):—

My Dear Girls will not be surpris'd I believe to hear that about six on Saturday morning yr uncle Jacson was releas'd from a troublesome world. We may grieve for ourselves in having lost one of the best Friends we had in ye world, but God Almighty is above all, and we ought, and I hope we shall all, submit with thankfulness for all his Mercy's. He is to be interr'd to Day; yr Pap'a went to Shallcross yesterday, rather by permission, than invitation, to pay him that last respect; for ye Funeral will be very Private, according to his desire; & at Taxall according to his desire also. 'Tis great comfort to hear he was tolerably easie, sensible, & chearfull, for some time, had a deal of Mr. Potts† company Dayly, & was pleas'd with it, he saw nobody else, except his own Family. My Dear Girls must get something of Mourning upon ys Melancholy occasion; we think neat Grey Stuff Gowns for Nancy & Kitty will do very well; Dolly we think should have something better, as a Grey Poplin, or some such thing; Plain caps, just what you will want and no more. . . . You shou'd let yr Uncle John Gisborne‡ know of my Dear Brors Death as soon as you can, if he does not know already, with Service from us all to him, Niece Nancy, & Dolly Sole.

The annexed verses by the same writer, who was also mother

* He was of Jesus College, Cambridge, with James Gisborne, the rector of Staveley.

† Vicar of Taxal, 1727-53.

‡ His wife, Dorothy, was sister of the writer, and of Roger Jacson, of Shallcross Hall.

of the Rev. Francis Gisborne,* a great benefactor of the county, will interest, as they were written at Shallcross Hall when visiting her brother. They are addressed to Dorothy Gisborne, her own and her husband's niece, of Derby. Both extracts are from the originals at Ford Hall:—

My Verses were bad, I very well know it, And am confident I shall ne'er
make a good Poet,

But if any pleasure to my Cousins they gave, My end it is answer'd, and
now I must crave

Acceptance of thanks for your kind pritty Letter, And your Poetry too,
for which I'm your debter;

I did not recieve it till last Sunday morning As I for the Church † myself
was adorning.

Your lines gave me joy that is felt but by few, Nay, by none but by those
that can Love as I do.

Tho' I don't hear so oft as I am apt to expect, Yet I never impute it to
Slight, or Neglect,

That from any of you, I expect not to find, Who, to oblige me seem
always inclin'd;

Which makes me so ready to grant your request In that sort of writing
I've judgement the least.

'Tis time to my Nonsense I shou'd put 'an end, So only will add, I am,
Dear Dolly, your Friend.

MARGARET, the eldest daughter of John Shallcross, was born in 1690, and married, February 13th, 171 $\frac{7}{8}$, Richard, son of John FitzHerbert, † of Somersall Herbert (*gu. three lions ramp. or.*, FitzHerbert modern). He was buried at Somersall October 3rd, 1746, and his wife May 30th, 1772. They had issue,

I.—RICHARD FITZHERBERT, of Somersal, born in 1727, High Sheriff, county Derby, 1754, who was grandson and nearest in blood to John Shallcross, and entitled to quarter his shield. His portrait is at Somersal Hall. Some portraits of this family are in a farm-house in the village, and amongst them is one of "The Squire" as a young man, full length,

* He and his brothers and sisters were cousins of the Rev. Simon Jacson, who married 1749. Their mother, the writer, was born 1693, and died 1769.

† Taxal.

‡ Her father's cousin, John Beresford, married Frances, daughter of John Fitzherbert, of Somersall.

walking with dogs, in a blue coat. There is another, said to be his father. Dying *s. p.*, and buried at Somersall January 12th, 1803,* the last male of his branch of his own family, he bequeathed all his estate to his nephew, Rev. Simon Jacson (*infra*), who sold this estate to Alleyne FitzHerbert, Lord St. Helens, in 1810.

II.—ANNE FITZHERBERT, whose descendants through her eventually became the heirs of Somersal. She was born January 18th, 1719-20, and married, November 20th, 1749, at Somersall, SIMON JACSON (*gu. a fesse between three shelldrakes, arg.*), nephew of Dr. Roger Jacson and Frances Shallcross, his wife (*supra*). He became Rector of Bebington, 1753-77, and was of Shallcross Hall, and Rector of Tarporley, 1778-87, and of Somersall. His wife died August 3rd, 1795, aged 75 years, "spent in the constant exercise of every Christian and social virtue" (Miss Jacson's Diary). He died in 1808. Descendants of their children, coheirs of the old Shallcross family still survive, and some are entitled to quarter the Shallcross arms.

(3) *Devolution of the Estate*.—In 1794 the Shallcross estate passed out of the Jacson family, and was sold to Foster Bower, Esq., Recorder of Chester, who in 1793 had purchased the Overton Hall estate, sold in 1733 by John Shallcross or his representatives.

The fortunes of the Shallcross estate, after its sale, may be briefly traced. FOSTER BOWER left a brother, John Bower, of Manchester, who married in 1775 Frances Jodrell, of Yeadsley Hall, born 1752. He assumed his wife's surname and arms, in compliance with the will of her grandfather, whose heiress she was, which JOHN BOWER JODRELL, on the demise of his brother, Foster Bower, himself succeeded to the Shallcross estate; and, dying in 1796, was succeeded in both these estates, including Henbury, co. Chester, which he purchased, and where he chiefly resided, by his son, FRANCIS JODRELL, of Shallcross

* For some of these dates I am indebted to Rev. R. H. C. FitzHerbert.

Yeardsley, and Henbury, who died in 1829, and was succeeded by his son,* JOHN WILLIAM JODRELL; on whose demise in 1858 the estates passed to his brother, FRANCIS CHARLES JODRELL, on whose death in 1868 they passed to another grandson, by her daughter Harriet, of the above Frances Jodrell—viz., THOMAS JODRELL PHILLIPS, who assumed the additional surname and arms of Jodrell, born in 1807, M.A., J.P.; on whose death, in 1889, the estates passed to his nephew, HENRY RICHARD TOMKINSON, the son of his sister Harriet, who immediately made over the whole property by deed of gift to his nephew, Colonel E. T. D. Cotton Jodrell, C.B., of Reaseheath Hall, the son of his sister, Miss Sophia Tomkinson, the wife of the Right Rev. G. E. L. Cotton, Lord Bishop of Calcutta, who is the present owner of Shallcross Hall.

* In 1831 the Taxal and Shalcross estate, comprising 4,546 acres of land, at a rental of £2,337 per annum, was offered for sale by George Robins, in London. Of Shalcross Hall it is said—"This Mansion is finished of Stone, and in the good olden times was the abode of the respected Proprietor, it hath subsequently become the habitation of the principal Farmer upon the Estate. It is of ancient date, but it will survive many generations yet to come, when buildings erected during what has been incorrectly styled 'the March of Improvement,' will be no longer seen or heard of. A fine Avenue of Limes welcome the passing Traveller, and remind him of its former influence. There is a Farm of 93 A. 2 R. 29 P., as will be seen more particularly described presently. A considerable portion includes very excellent Meadow and rich Pasture Land. The Tenant, Mr. John Morton, is not only a respectable, but a very responsible Tenant."

Gothic Architecture in England.*

By the REV. J. CHARLES COX, LL.D., F.S.A.

IN the Society's *Journal* for 1902, I was allowed to give some account of a notable work by Mr. Gotch on "Early Renaissance Architecture in England," paying particular attention to those parts illustrative of Derbyshire examples.

The like permission has now been granted to me with regard to a still more notable and most important work that has just been put forth with regard to Gothic Architecture by Mr. Bond. There has been such an advance of late years in the comparative study of the architecture of England's old churches that the works of Rickman and Parker are now out of date, although invaluable at the time they were compiled. Those who desire to possess in a single volume an authoritative, most genuine, and detailed history of the evolution and development of church-building in this country cannot possibly be disappointed with this fine work. The story of each part of the building, and the reason for its construction in the form it assumed, is told consecutively, without being broken up into different periods.

The illustrations are most lavish and admirably selected; they comprise 785 photographs, sketches, and measured

* *Gothic Architecture in England: An Analysis of the Origin and Development of English Church Architecture from the Norman Conquest to the Dissolution of the Monasteries.* By Francis Bond, M.A. Price 31s. 6d. net. B. T. Batsford, 94, High Holborn.

We are indebted to Mr. Batsford for the loan of two Derbyshire blocks.

drawings, as well as 469 plans, sections, diagrams, and moldings. Many of the photographs are from Mr. Bond's own camera, and there seems hardly a nook of England which he has not visited in search of striking examples.

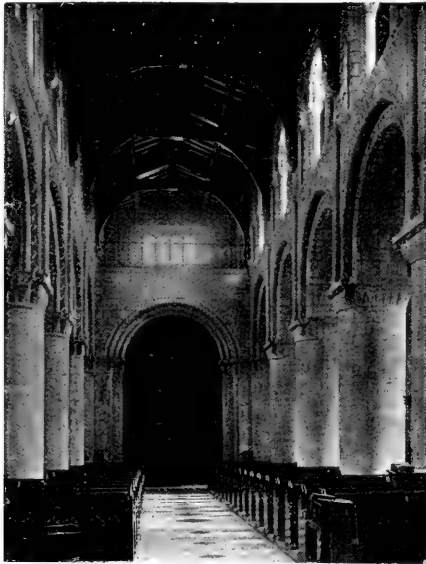
The book is a perfect delight to the experienced ecclesiologist, and yet written so clearly and on such practical lines that its teaching can readily be grasped by the novice. It is a book that cannot fail to be of real service to a University Extension lecturer, or to an advanced architectural student; at the same time, it is exactly the work that could with much advantage be put in the hands of intelligent senior school boys or girls who may be beginning to take a wholesome interest in the history in stone of their native land.

Derbyshire, notwithstanding its limited size and comparative paucity of ancient churches, supplies Mr. Bond with several useful examples and details when discussing the component parts of church fabrics; and his opinions are of almost authoritative value to the ecclesiologist in the study of this Midland shire.

Repton is naturally cited as a famous and exceptional example of a pillared crypt of pre-Conquest date; its monolith lath-turned columns are referred to in several places. When discussing early piers, the two Anglo-Saxon piers, in drums, so unhappily displaced in 1854 from the east end of the nave, are named as remarkable, only one other instance of like remains being quoted. The original occurrence of pre-Norman transepts in this church is mentioned in the discussion of cruciform plans. Again, in the fine chapter on the origin of window tracery, Repton is the solitary instance cited of a group of six lancets in a single window.

The fine Norman church of Melbourne also claims, as might be expected, no small amount of attention. Lindisfarne is coupled with Melbourne, in discussion of plans, as having originally central apses, but no lateral apses, as their choirs were without aisles. An illustration is given, showing, from a view of the south side of the choir, how this central apse

was subsequently squared. From about the middle of the twelfth century apses were of very rare occurrence in England, and many of those that existed seem, like Melbourne, to have been squared. Mr. Bond has not overlooked the original apse terminations of the transepts of this church, for they are mentioned in another place. In the larger Romanesque churches both of Normandy and England two western towers



Melbourne. Interior from East.

were common. Among instances of this Melbourne is enumerated, but these small towers have lost much of their original appearance through the addition, in 1862, of lofty pyramidal slated roofs. In another part of this exhaustive volume, where the narthex, or western, transept of churches is under discussion, Melbourne again comes to the front. Attention is drawn to the nave aisles ending at the west in

towers with groined vaults, and also to their having between them a third groined vault, "the upper surface of which provides a gallery." A small but effective plate from Mr. Bond's camera shows this gallery in a view of the nave looking east.

In the chapter on roofs towards the end of the volume the same photograph serves to illustrate the four-centred arches formed by the arched braces supporting the tie-beams of the nave.

The characteristics of English Gothic from 1300 to 1350 are discussed in Chapter V. Here, in the second paragraph, Tideswell is given as an instance of the continuance of the cruciform plan in larger churches, with aisled naves; and it is named further on in the same chapter in a list of eleven specially noble churches of the reign of Edward III. Attention is drawn in Chapter XV. to the excessive breadth of the pier fillets of this church. It is, however, when treating of curvilinear window tracery that Mr. Bond makes so much use of Tideswell. The five-light south transept window (of which there is not a very good illustration) is named as one in which the five bottom pointed arches are united "into four intersecting pointed arches, and the two central of these into one ogee arch." He does not consider this window of a very high standard, for "the pointed arches and the flamboyant tracery are discordant, whereas in the best curvilinear windows the mullion fuses into tracery without the slightest break of continuity." But it does not require a very practised eye to detect the general striking effect of Tideswell church, or the dignity of the choir and transept windows. Mr. Bond's particular and exceptional methods of showing the meaning and special effectiveness of all the component parts of a good Gothic church lead him not only to note, but to illustrate a part of Tideswell church that would have been overlooked by ninety per cent. of the usual run of church photographers, and would probably escape the attention of a considerable percentage of intelligent ecclesiologists. In his chapter on

“The Protection of the Walls from Rain,” Mr. Bond shows the *raison d'être* of ground-courses, strings, dripstones, hood-molds, and labels after an original and interesting fashion. In the explanation of the ground or basement course, the reason for chamfers on such a course to prevent the rain dropping from the projecting eaves resting thereon is set out; and it is further shown how great became the amount of



Tideswell. Ground-course.

basement-course projection in the fourteenth century. Artistic reasons then caused the straight chamfer to give way to the subtle ogee curve.” Of this Tideswell offers an admirable example, where there is such “a nice gradation of high light, half light, and shadow.”

In the very next chapter, on foliated capitals, an admirable illustration of a Norman example is taken from an arcade in

Youlgreave; and in another place remarks will be found on the plan of Bakewell church.

When writing on the third or cruciform type of the planing of a parish church, Mr. Bond considers the different ways of extension when enlargement became necessary. One was to add aisles, and another (which did not involve so much difficulty of construction) was to add transepts. But a different process would be required when applied to an early church that lacked a central tower. In such a case "it would be easy to enlarge the church eastward by pulling down the sanctuary; building on its site a central tower; and projecting from the central tower transepts and a new sanctuary." This is the process through which Mr. Bond thinks that the interesting old churches of Bakewell, Derbyshire, and of St. Nicholas, Leicester, have passed.

In treating of Romanesque piers, Mr. Bond points out that the Norman abacus is always square-edged, and that its under-surface is usually a straight chamfer, as at Youlgreave. One of the Youlgreave capitals serves as an example of this on the plate at page 421.

Peeverel's Castle in the Peak.

By HENRY KIRKE, M.A., B.C.L.



PEEVEREL'S CASTLE IN THE PEAK, which gave its name to Sir Walter Scott's well-known novel, has been often visited by archæologists and travellers, and the results of their observations have been published at various times. The travellers and authors of popular histories content themselves with somewhat vague generalities and mythical legends; the archæologists plunge into minute description, and sometimes advance theories which are rarely warranted by the facts before them. It is startling to see how these learned men differ in their description of what they saw, measured, and delineated.

In this short paper I propose to attempt a comparison of their different statements when describing the old Castle, pointing out in what respect they disagree, and making a few suggestions towards reconciling their discrepancies, or giving a new interpretation to their discoveries.

Detailed descriptions of the Peak Castle by competent persons are not numerous. As far as I have been able to ascertain they are as follows:—

1. In the *Archæologia* for 1782 there is published a full description of the Castle, written by Mr. Edward King, illustrated by plans.

*A view of the entrance of the castle at ...
 in ...*



- A - Great square castle being a steep hill
- B - Entrance into the castle.
- C - The tower
- D - The fortifications on each side of the hill.
- E - The ...
- F - The ...

From the original Drawing from Elias Ashmole's Collection.



2. In the *Archæological Journal* for 1848 we find an historical and archæological notice of the Castle, with plans and sketches, by Mr. C. E. Hartshorne.

3. In our own *Journal* for 1889 there is to be found an interesting paper read by Mr. St. John Hope before the Derbyshire Archæological Society.

4. In his excellent book, *The Evolution of the English House*, Mr. Addy gives us a clear dissection of the anatomy of the Peak Castle, which he rightly selects as a fine type of the Norman fortress of the twelfth century.

5. I have had the good fortune to discover, amongst Ashmole's *Church Notes*, preserved in Bodley's Library at Oxford, an old pen-and-ink sketch of the Castle and its environs as it appeared about 1662. This drawing has been photographed for me by the Clarendon Press, and a reduced copy of it illustrates this article as a frontispiece.

Dr. Pegge's monograph on Bolsover and Peak Castles contains nothing that is interesting, nothing that is new, with regard to the Peak. Glover, in his *History of Derbyshire*, devotes nearly five pages to the Peak Castle, most of which are taken up with the family history of the Peverels; the rest is a compilation from Mr. King's article and other sources.

The almost inaccessible and easily defended rock on which the Castle is built must from remote times have offered itself as a place of refuge, so we may fairly conjecture that some kind of stronghold was erected thereon during the Saxon period, or even earlier. Possibly on its summit was built one of that chain of fortified camps which Edward the Elder erected across Derbyshire to check the inroads of the Danes.

When William Peverel at the time of the Norman Conquest obtained possession of the Honour of the High Peak, he grasped at once the advantages of the position, upon which he erected the ancient stronghold, which is described in Domesday Book (completed in 1086) as the castle of William Peverel in Pechefers. When, by the forfeiture of the Peverel estates, the Castle fell into the hands of the Crown, its royal

owners appear to have spared no expense in maintaining its structure and increasing its importance.

Mr. C. E. Hartshorne, Mr. St. John Hope, Mr. Yeatman, and other antiquaries, have unearthed from the Pipe Rolls many interesting items of expenditure on the defences of the Castle. During the reign of Henry II. more than £282 (equal in our money to about £4,200) was spent on new buildings and repairs, of which sum £135 (about £2,000) was spent upon the keep alone. Nor was this purposeless expenditure. The Peak Forest, which abounded in deer, wolves, and wild boars, was a favourite hunting-ground of the Plantagenet Kings, who in the intervals of the chase caroused in the gloomy hall of the Castle.*

We find entries in the Rolls for wine and provisions for the King and his royal guest, Malcolm of Scotland, at various times amounting to sums equal to one thousand pounds of modern money. In the turbulent reign of King John the Castle was further strengthened, £80 (£1,200) being expended in repairs. During the troubles in the reign of Henry III. the Castle was held by the King and the barons in turn; but in the reign of the English Justinian it was firmly held in the royal grasp, and was honoured on several occasions by the presence of the King, who was the last of our monarchs to chase the wolves and the deer through the Royal Forest of the High Peak.

Even in the rude age of the Plantagenets the Peak Castle must have afforded but sorry lodgings. The hall, only twenty-two feet by nineteen feet, must have been crowded to excess by the King, his nobles, and their followers, although no doubt the bulk of the retinue, with the huntsmen, horses, and dogs, were quartered in the village of Castleton, which nestled at the foot of the Castle hill. The village was itself protected

* There are entries in the Forest Rolls dated 1255-6 of a colt strangled by wolves in Edale, and two sheep in another place. The Peak Forest abounded in red deer and roe deer, wild boars and wild cats. Otters were killed in the rivers, and "cornilus," whatever these were, possibly wild goats, appear to have been numerous.

from sudden attack by an earthwork, which formed a semi-circle stretching from the rocks near the entrance to the Peak Cavern round the village to the opening into Cave Dale. Bray, in his *Itinerary* (eighteenth century), describes it as "an intrenchment which began at the lower end of the valley called the Cave, enclosed the town, ending at the great Cavern, and forming a semi-circle. This is now called the Town Ditch, but the whole of it cannot be easily traced, having been destroyed in many places by buildings and the plough."

That mixture of fact and myth which passes for County History asserts that the barons who extorted Magna Charta from King John met at the Peak Castle. In fact, their meeting-place was at Stamford, from whence they marched to London, through Northampton and Bedford. One also reads that King Henry III. slept at the Peak Castle the night before the battle of Evesham; a physical impossibility, as Castleton and Evesham are about a hundred miles apart. But there is no doubt that Henry III. visited the Peak Castle on several occasions. He was there in 1235-6, as it appears by an entry in the Forest Rolls that Robert de Ashbourne, bailiff of the Forest, provided him with four wild boars and forty-two geese, charging for them 16s. 3½d. in his accounts. The King was also at the Castle in April, 1264, some time before the battle of Lewes. Its possession at that period was, no doubt, of some importance, as it was specially mentioned as one of the castles which Simon de Montfort demanded from the King after the rout at Lewes. The tournament said to have been held beneath the Castle walls, when the gallant Guarine de Metz won the hand of the fair Mellet Peverel, may be classed with the legends of King Arthur and his table round.

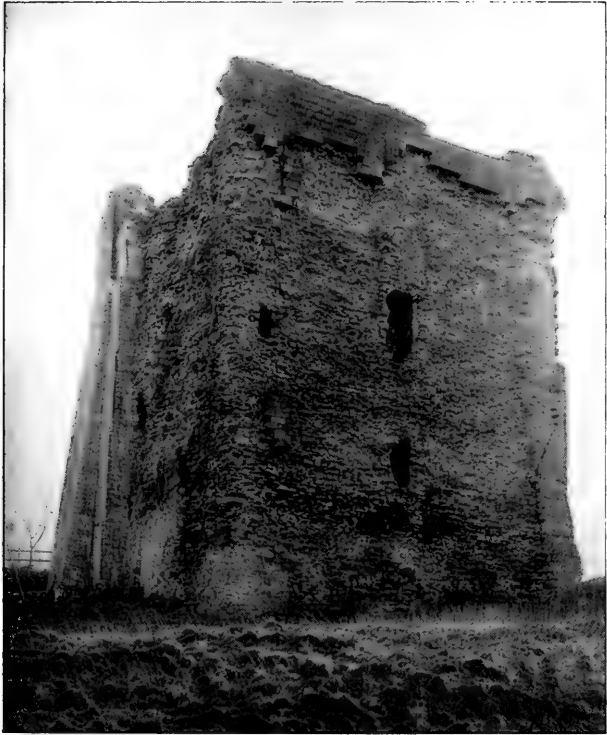
The Peak Castle attained its full extent and importance under the first Edward. There is reason to suppose that its neglect and decay began soon afterwards. Under the first three Edwards a new form of fortification which superseded the rectangular Norman donjon was introduced into England. The keep was dispensed with, its place being taken by an

open court, walled and towered at the corners, and having its hall, its chapel, and its living rooms built within the walls. From this period the English castles became stately residences requiring a considerable garrison, and could only be maintained at vast expense. The small area which was available around the Norman keep of the Peak Castle was insufficient for the erection of such extensive buildings, so it was abandoned for more ample localities. Alnwick, Ludlow, Warwick, and many other stately fortresses, all date from this period.

The hunting-box of the Plantagenet Kings, the watch-tower of Edward the Elder, the stronghold of the Peverels, was degraded into a casual prison for the victims of local tyranny, until, in more civilized times, it fell into decay and became a mere quarry of stone open to the depredations of unscrupulous builders.

The present aspect of the old keep shows unmistakably how early was its abandonment as a place of residence. There seems to have been no attempt made to alter or enlarge the building to suit more modern requirements, so it has escaped the fate which overtook Guildford, Rochester, and many other Norman donjons. Except for the ruthless spoliation of its venerable walls in the eighteenth century, we possess the shell of a perfect Norman keep as it left its builders' hands in the twelfth century. The turrets and battlements have disappeared, the wooden floors and roof have, of course, decayed, and two sides of the building have been stripped of their ashlar facings. I have been told on good authority that the stone facing from the castle was used by a local functionary to build himself a new house at Castleton.

The remains of the castle still left to us are, without doubt, of Norman work. Mr. King was of opinion that the keep was built during the Saxon Heptarchy; but although several antiquaries have dogmatized from the existence of some herring-bone work in the base of the keep and in the walls enclosing the Castle area that a Saxon *stone* fortress formerly stood on the spot, there can be no doubt that the keep as it stands is entirely Norman work.



PEAK CASTLE, 1906.

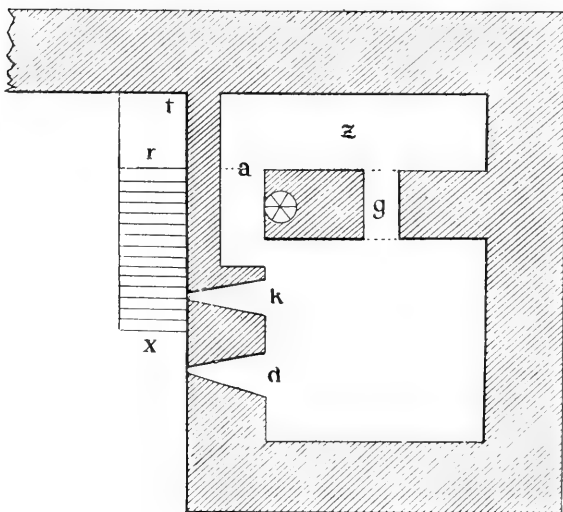


Saxon strongholds were invariably built of wood-stockades of felled trees, supported by earthwork; the herring-bone design which is supposed to indicate Saxon work may have been supplied by Saxon masons working under Norman masters. Similar herring-bone work has been found in Norman erections at Lincoln.* It is only necessary to compare the donjon with similar edifices in England and Normandy to be satisfied that the keep was built in the century succeeding the Norman Conquest.

Ascending the steep hill by a zig-zag path on the north side next to the town, we enter the castle yard, or ballium, by a ruined gateway. The castle yard forms an irregular parallelogram surrounded by walls, measuring roughly two hundred and twenty feet in length from east to west, and one hundred feet and sixty feet in width at the west and east ends respectively. It is a sloping platform which has been levelled up to the north wall to the height of about eleven feet. The north wall, which was about six feet thick, is now almost destroyed, but on reference to Ashmole's drawing it will be seen that the Castle was entered by a gateway surmounted by a Norman arch ornamented by dog-tooth moulding. On the right hand was a bastion to defend the entrance to the gate. The curtain wall extended across the slope of the hill to the precipices overlooking the entrance to the Peak Cavern, ending in a square tower at its north-west angle. As the north was the only accessible part of the hill, this wall was, no doubt, of considerable height, battlemented, with an inside parapet for the use of its defenders; the bastion and tower would also be of great strength. To judge by the sketch, the tower must have undergone some alteration in later and more peaceful days, as the windows seem to have been enlarged and the building adapted to some un-warlike purpose. No other defensive works appear to have existed on the walls which surround the area on the south, east, and west sides; nor would they

* *Brit. Arch. Journal*, 1900, pp. 272-3.

be required, as the walls skirt almost inaccessible precipices. In the west wall there is a rectangular projection which Mr. King describes as the foundation of another small tower, and which Mr. Hartshorne calls a sallyport. Neither of these suggestions commends itself to me. At the south-west angle there are some remains of a rude arch four feet wide, which Mr. King describes as the site of a small tower with a window looking outwards. Mr. Hartshorne considers this



Ground Plan of the Castle.

building, whatever it was, to be of later date than the Keep itself. The wall on the south-east side is modern, and merely protective to visitors.

The keep, as is usual, stands on the highest part of the area; it is rectangular, like most Norman donjons of the period. On the basement floor the walls are eight feet thick, built of concrete made of broken pieces of limestone mixed with

mortar. Both the outside and inside of these concrete walls were faced with fine and well-pointed blocks of gritstone ashlar, which must have been brought from some distant place, as no such stone is found in the immediate neighbourhood. The concrete is of intense hardness, like a Roman wall—it is a solid mass.

Mr. Addy is of opinion that the keep only contained two rooms—the basement and the hall. Mr. King and Mr. C. E. Hartshorne held different views. According to them, the Peak Castle was built on the same lines as Guildford, Corfe, and other Norman donjons, and contained three storeys, and I was myself disposed to accept their conclusions. But a recent careful investigation of the ruin has satisfied me that Mr. Addy is correct. This is an interesting fact to have established, although it was not unusual in the smaller Norman keeps. As Mr. Clark points out: "In the smaller keeps the roof was a simple ridge with lateral gutters; the original roof having its ridge rather below the parapet, had its side gutters in deep hollows. Where the walls have been raised the roof has been replaced by a floor and an upper storey introduced, with either a flat, or nearly flat, leaded roof." That this was never done at the Peak is a proof of my statement that the Castle was early abandoned as a place of residence for more extensive areas.

The keep was entered, not by the opening broken into the basement on the north-east side at a later date, but by an arched doorway opening into the first floor room on the south-east side, and access to it was obtained by means of a wooden ladder, a staircase which could be drawn up in time of alarm. Mr. Edward King (see *Archæologia*, 1782) does not accept this simple means of access. He says: "In the room above"—*i.e.*, the first floor—"was the ancient great entrance, to which it seems exceedingly probable there was a flight of steps that led first to the top of a low wall built across the space from *r* to *t* (see plan), and from thence along a platform to the great portal, having

most likely a drawbridge placed above the crown of the little arch of entrance (*a*) beneath. Many circumstances lead to this conclusion, for, in the first place, that the arch at (*g*) was the grand entrance is obvious." There is no "grand" in the matter—it was, in fact, the only entrance to the keep. "Moreover," he continues, "the crown of this arch, as well as the bottom of the portal, is lower than those of the windows. And yet nothing can be more evident than that a flight of steps could hardly, with any degree of possibility, be made to ascend to it between the outward wall of the Castle, and that of the keep itself blocking up the lower arch of entrance at (*a*), unless, by some means or other, they were so constructed as to be carried over the top of it." I do not understand this, unless Mr. King imagined that there was another entrance to the keep itself blocking up the lower arch of entrance at (*a*), unless, "I believe the grand approach to have been as represented, the steps ascending from (*x*) to (*r*), where was a considerable platform, after which the passage went directly over the top of a wall at (*r*) (*t*) to a drawbridge at (*z*), and thence by a continuance of platform to the portal (*g*), in which case the approach to the steps would be well commanded both by the lower loop at (*d*) and by the great window above at (*k*), and this will account for the loop at (*d*) being placed so irregularly near one corner of the room, instead of being placed in the middle as the window above is."

This conjecture of Mr. King is very ingenious, and worthy of consideration, but I think that the simple mode of access is more likely to be correct when we compare the Peak with other keeps erected about the same time. Speaking of Norman keeps, Mr. Clerk, in his *Medieval Military Architecture*, says that access to such donjons was by an external staircase of timber which could be drawn up. None of the other authorities whom I have mentioned venture to give an opinion on the subject.

The arched entrance doorway on the first floor is 4 ft. 9 in. wide, and is surmounted on the outside by a relieving arch or tympanum. It is 8 ft. 6 in. above the present level of the





THE GARDEROBE

ground outside, which level has been raised by accumulations of soil and rubbish.* The principal room in the keep was entered through this archway. This hall is twenty-two feet in length by nineteen feet in breadth. In the thickness of the south-east wall is a garderobe, well concealed from view by a tortuous passage, and having formerly a door at its entrance. This garderobe projects like an oriel window over the precipice below, and is lighted by a small opening. These garderobes, which are almost universal in Norman keeps, were evidently latrines, and have the usual kind of outlet through a loop, or by a vertical shaft in the wall, with an opening at the base. Ignorant guides often describe them as oubliettes. It is a curious fact that on the outer face of the wall there is inserted an extra corbel (as will be seen in the photograph), which would seem to suggest that the garderobe was originally intended to be twice its present size, and that the plan was subsequently altered and reduced. A narrow opening, formerly closed by a door in the north-east wall, leads to a mural chamber, which has two small windows, one on the north-east and the other on the north-west. This room might be used either as a bedroom or a storeroom. The hall, as we may call it, is lighted and ventilated by three narrow windows, the highest of which is in the south-east gable and ten feet above the floor. The other windows are in the north-east and north-west walls. All these openings, which I call windows, throughout the whole keep are deeply splayed on the inside and slipped up to; they are small, and the hall must have been badly lighted. At night these apertures were covered by curtains; the holes which contained the ends of the curtain rods can still be seen below the semi-circular arches which surmount the sides and jambs.

The different sections of the keep were connected together by a well staircase of stone which ascended and descended from the entrance doorway. By this staircase ascent was made

* I take the measurements from the accurate survey of the building made by Mr. Addy.

from the hall to the belfry tower opening on the rampart walk around the roof. The walls which surrounded the roof were unusually lofty, battlemented and pierced at certain points by openings which served as look-out stations or places for the burning of beacon fires. The window-like aperture in the south-west wall above the roof may have been such a watching-place, as, unlike the windows below, the floor of this aperture is flat. It is about 6 ft. 5 in. in depth and 4 ft. 1 in. in breadth. The narrow loophole at the outer end of the aperture has been crossed horizontally by two iron bars, which would afford protection to the watchman from falling out. This recess Mr. King, on what authority I am ignorant, asserts to have been "the idol ceil or little idolatrous chapel in Pagan times, as at Connisburgh." This seems improbable. The "recess" at Connisburgh referred to by Mr. King is an oratory of considerable size, with a vaulted roof, and designed for Christian worship. Besides, accepting, as we must do, Mr. Addy's theory, it is impossible that a shrine or chapel could exist in such a situation.

The line of the roof is well marked by a remarkable weathering course, which is composed of large stones standing out eight inches from the flat of the wall, and about four inches thick. There is a smaller corbel table above the corbels which support the roof, which apparently supported the platform on which the guard would walk from the staircase to the look-out station, which I have previously described. A gutter, which seems to be original work, leads from the corbels which support the roof through the outer wall to discharge rain-water.

The basement is on the exterior ground level, and does not seem to have been excavated to form a level floor. There is a curious stonework drop in the floor of the basement, as if the south wall of the keep had been built upon an older wall foundation, probably part of the original keep built by Peverel. The height of this room was twelve feet from the highest part of the ground, and seventeen feet from the lowest. It was approached from the hall by the well staircase, which was closed

at both ends by strong doors. There are two narrow deeply splayed windows which give light to the room, which was evidently used as a storeroom.

There is no sign of any well within the Keep. In Glover's *History* it is stated that a well was discovered on the summit of Long Cliffe Hill, between which and the Castle there is a communication across the narrow ridge of rock that overtops the entrance into the Peak Cavern. This well is said to be built of the same kind of gritstone as the facings of the Keep, and it is so situated as easily to be made available for an abundant supply of water. Certainly a supply of water must have been obtained from somewhere, otherwise the castle would have been untenable.

Mr. Addy says: "Strange to say, a small natural cave extends beneath the building, with openings in the cliff on the south-east and south sides." I have not been able to verify this statement.

From the ground level to the top of the battlements the Keep must have been almost sixty feet high, and forty feet square on the outside of the basement. The exterior was flat, relieved by broad pilaster strips of slight projection at the angles and flanking each face, with one in each centre between them. The flanking pilasters covering each angle were each ornamented by an elegant shaft with boldly-carved capital. Only one of these remains now at the south angle, of which



Capital and Base of Shaft.

we give a photograph. The well staircase, situated in the east angle of the building, rose right through the keep from the basement to the belfry in the roof.

Although a small and insignificant object when compared with the lordly castles which are scattered over the length and breadth of Great Britain, the Peak Castle affords us, as I have already remarked, an almost unique example of the Norman donjon of the twelfth century, unaltered to suit the requirements of a more advanced civilization. It was built with such jealous care and with such enduring materials that, as we see by Ashmole's drawing, the walls of the keep remained almost intact down to the end of the seventeenth century. The floor and roof had certainly gone; some of the battlements and the belfry tower had crumbled away; the wooden staircase which gave access to the fortress had disappeared, and doubtless the gap which now gives access to the building had been broken through the massive walls; but its main features remained unaltered. It was left for an unsentimental and utilitarian age to strip the venerable keep of its covering and leave it naked but not ashamed, and still able for centuries to defy the boisterous winds and snowstorms of the High Peakland.

It is greatly to be desired that a careful and minute investigation should be made of the Castle yard. The foundations of the bastion and towers might be unearthed. Let us hope that this may be done at some future date under the auspices of the Derbyshire Archæological Society.

EDITOR'S NOTE.—The Illustration facing this page is from an old print in my possession. For the photographs we are indebted to the kindness of Mr. G. Le Blanc Smith. That of the Garderobe is the result of a somewhat exciting adventure, for, finding it impossible to get a successful position in any other way, he, and his camera, were lowered some twenty feet down over the side of the rock on a rope, Castleton-made, by the custodian and his son. From that position, hanging in mid-air over a precipice some 100 feet from the ground, he managed, in a high wind, after several unsuccessful attempts, to obtain the one which illustrates this article.





NORTH WEST VIEW OF PEAK CASTLE.

Granted by King Edward II. to John, the Eighth Earl of Warren.

Published as the Act directs, Aug. 20. 1786.

Ornithological Notes from Derbyshire, for the year 1905.

By the REV. FRANCIS C. R. JOURDAIN, M.A., M.B.O.U.



THE weather during the latter half of January, 1905, was very severe, and the 16th was almost the most bitterly cold day I can remember. A strong and piercing wind blew all day, and towards nightfall fine spicules of ice began to fall. After a time this changed to snow, which remained on the ground till nearly the end of the month. During this time the thermometer several times registered only a few degrees above zero. It is almost needless to say that the birds suffered much during this spell of Arctic weather, but curiously enough the summer migrants in several cases arrived much earlier than usual. On March 13th, I noticed a hen Stonechat close to the bank of the River Dove near Rocester. These birds have become very scarce in the county of late years, and though twenty or thirty years ago a few pairs used to breed in the Dove valley, they have long ceased to do so. A cock bird was noticed at Thorpe five days afterwards.

On March 20th two Sand Martins found their way up the Dove valley to the cutting near Clifton station, and were followed on the 27th by a small flock of a dozen or so. This is the earliest record of the appearance of these birds of which I have any note during the last twenty-nine years. On the 25th, three Sandpipers were reported from Repton by J. E. C.

Godber, and on the same day Lapwings' nests were found with full clutches. By about the 27th Wheatears had returned to their summer quarters on Thorpe Cloud.

Some of our more hardy resident birds must have nested exceptionally early this year. Thus a Brown Owl's nest contained three young in down at the end of February, nearly a month before the time when eggs are generally laid, and a Dipper's nest on the Henmore brook had young almost fledged on April 12th.

During part of the months of April and May I was abroad, and in consequence my notes for this period are rather scanty. The Chiffchaff once more failed to put in an appearance in the upper Dove valley, to which it was until the last year or two a regular spring visitor. The most interesting feature of the season, however, was the re-appearance of the Merlin on the moors near Bakewell, as recorded by Mr. W. Storrs Fox in the *Zoologist*, 1905, p. 267. These beautiful little moorland hawks have been so persecuted by keepers that it is marvellous that any are still to be met with in the county. Two nests were found: the first was about $8\frac{1}{2}$ miles N.N.E. of Bakewell, and contained the rather unusual number of five eggs, on May 29th. Both old birds were trapped. On June 28th another nest was found about six miles N.E. of Bakewell, and some three miles from the first. Curiously enough this nest contained five well-grown young birds in the usual smoke grey down. The female was trapped and the male shot.

A nest of the Great Spotted Woodpecker, about 35 ft. high in a dead tree not far from Dovedale, contained six fresh eggs on June 6th. Higher up were two old nesting holes, which had evidently been used in former years. Another pair must have bred in Manners Wood, near Bakewell, from whence a young bird was brought alive to Mr. Storrs Fox on June 25th.

The summer and autumn were exceptionally dry, and the rainfall for the year very much below the average. In many parts of England Swifts and various species of *Hirundinidæ* were observed much later than usual. A single Swift was busily

hawking about among a crowd of Martins and Swallows between Ashbourne and Parwich on September 3rd. The House Martins had young in the nests up to the beginning of October, and on the 21st of that month a good many were flying about the Dove valley near Mayfield. A single Swallow was noted at Darley on November 6th (G. Pullen), and six were seen at Repton about the same time (J. E. C. Godber). But even more remarkable is the fact that on November 25th, while an old House Martin's nest on a cottage at Burton-on-Trent was being knocked down, a single Martin flew out (H. G. Tomlinson).

On September 30th, Mr. Herbert Tomlinson, while shooting on the Burton sewage farm, near Egginton, killed a fine Curlew Sandpiper, *Tringa subarquata* (Güld.). It was accompanied by another bird of the same species. When revising the list of Derbyshire birds for the *Victoria History of the County of Derby*, I was unable to include this species in the county list, as, though specimens are to be found in at least one local collection, no information can be obtained respecting them. By the addition of this bird the number of species definitely recorded from the county is raised to 235, exclusive of those which are supposed to have escaped from confinement. It is interesting to note that, like so many of our rarer waders, this bird was obtained on the sewage farm, which has proved extraordinarily attractive to birds of this family. It is in Mr. Tomlinson's possession, and has the feathers of the mantle edged with buff, as is usual in birds of the year. On the same day that this bird was shot, another of our rarer winter migrants was also killed at the same place, viz., a Little Stint, *Tringa minuta* (Leisl).

Another remarkable visitor which has occurred for the first time in Derbyshire during the past year is the Common or Roseate Pelican, *Pelecanus onocrotalus* (L.). On November 4th, one of these fine birds was flying over the Derwent valley, and, attracted by the water, settled in a field near the river. Its appearance caused great consternation among the cattle and sheep grazing close at hand, which is not unnatural when the

enormous spread of wing (about 12 ft.) in this species is taken into consideration. It was stalked and shot by a local inn-keeper, Mr. S. Stevens, and sent to Mr. Hutchinson for preservation. According to the local papers it weighed 50 lb., although it had not fed recently. On inspecting it the plumage proved to be in good order and clean, and the feathers showed no signs of abrasion, such as one might expect to find in a caged bird. It is quite evident also that it possessed considerable powers of flight. Still so many of these fine birds are kept in semi-confinement in Zoological Gardens and public parks, not only in the British Isles, but also on the Continent, that one hesitates without further evidence to regard it as anything more than an escaped bird. Mr. Hutchinson informs me that it was wild and difficult to approach, and proved to be a male on dissection. A herd of Wild Swans, nineteen in number, which were seen flying over the Trent near Willington on the afternoon of December 3rd, probably belonged to the species known as Bewick's Swan, *Cygnus bewicki* (Yarr.), a still larger flock of which visited us during the preceding winter.

The weather during the latter part of the year was very open and dry, and hardly any rain fell in the month of December. On the whole the breeding season has been a good one for most birds; game has been plentiful, and some of our rarer birds are beginning to benefit by the partial protection extended to them. It is, however, necessary once more to point out that to a large proportion of gamekeepers and water-bailiffs the well-meant protection orders of our County Council are still absolutely a dead letter.

Derbyshire Fonts.

By G. LE BLANC SMITH.

(*Photographs by the Author.*)

TRANSITIONAL-NORMAN AND EARLY ENGLISH PERIODS.



DERBYSHIRE can only claim, with any certainty, two specimens of fonts of the Transitional-Norman period, these being at Winster and Ffenny Bentley. Of these two the former is by far the more interesting, for it combines work of some hundreds of years after the date of its actual construction.

WINSTER. FIGS. 1, 2, 3.

This font is really made in two parts, the bowl and the pedestal, or shaft, both being of separate stones. The bowl is circular in plan, divided into eight panels by straight lines of moulding; these lines of moulding are continued on the shaft, which is octagonal, forming the edges of each side.

It is a most puzzling font as to date, for there are so many ornaments of a varied nature and of a style which might make it range from 1200 to 1500 in date. The basis, however, of the whole thing seems to be the short period of Transition which followed the wealth of the late Norman work. The Norman had now so far advanced his work and improved his powers of sculpture that his masses of oft-repeated, ornate details were fast becoming wearisome from their frequent repetition. At this time the Early English style—English as opposed to the Romanesque influence of the Norman—began to make its appearance. The immediate result of this was

to introduce an element of nature into the foliage, the origin of which the Norman seemed to have entirely forgotten in his efforts to secure wealth of detail, and make any natural form bend and shape itself to his requirements. In this font, therefore, we have at the top of the bowl a cable; this looks like Norman work. Round the base of the bowl are curious well-



Fig. 1.—Font at Winster.

rounded leaf forms, having just that touch of nature about them which suggests Transitional-Norman work; on the left of fig. 1 is a panel filled with foliage, leaves and buds, which is distinctly Early English in style; on the right of fig. 1 and left of fig. 2 are panels of what is usually called "Black-letter." Black-letter was the name given, as late as the seventeenth

century, to the printing type which was imitated from the caligraphy of the fifteenth century. All the early books—such as those of Caxton—are printed in this style of type. During the sixteenth century, black-letter, as it was called a century later, died out.

On the bowl of this font, therefore, are portions of sculpture illustrating the work of the Norman, Transitional-Norman, Early English, and Perpendicular styles, apparently. Now it is very evident that it cannot belong to four different styles at once, therefore it is most likely that it was carved at a time which embraced the Norman and Early English styles, viz., the Transitional-Norman, and that it was left unfinished, as appears to this day, and some of the blank panels were filled with ornaments of Perpendicular date.

In describing the ornament, I will begin with the left-hand side of the bowl in fig. 1.

First is a panel of leaf-forms, having a strong Early English appearance; beneath are two buds. On the right of this panel (centre of fig. 1) are two curious skirted human beings holding a book between them; intended, possibly, for angels singing. On the right of fig. 1 is a square label containing the letters I.H.S. in "black-letter." Beneath are two oak leaves.

Continuing the description of the bowl in fig. 2:—On the left is the well-known "Chi rho" monogram of Christ somewhat altered by the addition of the "iota," which is "dotted" over the "rho." The simple "Chi rho" monogram has been a feature, though not a strong one, of English symbolic sculpture ever since Romano-British days.

On the right of the monogram is a curious conventional arrangement of leaf forms in a square, with hollow centre; below, as in the previous panel, are two budding leaves.

On the extreme right of fig. 2 is a sunk square panel enclosing a human head. I have considerable doubts as to whether this is Transitional-Norman or not, and rather incline to the belief that it is much later. Beneath are two buds.

Continuing in fig. 3:—On the right of the afore-mentioned head is a panel containing the letters I.H.S. again; the usual two buds, but weakly carved, are beneath this panel.

On the extreme right of fig. 3 is a curious little child's head and shoulders, in a sunk square panel, shrouded up to the chin. Beneath are two well-cut buds.



Fig. 2.—Font at Winstar.

The two-strand cable encircles the whole of the top of the bowl, while every panel has beneath it the curious little buds, of which similar instances may be seen on Early English crockets.

The base is very curiously carved, and is octagonal in plan; beginning on the right, fig. 1, is:—

Beneath a pointed-headed panel a representation, to all appearances, of the Blessed Virgin and Child. The Virgin,

if such she be, has a curious little projection in the centre of the forehead.

In the centre of fig. 1 is a quaint figure, beneath a painted panel, wrapped up to the neck in clothes. Can this be the Infant Christ in the manger?

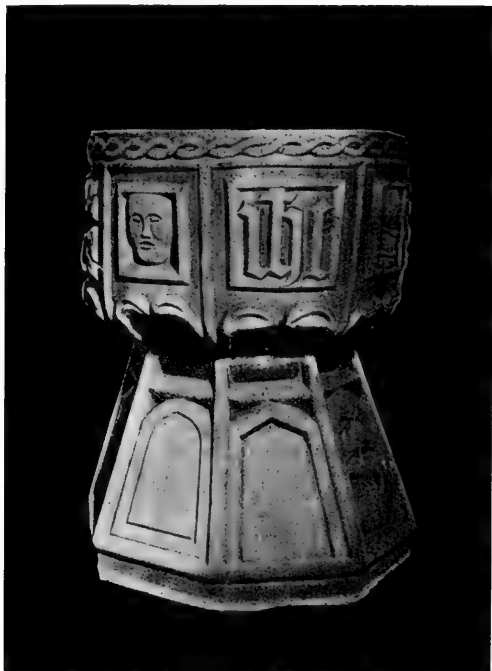


Fig. 3.—Font at Winster.

In the next panel, on the right of fig. 1, is the half-length body of a child in a font.

Now the juxtaposition of these three figure-filled panels suggests that they may be scenes from the early life of Our Lord, up to and including His Baptism, viz., the Nativity, the

Manger, and His Baptism. The two singing angels above should be taken in conjunction with these three panels.

On fig. 2 on the left is a plant, possibly a lily, growing *out of the ground*.

The next three panels are blank, and then we get another lily growing *out of a pot*; the symbol of the Virgin Mary.



Fig. 4.—Font at Ffenny Bentley.

The blank panels of this font seem to have been much too zealously scraped.

The possibility of its being of Transitional-Norman date is further heightened by the fact that there was in the church, before it was so scandalously destroyed, a very fine Transitional-Norman doorway.

The next font, in order of date, to be noticed is that of

FFENNY BENTLEY. FIG. 4.

This is a remarkably rude specimen of very late Norman workmanship, for the carvers of Transitional days seemed to have secured more or less complete mastery over their tools. It is most unlikely that this font is earlier in date than the specimen at Winster.

The Rev. Richard K. Bolton, writing in *The Reliquary* for 1900, says:—

“The font is the despair of archæologists. Its only carving is a five-leafed fleur-de-lys, and it seems to me to be Norman, though defaced in the other panels, probably by Cromwell's Commissioners.”

What there is to “despair of” in this font it is hard to imagine; it is also equally difficult to guess why a lily in a pot—the symbol of the Blessed Virgin Mary—should be described as “a five-leafed fleur-de-lys.” It certainly is not the living image of a lily, but it cannot be said to resemble the “fleur” in the least. Fig. 4.

The base, on which this lily is carved very deeply, has other equally deep depressions in its sides, which do not seem to have ever been otherwise than they are now, *i.e.*, plain and bare.

The bowl is very irregularly surfaced and may have been maltreated, though of this there is no absolute proof.

EARLY ENGLISH PERIOD.

The Early English period must now be considered, as to this period belong two fonts of which Derbyshire may well be proud, *viz.*, Ashbourne and Norton. Other somewhat similar instances are at Bradley, Kniveton, Norbury, and Doveridge,* all near the valley of the Dove, and much resembling that at Ashbourne rather than that at Norton.

The extraordinary dissimilarity between the Norman and Early English styles is one of the curious points of our ecclesiastical architecture; the Transitional-Norman style did

* There are, of course, other specimens, of but little interest, which are scattered about the county.

but little to bridge over this gulf, so here we get a series of fonts of a style which no Norman could have foreseen would, to a certain degree, evolve itself from his work.

The majority of these Early English fonts in Derbyshire are mere copies of the beautiful clustered shafts of the church

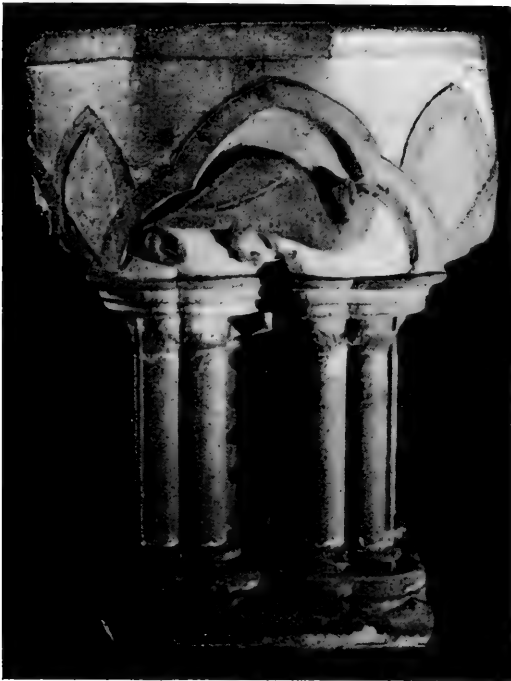


Fig. 5.—Font at Norton.

builders, of an inverted bell shape. Architecturally and artistically the specimen at Ashbourne is the finest, but the greatest interest attaches to that at Norton, which will be described first.

NORTON. FIG. 5.

This specimen does not quite come up to that at Ashbourne in architectural merit, owing to the octagonal plan of the

bowl, but in the symbolism of the result of Baptism it far exceeds it.

The bowl is ornamental, with sort of ogee-shaped arcades, superimposed. The North, West, and South sides are ornamented with a winged angel's head; a head and some foliage; and some characteristic Early English foliage respectively. On the East side is a curious lizard-like creature known as the salamander. An example of this little reptile has already been met with on the font at Youlgreave, which was described in Vol. xxvi. of this *Journal*.

The salamander was popularly supposed to be a denizen of the fire, and its presence here may be fairly accounted for by the fact that it was intended to symbolise fire; the fire of fires; the denizen of that fire of fires; *i.e.*, the Devil.

It will be noticed that in nearly every case where this salamander occurs it has a look of most intense disgust and loathing on its face; this, no doubt, is meant to typify the disgust which the Devil feels at the Sacrament of Baptism, by the agency of which he is cast out; and we thus see him crawling away, painfully and disgustedly, from his deadly enemy, the Water of Baptism.

The invariable characteristics of this curious little creature, as carved by the early mediæval artists, were the long tail with one curl in it (often bifurcated), the humped back, wings, legs set on very far back, and its dragon-like head.

A list of fonts bearing the salamander has already been given under the head of that at Youlgreave in this *Journal*.

The presence of the salamander on this font should do away with the fallacy that it is only found on those of Norman date. A more undoubted example of the salamander and a better distinguished Early English font could not exist.

The clustered shafts which support the bowl are ornamented in their interstices with the "dog-tooth" ornament. The design is an adaptation from the Norman star ornament, which consisted of a cross or four-pointed star within a square border. Such a very geometrical arrangement did not suit the

Transitional-Norman artist and his successor of the Early English period at all, so to abolish the dividing line between each star and the next he made the star lie on a little pyramid, *i.e.*, he raised the centre, or meeting point of the rays, of the star much above the edges. This caused each star to throw a shadow which, to his mind, was far preferable, as a division, to the original line of the Norman star. The rays were then



Fig. 6.—Font at Ashbourne.

made more natural and foliage-like (the characteristic of the thirteenth century carver), and assumed the forms of petals; the dog-tooth was then evolved. This dog-tooth was *not* an exclusive ornament of the Early English period as was the "ball-flower" of the succeeding "Decorated" period. Its parentage was Norman, its early youth Transitional-Norman, and its mature middle-age and death-bed were Early English.

When one begins to analyse the Early English style, and note its principal points of beauty, it becomes most apparent that the secret of the whole thing is its lightness and airiness (possibly more noticeable owing to the sturdy Norman which preceded it), and its use of foliage as near and true to nature as the thirteenth century carver was capable of getting.



Fig. 7.—Font at Bradley.

Surely, then, this dog-tooth is much out of place; there is no real likeness to foliage in it, for it is far more of a geometrical pattern than anything else, yet it is one of the features of the Early English style, but not a feature of it alone, nor its only *feature*.

This font at Norton is the only one in the fairly representative list illustrated by Paley, which has this dog-tooth.

ASHBOURNE. FIG. 6.

This is a most beautifully designed, well-balanced example of that type of Early English font which was derived from the



Fig. 8.—Font at Kniveton.

clustered columns—including base and capital—which were such a successful and much admired feature of the churches of the thirteenth century.

Paley, in his *Baptismal Fonts*, gives a very bad illustration of it, and, by way of description, proceeds to discuss the date at which the church was dedicated to St. Oswald, *i.e.*, May 8th, 1241.

He also mentions the fact that the font in his day stood on the floor, being destitute of either base-stone or steps. This is now altered, and the font once more stands on these customary additions.

The bowl is round, but, where it approaches the beautiful capitals to the central pillar, it is gathered in at intervals, to correspond with the otherwise outstanding capitals.

The ornament consists of a very graceful ogee-shaped arcade of two orders, and, in the intervals between each arcade and the next, is a well-executed fleur-de-lys on a long stalk.

The shaft consists of eight clustered columns, with beautifully finished bases; in fact, the whole thing is as beautiful an example of Early English workmanship as can be imagined. It is very simple and well proportioned, and is, in fact, a type which might well be copied when a new font is required, for, as it is, the modern font is a hideous erection, as a rule, of glaring contrasts in coloured marbles and brass plates.

BRADLEY. FIG. 7.

The original carver of the Bradley font has made a shockingly bad attempt at copying the example at Ashbourne.

The beautiful ogee-shaped arcade has here given place to a terrible round-headed affair which is absolute ruination to any gracefulness which the font might otherwise possess. A similar arcade may be seen on the font at Irchester, Northants. The "fleurs" have been elaborately vulgarised in this font at Bradley, no longer having the delicacy of those at Ashbourne.

The absence of bases to the clustered shafts, which form the stem of this font, is much to be deplored, as whatever beauty there might have been is quite destroyed.

KNIVETON. FIG. 8.

Here again is a font which one may safely surmise was copied from that at Ashbourne, as it is of the same style, and near that place. It has on the S.E. side the date 1663. This obviously is not the date at which it was carved, being, most probably, the date at which it was restored to the church (the Norman font at Pentrich was similarly cut about the same

date). The bowl is a good specimen, but the tall, clustered columns forming the shaft are weakly set out, and much too tall in proportion; their capitals, too, are practically non-existent and the bases are shallow. The bowl is gathered in at the base as at Ashbourne, and the arcade is similar, but the "fleurs" are wanting.



Fig. 9.—Font at Norbury.

NORBURY. FIG. 9.

This is a small font, but good in all its details. The bowl is plain and round at the top, being cut inwards below in order to properly taper to the capitals of the clustered columns forming the shaft.

These shafts, like those at Norton, are so arranged that they have a square plan, *i.e.*, they will fit inside a square drawn round them; the Ashbourne, Bradley and Kniveton examples have a circular plan, *i.e.*, they will fill a circular line drawn round their bases. The bases and capitals are very sound in design.

The font at Doveridge closely resembles that at Ashbourne. Those at Ashbourne, Norton, Bradley and Norbury are illustrated by Paley.

These Early English fonts are not very interesting on the whole, as there is that quaint carving missing which so characterised the Norman work, and, save for the salamander at Norton, there is no symbolic sculpture.

In the *Journal* of next year it is hoped to describe and illustrate some of the principal fonts of the Decorated period, which succeeded the Early English, including the fine and interesting examples of Bakewell and Bradbourne.

Further Notes on the Trade Weights found at Melandra.

By THOMAS MAY, F.S.A. (Scot.)



THE recent publication in a collected form* of particulars of the discovery of a bronze cheese-shaped weight marked I., weighing 4,770 grains, in good condition, with numerous horse-trappings of late Keltic work, near Neath, Glamorganshire, and a similar stone weight only 3 grains less in weight at Mayence, and of the frequent discovery in early British sites of the iron money—currency bars of a corresponding weight or two or three times the weight of the unit—mentioned by Cæsar, *De Bello Gallico*, V. 12, as in use by the Britons at the time of his invasion (*Utuntur [aut aere aut] taleis ferreis ad certum pondus examinatis pro nummo*) in no fewer than seven English counties and in large numbers together, has given rise to the belief in my own mind that the series of leaden weights found at Melandra, described as Trade Weights and included in Table I. in my paper contributed to the annual number of the Society's *Journal* for 1903, are of similar Early British or Late Keltic origin.

This consideration increases the importance and interest of the discovery, and makes it worth while to add a few supplementary notes to my original paper, and to revise the

* *Guide to the Antiquities of the Early Iron Age, Brit. Mus., 1905.*

list of trade weights by excluding therefrom the single bronze weight No. 9A, weight 405.6 grains, which is probably an example of the Roman *uncia* (*circ.* 421 grains) in a somewhat damaged or corroded condition, as therein suggested, No. 6 as being evidently in a damaged and defective condition, and No. 1 as unconformable.

The revised table of the remaining seven trade weights, which are all of lead, will then be as follows:—

TABLE I. TRADE WEIGHTS. Unit 4,770 grains.

Prog. No.	Present Weight. Grains.	Fraction or Aliquot Part of Unit.	Norm. or Unit, Grains.	Number of Minimum Units.
2.	148.8	...	$\frac{1}{32}$... 4,761	... 9
7.	299.5	...	$\frac{1}{16}$... 4,792	... 18
9.	331.2	...	$\frac{5}{72}$... 4,769	... 20
{ 13.	918.7	...	$\frac{7}{36}$... 4,724	... 56
{ 14.	921.12	...	$\frac{7}{36}$... 4,737	... 56
15.	1,188.	...	$\frac{1}{4}$... 4,752	... 72
19.	4,744.32	...	1 ... 4,744	.. 288

Average 4,753

Ancient British weight marked I 4,770

Difference 17

The figures in the third column are obtained by dividing the present weight by the fraction in the intermediate column. Since 288 is the least common multiple of the denominators, it follows that a minimum weight was employed corresponding to the Roman *scripulum* = $\frac{1}{88}$ *libra*, and weighing 16.55 grains. A weight corresponding to the Roman *uncia* ($\frac{1}{12}$ th *libra*), and weighing 396 grains, is also indicated by three punch marks on No. 15 ($\frac{1188}{3}$ = 396).

By reference to the photograph in the original paper it will be seen that the largest of the above series, No. 19, bears one punch mark, and from the table, that its weight is only twenty-six grains less than that of the Neath unit, a discrepancy no doubt due to its corroded condition. On the other hand

No. 9 is quite accurate, and No. 7 works out 22 grains more than the unit, the others being somewhat less. The average weight of the whole series works out only 17 grains below that of the ancient British standard, which is a very striking agreement.

Though based upon an Early British standard, they are sub-divided according to the Roman duodecimal method. When considered along with the historical facts this leads to the conclusion that weights of ancient British and Roman standards were used simultaneously for trade purposes during the friendship which existed between the Romans and Brigantes for twenty years (A.D. 50-70). It supports the view that the Melandra camp was constructed at least as early as the first campaign of Cerealis against the Brigantes in A.D. 70 (Tacitus Agric., 17), which is further confirmed by the early character of the *terra sigillata* (Samian) bowl, form 29 (carinated), found there, ornamented with patterns in a style which had disappeared from use before the close of the first century, and was made at La Graufesenque, whence the Gallo-Roman potters likewise ceased exporting by the end of the first century of our era.

The disposition of the Roman roads to the east of Manchester also leads to the same conclusion (Codrington's *Roman Roads in Britain*, ed. 1905, p. 381).

Winster Market House.

BY H. C. HEATHCOTE.



THE local history of Winster, that old upland village—once a town—in the Peak of Derbyshire, seems to have been unwritten. Winster, named in the Domesday survey *Winsterne*, has had several speculative derivations of its name: for a detailed account of these the reader is referred to an article by Mr. Frederic Davis, which appeared in the *Derbyshire Archaeological Journal* some years ago. The antiquity of the village is beyond doubt, as is manifested by the discoveries from time to time of stone implements and the numbers of ancient burial-places in the neighbourhood. The old lead mines show undoubted evidence of Roman occupation, but, “Hypotheses non fingo,” Winster is one of the oldest market towns in Derbyshire. Tradition has it that a peck of potatoes, a peck of meal, and a pound of butter could be purchased for a shilling in Winster market once upon a time.

The earliest record we can find of the market is in the Will of the late Thomas Eyre,* of Rowtor, or Roo-Tor, who died November 30th, 1717. An extract from his Will reads: “And as for ye wordly (*sic.*) estate wch it hath pleased God to bestow upon me I give devise and bequeath ye same in manner and form following . . . together with my Market and Fairs of Winster with their and every other appurtenances.”

* He was son of Adam and grandson of Roger of Rowter, who was a son of Rowland Eyre, of Hassop, by Gertrude, daür and co-heir of Humphrey Stafford, of Eyam.—EDITOR.

In Capper's *Topographical Dictionary*, A.D. 1808, Winster is mentioned thus: "Here is a small market on Saturday and a fair on Easter Monday."

Brevity itself characterises the account given in *Pilkington's View of the Present State of Derbyshire*, 1738: "The Church of Winster is dedicated to St. John the Baptist. The town has a market."



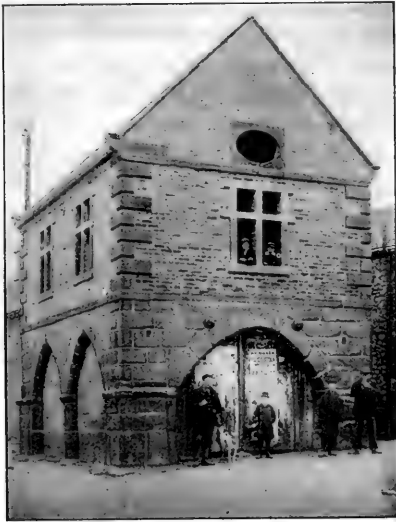
Before Restoration.

From *The Diary of George Moore of Winster Hall*, bearing date July 8th, 1778, we may conjecture that the market day at Winster was a busy one, for he writes: "I propose to go to Buxton to-day out of the way of the market."

In Lyson's *Magna Britannia*, vol. v., page 306, A.D. 1817: "Winster is a small market town about three miles from Youlgreave, about 19 miles from Derby, and about 145 miles from London. The market, which appears to have

been held by prescription (as we can find no grant for it on record), is held on Saturday, chiefly for butchers' meat. There is no fair now held."

The late Llewellynn Jewitt, that accomplished litterateur, lived at Winster many years, and spent much time and research in trying to find some early record of the old Market House, but without success. In *The Reliquary*, vol. xxi., p. 144, we find



After Restoration.

the following from his pen:—"Dating back as it does from Saxon times, Winster is one of the oldest market towns in the county of Derby. Its market once very flourishing, and even within the memory of the oldest inhabitants, 'Wi long rows o' stalls, and the people so thick and throng together you could a walk'd a top o' their heads,' is now, however, a thing of the past, having for many years fallen into desuetude. The old venerable Market House, one of the few examples spared to

us, still happily remains, and although but rarely opened except at the time of the annual wakes, gives an air of importance and antiquity to the place. The building stands nearly in the middle of the main street of the village, the principal thoroughfare being on one side and a footpath on the other. It is two stories in height, the lower one of massive stone and the upper of very ancient brickwork with stone facings. Of the Market House nothing is known, nor is it necessary to conjecture. That it has stood some centuries there is no doubt."

After various vicissitudes the Market House, a little over twenty years ago, became the property of the late Mr. Joseph Greatorex, but the building got so dilapidated that it became necessary for the safety of the public to take the upper story down, as shown in the first illustration (1904). For a nominal sum Mr. Greatorex most generously conveyed it to the present owners, who, in response to a general desire evinced by the lovers of the ancient buildings of Derbyshire, have secured the restoration of this ancient relic of old time.

The National Trust for Places of Historical Interest kindly gave the services of its architect, Mr. Weir, who has been twice down from London to plan the restoration, which has been carried out under the superintendence of Mr. Henry Rye, of Bakewell, architect for the Duke of Rutland, the work being done by local labour. The old material has been used except in places where it was absolutely necessary to put new. Mr. Rye reports:—"I have visited the above building several times at the request of the National Trust Society, and also the Society for the Preservation of Ancient Buildings, and have been able to report in all cases that the work of rebuilding the Old Market House has been and is being carried out in a sound and most conservative manner, no pains being spared to keep it to the old lines of this very interesting building. It has been a great pleasure to me to see work being so preserved."

The work of restoration is now practically completed, as shown in illustration No. 2* (1905), leaded lights to the windows

* The Plates are from photographs taken by Mr. Le Blanc Smith.

having been added since the photograph was taken. The maintenance and repair of the roadway in the main street was attached to the market, extending from the front of the building about seventy yards in a westerly direction. By agreement this has been transferred to the Bakewell Rural District Council, £20 having been paid to that body as consideration money. The market rights and the tolls accruing therefrom have been vested with the Winster Parish Council. About £120 has been expended in the work of rebuilding. The credit of the whole undertaking may be justly given to Mrs. Childers Thompson, who has acted as hon. treasurer, and to whom is due the first inception of the restoration.

The building is about to be conveyed to The National Trust, and its future preservation will be thereby secured.

**A Review of "The Royal Forests of
England," by J. Charles Cox, LL.D., F.S.A.**

By the HON. F. STRUTT.



HIS book, which is one of the series of the Antiquary Books published by Messrs. Methuen, deserves some mention in this *Journal*, not only because it contains probably the best account yet written of the Royal Forests in the county of Derby and its immediate neighbourhood—namely, the Forests of the High Peak, Duffield Frith, Needwood, and Sherwood—but because it is the work of the Rev. J. Charles Cox, to whom the Derbyshire Archæological Society owes its origin, who was a former Editor of its *Journal*, and who has done so much to make the history of his native county interesting and attractive to the general reader.

In attempting in a few lines to give a short account of this work, we shall think it best to confine ourselves to the accounts of the two forests which will, we think, be of the greatest interest to Derbyshire readers; and we shall also pass over the eight preliminary chapters, which contain, more particularly, an account of the laws, the officers, the courts, the customs, and the general history of these Royal Forests.

These chapters alone would afford interesting reading to, and would be found most useful by, those who are taking up the study of the sport and of the forest life in England six or seven centuries ago.

The forest of the High Peak was probably one of the most extensive in England, and covered altogether an area of forty

and a half square miles. From the days of Henry I. it was divided into three districts—Campana on the south and south-west, Longdenale on the north and north-west, and Hopedale on the east.

The bounds of the Forest, as set forth in the forest pleas held 1286, were as follows, given in an English dress:—

The metes and bounds of the Forest of the Peak begin on the south at the New Place of Goyt, and thence by the river Goyt as far as the river Etherow; and so by the river Etherow to Langley Croft at Longdenhead; thence by a certain footpath to the head of Derwent; and from the head of Derwent to a place called Mythomstede (Mytham Bridge); and from Mytham Bridge to the river Bradwell; and from the river Bradwell as far as a certain place called Hucklow to the great dell (cavam cave?) of Hazelbache; and from that dell as far as Little Hucklow; and from Hucklow to the brook of Tideswell, and so to the river Wye; and from the Wye ascending up to Buxton, and so on to the New Place of Goyt.

This great forest—one of the most important of the Royal hunting-grounds, and visited for that purpose, we know, by members of the Royal family, and occasionally by the Sovereign himself—was, it must be remembered, used by no means exclusively for hunting purposes, or for growing timber, or for letting out to the various officers of the forest or to other tenants, but was in part farmed and used for the purposes of horse-breeding by the King himself and by members of the Royal family.

We are told that at the Forest Eyre (a court for hearing and determining pleas of the Forest)—

Full lists of assarts and purprestures that had occurred since 1261 under the respective bailiffs were also presented at the 1286 pleas.

As to horses, it was presented that the Queen Consort had a stud of 115 mares with their foals in Campana (one of the divisions of the Peak Forest), to the great injury of the Forest, but that many had horses and mares in Campana under cover of their belonging to the Queen. Peter de Shatton, forester-of-fee, had eleven horses and mares feeding in Campana, whose pasturage was rated at 2s. Nineteen other foresters had horses and mares in various proportion, all claiming to be part of the Queen's stud. They were all ordered to remove their animals, and had to pay pasturage value, and in addition, fines varying from 1s. to 4s., save in the cases of Adam Gomfrey John Daniel and Cecily Foljambe who were pardoned.

A good deal is also said in the details of farm stock for one year about the sheep, and there are various references to the milking of the ewes in the Peak Accounts; and we are by this

reminded that from the time of Domesday to the time of Queen Elizabeth the making of cheese from sheeps' milk was universal throughout England, as we find it is still in the warmer climates of the south of Europe, the Canary Islands, and many other places.

Of course, no history or account of Peak Forest would be complete without frequent references and allusions to the Castle, that home of the first Peverel, one of William the Conqueror's most favoured followers, and the place which, in the first two or three hundred years after its erection, was not unfrequently the abode of the Sovereign himself.

It is rather sad to find that the only use to which this romantically-situated stronghold was put to for many years before it became a ruin, was that of a prison for felons and murderers and offenders against the Forest Laws.

In June, 1585, in the reign of Elizabeth, it appears to have become almost a ruin, and the Commissioners who reported as to its state were ordered to put it in repair. It appears, however, never from that time to have been made use of, either as prison, or stronghold, or residence of any kind.

It was as early as 1635, in the reign of Charles I., that the first steps were taken for the destruction of the deer and for the partial enclosure of this large domain. In that year the landowners and inhabitants within the Forest petitioned the King, complaining of the severity, trouble, and rigour of the Forest Laws, and praying that the deer, which were in sufficient numbers to do considerable damage to the crops in the Forest and its purlieus, might be destroyed, and asking to be allowed to compound by enclosing and improving the same. Thereupon the King issued a Commission of Inquiry under the Duchy seal, and directed that two juries should be impanelled, appointing a surveyor to assist them. The first jury viewed the whole Forest and its purlieus, and presented that the King might improve and enclose one moiety in consideration of his rights, and that the other moiety should be enclosed by the tenants, commoners, and freeholders. The other jury was

impanelled to consider the question of the towns within the purlieu, and they represented that the King, in view of the largeness of the commons belonging to the towns of Chelmorton, Flagg, Taddington, and Priestcliffe, might reasonably have for improvement and enclosure one-third, and the remaining two-thirds for the commoners and freeholders.

Both Crown and inhabitants were well pleased with the result. The commons were measured, and surveys made that divided the land into three sorts—best, middle, and worst—and the King's share was staked, and maps showing the results were drafted.

The surveys were not completed till 1640, and all the preliminaries having been adjusted, the King caused all the deer to be destroyed or removed; and since that date, the report expressly states, there were never any deer whatever within the High Peak Forest.

"The extirpation of the deer was almost immediately followed by the beginning of the 'troubulous times' that preceded the actual outbreak of the Civil War, and hence further proceedings came, for a time, to an end."

We may here remind our readers that by referring to vol. xxiv. of this *Journal* they will find some account of the enclosure of Peak Forest, taken from original MSS., showing how various Peak families obtained a considerable part of their estate.

Duffield Frith, the other Royal Forest in the county of Derby, was, as is well known, for a considerable time the property of the Ferrers family, until, in the reign of Henry III., in consequence of the rebellion, their estates were forfeited to the Crown. These estates were then granted to Edmund, Earl of Lancaster, in whose family they remained till, on the accession to the throne of Henry Duke of Lancaster, they again became Crown property.

Here again, as in the High Peak Forest, we find that great use must have been made of the Royal Forest both for horse and cattle-breeding and for dairy purposes. We may presume

that, as the land of Duffield Frith is richer than the land of the High Peak, that is the reason why we hear much more of cows and less of sheep. It is interesting, also, to be told with certainty that in Ravensdale Park stood the chief lodge of Duffield Frith, which was the hunting seat of the Earls and Dukes of Lancaster when in this part of their estates, and which was occasionally honoured by the presence of royalty.

In the receipts of John Hulleston, the Receiver of the Ward of Hulland, there is an account of very considerable repairs being done to the lodge and park of Ravensdale during one year. Even the price of the painted glass for the windows of the Manor Chapel and the iron for making the bars for the support of these windows is mentioned. It seems a pity that beyond a stone or two of the foundations of this lodge touched now and then by the plough, and the name, Ravensdale Park, which is still attached to that particular hamlet, all memory and all trace of this ducal residence should have long since so absolutely disappeared.

The word forest, we all know, does not necessarily apply to a wild space covered with timber, but all who have read these accounts of the two Derbyshire Royal forests will realise that in these forests, at any rate, even supposing they were not all covered with trees, there must have been a noble display of timber. This timber in Duffield Frith, as anyone can realise who has wandered through some of the remaining indigenous woods of Alderwasley, or along the now enclosed valley of the Ecclesburne, must have been principally oak, with birch on the more sandy and higher ground.

If any reader of the history of the Forest of the High Peak should doubt the probability of the oak growing in any profusion in the valleys of the higher part of Derbyshire, let him go and explore the Baslow and Beeley ends on the east side of the river in Chatsworth Park, where he can still get a faint idea of how beautiful the rocky valleys of Derbyshire must have been when full of oaks of noble size, and he will then also, perhaps, begin to wonder why greater efforts are not now being

made to plant and to re-afforest a good deal of the land in this county which at present is almost unproductive, and bringing little or no profit either to its owner or its tenant.

In this very short sketch that he has given of this interesting book, the writer does not pretend to have been able to do justice to it. He hopes, however, that this mention of the book may induce many of the readers of the Derbyshire Archæological Society's *Journal* to study it themselves, and by doing so gain a greater knowledge of and a more thorough insight into the life led by their ancestors in days of old.

Some Early Chapel-en-le-Frith Charters.

By W. BRAYLESFORD BUNTING.



LAST summer a bundle of documents concerning an estate at Chapel-en-le-Frith came into my hands, and as some of the earlier ones appear to be of interest, I have availed myself of the owner's permission to transcribe them.

Two, of even date, of the fourteenth century, are, so far as can be ascertained, the earliest extant private charters relating to the ownership of lands in this parish, and an exact copy of one of them is given, showing the abbreviations, with a verbatim translation, from which the reader may judge as to whether my reading of the contracted text is correct. The conventional marks indicating usual contractions are not noticed in the printed copy. The accompanying illustration is from a photograph by Mr. J. T. Gray, Chapel-en-le-Frith.

To avoid repetition, only the more important parts of the others have been abstracted.

No. 1.

Oñibs ad quos psens septu pvenit Thoñs fil Thom le Raggedd salute etnam in Dño Novitis me remisisse concessisse relaxasse t omnino p me t hēdibs meis quiet clamasse imppetuu Willño fil Rici de Hurdeffeld t hedibs suis t suis assignat totu jus meii t clameu qd heo hui seu aliter jur vel heditar her potui in sex acris terre cū ptin suis infra metas de Boudon que quidam ac simul jacet in campo de Staynolsleye t pedder medowe Ita vero qd nc Ego dts Thoñs nec hēdes mei nec aliqs alius p nos sive p nobs nc noie ñro aliquod jus vl clameu in pdicts

Quibus ad quos p[ro]p[ri]etas s[er]u[er]at p[ro]p[ri]etate h[ab]ere s[er]u[er]at p[ro]p[ri]etas s[er]u[er]at p[ro]p[ri]etas
me t[em]p[or]e concessisse concessisse concessisse concessisse concessisse concessisse concessisse concessisse
de h[ab]ere concessisse concessisse concessisse concessisse concessisse concessisse concessisse concessisse
ut h[ab]ere concessisse concessisse concessisse concessisse concessisse concessisse concessisse concessisse
iure in campo de concessisse concessisse concessisse concessisse concessisse concessisse concessisse concessisse
aliis t[em]p[or]e concessisse concessisse concessisse concessisse concessisse concessisse concessisse concessisse
ut vendicite concessisse concessisse concessisse concessisse concessisse concessisse concessisse concessisse
iure concessisse concessisse concessisse concessisse concessisse concessisse concessisse concessisse
apud concessisse concessisse concessisse concessisse concessisse concessisse concessisse concessisse
Carta concessisse concessisse concessisse concessisse concessisse concessisse concessisse concessisse

CHARTER NO. 1.



sex acs terre cū ptin exiger vel vendicar potim In cū rei testim
 huic psent scpto sigillu mei apposui Hiis testibs Rico ffoleiambe
 Iohe de Smaleleys Willmo de Baggeshagh Iohe de Olleronshagh
 Hug de Horderon t aliis Dat apud Cappellam de ffrith die Dmča
 px post festu trslons sci Thom martu Anno Regni Reg Edwardi
 fil Reg. Edwardi sextodecio.

TRANSLATION.

To all to whom the present writing may come Thomas son
 of Thomas le Ragged health eternal in the Lord Know ye that
 I have remised granted released and absolutely for me and my
 heirs quit claimed for ever to William son of Richard de Hurde-
 field and his heirs and his assigns all my right and claim which
 I have may have or otherwise by right or descent can have in
 six acres of land with [their] appurtenances within the bounds
 of Boudon which same six acres together lie in the field of
 Staynolsleye and pedder meadow So that truly neither I the said
 Thomas nor my heirs nor any other person through us whether
 through us or in our name any right or claim in the aforesaid
 six acres of land with [their] appurtenances may be able to exact
 or levy In witness whereof to this present writing my seal is
 appended these being witnesses Richard Foljambe John de
 Smaleleys, William de Baggshagh, John de Ollerenshawh, Hugh
 de Horderon and others. Given at the Chapel of Frith on the
 Sunday next after the Feast of the Translation of S. Thomas
 the Martyr in the 16th year of the reign of King Edward son of
 King Edward (1323).

No. 2. Of the same date as No. 1, is a grant by Elena, daughter
 of John de Bonkes, to the before-mentioned William, son of
 Richard de Hurdefield, of the same six acres, and is in identical
 terms. The witnesses are also the same, with the addition of
 Richard de Horderon. No. 1 is about $8\frac{1}{6}$ inches in length by
 $2\frac{7}{8}$ inches in depth. No. 2 is $7\frac{5}{8}$ inches by $2\frac{7}{8}$ inches. A label
 for the seal is attached to each, but all traces of the seal have
 disappeared. These documents are dated on the Sunday after
 the Patronal Festival of the Parish Church (7th July), still
 observed as the local "Wakes."

Thomas le Ragged was Bailiff of the High Peak 8 Edw. I.,* and Thomas, his son, was a Forester in fee of Langdendale,† in which ward of the forest the greater part of the parish of Chapel-en-le-Frith lies. He and John de Smaleleys, a *Regardator*, were present at an inquest ad quod damnum at Fairfield on the Monday next before the Feast of S. Luke, 11 Edw. II.‡ Richard de Herdifiel built a house in the King's demesne *temp.* Henry III.,§ and also had enclosed half an acre in Coombes *temp.* Edw. I.,|| and Richard Foljambe was a Regarder-Forester in 11 Edw. II.¶. William de Bagshawe is also mentioned several times in the Forest Pleas *temp.* Edw. I. It has been suggested that John de Bonks was of Bankhead, whence sprang the Bradburys, who were subsequently connected by marriage with several Chapel-en-le-Frith families.**

No. 3. Is a ffeofment of Thomas del Kirke, senior, and Margaret his wife of one messuage and the adjacent hereditaments called le Netherlegh, and a meadow called le pedder meadow lying "in le Whytehalgh within the vill of Bawdon," which the said Thomas had of the gift and ffeofment of Alice and Elena sisters of the said Margaret to Thurstan son of the said Thomas and the heirs of his body with Remainder to Roger brother of the said Thurstan. T. William de Honford Nichs Broune Waltere del Kirke Thomas Ionesson Radulphs Broune "et multis aliis." Dated at "le Whitehalgh" on Wednesday next after the Annunciation B.V.M. 10 Hen. VI. (1432).

No. 4. Is a Chirograph of Fine dated at Westminster on the morrow of S. Martin 11 Hen. VI. (1433) wherein Ralph Kirke is Plaintiff and Hugh Bredburie and Elena his wife are Defendants of one messuage and nine acres of land in Whitehalgh. "Pdem Ratus dedit pdis hugoni et Elene decem marcas argenti."

* Yeatman, *Feud. Hist.*, sec. vi., p. 267.

† *Ibid.*, p. 320.

‡ *Churches of Derbyshire*, vol. ii., p. 587.

§ *Feud. Hist.*, sec. vi., p. 252.

|| *Ibid.*, p. 295.

¶ *Ibid.*, p. 322.

** *Reliquary*, vol. viii., p. 240.

No. 5. Margaret "q fuit uxor Thome Kyrke" grants "in pura viduetate mea" to her son Thurstan all her estate in one messuage and land called Netherlegh and Pedder Meadow which the said Thurstan had of the gift and ffeofment of Thomas Kyrke his father. T. Richo. Brown, Iohe Stafforth Willo Bradshaw et aliis "Dat apud Capella le ffryth in fest sci martini in yeme" (hieme—in winter) 12 Hen. VI. (1434).

No. 6. Is a grant in similar terms by Agnes "qudm uxor Willi Hobson" of her interest in the same hereditaments to the said Thurstan (which he had of the gift and ffeofment of the said William Hobson) and is witnessed by the same persons and bears the same date as No. 5.

All these documents evidently relate, in part at least, to the same property, but we have no clue to the devolution of the title during the century or more intervening between numbers 2 and 3. Whitehalgh, or Whitehough, was the home of the Kirke family for many generations, but the names of the parties to these charters do not appear in the published pedigree.* It has been suggested that Margaret, Elena and Agnes† mentioned in Nos. 3, 4, 5 and 6, were sisters, and married Kirke, Bradbury, and Hobson respectively.

Possibly Thomas Kirke was a younger son of one of the owners of Whitehough. William Bradshaw, the witness to the charters of Margaret Kyrke and Agnes Hobson, was no doubt the William Bradshaw who was living in 1478,‡ and who is said to have married Elizabeth, daughter of Edward Kirke, of Whitehough.

Of the other three documents, one, dated 11th November, 1 and 2 Philip and Mary (1554), is a settlement of lands in the County of Derby on the marriage of Richard, son and heir of George Kyrke, of the Hamlete of Whytehalgh, husbandman. One of the witnesses is "Dom Edw. Bagshawe Cappellanus," who was perpetual curate of Chapel-en-le-Frith at that time.

* See *Reliquary*, vol. viii.

† *The Christian name of Agnes was often used as synonymous with Alite.*
[EDITOR.]

‡ *Arch. Journ.*, vol. xxv., p. 22.

The others are two fines (duplicates) dated 23 Charles I. (1647), in which Nicholas Kerke Dorothy Shirte and Thomas Gee are Querents and William Earl of Devonshire (who leased the Manor of High Peak) Deforciant of messuages and lands in Chapel-en-le-Frith and Glossop.

These deeds are, and probably for generations have been, in the possession of the owner of "Laneside," a farm situate in the township of Bradshaw Edge, in the parish of Chapel-en-le-Frith, or Bowden Chapel, as it was called, which farm was in 4 Charles I. the property of Nicholas Kirke, perhaps a descendant of the Whitehough family, whose estate was not far distant, or of the former owners of "Courses" immediately adjoining Laneside.

We are, unfortunately, unable to identify the lands mentioned; one of the Laneside fields is known as Stoneylea (possibly a corruption of Staynolsleye), but Pedder Meadow and Netherlegh cannot now be traced.

All these documents are in excellent preservation, the older ones particularly being remarkably clear and well written.

No doubt many such exist throughout the county, and it is to be hoped that members of our Society will do their best to place them on record before they fall into the hands of some one who, like an individual I met not long since, will burn "two or three barrowfuls of old parchments which he could not read and were no good to anyone"!

NOTE BY EDITOR.

Among the extracts from charters made by Mr. Bagshawe, of Ford, are two which are worth quoting, which he kindly allows me to do:—

(1) "A grant witnessed by Walter Kyrke and dated 12 Hen. VI. of lands and tenements in the Ville of Bowden by Margaret, relict of Thomas Kyrke and Ralph Kyrke her son to Rich. Pigot and Thomas Kyrke son of the same Ralph Kyrke."

(2) "A grant witnessed by Hugh and Walter Kyrke and dated 32 Henry VI. (1454) by Ralph son of Hugh Bredbury to Ralph Kyrke of all his lands and tenements in Whitehalgh in the Ville

of Bowden which he had of the gift, &c., of Agnes late wife of Wm. Hobson."

Now, unless the Kyrkes in the above Deeds be a side branch only of the owners of Whitehough, it is a little difficult to reconcile the genealogical information derived from them with the pedigrees of the Kyrke family as shown in vol. ii. of this *Journal* and in vol. iii. of the *Reliquary*. In the charters before us, we gather that in 1432 Thomas Kyrke, senior, was in possession of land situated in Whitehough, and that two years later he was succeeded by his son Thurstan; Roger and Ralph being the only other sons who are mentioned.

The first in the published pedigree of Kyrke, of Whitehough, is Edward Kyrke, whose son and successor is also Edward, and who is himself succeeded by another Edward—his son. Now, the first Edward, if the pedigree be correct, would in 1434 have been not only born but probably married, as his daughter Elizabeth, eventually (according to the *Leicestershire Visitations*) his sole heir, married Richard Salusbury, of Newton Burland, Co. Leicester, in 1450.* It is just possible, though most improbable, that her father was a son of the above Thurstan, but it is not possible, as stated in the pedigree, that her brother Edward carried on the line, if as appears she was her father's sole heir. Nor is it probable that Elizabeth, wife to William Bradshaw, one of the attesting witnesses to the deed of 1434, was daughter of that same Edward. The *Derbyshire Visitations* give no Christian name to the father of Elizabeth Bradshaw, and it seems more than likely that she was daughter of Thomas and sister of Thurstan Kyrke.

* *Reliquary*, vol. vi., p. 213.

Reviews.

“The Victoria History of the Counties of England.”

Derbyshire, Vol. I.—Edited by William Page, F.S.A.
(Archibald Constable & Co.).

The long-expected first volume of the four devoted to Derbyshire in the important Victoria County History scheme, was issued to subscribers just before Christmas.

The short preface is particularly complimentary to the *Journal* of this Society; it is considered that “it has produced, under the guidance of a series of able editors, many valuable papers touching both the archæology and history of the county.” The editor also expresses his gratitude to Dr. Cox for general help and advice.

It is not possible to do more in this place than to give a summary of the contents of this volume, and to state, with emphasis, that the members of this Society will, one and all, do well to become subscribers to that singularly fine work, stored with the best and latest information on everything that pertains to the history. As the number of copies are strictly limited to actual subscribers, the work is practically certain eventually to rise in price.

Upwards of 160 pages of the opening volume are devoted to the different branches of Natural History, the whole of that section being under the very capable direction of Rev. F. C. R. Jourdain, who, in addition to a brief introduction, writes

himself on Orthoptera, Hymenoptera, Sepidoptera, Diptera, Hemiptera, Aphides, Fishes, Birds, and Mammals. The Rev. W. R. Linton deals with Botany; his clearly stated divisions will abundantly satisfy technical botanists as giving an admirable summary of the county's flora; we suppose lack of space prevented any attempt at dealing more popularly with this subject, as has been done in some volumes of the series, notably the recently issued first volume of Berkshire.

The thirty-eight pages of Mr. Arnold-Bemrose on the Geology of the county are peculiarly interesting. The writer of this notice having studied the whole of the opening volumes of twelve counties already issued, has no hesitation in saying that Mr. Bemrose's article is the most generally edifying geological article that has yet been issued in connection with this scheme. The temptation of the geological writer to overload his subject with a plethora of technicalities has been, in this case, carefully eschewed.

More than half, however, of these 450 pages have relation to man. Early Man and Anglo-Saxon Remains receive competent treatment at the hands of one of the best known contributors to this *Journal*—Mr. John Ward, formerly of Derby, and now Curator of the Cardiff Museum. Dr. Haverfield, who is *facile princeps* among Romano-British antiquaries, has a strikingly interesting and profusely illustrated account, covering some seventy-five pages, on the traces that the Romans have left of their long occupation of Derbyshire. This article is a really brilliant piece of archæological scholarship, and every thoughtful Derbyshire man will feel grateful to the writer for having given so much time to the subject.

Mr. J. Romilly Allen is our best general authority on pre-Norman sculptured stones; he contributes a useful critical summary and analysis of the numerous examples of Early Christian Art that have been found in this county.

It will be a great disappointment to not a few to find that Mr. J. H. Round has not been able to find time to contribute the introductory essay to the Derbyshire Domesday, as his essays in other volumes of this series have been universally

admitted to be singularly painstaking and able. Nevertheless, Mr. F. M. Stenton has done well, as his substitute, both in the introduction and in the English text.

The last two articles of this volume are by Rev. Dr. Cox. The one on Ancient Earthworks appears to be a fairly exhaustive and carefully done account of a difficult and most comprehensive subject. A plan is given of every earthwork of any importance, and the general map, marked in red with six different kinds of symbols, will be of great help to students and ordinary readers. The traces of early fortifications, embracing the towns of Castleton and Bolsover, are clearly much more considerable than even the educated tourist has hitherto imagined to be the case. The account and plan of the early camp of great natural strength at Markland Grips, will much surprise many who fancy they know Derbyshire well; it may almost be described as a discovery of Dr. Cox's; at all events it has never hitherto been described.

Dr. Cox's second article is on Forestry, wherein he gives a great deal of the history of the High Peak Forest and of Duffield Frith which has hitherto gone unrecorded. It seems a pity that more space could not have been afforded for this article, for there is clearly much more of original matter available.

The maps and illustrations of this volume are all laudable and helpful, save the frontispiece, which purports to be a view of Matlock Dale, taken from a great height. Mr. Bemrose, in this volume, rightly speaks of Derbyshire as a county that has "a world-wide reputation for beautiful scenery," but this picture is calculated to repel lovers of natural beauty from the shire. A flippant Derbyshire friend, to whom we showed the frontispiece, remarked—"It might be almost anywhere or anything; at first sight it looks like a cabbage garden sketched from a balloon; it has, however, this advantage, it is equally effective whether looked at the right way up, or upside down, or from either side. At any rate it is quite unparalleled; no one has ever before seen either a Derbyshire sketch or Derbyshire scenery the least bit like it!"

“Smalley, its History and Legends.”

BY REV. CHARLES KERRY. (Bemrose & Sons Ltd.)

It is pleasant to find that a former editor of this *Journal*, long laid by from active work by continued ill-health, has had sufficient strength recently to issue a particularly attractive and well-written small volume on the parish of Smalley, with which he has been so long connected. Mr. Kerry tells us in his preface that his book “has been written in a sick room, chiefly from notes made years ago, when Smalley in many ways wore an old-world aspect—with its old houses, its aged people full of legends and tales of their fathers, only too pleased to relate them, a population from the ancient home stock—each man carrying on the trade of his fathers, all combining to supply almost every local need.” Fifty years ago, he says, there were no fewer than twenty different occupations in the village, but now there are only seven.

The gossip collected about the village and neighbourhood is interesting and amusing, and quite worth chronicling ere it is all forgotten. Stocks, windmills, donkey shows and races, almshouses, charities, etc., are all laid under contribution; but the most entertaining items are perhaps those connected with the church in the not very remote past. Across the west end, about 1870, stretched a good-sized gallery, which served as accommodation for the boys of the Sunday School. But the men servants from Stainsby Hall and the old instrumental choir, conducted by Mr. Samuel Ottewell, occupied the front seats. In the centre panel of the front of the gallery was a contrivance

of three wooden rollers with ten facets, each bearing numerals; through the aid of this early example of a hymn-board, the clerk and congregation were able to ascertain the number of the Tate and Brady psalm that had been selected by the choir. The gallery steps were honeycombed on each side by the spiked crutches of one Jonathan Beniston. Old Beniston could neither read print nor music, but he thought himself a valuable member of the choir, as he contributed a droning bass accompaniment to the melodies, after the style, says Mr. Kerry, of a bagpipe "chanter." This same kind of performance used to be the custom in at least two other Derbyshire churches in the first half of last century, namely, at Wingerworth, in East Derbyshire, and at Alsop-en-le-Dale, in the Peak. This droning is called "vamping," and used not infrequently to be done for greater effect through a long kind of noteless foghorn termed a "vamping horn." One of these horns, over 6 ft. long, hangs in the vestry of East Leake church, Nottinghamshire.

This attractive-looking volume also contains various antiquarian details, and is admirably illustrated with photographic plates. It is a distinctly desirable book for the Derbyshire collector, and many will also like to possess it from pleasant recollections of all that Mr. Kerry has done for this Society's *Journal* in the past.

Editorial Notes.

“PADLEY CHAPEL AND PADLEY MARTYRS,” by F. M. Hayward. Printed by Bemrose & Sons. 2nd Edition. Price 1s.—Close by Grindleford Bridge station, with the woods of Padley as a picturesque background, stands all that remains of Padley Hall and Chapel, originally the abode of the Padleys, and later on of the wide-spreading family of Eyre. Early in the sixteenth century, however, the estate passed by marriage to the Fitzherberts, of Norbury, who, like their ancestors, the Eyres, clung religiously to the old faith of their forefathers. Among those who suffered for their religion in the reign of Elizabeth was Sir Thomas Fitzherbert, of Padley. He was deprived of two-thirds of his estate, and spent nearly thirty years in prison. In like manner suffered many others of his family; and here their story is sympathetically told. The main object, however, of Mr. Hayward’s little booklet is contained in the motto, “Lest we forget,” which is to be read under a print of the old Padley chapel taken from Dr. Cox’s *Churches*, which adorns the cover. Mr. Hayward’s earnest desire is that the memory of those who so heroically died for their faith should be for ever kept green in the minds of all Roman Catholics. With this end in view he gives a most graphic account of the persecution, and ultimate murder, of the three priests, who—true martyrs as they were—preferred death to recantation—and dishonour. Two of these were Derbyshire men—Nicholas Garlick, of Glossop, and Robert Ludlam, of Radbourne. Under the auspices of the Rev. Philip Fletcher pilgrimages are now yearly made to Padley, and “under those venerable walls” a Litany is sung by those who have met together to commemorate those sad and mistaken days of persecution.

A PROSPECTIVE WORK.—Topographical works are always welcome, and to the true lover of his county have their special value. It is, therefore, with real pleasure that we hear that a new book, entitled *Haddon: The Manor, the Hall, its Lords and Traditions*, will shortly be published* by a member of our Council, Mr. Guy Le Blanc Smith, to whom we are indebted for several of the illustrations which are now quite a feature of our *Journal*. Over fifty of Mr. Le Blanc Smith's own photographs will adorn the pages of his book, which will add to its interest as well as its beauty. Among other items, it will contain a ground plan of the Hall, and pedigrees illustrating the history and descent of the Avenal, Vernon, and Manners families. The book will contain 268 pages, and is to be "Whatstandwell-made" throughout, including the binding.

MELANDRA CASTLE.—Members of this Society will probably easily recall the fact that some years ago excavations were begun on the site of the Roman Camp near Glossop, known as Melandra. An account of what had then been achieved was related by Mr. John Garstang in Vol. XXIII. of our *Journal*. Lack of funds, however, practically brought the excavations to a standstill, until the work was taken in hand by "The Manchester and District Branch of the Classical Association," who forthwith formed a special committee for excavation work. This committee included, among others, such well-known men as Professor Conway and Canon Hicks, who have made a study of ancient inscriptions. The Association has most courteously offered to us, for a small monetary consideration, their very able report on the excavation and the "finds" of Melandra, for which we owe them a debt of gratitude. Provided that its issue is not delayed this report will be included as an Appendix in this *Journal*, where it is to be hoped it will be found. If, however, it is not received in time, it will appear in next year's issue.

CHARLES E. B. BOWLES.

* By Elliot Stock, 10s. 6d., medium 8vo. A few copies of an *edition de luxe* are also to be issued.

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27 MAY 1935

1905.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

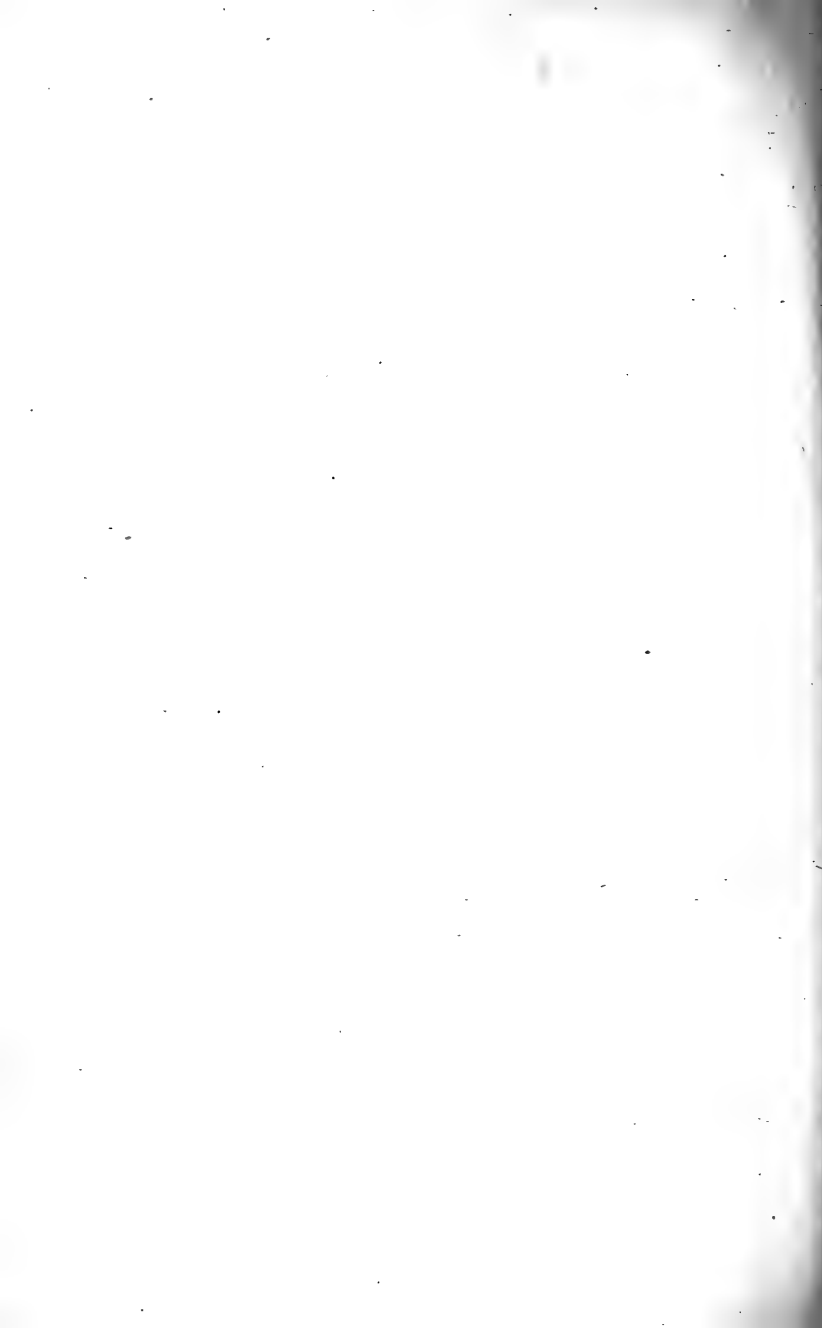


DERBYSHIRE ARCHÆOLOGICAL

AND

NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY.

FOUNDED 1878.



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REPORT OF THE HON. SECRETARY.



THE twenty-seventh Annual General Meeting of the Society was held on Friday, June 23rd, at the Ashbourne Hall Hotel, Ashbourne, the Hon. F. Strutt presiding. The minutes of the last General Meeting, and the Report of the Hon. Secretary, were read and adopted. Before proceeding to the election of officers, the Chairman announced, with great regret, the decision of the Hon. Editor, Mr. W. J. Andrew, to resign his office on account of pressure of work. The appointment of his successor was, by an unanimous vote of the meeting, left with the Council. The Hon. Treasurer, Hon. Secretary, Hon. Financial Secretary, Hon. Auditors, and the members of the Council retiring under Rule V., were re-elected, and the election of the following members nominated by the Council was confirmed:—Mr. G. J. Marples, in the place of the late W. A. Carrington; Mr. A. V. Haslam, in the place of Sir A. Seale Haslam (appointed Vice-President); and Mr. G. le Blanc Smith, in the place of the late J. Gallop. Nine new members were elected.

A hearty vote of thanks to the retiring Hon. Editor was carried unanimously, and great regret was universally felt that his resignation was necessary. Mr. Andrew, in responding, explained that it was only the impossibility of continuing the editorship, together with his other work, which made him reluctantly come to the conclusion that he must give it up, at the same time promising to continue his interest in the

Society's work, and give all the assistance he could to his successor.

Some discussion took place concerning the work at Brough, and the proposals to destroy the ancient buildings of the Ashbourne Grammar School.

Six meetings of the Council have been held since the last general meeting. The arrangements for carrying further the excavations at Brough have been under discussion, but owing to unexpected legal difficulties in connection with the occupation of the land, the Council have been most reluctantly compelled to abandon the work for the present.

In consequence of information received that under a scheme of enlargement the front of the ancient Grammar School at Ashbourne was likely to be destroyed, a communication was sent to the Governors of the school expressing the wishes of this Society that the old buildings might be preserved. At the request of the Education Committee of the Derbyshire County Council, Mr. C. E. B. Bowles, Mr. W. R. Holland, and the Hon. Secretary, met Mr. Alderman Waite and Mr. G. H. Widdows, and the Trustees of the Grammar School at Ashbourne on July 31st, 1905. Your representatives were satisfied that the destruction of the old building would be both unnecessary and undesirable, and that from a practical point of view the building when altered would, on account of the difficulties of the site, be unsuitable for a school to meet modern requirements. Your Council are now assured that there is every reason to hope that the destruction of the old building, which forms such a picturesque feature of the town, will not take place, and the thanks of our members, and of all lovers of Derbyshire, should be given to the Trustees of the School and to the Education Committee for their courtesy in receiving and considering our representations.

Your Council is pleased to report that the old Winstanley Market House has been repaired in a most satisfactory manner, and is now safely vested in the "National Trust." Towards the cost of repair the Council has contributed the sum of £6 6s. from the Society's funds.

The churchwardens of Eyam have found it necessary, on account of the rough conduct of a certain class of trippers, to place an iron fence round that portion of Eyam churchyard containing the ancient cross and Mrs. Mompesson's tomb. As this is a matter of much more than local interest, your Council voted the sum of £1 1s. towards the cost.

The Council are pleased to be able to announce that Mr. C. E. B. Bowles has kindly consented to act as Hon. Editor of the Society's *Journal*. In succeeding Mr. Andrew, Mr. Bowles will have a hard task, but the Council feel assured that no better choice could have been made, and that Mr. Bowles will, with the help of the members, efficiently maintain the high standard which has been set. It is unnecessary here to speak of the work which Mr. Andrew has done for the Society; the last four volumes of the *Journal* speak for themselves.

During the past year several gifts have been made to the Society's library, and additional engravings have been received for the portfolio. Arrangements have been made for an exchange of publications with the Bradford Historical and Antiquarian Society. It might be well to remind members that the library is always open for their use on application at the Hon. Secretary's office.

A most valuable collection of lantern slides of ancient fonts, crosses, and other objects of interest in the county has been presented to the Society by Mr. G. le Blanc Smith. Members of the Society may obtain the loan of these slides for lectures or other suitable purposes on application to the Hon. Sec.

The thanks of the members are due to Sir A. Seale Haslam and Col. Cotton Jodrell, whose contributions towards the cost of illustrating the papers on Breadsall Priory, and Shallcross and Yeardsley Halls enabled the Editor to make the *Journal* for 1905 of greater interest than would otherwise have been possible.

Ashbourne was chosen as the centre for the annual meeting in 1905, the Ashbourne Hall Hotel providing comfortable headquarters. On Friday, June 23rd, a party of about twenty-five

assembled at Ashbourne Station, and under the able guidance of Mr. W. R. Holland, proceeded to visit the grand old church, the Grammar School (where the beautiful original charter of Queen Elizabeth was shown), and Dr. Sadler's house, a fine eighteenth century building with memories of Dr. Johnson. The party subsequently drove to Okeover, where, by the kind permission of Mr. and the Hon. Mrs. Okeover, they were privileged to inspect the hall, with its fine collection of pictures, charters, and manuscripts, and the beautiful garden, and where they were most hospitably entertained.

After the business meeting in the evening, an interesting lecture on the principal pre-Norman cross-shafts and Norman fonts of Derbyshire was given by the Rev. R. L. Farmer, illustrated by Mr. le Blanc Smith's beautiful photographic slides.

On Saturday, June 24th, a party of thirty drove to Fenny Bentley, and, conducted by the Rev. T. K. Bolton, visited the church, which contains some interesting woodwork, and the ancient house known as the Cherry Orchard, the former home of the Beresford family. Tissington Hall was next visited, by kind permission of the late Rev. Sir Richard FitzHerbert, both the house and its contents proving of great interest. The Rev. James FitzHerbert conducted the members round the church, and the party returned to Ashbourne by way of Thorpe, where lunch was obtained at the Peverel Hotel. Beautiful weather favoured the proceedings throughout.

On Wednesday, September 30th, an excursion was made to Mugginton Church, and, by kind invitation of Mr. and Mrs. W. Bemrose, to South Sitch, Idridgehay. A party of thirty-two met at Mugginton, and were conducted round the church by the Rev. R. Feilden, who kindly produced the church plate (Restoration period) for their inspection. The fabric of the church proved of great interest, and a considerable time was spent in its inspection. Arriving at South Sitch, the members, after enjoying the kind hospitality of Mr. and Mrs. Bemrose, spent a delightful hour in inspecting the old house and garden, a short account of which will be found in the current issue of the *Journal*.

We have to record, with great regret, the deaths of the Rev. Sir Richard FitzHerbert, who so kindly permitted us to visit his house last year; of Mr. John Shaw, one of our original members; Mr. G. H. Adshead, Mr. F. C. Corfield, Mr. J. Walker, Mr. Hugo Harpur Crewe, Mr. C. H. Oakes, and Mr. C. Cooke.

PERCY H. CURREY, Hon. Sec.

Derbyshire Archaeological and STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS

Dr.	RECEIPTS AND			
1905.		£	s.	d.
Dec. 31.	To Printing <i>Journal</i>	129	15	6
	„ Rent of Room	7	10	0
	„ Printing and Stationery	8	19	2
	„ Secretaries' and Editor's Postage, Petty Cash and Expenses of Annual Meeting	18	0	8
	„ Subscription to Congress of Archaeological Societies	1	1	0
	„ Donation to the Restoration of Eyam Cross	1	1	0
	„ „ „ „ Winster Market Hall	3	3	0
		£169 10 4		

NET REVENUE

1905.		£	s.	d.
Jan. 1.	To Balance brought forward	123	11	3
Dec. 31.	„ „ deficient, Receipts and Payments Account	2	15	2
		£126 6 5		

BROUGH EXCAVATION

1905.		£	s.	d.
Dec. 31.	To Postage of Circulars	2	2	0
	„ Balance in hand	49	11	1
		£51 13 1		

BALANCE SHEET,

1905.	LIABILITIES.	£	s.	d.
Dec. 31.	To Capital Account as per last Balance Sheet	407	5	0
	„ Entrance Fees received in 1905 (23)	5	15	0
	„ Life Composition received in (1905) (1)	7	10	0
		420 10 0		
	„ Balance in hand "Brough Exploration Fund"	49	11	1
		470 1 1		
	<i>Less</i> Balance Deficient on Net Revenue Account	126	6	5
		£343 14 8		

Examined and found correct. Several liabilities due not entered in above accounts.

Dated 12th May, 1906.

C. BARROW KEENE, Hon. Auditor.

Natural History Society.

TO DECEMBER 31st, 1905.

PAYMENTS ACCOUNT.

		Cr.
		£ s. d.
1905.		£ s. d.
Dec. 31.	By Subscriptions	119 2 6
	„ Donations for Plates for Journals	20 10 0
	„ Sale of <i>Journals</i> and Bound Copies	20 17 4
	„ Interest on Investments	6 5 4
	„ Balance, being Deficiency on year	2 15 2
		£169 10 4

ACCOUNT.

		£ s. d.
1905.		£ s. d.
Dec. 31.	By Balance carried forward	126 6 5
		£126 6 5

FUND ACCOUNT.

		£ s. d.
1905.		£ s. d.
Jan. 1.	By Balance brought forward	48 10 7
Dec. 31.	„ Special Donations	3 2 6
		£51 13 1

DECEMBER 31ST, 1905.

		ASSETS.		£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1905.					
Dec. 31.	By Investments, viz. :—				
	Derby Corporation Stock, 3 % ...	120	0 0		
	Derby Corporation Stock, 3 % ...	100	0 0		
				220	0 0
	„ Furniture in the Society's Room, Market Place			12	2 3
	„ Crompton & Evans' Union Bank, viz. :—				
	In hand Capital Account ...	188	7 9		
	„ Brough Excavation Account	49	11 1		
				237	18 10
	Less Deficit Revenue Account ...	126	6 5		
				111	12 5
				£343	14 8

W. MALLALIEU, Hon. Finance Secretary,

May 10th, 1906.

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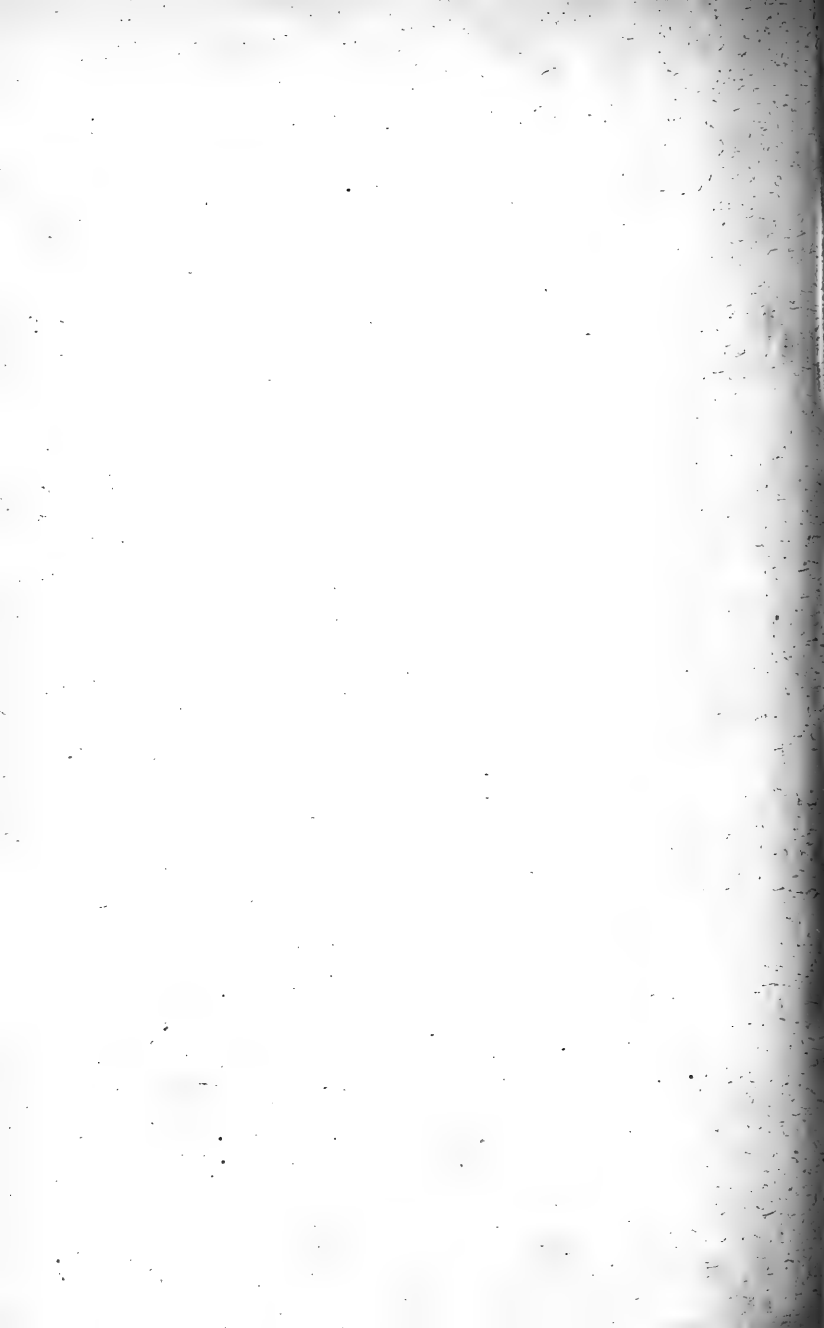
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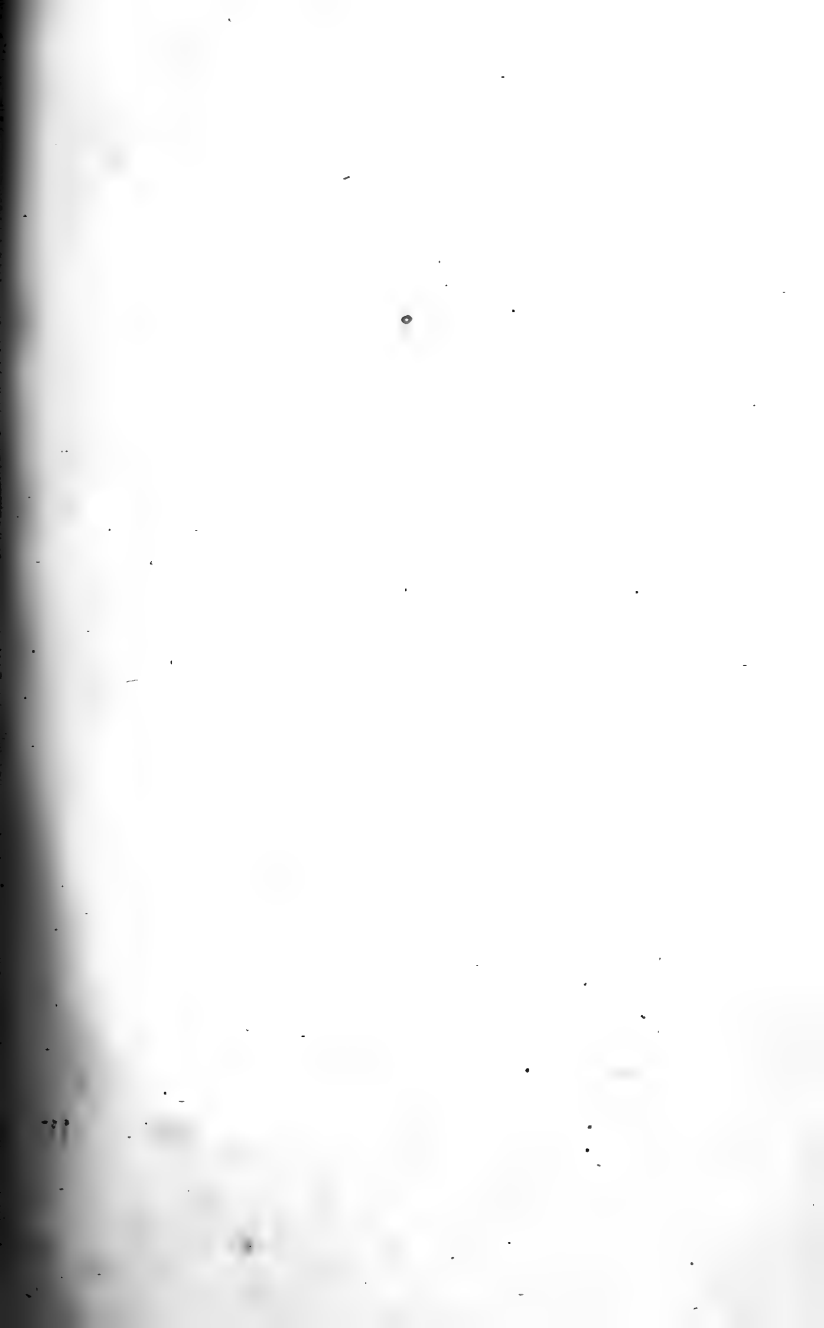
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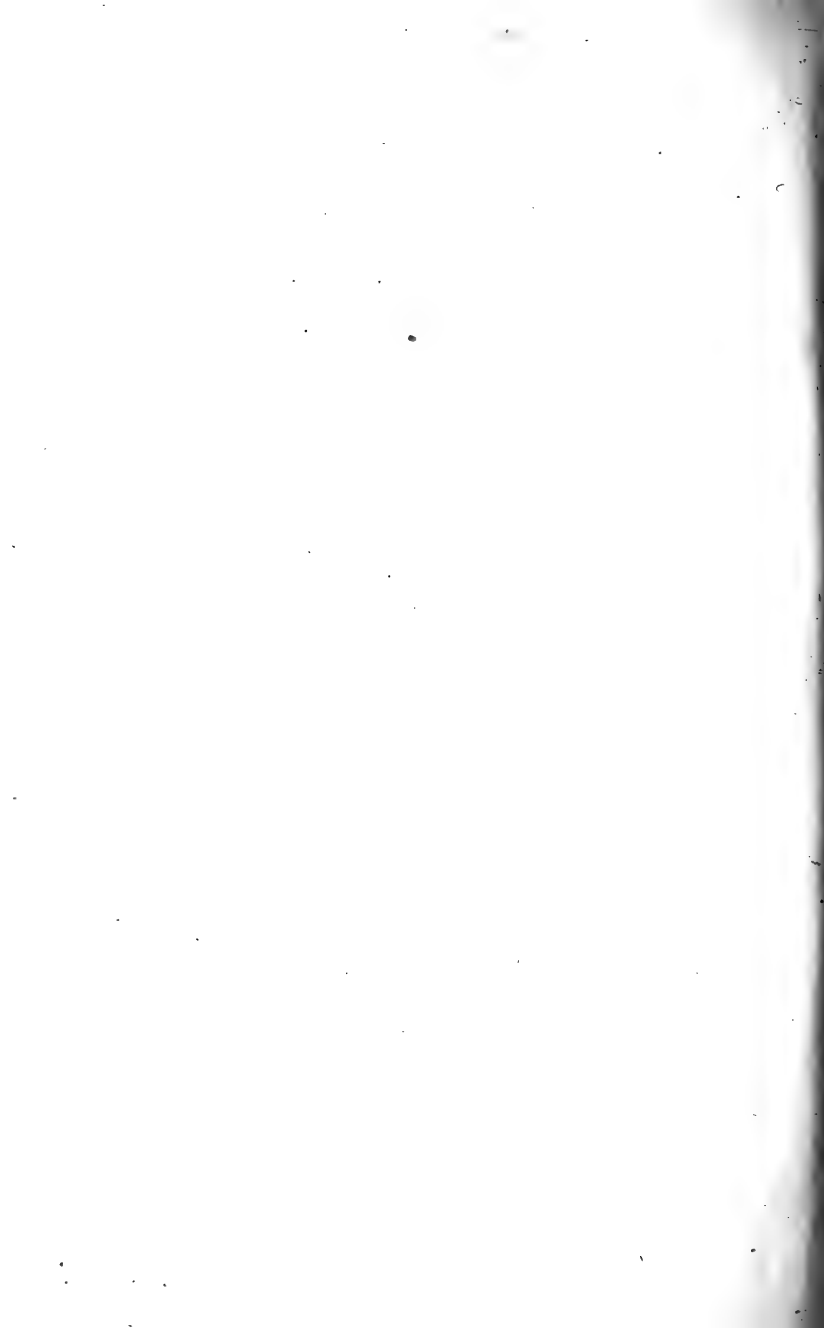
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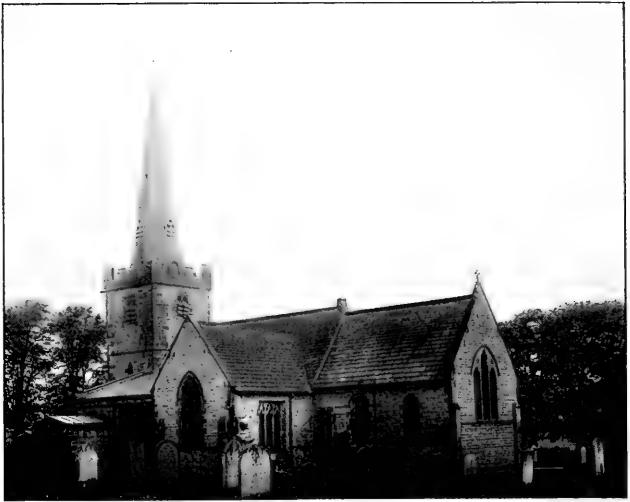






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MONYASH CHURCH, S.E.

JOURNAL

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EDITED BY

C. E. B. BOWLES, M.A.

VOL. XXIX

JANUARY 1907

PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY BY
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DERBYSHIRE ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY.

The Church and Village of Monyash.¹

By REV. J. CHARLES COX, LL.D., F.S.A.



THE village and township of Monyash, which occupy a great part of that somewhat bleak and dreary tableland to the east of Bakewell, between the valley of the Wye and the upper stretch of Dove-dale, was a place of some little importance in mediæval days. It was the centre for holding the miners' courts for the High Peak Hundred in connection with the disputes and settlements relative to lead mining, which was a far more important industry in North Derbyshire in old days than it is at the present time. A barmote court is still held at Monyash every six months, as it is at Wirksworth for the Low Peak.

If the time ever came for writing a history of Monyash, a considerable number of incidents could be brought together relative to its annals, apart from matters ecclesiastical. Thus in 1275, the township of Monyash was fined 40s. by Thomas Foljambe for not arresting Ralph of Over-Haddon after he had wounded Robert Creswell, and objection was made to this fine as no hue and cry had been raised.²

In 1278 a commission was issued to inquire and determine, by jury of the Peak, touching Ralph le Wyne and the men of

¹ For the excellent illustrations accompanying this article we are indebted to Mr. R. J. Hunter, Station Approach, Buxton.

² *Rot. Hund.*, ii., 289.

Monyash, in appropriating to themselves what belonged to the king in his mine of Foweshide, and in impeding the king's men of Taddington and Priestcliff, and also the men of Eleanor, the king's consort, of Ashford and Sheldon, in digging turf and getting heath in the marsh of Monyash according to custom.¹ There was further litigation on this latter subject in 1290, when another commission was issued to deal with the complaint of the king's tenants, of ancient demesne, of Taddington, Priestcliff, and Ashford, as to their right, from time immemorial, to common pasture, turbary, and heath on the moors and wastes, *inter alia*, of Monyash. Certain persons had by night cut into small pieces their turf stacks, and carried off the heath they had cut.²

The disputes as to common of pasture and turbary over the Monyash common land continued down to a late date. It is easy to understand that the privileges enjoyed, according to old custom, by the men of the adjoining townships, over the Monyash moors must have been peculiarly galling to the actual tenants of Monyash, who appear to have had no compensating rights in other directions. In 1586, and again in 1590, disputes of this nature between the tenants of Over-Haddon and the men of Monyash reached the higher courts.³ It was not until 1771 that these almost continuous wrangles, leading from time to time to free fights, came to an end. Their cessation was then brought about by "An Act for dividing and enclosing the common and wastegrounds within the manor of Mony Ash, in the parish of Bakewell."⁴

In the earlier part of Edward III.'s reign the mineral rights of both Monyash and Chelmorton were held by William de Lynford; he was seized of them at the time of his death in the year 1338.⁵ His son, of the same name, who inherited these

¹ Pat. Rot. 6 Edw. I., m. 4d.

² *Ibid.*, 18 Edw. I., m. 3d.

³ *Cal. to Pleadings, Duchy of Lanc.*, iii., 193, 263.

⁴ No. 26 of Derbyshire Enclosure Awards; see Dr. Cox's *Three Centuries of Derbyshire Annals*, ii., 308.

⁵ Inq. post mort. 11 Edw. III., pt. ii., No. 70.

rights, was attached to the king's court, it being his duty to serve as the king's valet when he proceeded to Scotland or crossed the seas to the continent. This William de Lynford, junior, obtained from the king two important privileges, which must have brought considerable prosperity to Monyash. Edward III., on 8th April, 1340, granted to William (styled *Dilectus vallettus noster*) to hold at Monyash a weekly market every Tuesday, and also a fair on the vigil, day, and morrow of the feast of the Holy Trinity. This charter was witnessed, among others, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Durham and Lincoln, and the Earls of Surrey and Derby.¹

The original holder of the market and fair (the fees would bring in a not inconsiderable income) did not retain these privileges for long. Perhaps William de Lynford died in the terrible visitation of the Black Death; at all events, in 1349 the market and fair of Monyash, together with the manor, were all held by John de Wyne.²

In the next century, the manor, with market and fair, were in the hands of the Earls of Shrewsbury.³

Various fragments pertaining to social life in Monyash during Elizabethan and later times could be culled by those who know where to look for such records. One example must suffice. At a great court of frankpledge for the High Peak Hundred, held at Chapel-en-le-Frith on 7th October, 1589, George Goodwin, Hugh Ely, Thomas Ely, and Leonard Frost, of Monyash, presented Roger Redfern, Alice Needham, Hugh Rogers, Bryan Ireland, and Alice Swindell, for having broken the assize as common brewers; they were each fined twopence.⁴

At the wide end of the main street of the village (where there used to be a considerable open space, until a central portion was enclosed for the erection of a school) stands the village cross, which was doubtless placed here in the time of Edward III., when Monyash obtained its market rights. It

¹ Rot. Chart., 14 Edw. III., No. 41.

² Rot. Chart., 22 Edw. III., No. 27.

³ Inq. post mort., 39 Hen. VI., No. 58; 16 Edw. IV., No. 50, etc.

⁴ Court Rolls, Duchy of Lanc., xliii., 455.

rises from a large step, 8 ft. 2 in. square, on which rests a second shallow step 47 in. square. On this second step rests a base-stone, with chamfered corners, which is 27 in. square and 18 in. high; from this base springs a squared shaft, 10 in. by 11 in. at base, and 8 ft. high, with just the beginning of the mutilated crosshead.

Near to this cross stands the village hostelry, the Bull's Head. On the lintel of a doorway are the initials and date, H.G. 1619, E.G., which must stand for Humphrey and Elizabeth Goodwin. Humphrey Goodwin appears in a list of Monyash freeholders of the year 1633. Two of the smaller houses in the village have stone mullion windows and other characteristics which go back to at least Elizabethan days; but several substantial old houses of the Monyash freeholders, as well as smaller cottages, have disappeared within the last fifty or sixty years.

It may be well now to turn to matters ecclesiastical in connection with this village.¹ At the time of the taking of the Domesday Survey, in 1086, Monyash (*Maneis*) obtains this single word mention as one of the eight berewicks into which the widespread royal manor of Bakewell was then subdivided. It is astonishing to note how often rash and absolutely false assertions are made with regard to Domesday by ignorant writers. In the last edition of Kelly's *Postal Directory of Derbyshire*, the silly and baseless untruth is put on record that "it is recorded in *Domesday* that Monyash was a penal settlement for monks." At Oneash, in this township, the Cistercian monks of Roche Abbey had a grange; but that abbey was not founded until 1147, and this grange here was never used in the manner asserted. Two priests are mentioned in the *Survey* as being attached to the church of Bakewell. In the reign of Henry I., the church as well as the manor of Bakewell were

¹ This account of the church of Monyash is considerably expanded and corrected from that which I wrote thirty-five years ago, and which was published in 1876 (*Churches of Derbyshire*, ii., 105-111, 585-6; iv., 497). The original authorities have been re-consulted, and several documents cited for the first time.

given to William Peverel, and continued in that family until the time of Henry II., when they escheated to the Crown, and were afterwards granted to various persons. Henry II. conferred the church of Bakewell, with all its appurtenances, on his second son John, Earl of Morton, who afterwards became King John. Earl John, in 1192, granted this important rectory to Hugh de Novant, Bishop of Lichfield, and his canons. During the episcopacy of Geoffrey de Muschamp, John came to the throne, and confirmed, in 1199, Bakewell church to Lichfield, including the chapelry of Monyash, for there is little or no doubt that there had been a chapel there for some time.

Under these circumstances, with the greater part of the tithes diverted to the Lichfield Chapter, it became difficult to find support for the parochial chaplains of Bakewell. This was more particularly the case with regard to Monyash, and some other parts of the Peak, for William Peverel had given two-thirds of their tithes, in 1113, to the priory of Lenton, Notts., and the priory was for ever insisting that this gift set aside John's gift to Lichfield.¹

Soon after John's accession to the throne, at a date as we know from the witnesses between 1199 and 1200, important religious provision was made for Monyash by a charter from two benefactors, Robert de Salocia, and Matthew, son of Odo of Aston, who appear to have been joint lords of the manor of Monyash; they obtained leave from the Dean and Chapter of Lichfield to grant to the mother church of Bakewell an oxgang of land, together with a house in the town of Monyash, on condition of the said mother church providing a chaplain to serve in the chantry chapel of Monyash three days in the week, viz., on Sundays, Wednesdays, and Fridays. They also ordained, with the common consent of the inhabitants of Monyash, that

¹ A summary of this long continued *Lis Lentonensis*, which so sapped ecclesiastical revenues and disturbed the peace of the church throughout North Derbyshire for centuries, is given in *Lichfield Capitular Muniments*, 66-9. There, too, will be found references to the various charters respecting Bakewell and its chapelries in the *Magnum Registrum Album*. Most of them were also given in the thirteenth cent. B. Mus. chartulary, Harl. MS., 4799.

every message in that town should pay a farthing a year for finding lights for their chapel, in addition to the fee that they customarily paid to Bakewell for the same purpose. They further undertook, on behalf of themselves and the inhabitants, that this provision of a chaplain should not in any way prejudice the various rights of the mother church, and that they would attend service at Bakewell at Christmas and Easter, and on All Saints' Day.¹

Some fifty years after the bestowal of the oxgang of land and a house at Monyash on the Lichfield Chapter, to insure three celebrations a week in their chapel, the Dean and Chapter granted this property to William, son of Alan, and his heirs, at a yearly rental of 10s., but made stringent regulations against its sub-division or the sub-letting of it to Jews or monks or anyone else.²

Meanwhile a vicar of Bakewell was appointed with a stipend of twenty marks, out of which he had to pay various assistants, and certain small provision was made for the different chapelries. But these regulations were so ill-observed, that when the energetic Archbishop Peckham made his visitation of the diocese of Lichfield in 1280, he sternly rebuked the dean and canons for their gross neglect of the spiritual necessities of Bakewell and its several dependent chapelries. In defence, it was urged that it was only by the great favour of the chapter that the inhabitants had been allowed to build these chapels, to save them the trouble and danger in bad seasons of coming to the mother church. The archbishop, by his decision, made a compromise, and, so far as respected Monyash, ordained that the chancel should be kept in repair by the inhabitants, who were also to find a chalice and a missal, but that the rest of the fabric, and books, and ornaments, were to be supplied by the Dean and Chapter. The inhabitants of Monyash were also to add one mark, in addition to the glebe of twelve acres which

¹ This charter is given in full in *Churches of Derbyshire*, ii., 585-6.

² This charter is given in full in *Churches of Derbyshire*, ii., 586, from Harl. MS. 4799, f. 27; it is entitled *Alienatio terre de Moniasche interdicta*.

they had originally attached to the chapelry to the stipend of their priest, and the remainder was to be made up by the Dean and Canons.¹

Difficulties, however, again broke out after a short interval, and a further and somewhat different agreement was arranged, which was substituted for that of 1280. In the year 1315 a composition was entered into between the Dean and Chapter of Lichfield and the parishioners of the chapels of Baslow, Longstone, Taddington, Monyash, and Beeley, by which the Chapter, desiring to be in amity with all and avoid contention, granted fifteen shillings to the chapelry of Monyash to be paid yearly for the honour of God and augmentation of His divine worship, and a remission of all charges for proving and administering wills. They further permitted that certain honest and chiefmen of Monyash and of the other chapelries, which should be meet for the bringing of holy water, may be named by the parishioners, and may be presented to the vicars or ministers of the places, and of them in the name of the Dean and Chapter, if they be found sufficient, may be thereto admitted. In consideration of all this, and certain other privileges, the parishioners were not to require anything for the repair or defence of their chapels. The parishioners also covenanted to pay to the Dean and Chapter (not to Lenton Priory) all customary tithes, beginning with those of wool and lambs, which were due on St. Barnabas Day.² The holy water carrier also fulfilled the general offices of a parish clerk; his usual mediæval name was *aqua-bajulus*, as that was one of the most important of his duties. He was paid by fees and certain customary offerings.

On 3rd July, 1348, a fine of 100s. was paid to the clerk of the hanaper for the alienation in mortmain by Nicholas de Congesdon and John, his brother, of five marks of rent out of lands in Sterndale, Monyash, and Chelmorton, to a chaplain to celebrate daily divine service in the chantry of our Lady, within the chapel

¹ Dugdale's *Monasticon* (Lat. ed.), iii., 227.

² Two English versions of this agreement will be found in the B. Mus., Add. MSS. 6696, f. 134; 6698, ff. 211-216.

of St. Leonard, Monyash, for their good estate, for their souls when dead, and for the souls of their ancestors.¹ An inquisition of the same date showed that, after alienating this property, Nicholas still possessed considerable lands both at Eyam and Litton.²

Monyash would henceforth, up to the Reformation, possess two chaplains, the chantry chaplain giving a daily mass, and this in addition to the services of the parochial chaplain, who was bound to celebrate thrice a week. At this time, and for long subsequently, the populous hamlet of Flagg was reckoned to be in Monyash and not in Chelmorton parish.

We learn something more of Nicholas de Congesdon from a receipt roll of the Peak jurisdiction of the Dean and Chapter of Lichfield for the year 1339. Nicholas and his brother John, with another, were the collectors of the tithes of minerals, that is, of lead; the amount handed over by them under that head was £18 10s. Nicholas was also one of the two collectors of the general tithes of Calver. The same return shows that the whole tithes of hay in Monyash, together with a third of the tithes of corn, brought in 22s. 4d. A long list of *mortuaries* is given in the same roll, that is the best beast, or in default of a beast the best garment, handed over to the Chapter collector on the death of a parishioner. In that year in Monyash a cow was sold for 7s. on the death of William Ely; an ox for 15s. on the death of William Cloken; and a cow for 11s. on the death of Gena Choker.³

The 1545 report on the Derbyshire chantries, preparatory to their revision, says:—"The Chantrye of Moniasshe founded by Nich. Congson & John his brother & nowe patron of the ryght Hon. Erle of Shrewesburye & Humph Stafford esq.,⁴

¹ Pat. Rot., 22 Edw. III., pt. ii., m. 26; Rot. Orig., 22 Edw. III., No. 47.

² *Inq. ad quod damnum*, 22 Edw. III., pt. ii., No. 14.

³ This roll is transcribed at length in *Derb. Arch. Journ.* (1889), xi., 142-156.

⁴ Humphrey Stafford, of Eyam, had inherited lands in Monyash through the marriage of his ancestor, John de Stafford, of Eyam, with Dionysia, sister and eventual heir of Sir Lawrence de Lynford, *circa* 1364, when a grant of lands in Monyash, Chelmorton, and Calver, with

that a preste shulde daylye celebrate masse & other dyvnye service in the Chappell of Moniasshe in the Hygh Peke, for their souls etc, & to minstre all sacraments & sacramentalls to the townes & hamletts of Monyashe, Flagge, Hordlowe & Onasshe, which be distaunte from the parisshe church iiiij or v myles, lxxvi^s. vij^d. clere cviji besydes ij^s. vj in rente resolute, & for a yerely obite. Mych. Bredwell Chantrye priste. It is distaunt from the parisshe church iiiij. myles so that in winter season & other tempestuous wethers the said hamletts cannot be served withowte the sayd Chappell. It hath a mancyon howse or cotage prised at iij^s. iiiij^d, by yere. Stock xxxix^s. vij^d.”

To the eternal disgrace of Henry VIII. and of the council of his boy successor Edward VI., the property of this chantry, like hundreds of others throughout England, was confiscated in the first year of the latter reign, without applying the plunder to any decent purpose. It is quite idle to urge that any pious motive of trying to suppress an alleged superstition in prayers for the dead was the motive cause. The very Crown Commissioners pointed out that the chantry priest was essential to the due administration of religion in this extensive wild district. It would have been quite simple to forbid masses for the departed and yet retain a small income to support a resident minister, but the court and courtiers had set their mind on plunder and would not be gainsaid. So the property, given to the church just two centuries before, was seized by the Crown. Michael Bredwell, the dismissed chantry priest, was granted, as was shown in last year's *Journal*, a pension of £4 13s. 4d.

The position of parochial chaplain at Monyash was in no

(Note continued from p. 8):—

lands in Magna Lynford and Thornburgh, co. Bucks., was made by Sir Lawrence de Lynford to William de Lynford and John de Stafford, his kinsman. This is dated 38 Edward III. All these lands devolved on John Stafford, of Eyam, armiger, the son of Dionysia, on the death of her nephew, Thomas Lynford, 28 Oct., 1423. The original of the above deed and of other Lynford and Stafford charters have descended through the Staffords and Bradshaws to me, and are still in my possession.—

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sense a benefice; the Dean and Chapter of Lichfield, as rectors of the whole of Bakewell parish, were bound to assist in some way in the case of the parochial chapels, and in the instance of Monyash to find a priest to celebrate three times a week. But such a chaplain might even reside at Bakewell, and, at any rate, was removable at will. In the case of the chantry chaplain of the Blessed Virgin at Monyash, it was quite a different matter, for the incumbent of that chantry, after he had been duly presented and inducted by the Lichfield chapter, held his preferment as a benefice for life or at his own pleasure.

The following list of incumbents of this chantry, with a few particulars, is taken from the Chapter Act Books at Lichfield. There is no reference to this chantry in the episcopal registers, as it formed part of the chapter's peculiar. The first of these chantry priests occurring in the Lichfield books also appears on the Patent Rolls, as the patron at that time was a minor.

William de Thornhill, chaplain of the chantry of Our Lady in the chapel of St. Leonard at Monyash, was presented in July, 1393, to the church of St. Peter, Rhosfair, in Anglesey, on exchange with Henry Alexander.¹

1396. John Alot, on the resignation of Henry Alexander; patron, William Meynell.

1397. William More, on the resignation of John Alot; patron, William Meynell. In 1415, William More granted to the Dean and Chapter an acre of land, with the buildings standing on it, in the town of Monyash. The Chapter appointed John Dean, vicar of Hope, to take possession of it in their name.

. . . William Sheladon.

1503. Thomas Smyth. Mandate was issued to the parochial chaplain to induct Smyth into possession of the chantry.

1509. William Gudwyn, on the dismissal of Thomas Smyth. Mandate to William Massy, vicar of Bakewell, to induct him.

1544. Michael Bredwell, on the death of William Gudwyn. At the time of his induction, Michael and Thomas Sheldon, of Oneash, were bound over, in a sum of £15, for Michael's due obedience to the Chapter.²

¹ Pat. Rot., 17 Ric. II., pt. i., m. 25.

² *Churches of Derbyshire*, iv., 497.

Neither Monyash nor Taddington obtained burial rights until the year 1345. There is preserved among the capitular muniments at Lichfield an indenture from twenty-four residents of Monyash, whereby, in recognition of the grant of burial rights to their chapel, they covenant to pay a farthing to the vicar of Bakewell for each corpse on the day of burial, and to offer at the high altar in Bakewell church, every All Saints' Day, twelpence for the Dean and Chapter of Lichfield. About half of the twenty-four wax seals appended to this indenture still remain.¹

The *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of Henry VIII. notes that the chapelry of Monyash was still paying this yearly pension of 12d. to the Lichfield Chapter.

The services at Monyash must have been very fitful for the century after the suppression of the chantry.

At the time of the Parliamentary Survey of Livings, carried out in 1650, it was reported of Monyash that it was fit to be made an independent parish. Ralph Roades was then the minister. The Survey of the Lichfield Chapter possessions, undertaken at the same time, said:—"To the Chapell of Monyash there is noe certaine meanes but of late an Augmentacon of Thirty pounds out of the late Deane & Chapter's rent due from Sr Edward Leech."

During the reign of Charles II., Monyash became one of the headquarters of the Derbyshire Quakers. John Gratton, the most famous of the Midland Quakers, went to live at Monyash in 1668, where he resided forty years, and was active in disturbing congregations both Episcopal and Presbyterian. The return of recusants made by the Derbyshire constables in 1689 show that there were then twelve Quakers at Monyash, including John Gretton and his wife.²

The church, which is dedicated to St. Leonard, consists of chancel, north and south transepts, nave with clerestoried north and south aisles, south porch, and western tower and spire.

¹ Dr. Cox's *Catalogue of the Muniments of Lichfield*, p. 64.

² Dr. Cox's *Three Centuries of Derbyshire Annals*, i., 342-347.

The story of the fabric, very briefly epitomised, seems to be this. There was a small chapel or oratory here in early Norman days, with nave and chancel, under a single roof. This building was extended eastward to form a fair-sized chancel about the year 1200. A western tower was added between 1225 and 1250. The nave was rebuilt and arcades opening into north and south aisles were added in the second quarter of the fourteenth century. In 1348 a south transept was built. Towards the close of the same century a north transept was added; the aisle walls refitted with square-headed windows and given gabled roofs; a north porch built; and a third stage and spire added to the tower. About a hundred years later, in the reign of Henry VII., the walls over the aisle arcades were raised and clerestory windows inserted. During the "churchwarden era" various debasements were effected, the fittings changed from time to time, and flat plaster ceilings introduced. In 1887 a wholesome and much needed restoration was brought about, chiefly at the expense of the late Archdeacon Balston, who was vicar of Bakewell.

As to the dimensions of the present church, the total interior length, from the west wall of the tower to the east wall of the chancel, is 89 ft. 6 in., whilst the width of the nave and aisles is 47 ft. 9 in. The interior of the tower is 10 ft. 6 in. square. The length of the south and north aisles up to the transepts is 29 ft. 7 in.; the south aisle is 15 ft. 6 in. wide, and the north 12 ft. 2 in. The south transept measures 15 ft. 7 in. west and east, and 18 ft. 9 in. north and south; the north transept is 16 ft. 2 in. west and east, and 18 ft. 11 in. north and south. The chancel is 28 ft. 5 in. west and east, and 15 ft. 5 in. north and south.

Whatever there may have been of the nature of a simple chapel before the days of Robert de Salocia and Matthew de Eston cannot now be traced, but there is palpable evidence of work of the period of these two benefactors about the year 1200. The most striking feature of that date is the enriched sedilia and piscina niche in the south wall of the chancel, which





SEDILIA AND PISCINA, MONYASH.

are fine and exceptional examples, for so secluded and rural a district, of Transition from Norman to Early English. The three sedilia rise in graded levels towards the east; beyond them is a fourth continuous hood-mould over the piscina niche. The four arches over the sedilia and piscina are semi-circular, and so, too, are the effective hood-mouldings, which are ornamented with early examples of the tooth ornament. The sedilia are separated by detached shafts with good capitals and bases. By an unfortunate error of judgment the old and immediately local stones of these shafts were removed at the time of the restoration of 1887, and shafts of polished fossil marble were put in their place. This change is both inharmonious and incorrect. Fortunately the old removed shafts, which are undoubtedly the original work, were not broken up but carefully kept by a local builder. The present vicar has wisely recovered them and placed them again in the church, where they may be seen resting in the sedilia niches. It is to be hoped that his intention of taking out the modern glossy work and replacing the old shafts will be speedily carried out.

In the north wall of the chancel, near the altar, is a large squared aumbry recess, which has been fitted with a door; it is probably of like date with the sedilia. Within it rest two pewter plates, bearing the name S. Goodwin, London, and the X surmounted by a crown denoting superior quality.

The chancel itself is of *circa* 1200 date. Previous to the restoration a single-light blocked-up window of the large lancet type, but having a rounded head, could be noticed in the north wall. This was opened out in 1887, together with another of like style in the same wall. A like window, of which some traces were found, has been placed in the south wall of the chancel near the east end. The chancel was to a great extent rebuilt in 1887, but the old material was for the most part re-used and re-placed. The two buttresses on the north side are plain examples of the beginning of the thirteenth century. On the south side there is an old priest's doorway with a shouldered arch, and a two-light window of the last quarter of the thirteenth century. Adjoining

the nave in this same wall is a two-light square-headed window of late fourteenth century date, like most of the nave windows. This window was filled, in 1904, with good glass to the memory of Rev. A. G. Berry (a late vicar of Monyash) and Mary his wife. Below this window are traces of an earlier lowside window. The four-light east window of the chancel was square-headed and debased previous to the restoration. The three-light imitative thirteenth century window, which has taken its place, is not a successful effort, and the east wall of the chancel and the floor have been treated with glossy encaustic tiles of unhappy arrangement. The archway into the chancel is supported on good corbels of early natural foliage, with heads below.

There is nothing characteristic of the thirteenth century left in the body of the church; but it is clear that the building of a western tower followed soon after the erection of the Transitional chancel. The style of the two lower stages of the tower denotes a date about 1225. On the south side of the tower is a low central buttress. This buttress is pierced by a small lancet window measuring 4 ft. 6 in. by 10 in. wide. To find a buttress thus pierced is highly exceptional; there is a lancet in a like position on the west side of the fine tower of the church of Bingham, Notts. Above this buttress is another lancet light. There are also low central buttresses in the west and north walls. This tower was probably originally crowned by a low broached spire. The body of the church, which at this time connected the Early English tower with the Transition chancel, was most likely of the former style.

From this date it would seem that the fabric of the church had rest for about a century. But in the early part of the reign of Edward III., Monyash grew in importance and doubtless in population. The minerals increased in value, and, as we have seen, the town obtained a weekly market and an annual fair, and the church obtained burial rights. This, then, was the natural time for enlarging the church. An aisle was added to each side of the nave. There were quite sufficient indications

before the church was restored to enable us to say with certainty that these aisles had originally lean-to roofs. The arcades that divide them from the nave are similar; each consists of three arches supported by octagonal piers and corresponding responds, plainly moulded after the fashion that was common in the earlier time of Edward III.

But the aisle on the south side did not remain long undisturbed. In 1348 came the founding of the chantry of Our Lady by Nicholas de Congesdon and his brother John. This chantry was placed at the east end of the south aisle, which was considerably extended so as to form a transept of fair dimensions. The throwing out of an archway on the south side of the pier of the arcade nearest to the east, to give admission to the transept from the east end of the south aisle can now be readily traced, and was obviously done soon after the arcade was erected, but formed no part of the original plan. This Congesdon chantry chapel, extensively repaired during the last restoration, has a new three-light window of the style prevailing at the time of its foundation. The three-light square-headed recessed window belongs to the time towards the end of the same century, when the church was largely remodelled; it has small shafts in the jambs. In this chapel is a piscina niche with rounded head; a large stone bracket 26 in. wide, on which there doubtless stood the image of Our Lady; and a smaller bracket carved into two faces.

Here may be noted a feature of the exterior east wall of this Lady chapel which is rather difficult to explain. There is an exterior line of moulded stones, flush with the walling, above the square-headed window; it is not easy to understand for what purpose it served prior to the insertion of this window. In fact, this corner or angle of the church, both of chancel and transept, is the one point in the fabric that cannot easily be elucidated. It is more puzzling since the restoration than it was before.

After this part of Derbyshire had to some extent recovered from the devastating horrors of the Black Death of 1348-9, a wave of church restoration and rebuilding passed over the

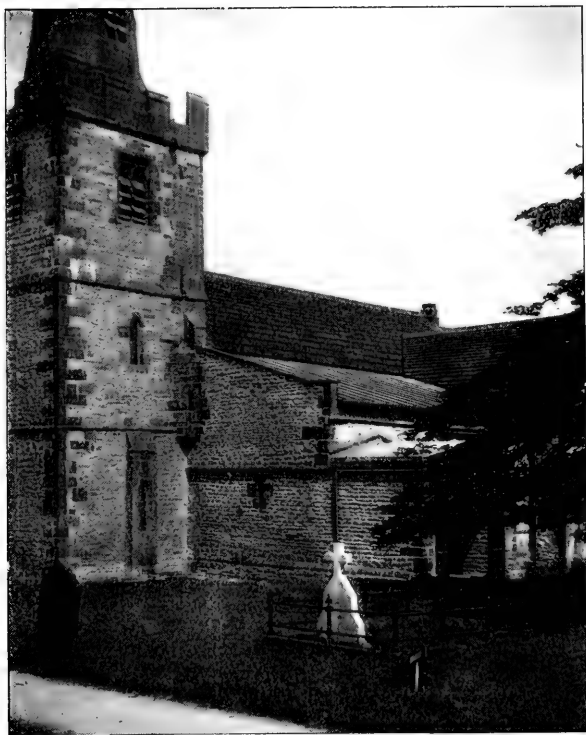
district, about the close of the reign of Edward III. and running into that of Richard II. The work of this period may be roughly assigned to *circa* 1370-80; a date when the curvilinear or Decorated style was yielding place in most parts of England to the dawn of the rectilinear or Perpendicular style. In this part of Derbyshire (and elsewhere in the county, as in the chancel of Breadsall) there came about a somewhat exceptional development in the shape of square-headed windows whose tracery had no touch of rectilineal work about them—such were the continuation of Tideswell chancel, the almost entire rebuilding of Taddington church, and the remodelling of much of the church of Monyash. At that date a southern chancel window (and probably also an east window) was given to Monyash, and also new windows to the north and south aisles, all of square-headed shape. The four-light window in the south wall of the latter aisle, with flamboyant tracery, is a highly unusual example. The south porch was probably then built or rebuilt over a beautifully moulded doorway of the first half of that century. From rather full notes taken in 1872, when the porch was in ruins, it may be confidently asserted that this was not originally what is termed an "open porch," but had a doorway in its south wall. It has recently been restored with an oak screen at the entrance.

Among the little known uses to which church porches were not infrequently put was the holding inquests therein by the coroner over the corpses of those accidentally or wilfully killed. There are the records of more than one Monyash inquest still extant, wherein John Adderley, who was coroner for this part of Derbyshire from 1677 to 1699, summoned the Jury to meet in the church porch.¹

To this late period of the fourteenth century may also be assigned the raising of the tower or the removal of its uppermost stage, and the crowning of it, within the battlements, with an octagon spire, with two tiers of projecting windows at the cardinal points. This spire was taken down and rebuilt (on

¹ Cox's *Three Centuries of Derbyshire Annals*, i., 79.





MONYASH CHURCH, S.W.

the old lines and with most of the old materials) at the beginning of the restoration of 1886-8. A remarkable plan was adopted for giving access to the ringing chamber and the bells, which is probably unique among English parish churches or parochial chapels. There was no newel stairway in any angle of the old thirteenth century tower, and its proportions scarcely admitted of one being inserted. It was therefore decided to give a new west front to the south aisle, and to construct a stairway between the new and the old walls. There is a small doorway within the aisle in the west wall but close to the south angle. Entering this, and turning immediately to the right, a series of twenty-two steps lead through a narrow passage, $26\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide, up to the first floor of the tower. From thence, in the later work, newel steps lead on to the opening of the spire. This ingenious late fourteenth century arrangement adds interest to the outer angle of the tower and aisle, as shown on the plate.

This church had also a north transept. It is difficult to say with certainty when it was first erected; but it was possibly designed and begun about 1348 to balance the Congesdon Lady chapel, and not finished till the period at the end of that century now under discussion. This transept getting out of repair, probably between 1550 and 1650, when the Bakewell chapelries were so much neglected, the mean expedient was resorted to of sweeping away, and building up the north and east walls on the lines of the old aisle. It may be noted that in the account of this church printed in 1876, it is said:—"When the time for the restoration of this interesting church happily arrives, it will probably be found that there have been both north and south transepts; careful search should then be made for their foundations."¹

Such search was made during 1886-8, with the result that the foundations of the north transept were disclosed, and the transept was creditably rebuilt on the old lines. The north aisle and transept continuation used to be known as the Flagg aisle, clearly indicating that it was occupied by worshippers from that hamlet.

¹ *Churches of Derbyshire*, ii., 108.

Against the eastern pier on the north side of the nave, at the entrance to the north transept, is a small image bracket. There are remains of early painting on the stones of this archway. The north transept is lighted by a new two-light pointed north window, and by a square-headed recessed east window of three lights, the third light of which, on the north side, has been renewed, as it had been cut off when the transept was destroyed. To the right hand of this window is a plain pointed piscina niche, denoting that the church had a third altar. High up in this wall, about twelve feet from the floor, a wide stone used to project from the wall, which had served as a step into the doorway leading to the top of the rood-loft. The outline of this doorway could be traced up to the restoration.

At a period well advanced in the fifteenth century, the high-pitched roof of the nave was taken down and a flat one substituted. The walls over the arcades were raised, and three two-light clerestory windows inserted. It would be at this time that the rood-loft would be constructed.

The interesting font is also of fifteenth century date, and has several characteristics in common with those of Taddington and other neighbouring churches which were renewed about this period. This octagonal font stands 36 in. high, and has a diameter across the bowl of 28 in. It has plain square panels save on the north side, which is carved with the arms of Bovil or Bovill, *a fesse between three saltires engrailed*. The bowl is supported on a cluster of four columns, the capitals of which are sculptured with the heads and hindquarters of a lion, and of some smaller beast. Richard Blackwell, of the adjacent chapelry of Taddington, married Griselda, daughter and heiress of Bovill, of Northampton, in the reign of Henry VII. It should also be noted that a Bovil was joint founder of Roche Abbey, Yorks., in the twelfth century, and this abbey had a grange in this chapelry at Oneash. The font is covered with a flat lid, on which is inscribed, "W. B., R. N., 1733."

In Wyrley's copy of the herald's visitation of 1569 mention is made of three escutcheons as being then in the church at

Monyash. One was the coat just mentioned on the font, and the other seems to have been in the windows. These two were—*arg., on a saltire engrailed, sab., nine amulets, or*; and *arg., on a bend, gu., three escallops, or*. The first of these coats is Leake, and the other was borne by several families, but its connection with Monyash has not yet been solved.¹

When Bassano visited the church, in 1710, he only noted the arms on the font, and the last of the two mentioned by Wyrley in the windows.

Mr. Rawlins, who was here in 1827, says that "there are a few pews built round the pulpit and reading desk, and also towards the chancel, but generally speaking the open bench prevails."

Beneath the tower is an old chest of exceptionally large dimensions; it is 7 ft. 2 in. long, 21 in. high, and 19 in. wide. It is continuously encircled with iron bands throughout, which are about 7½ in. apart. The chest is divided into two unequal parts, each with its own lid. The age of this massive receptacle points to it having been probably constructed to hold the vestments and altar plate for the fourteenth century chantry founded by Nicholas Congesdon and his brother. The chest is now in a rather dilapidated state, and has been coarsely mended; it would tend to its preservation if it was brought out into a better light and placed in one of the transepts.

Three bells swing in the tower; they are inscribed as follows:—

I. "J. Melland, W. Bateman, C. W. John Hedderley made me. 1732."

II. "Sca Maria o.p.n." (Sancta Maria ora pro nobis). The elaborate bell-founder's mark, with initials T. B., show that this is a bell of Brazyer, of Norwich.

III. "Glory be to God on high. 1656," with the well-known founder's mark of George Oldfield of Nottingham.

There are no old monuments in the church. At the west

¹ Harl. MS., 6592, f. 89.

end of the south aisle are some mural tablets to the Palfreyman family, 1774-1826.

Against the east wall of the north transept rests the somewhat dilapidated large Royal Arms of George II., dated 1742, fairly well painted on panel. It is much to be desired that these arms should be re-hung in the church. There is an excellent place for them over the low arch into the tower.

During the Churchwarden era this church became much degraded. The roofs of chancel, aisles, and nave were all flat and plastered. One of the best features of the costly restoration of 1886-8 was the renewal of open roofs throughout the building. This restoration, which was chiefly accomplished through the munificence of Archdeacon Balston, cost between £3,000 and £4,000. The church was re-opened by the Bishop of Southwell on May 9th, 1888.

On the south side of the churchyard, near to the porch, is an exceptionally well-grown and vigorous yew tree. The trunk, in its early life, divided into two, about two feet from the ground, but there is only a slight division between the parts. At a height of 4 ft. 6 in. from the ground the girth is 14 ft. 7 in.; the stretch of the boughs, from east to west, is 51 ft. The Monyash yew is only surpassed in interest among those of Derbyshire by the very ancient yew of Darley Dale churchyard, and by the fine example in Doveridge churchyard in the south of the county.

The beauty of the churchyard of this exposed village is much enhanced by the environment of tall, well-grown lime trees which surround it on the north, east, and west sides. The absence of this great fence on the south side is accounted for by the fact that at the time of their planting the chief residence or hall of Monyash immediately adjoined that side of the churchyard. A confident and old tradition in the parish assigns the planting of these limes to Rev. Robert Lomas, who met with such an untimely end in 1776.

The registers at Monyash begin in the year 1701, but the transcripts at Lichfield go back to the year 1672.¹ There are

¹ Dr. Cox's *Catalogue of the Lichfield Muniments* (1886), p. 84.





FOUR-LIGHT SOUTH WINDOW, MONYASH.

not many entries of interest, but the following burials under date February 5th, 1772, bear witness to the severity of winter storms on these uplands:—"John Allcock, blacksmith, and Richard Boham, a baker. *N.B.*—These two were starved to death in coming from Winster market, on Middleton Common." The Registers also record the sad fate, in 1776, of "Ye Rev^d. Mr. Lomas. He was killed by a fall from a rock in Lathkill dale in the night." Robert Lomas had been minister of Monyash for many years; the Registers record the baptism of his son Exuperius in 1753. He was returning from Bakewell late on the evening of October 11th, lost his way, and fell over a dangerous precipice between Lathkill and Harlow dales, at that time called Fox Tor, but ever since distinguished as Parson's Tor. His body was found on Saturday afternoon, October 12th, and the inquest and burial took place on the following Monday.¹ The registers give the burial of his widow in 1788.

The oldest piece of the altar plate is a small chalice with hall-mark of 1726-7. The remarkable and exceptional feature of it is that it bears on the side a curious late-Renaissance-looking engraving of a chapel surmounted by a dome and a cross, and lettered below "Monyash Chappell"; but it has not the most distant resemblance to the actual church or chapel.

¹ A copy of the return of the coroner's inquest, together with other particulars of the fatal accident, are set forth in the *Reliquary* (1863-4), iv., 170-176. A tuft of grass found clenched in the dead man's hand was preserved in a bottle at Monyash up to about 1850. Various queer stories are still told in the neighbourhood as to Parson Lomas, but he has left behind him a beautiful memorial in the lime trees round the churchyard.

Alabaster "Table" Relief at Hopton Hall.

By MRS. MEADE WALDO.



THE tablet of which we here give an illustration is the property of Captain Chandos-Pole-Gell, at Hopton Hall. These "table" reliefs are of much interest, being examples of an art, or industry, which, originating at Chellaston, in the alabaster country, was once widely known. In fact, we may safely say that all the carved alabaster work dating from the fifteenth century, which is found in churches and cathedrals all over this country, as well as in France, came from Chellaston. Several of these tablets are in the British Museum. The Hopton example is not one of the earliest class—and has the peculiarity, among others, of a battlemented canopy. The figure of the Saviour has the hand in blessing at arms-length, and the left hand holds a Resurrection banner. The position of the right hand raised in blessing, however, varies, and in some of the examples is held close to the body; and in the British Museum Resurrection tablet the banner is omitted. The Hopton tablet also shews the remains of a gilt background, diapered all over with round white spots. This is also seen in two examples in the British Museum. The subject of one of these is the Annunciation; that of the other, the Destruction of Sodom.

Mr. St. John Hope, in *Archæologia*, vol. lii., p. 698, states that these tablets were carved at Chellaston, *circa* 1494, and were much used for monuments in various parts of England; and were also exported to France. All the tablets referred to by him have the head of St. John Baptist as the primary subject. The figure of Christ, rising from the tomb, is introduced as a secondary group, smaller, and below the Baptist's head.



ALABASTER "TABLE"-RELIEF.



Henovere and the Church of Heanor.

NOTES ON THE CHARTULARY OF BURTON ABBEY AND THE
CHRONICLE OF DALE ABBEY.

By the REV. R. JOWETT BURTON, M.A.



THE early history of the Church of Heanor has always presented a difficulty to the antiquary by reason of its connection, or supposed connection, with the Abbey of Burton. The following article is an attempt to solve the difficulty and to clear up one or two points which appear to have been overlooked in the evidence relating to the subject.

In the twelfth century there were in Derbyshire two places called Henovere, one in the Manor of Mickleover (as shewn by the Chartulary of Burton Abbey), and the other the modern parish of Heanor. Evidence is here adduced to shew that the lands belonging to the Abbey in "Heanor" were in the manor of Mickleover; that if a "Church of Heanor" were subject to the Abbey, the church was in Mickleover also; and, negatively, that the Church of Heanor on the borders of Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire was in no way connected with the Abbey.

For the purpose of lucidity, the spelling of Heanor in connection with the Abbey is retained in its ancient form—*i.e.*, Henovere—and the present parish of that name, on the eastern border of the county, is spelt in the modern manner.

The subject divides itself into two parts: First, the *place* Henovere; second, the *Church* of Henovere.

HENOVERE.—The place of that name mentioned in the Chartulary of Burton Abbey is clearly located, as shewn by

the following extracts. (The references to the Chartulary are to General Wrottesley's article in vol. vii. of this *Journal*.):—

“Manors or lands in possession of the monks at the time of Domesday—Derbyshire, ‘ . . . Mickleover, Littleover, Henover (Heanor), Findern, Potlack, and Willington ’” (p. 99).

Folio 21 (p. 113).

“ [De Henovere.]

“Ego Robertus Abbas Burtoniæ concedo etc. donationem quam predecessor meus Gaufridus bonæ memoriæ etc. concesserunt Roberto filio Wachelini in feudum et hereditatem *illam terram in Oura* quam de eis ipse tenuit etc. et pro eâdem terrâ debet reddere Ecclesiæ v.s. quoque anno &c.”

[*Translation*.—“ I Robert, Abbot of Burton grant etc. the gift which my predecessor Geoffrey of good memory etc. granted to Robert FitzWachelin in fee and inheritance (namely) *that land in Oura* which he held from them &c. . . .”] (c. 1150-1159.)

The preceding folio refers to “Pothlac,” and the remainder of this (21) to “Oufra.”

Folio 23.

“ [De Henovera.]

“Ego B. [Bernardus] Abbas &c. concedo et confirmo donationem quam predecessor meus Robertus Abbas &c., concesserunt Roberto filio Roberti filii Walchelini in feudum et hereditatem *illam terram in Oura scilicet Henoveram* quam de eis ipse tenuit &c.” (c. 1160-1179.)

[*Translation*.—“ I Bernard, Abbot &c. grant & confirm the gift which my predecessor, Robert, Abbot &c. granted to Robert, son of Robert FitzWalchelini in fee and inheritance (namely) *that land in Oura, to wit, Henovera*, which he held from them &c.”]

On this folio (23) are “de Potlach,” “de Terre in Derbi”; and under “de Henovera” an additional entry of a concession to one “Robert brother of Briennius” of land in Asshehurst.

The Chartulary is thus very explicit. Oura is Magna Oura, now Mickleover; and the land *in Mickleover* which was granted

by the Abbot to the FitzWalchelins was called Henovera or Henovere. That Henovere was in Mickleover agrees well with the fact that all the Derbyshire possessions of the Abbey were in Derby and to the S. and S.W. of that town, while Heanor is some nine miles to the N.E. And, further, that Henovere is always mentioned in close connection with Mickleover (Oufra), Littleover, Potlac, and Findern.

Taking the widest dates of the Henovere entries, two members of the FitzWalchelin family held land there under the Abbey between 1150 and 1179. Further, Nicholas FitzWalchelin de Henovere, a tenant under the Abbey,¹ held land in Mickleover called Crosforlong, towards Littleover, between 1222 and 1233. And in 1225-6 Nicholas de *Enovere*, or Eynoure (obviously the same), had right of pasture in Mickleover in the neighbourhood of Rughedich, Sortegrave, and Witesiche. "The Abbot concedes to Roger (le Breton) and his heirs and to his men of Rughedich common of pasture in the whole manor of Magna Ufre, and in the manor of Parva Ufre after the deaths of Philip Marcus and his wife Anne, for which concession Roger (so far as lies in him) concedes to the Abbot, etc., permission to assart 60 acres in Sortegrave, and Nicholas de Enovere and his heirs shall have free entry and exit to the same pasture near Witesiche" (p. 126).²

Land in Heanor was indeed held by a Nicholas de Henover (possibly the Nicholas mentioned in the "Testa de Nevil" as holding in Shipley, 1242), but this was at a later date—that is to say, he *acquired* a moiety of the manors of Heanor, Langley, and Milnhay in 1258. But the FitzWalchelin references appear to refer only to Henovere and the neighbourhood of Mickleover.

Part of the land at Mickleover, Littleover, Findern, and Potlac, formerly possessions of the Abbey, came into the possession of Mr. Pole, of Radburn, in 1801, as given in Lyson's *Derbyshire*, p. 226, where the following expressive sentence occurs:—"Mr. Pole has a manor or farm in this (Mickleover) parish also, called Rough-Heanor." And in a

¹ Vol. vii., p. 121.

² See also vol. viii., pp. 23 and 24.

deed of 1599 "Radbourne, Eggington, Micleover, *alias* Greatore, Littleover, *Heynour*, Mackworth, Etwall, Dalbrye Lees," etc., are given among the possessions of Germaine Pole, Esq., of Radbourn.¹ This Heynour, or Rough Heanor, would appear to be the old FitzWalchelín tenure.

The historic setting of Henovere is still partly maintained, for the name of one of the fields belonging to the farm, called Rough Heanor, in the parish of Mickleover, is Rowditch²—obviously the modern representative of the "Rughedich" of the Chartulary.

THE CHURCH OF HENOVERE.—This is a more difficult subject, depending on negative criticism rather than on positive assertion as in the previous question. Several authorities are quoted to shew the difficulty attending the assumption that Heanor Church was subject to Burton Abbey, and the nature of the difficulty.

The earliest authority is Thomas de Musca, Canon of the Abbey of Dale, or, more correctly, of Stanley Park. In his *Chronicle* he gives an account of the baker of Derby who became the first hermit of Depedale, and in that account says: "Fuit quidam pistor in Derby in vico qui dicitur Sancte Marie habebat autem tunc temporis ecclesia beate Marie de Derby magnam parochiam et ecclesia de enere fuit ei subjecta et capella."³

[*Translation*.—"There was a certain baker in Derby in the street which is called St. Mary's. Moreover, at that time the Church of St. Mary at Derby had a large parish, and the *Church of Heanor* was subject to it, and a chapel."³]

"Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum*, translated into *English*," 1718 (p. 189), contains an account of Dale Abbey: "There was a baker at Derby, in St. Mary's Street, at what time the Church and Chapel of Eanore were subject to the Church of St. Mary at Derby."

Pilkington's *View of Derbyshire*, vol. ii., p. 151, states:

¹ Simpson's *History of Derby*, p. 88.

² I am indebted for this to Mr. Edward McInnes, of Littleover, a member of the Society.

³ Mr. St. John Hope's text and translation in vol. v. of this *Journal*, pp. 5 and 17.

"As early as the reign of Henry II. there was in Derby a church dedicated to the Blessed Mary, and the parish belonging to it was of a very large extent." . . . "The Church of Eanor (Heanor) was subject to it (*Mon. Angl.*, vol. ii., p. 617)." On p. 225, referring to Heanor: "There was a church here at the time when the Domesday Book was compiled. From the history of the foundation of Dale Abbey it seems that there was a chapel as well as a church at Heanor in the reign of Henry II., and that they belonged to the parish of St. Mary in the town of Derby."

Simpson's *History of Derby*, p. 307, states that "A church dedicated to St. Mary, together with Heanor, which seems to have been a chapel of ease to it, was given by William the Conqueror to the Abbey at Burton."

Dr. Cox realised the difficulty more than his predecessors. In the *Derbyshire Churches*, vol. iv., p. 233, he says: "The manor of Heanor . . . at that time possessed a church, and this church of Heanor was in the eleventh century given to Burton Abbey, being to a certain extent subsidiary to the ancient church of St. Mary in Derby. On the lapse of the Royal Grant of these churches to the abbey, in a manner that has not hitherto been ascertained, the Church of Heanor would seem to have reverted to the Crown, and to have been afterwards granted to the Greys of Codnor by King John."

On p. 70 of the same volume St. Mary's Church is referred to thus: Of the church we know little beyond the fact of its gift to Burton. At all events, neither Burton Abbey nor any other body apparently possessed it in the thirteenth century. *William I. had included, in his grant of the Church of St. Mary to Burton, certain lands at Heanor, whence arose the subsidiary position of the Church at Heanor to that at Derby.*

It will be observed that until Dr. Cox took the subject in hand writers founded their statements entirely on Dugdale's interpretation of the *Dale Chronicle*. And the questions arise, Was Dugdale's interpretation of "ecclesia de enere" correct? If so, to what does it refer? It is perhaps worthy of notice

that those words, which are translated by Mr. St. John Hope, "The Church of Heanor," have been left almost untouched in Glover's translation—"A church de Onere"—as though he were uncertain of their meaning. Certainly the spelling is singular if intended for Heanor Church. One cannot, of course, cavil at the spelling of names at that age; but there are two points of interest in this case. The usual modes of spelling were Henovere or Henower, with variations, but in "Enere" it will be noticed that the initial "H" is omitted, which is unusual, though we do read of Nicholas de Enovere, or Eynoure: and in the second syllable the predominant sound is "e," not "o," which is probably unique if the word be meant to represent Henovere.

If it should be that "de enere" describes the church and does not refer to a place, then the *Dale Chronicle* has been misunderstood and has led to the difficulty which has beset antiquaries as to the early history of the Church of Heanor.

But assuming that the *Chronicle* does refer to Henovere, where is the place referred to? As Rough Heanor and Heanor, each called Henovere, are about equally distant from Dale, we cannot presume that de Musca considered Heanor as the one important Henovere, unhesitatingly understood by his readers because of the advantage of propinquity. We have, therefore, to consider the claims, after what has been said in the earlier part of this article, of the two places known by the name of Henovere.

It has been said before that the Abbey possessions did not extend to the north of Derby, and the Domesday account of Heanor makes no reference to the Abbey of Burton, but points to the simpler meaning of its church being an ordinary parish church.

"Land of William Pevrel. . . . In Cotenovre and Hainoure, and Langeleie and Smitecote. . . . There is a church . . . Warner holds."

The lands at Mickleover, Littleover, Potlac, and Findern were granted by William the Conqueror to Burton Abbey, but

the parish of Heanor was part of the possessions of William Peverel. Moreover, the Chartulary specifies that Henovere was in the manor of Mickleover, and, as Dr. Cox says, certain lands at "Heanor" were included in the grant of St. Mary's Church to the Abbey, from which arose the subsidiary position of the Church at "Heanor" to that at Derby, the inference is that the "Church de Enere" was in the manor of Mickleover. This may not be inconsistent with the statement that St. Mary's parish was a "large" one, so large as to contain the Church "de Enere," and a chapel in addition to the parish church.

The connection between the ancient manor of Mickleover and the Church of St. Mary, Derby, is further indicated by the Chartulary.¹ After the enumeration of the tenants of Littleover (c. 1100) it states that the Abbey had a church in Derby which Godric the priest held (p. 106), and on p. 105 "Godric the priest" appears among the tenants of Mickleover as holding "two bovates." And, again, in 1114 among the "Censarii" of Mickleover are Seon the priest and Godric the priest, the latter having four bovates of land and a church. Whilst under Littleover is the statement that in Derby the Abbey had a church which Godric the priest held (p. 109). This seems to suggest that there was one Godric who had to do with the manor of Mickleover and the church at Derby.

To sum up the points of this article: The lands in Henovere granted by William I. to the Abbey of Burton were, according to the Abbey Chartulary, situated in the manor of Mickleover. If there was a church there it was subject to the Church of St. Mary, Derby, for the Church of Henovere, which was subject to St. Mary's, was so subject by reason of land there granted to Burton; and the land in Henovere, subject to the Abbey, was in Mickleover. It follows, therefore, that the land in Heanor belonging to the Abbey, being in Mickleover, the church was there also.

Indeed, the only connection between the Henovere of the Chartulary and Heanor seems to consist in the identical spelling

¹ Vol. vii. of this *Journal*.

of the ancient names; and there appears to be nothing to imply that any relations existed between Heanor and the Abbey of Burton or St. Mary's, Derby. Thus the difficulty arising from an inexplicable early transfer of the advowson of Heanor Church disappears.

The questions might be asked: "If there were a Church at Rough Heanor, where is the site and where are the records?" And the obvious answer is another query: "Where was the more important Church of St. Mary, Derby, and where are its records?"





GUISERS AT CASTLETON (1).



GUISERS AT CASTLETON (2).

Guising and Mumming in Derbyshire.

By S. O. ADDY.

I.—THE OLD TUP.

GEORGE POTTER, of Castleton, told me in 1901 that when he was a boy the Christmas guisers in that village were about twenty in number. They wore masks, big hats, and short trousers.

At the present time a boy gets into a sack, the top of which is tied in such a way as to represent two ears or horns, or else the sack is surmounted by a real sheep's head. A second boy represents a butcher, and carries a knife in his hand; a third is dressed like a woman; a fourth, who has his face blackened, represents an old man, and carries a bowl or basin in his hand. They go from house to house singing the following lines:—



As I was going to Der - by up-on a mar-ket day, I



met the fin-est Tup - sie that ev-er was fed on hay. Say



lay - lum, lay - lum, Pit - y - ful lay-lum lay.

The man that stuck the tupsie
 Was up to the knees in blood;
 The man that held the basin
 Was washed away in the flood.
 Say laylum, etc.

And all the women in Derby
 Came begging for his ears,
 To make them leather aprons
 To last for forty years.
 Say laylum, etc.

And all the men in Derby
 Came begging for his eyes,
 To kick about in Derby,
 And take them by surprise.
 Say laylum, etc.

As the singing goes on the butcher pretends to stick the tup, and the old man with the bowl or basin pretends to catch his blood. When the performance is ended they ask for a copper or two, and then they sing "Christians, Awake."¹

In 1867 Mr. Jewitt printed a version of "The Derby Ram." It begins:—

As I was going to Derby, sir,
 All on a market day,
 I met the finest ram, sir,
 That ever was fed on hay.

The long version printed by Mr. Jewitt tells us that the butcher who killed the ram was drowned in the blood, and that the boy who "held the pail" was carried away in the flood. The maids in Derby begged for his horns; the boys begged for his eyes. As regards the skin we are told that:—

The tanner that tanned his hide, sir,
 Would never be poor any more,
 For when he had tanned and retched it,
 It covered all Sinfin Moor.

¹ Related to me by Jack Potter, of Castleton, one of the mummers, in 1901.





OLD TUP AT HANDSWORTH.

His jaws "were sold to a Methodist parson for a pulpit to preach in." In a note Jewitt tells us that another version of the ballad ends with the lines:—

And if you go to Derby, sir,
You may eat a bit of the pie.¹

We may compare the Castleton version with one or two others. At Handsworth Woodhouse (in Yorkshire), near Sheffield, a real sheep's head is put on the top of the sack, and the boy inside the sack walks on his hands and legs so as to look like a sheep. The butcher pretends to kill the tup, and his servant holds a basin to catch the blood, as at Castleton. Here six boys go round performing the old tup. They are:—

- (1) The old tup.
- (2) A butcher.
- (3) A boy carrying a basin.
- (4) A boy called "Little Devil Dout," carrying a broom.
- (5) A clown.
- (6) A collector.

They sing the same air as at Castleton, and the following lines:—

As I was going to Derby
Upon a market day,
I met the finest topsie
That ever was fed on hay.
Yea, lads, yea, lads,
Jollyfull lay, lay, lay.

After the boys have sung what they remember of the ballad, the one with the broom sweeps the ground, and says:—

Here's little Devil Dout, to sweep you all out;
Money I want, and money I'll have;
If you don't give us money to feed the old tup,
He will no longer be able to stand up.

After this the collector goes round with a hat collecting money.

¹ *Ballads and Songs of Derbyshire*, 1867.

At Handsworth (in Yorkshire), near Sheffield, the boys have an imitation of a sheep's head. It is made of wood with a pair of real sheep's horns, with two glass marbles for the eyes. The tongue is a piece of red flannel. The boy who is acting the old tup gets under a sack, and holds the sheep's head up with a broom handle, as shewn in the photograph. Here five boys go round. They begin about seven o'clock on Christmas Eve, and finish their rounds on the night of New Year's Day. The four boys represent:—

- (1) An old woman with bonnet, frock, apron, and blackened face.
- (2) A butcher with his smock and apron, and his knife and steel. On his apron are a few spots of blood. The old woman and the butcher go arm in arm to the door of a house and say:—

“ Here comes me and our owd lass,
Short o' money and short o' brass;
Pay for a pint and let us sup,
And then we'll act our merry old tup.”

- (3) The old tup.
- (4) A fool with his face blackened.

When the butcher kills the tup it falls to the ground, as if it were dead, but they have no basin to catch the blood. They sing the following lines:—

As I was going to Derby
Upon the market day,
I met the finest tupsie
That ever was fed with hay.
Failey, failey,
Laddy, fallairy lay.

The butcher that killed the tupsie
Was up to the eyes in blood;
The boy that held the pail, sir,
Was carried away with the flood.
Failey, etc.

The blood that ran down Derby street
 And over Derby Moor,
 It made the biggest water-wheel
 That ever was seen before.
 Failey, etc.

The horns that grew on this tup's head
 They were so mighty high,
 That every footstep he let down
 They rattled against the sky.
 Failey, etc.

The wool that grew on this tup's back
 It was so mighty high,
 That the eagles built their nests in it,
 For I heard the young ones cry.
 Failey, etc.

I am told that something was formerly sung about the tup's horns being as long as the church steeple. The boys at Handsworth have not a sheep's head, but a sack, with a pair of sheep's horns sticking out at the top.

At Uppertorpe, near Sheffield, boys go round on Christmas Eve with "the old tup." They tie the ends of a sack to represent horns, as they do at Castleton. The custom is dying out, and at Norton a sufficient number of boys could not be got together at Christmas, 1901, when I made enquiry. Both "the old tup" and "the old horse" were performed at Norton and Dronfield when I was a boy, about 1855. I have remembered the tunes since boyhood, having frequently heard them sung.

The butcher of modern life who kills a sheep now puts it on a stretcher, and stabs it in the throat with his knife, a boy holding a bucket or pail under the wound to catch the blood.

The ceremony which has just been described represents the sacrifice of a ram, for it is inconceivable that just as the old year was passing into the new the men or boys of numerous villages should pretend to kill a ram as a mere freak. Possibly a ram's body was once distributed amongst the people,

for the several versions of the accompanying ballad represent them as begging for various parts of the body. In describing the "Tup o' Derby," in 1895, Mr. Arthur Mayall says that "the ram's horns were often gilded."¹ This is an important fact, because amongst the Greeks and Romans the horns of a victim, if an ox, might be gilded.²

We must not forget that "in England, in the seventh, and as late as the thirteenth century, the year was reckoned from Christmas Day."

That the ceremony of "the old tup" was intended to confer a benefit on the people may be inferred from the practice of sweeping the house, which, as we have seen, forms part of the guising at Handsworth Woodhouse. It is well known to anthropologists that this sweeping was intended to expel evil from the house. At Eyam, in Derbyshire, women sweep their door steps on the first of March, and they say that unless you do this you will have fleas all the year. In the East Riding of Yorkshire women sweep the dust up "for luck." At Lane-shaw Bridge, near Colne, in Lancashire, they sweep the old year out and the new year in. Men, women, and children go round on New Year's Eve, from house to house, and they do this from ten o'clock p.m. to midnight. They consider that they have a right to enter any house if they find the door unfastened. They are disguised, and they wear a motley dress, and either their faces are blackened or they wear masks. They never speak or sing, but go straight to the room where the family are, and begin to dust the room and sweep the hearth. They sweep the dust into the fire-place. For this purpose they bring brushes and dusters with them. They do all this in silence, and when they have finished, they rattle a money-box before each person, and collect what money they can get. If they find a door closed against them they make "a mumming sound" to induce the people inside to open it.⁴

¹ *Notes and Queries*, 9th S., ii., 511.

² *Smith's Dict. of Greek and Roman Antiq.*, 1891, vol. ii., 584, 586.

³ Sir Harris Nicholas's *Chronology of History*, p. 41.

⁴ Reported to me by Amy Wroe, aged 24, who till lately resided at Laneshaw Bridge, and has often seen the ceremony performed.

I am told that in some parts of Lincolnshire young people disguise themselves and sweep the houses out on Christmas Eve.

The "little Devil Dout" at Handsworth was the man who, in popular belief, swept devils out of the house. The word "dout," as will be seen in dictionaries, is a contraction of "do out," meaning to put out, just as "don" is to "do on," or put on. We might then call him "little Devil Put-out." The periodical expulsion of evils and devils by sweeping the house out has been fully discussed elsewhere, but without reference to England.¹

II.—THE OLD HORSE.

At various places in North Derbyshire, such as Norton, Eckington, and Dronfield, a number of men used to go round with "the old horse" on Christmas Eve. The body of the man who represented the horse was covered with cloth or tarpaulin, and the horse's head was made of wood, the mouth being opened by strings in the inside. When the men reached the door of a house, the man representing the horse got under the tarpaulin, and they began to sing:—

It is a poor old horse, And he's knocking at your
 door, And if you'll please to let him in, He'll
 please you all I'm sure. Poor old horse, Poor old horse.

¹ In Frazer's *Golden Bough*, 2nd ed. On Garland Day at Castleton a man with a besom formerly went before the May King "to clean the way" (see my article on "Garland Day at Castleton" in *Folk-lore*, vol. xii., p. 410).

He once was a young horse,
 And in his youthful prime
 My master used to ride on him,
 And thought him very fine.
 And now that he's grown old,
 And nature doth decay,
 My master frowns upon him,
 And these words I've heard him say—
 Poor old, etc.

His feeding it was once
 Of the best of corn and hay,
 That grew down in yon fields,
 Or in the meadows gay.
 Poor old, etc.

But now that he's grown old,
 And scarcely can he crawl,
 He's forced to eat the coarsest grass
 That grows against the wall.
 Poor old, etc.

He's old and he's cold,
 And is both dull and slow;
 He's eaten all my hay,
 And he's spoiled all my straw.
 Poor old, etc.

Nor either is he fit to ride,
 Or draw with any team;
 So take him and whip him,
 He'll now my master's
 Poor old, etc.

To the huntsman he shall go,
 Both his old hide and *foe* (*sic*),
 Likewise his tender carcase
 The hounds will not refuse.
 Poor old, etc.

His body that so swiftly
 Has travelled many miles,
 Over hedges, over ditches,
 Over five-barred gates and stiles.
 Poor old, etc.

Then follows a prose conversation amongst the mummers, which is not worth preserving, because it has been so modernised as to have lost all its interest. The end of it is that the horse gets a new lease of life, and attempts to worry a blacksmith, who is called upon to shoe him. The play is ended by the following stanza :—

The man that shod this horse, sir,
 That was no use at all,
 He likened to worry the blacksmith,
 His hammer and nails and all.
 Poor old, etc.

I have been told by an old man in Eckington, now dead, and by another man in Sheffield, that formerly the mummers used to find out where an old horse was buried, and dig its head up. I published the version of the ballad here given in 1888.¹

It will be noticed that in North Derbyshire the horse is described as "the *old* horse." "Throughout Yorkshire," says Mr. Henderson,² "the Christmas mummers carry with them an image of a *white* horse." In Lancashire "the old horse" was described as "Old Ball," and the ceremony was performed not at Christmas, but at Easter.³ It is said that "old Ball" is a favourite name for a cart-horse in Lancashire, and Dr. Murray, in *The New English Dictionary*, conjectures that *ball* means a white-faced horse. He refers to Fitzherbert's *Husbandry*, 1523, which mentions "a white rase or ball in the

¹ *Sheffield Glossary* (English Dialect Society), p. 163. I did not, however, give the air. I now regret that I did not take down the prose conversation.

² *Folk-lore of the Northern Counties*, 2nd ed., p. 70.

³ Harland and Wilkinson, *Lancashire Folk-lore*, 234.

foreheed." I have never seen "an image of a white horse" in Yorkshire myself. At Little Hucklow one of the guisers came to the door and said, "Please will you see Ball?"¹

It seems as if the old horse, or white horse, were intended to personify the aged and dying year. The year, like a worn-out horse, has become old and decrepit, and just as it ends the old horse dies. But he rises again with the new year. The time at which the ceremony is performed, and its repetition from one house to another, indicate that it was a piece of magic intended to bring welfare to the people in the coming year.

"The savage," says Mr. Frazer, "infers that he can produce any desired effect by merely imitating it."² Ancient races, who were ignorant of natural laws, and who could not be sure that the setting sun would ever rise again, could not be certain that a new year would follow the old year.

The folk-lore of this neighbourhood has a good deal to say about white horses, and they were supposed to bring luck. Thus, "if you see a white horse, spit on your little finger, and you will be lucky all day."³ In the same way a representation of a white horse, when used for the purposes of magic or witchcraft, might be regarded as bringing luck to the new year. It is reasonable to conjecture that the figures of horses made by laying bare the chalk on the Berkshire hills, as in the Vale of the White Horse, were magical devices for attracting the sun. If the sun is dazzling white or bright (Lat. *candidus*), and if his chariot is drawn by white horses, then if you pretend that a white horse dies, and rises again just as the old year is passing into the new, you effect, by a magical act, the continuance of sunlight in the new year. Such, we may conjecture, was the barbarous reasoning which induced men to perform this ceremonial.

The ancient Germans maintained white horses (*candidi equi*)

¹ As regards the performance at Easter, we must remember that in the twelfth century the Anglican Church began the year on the 25th of March.

² *Golden Bough*, 2nd ed., vol. i., p. 9.

³ Addy's *Household Tales, Etc.*, p. 102.

in sacred groves, and they were employed in no earthly labour.¹ They were therefore regarded as peculiarly sacred.

That ceremonies like "the old tup" or "the old horse" were of a magical nature may be inferred from the fact that they were sternly prohibited by Christian law-givers and moralists. Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, in his *Penitential*, forbade the practice of going about at Christmas dressed up like a young stag or an old woman, clad in the skins of animals, or wearing beasts' heads, and he declared that those who changed themselves into the forms of animals were to do penance for three years, because the thing was devilish.²

Such heathenish practices were not confined to England, and in the fourth century we find St. Augustine denouncing them in a sermon.

"If," he says, "you still observe that people perform that very foul disgrace of the young hind or stag, chastise them so severely that they may repent of having done the impious act."³ In the life of St. Eligius we have this prohibition: "Let nobody on the kalends of January make abominable and ridiculous things—old women, or young stags, or games." Again, these practices were forbidden by the Council of Auxerre, which declared that "it is unlawful on the kalends of January to perform with an old woman, or a young stag, or to observe devilish handsels."

It will be noticed that a ram's head, and not a stag's head, is used in North Derbyshire, possibly because stags' horns

¹ Tacitus, *Germania*, 9, 10. See more on this subject in Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie* (Eng. trans.), p. 658, *seqq.*

² "Si quis in kalendas Januarii in cervulo aut vetula vadit, id est in ferarum habitus se communicant, et vestiuntur pellibus pecudum, et assumunt capita bestiarum; qui vero taliter in ferinas species se transformant, iii. annos pœniteant; quia hoc dæmonicum est."—Thorpe's *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, ii. 34.

³ "Si adhuc agnoscatis aliquos illam sordidissimam turpitudinem de hinnula vel cervula exercere, ita durissime castigate, ut eos pœniteat rem sacrilegam commisisse."—*Serm. de Tempore*, 215.

⁴ "Nullus in kalend. Januarii nefanda et ridiculosa, vetulas, aut cervulos, aut jotticos faciant."—*Vita S. Eligii*, lib. 2., cap. 4.

⁵ "Non licet kalendis Januarii vetula aut cervulo facere, vel strenas diabolicas observare, etc."—*Concil. Antissiod. can.* 2. All these passages are quoted from the last edition of *Du Cange*.

are not always easy to procure. According to Plot's *Staffordshire* reindeer heads were worn at Abbot's Bromley, in Staffordshire, at the Christmas hobby-horse dance.

The blackened faces, or masks, are significant, because adepts in magic wore masks.¹ The old woman seems originally to have been a sibyl, or witch, and the Old English *hægtesse*, a witch, is related to our modern *hag*. The *strenæ*, gifts, or handsels,² forbidden by the Council of Auxerre, correspond in some way to the presents of money given to the guisers.

Guising was known amongst the old Norsemen as skin-play (*skinn-leikr*).³ This word would be represented in O.E. as *scinn-lāc*. According to Dr. Sweet, *scinn-lāc* means, amongst other things, magic trick or art. He states, however, that *scinn* or *scin* means phantom, demon, devil.⁴

The photographs were done by an amateur, and I regret that they are not better. It would be a good thing if members of the Society would publish versions, or further details, from other parts of Derbyshire.⁵ At this late hour they may not be easy to get, but one cannot believe that Castleton is the only place where guisers still go round. Much can be done by the patient questioning of old people.

¹ Grimm, *op. cit.* (English trans.), p. 1045.

² *Strena*, Anselme.—Wright-Wülcker, *Vocab.*, 613, 41.

³ See Vigfusson and Powell, *Corpus Poeticum Boreale*, ii. 386.

⁴ *The Student's Dict. of Anglo-Saxon*, Oxford, 1897.

⁵ Guisers certainly exist in various forms in many parts of the county. At Aston-on-Trent, about fifteen years ago, they used to go about the parish at Christmas time dressed up, and I have known them march straight into the kitchen, to the terror of the domestics, and go through a kind of mummery.—EDITOR.

A Note on Brough and Bathumgate.

By S. O. ADDY.

IN the sixteenth century the whole of the Roman road between Brough and Buxton was paved. Writing in 1572 Dr. Jones says:—"Betweene Burghe and it there is an high way forced ouer the moores, all paued, of such antiquity as none can expresse, called Bathgate."¹

It is interesting to see that the author speaks of Burghe, not Brough. To the inhabitants of the neighbourhood the place is known as "th' Brough" (pronounced "Bruff"), *i.e.*, the fortified town. The pavement of the road cannot now be seen on the moors, but, owing to disuse, the turf may have grown over it. In the eastern, or opposite direction of the road, there is a very straight piece about half a mile from Brough. Beyond Stanage Pole, in the direction of Sheffield, the road is called the Long Causey, *i.e.*, the long paved way.

The road which Jones calls Bathgate is popularly known as Bathumgate, the first "a" being sounded like that in "came." It is better to write Bathum, rather than Batham, in order to preserve the dative plural "um," which forms the concluding element of the word. The dative plural is not unfrequent in the place-names of this neighbourhood. Thus Eyum, as it is spelt in the thirteenth century, is the dative plural of "ey," an island, and Leam, written Leyun in 1308,² stands for

¹ *The Benefit of the auncient Bathes of Buckstones, 1572, p. 1.*

² See the article by Mr. Bowles in vol. xxiii., p. 85, of this *Journal*. In *Domesday Eyam* is *Aiune*, where *ai* represents the French scribe's way of representing the sound of the English *ey*.—Hallam (Halum, nooks) is Hallun in *Domesday*.

Leyum, meadows, the dative plural of "lēah." As Buxton is not mentioned in *Domesday*, and as the Romans knew it as Aquæ, its former name may have been simply Bath or Bathum (baths), and an Anglo-Saxon charter mentions Bath in Somersetshire as "æt Bathum," meaning literally "at baths." *Domesday* ignores Brough and Buxton, because they were not manors, or taxable units.

Mr. Haverfield has established the very important fact that the Roman name of Brough was Anavio. He also says that the Ravennas mentions a British river "Anava," and he supposes that the "name survives in the present name of the stream which flows past Brough and into the Derwent, the Noe."¹ The name appears as Nooe in Glover's *Derbyshire*, 1833. On Saxton's map of Derbyshire, 1577, it appears as Now. If we trace it to its source, about seven miles to the N.E. of Brough, we shall find a place called Noe Stool on the new one-inch Ordnance map, or Now Stool Hill on Saxton's map.

If we follow the Roman road from Brough towards Buxton on the new one-inch Ordnance map, we shall notice at a distance of three and a half miles from Brough an oval so-called "encampment." It is very near the road on its south side. And if we follow the road on the map a little more than two miles in the same direction, we shall come to Laughman Tor, which is also near the Roman way, and means "lawman rock." This must have been a rock or hill on which a lawman formerly declared the law, as he did on the Lögberg, or rock of law in Iceland. This is still done on the Tynwald Hill in the Isle of Man. The President of the Supreme Court formerly held in Orkney was called the "lagman," or lawman.

Nearly a mile to the S.W. of Brough is a very straight embankment called Grey Dyke. Unfortunately, the new one-inch

¹ In vol. xxvi. of this *Journal*, p. 202. The Roman station in Derbyshire called Melandra Castle may also have derived its name from a river. The stream near Mallendar, in the neighbourhood of Coblentz, was known as Malandra in the tenth century (Foerstemann, *Altdeutsches Namenbuch*, ii., 1046). The surname Mallinder, accented on the first syllable, is not unfrequent in Sheffield.

Ordnance map does not give the whole of it, for it extends a good deal farther to the N.W., crossing the Roman road, and extending to Far Coates, or Meadow House. In fact it goes from one side of the valley to the other, and is shown best on the six-inch map. On the Ordnance map of 1836 it is shown as extending continuously in a straight line nearly to the top of Bradwell Edge, in the direction of Abney. It has not been proved that it is Roman. Pilkington, writing in 1789, says "there is no tradition concerning it, but pieces of swords, spears, spurs, and bridle bits have been found very near it."¹ When I examined it, in 1901, I found that the width of the convex surface was 45 ft., the height, measured from an imaginary line drawn at right angles to the base, being about 10 ft. The boundaries of townships were sometimes marked by dykes or trenches. For instance, the townships of Kellingley and Knottingley, near Pontefract, were anciently separated from each other by an embankment.² Grey Dyke, however, does not mark the division between the townships of Bradwell and Brough. It seems therefore to be older than that division.

The village of Bradwell, which is mentioned in *Domesday*, is a mile to the south of the Roman Station at Brough, and for a very long period its chief occupation was lead-mining—an industry which has only ceased during the last forty years. Now it is remarkable that a tradition exists in this village, and also in Castleton, that the old inhabitants of Bradwell are the descendants of "convicts," or "transports," as they are popularly described.

I found this tradition in 1901, when collecting evidence about the Castleton Garland, for an article which was printed in *Folk-lore*.³ It seemed to me so remarkable that I made enquiries on the subject from old people in Bradwell and Castleton, and published the result in the introductory part

¹ *A View of the Present State of Derbyshire*, ii. 403.

² "Per fossatam unam que Anglice vocatur Poste-Leiesic, que certificat divisam inter Kellinglaam et Nottinglaam."—*Pontefract Chartulary* (Yorkshire Record Series), i., p. 30.

³ Vol. xii., p. 394, *seqq.*

of my article. I will here repeat a portion of the evidence which I then collected.

Samuel Marrison, aged 86, retired farmer and cattle-dealer, told me that he had lived in Castleton all his life, as his father had before him. He said that the old inhabitants of Bradwell were the descendants of "transports, like the people sent from Russia." He said he had heard that these "transports built themselves little stone huts without mortar, and settled down in Bradwell." He had heard about the "transports" all his life; "it was quite true, and had been handed down." He had heard "scores and scores of people talk about it." They were transported to work the lead mines. Some of them came out of Italy and France, and they used to call them "part-bred Italians."

Henry Ashton, of Castleton, said that the lead-miners of Castleton, as well as Bradwell, were the descendants of convicts. He thought he had seen that in a book, but could not remember where.

Robert Bradwell, of Bradwell, formerly a lead-mine owner, aged 88, said that he was the oldest inhabitant of Bradwell, and was descended from the old stock of Bradwell people. He had heard that the lead-miners of Bradwell were sent there as convicts—that was his word—from a foreign country a long time ago. He had heard that from his father. It was an old tradition. He had never seen it in print, but he believed that many people were descended from those men. "We're descended from a nice lot, aren't we?" he said. He said that the Castleton people used to say that the Bradwell people were descended from convicts, whilst the Bradwell people retorted that the Castleton people were descended from slaves. Mr. Bradwell said that these convicts lived in stone huts near the mines. Mr. Bradwell's daughter-in-law said that the old Bradwell people were "transports," sent over by some foreign power, and "that is why they differ from other people." I saw Mr. Bradwell many times on this and other subjects, and found him a most satisfactory and conscientious witness.

The witnesses allowed me to write down their words in my note-book as they were speaking.

If this tradition is genuine it is valuable; if it has arisen from an expression of opinion by some antiquary, or writer, it is no value at all. I have searched in county histories and guide-books for these "transports" or convicts. Glover, in his *History, etc., of the County of Derby*, says (i. 228):—"The word 'Tor' is a common name for a mountain in the north of this county, and it is a word of Phœnician derivation; and the meaning of many of the terms still in use among the miners can only be traced to an Asiatic source, which seems to go far in proving that the mineral treasures of the country were, at a very early period, wrought either by a colony of foreigners from the East, or under their direction. The miners anciently possessed extraordinary power and privileges, probably derived from these settlers from the East." There is no mention of convicts here.

But another author is more explicit. Writing from Eyam, where he lived, in 1862, W. Wood says:—

"That the inhabitants of this mountainous locality, generations back, should have been rough, uncouth; yea, even savage and ferocious, may be accounted, if not apologised for, by the generally stated fact that the north of Derbyshire was, during and after the Septarchal ages, a penal settlement; that criminals were sent to work in mines (*under captains*) as a fit punishment for certain crimes."¹

I take it that the words "generally stated fact" mean a tradition which Wood had heard, and that the words "Septarchal ages" and "under captains" (which he prints in italics) are embellishments of his own. As will be seen at once by a perusal of his book, Wood made no distinction between tradition and inventions of his own. He does, however, report some genuine folk-lore, such as that about Dick of Tunstead, in a "doctored" shape.²

¹ *Tales and Traditions of the High Peak*, p. 57.

² The same tradition exists also at Wirksworth—a very ancient centre for the lead industry. The "Hope and Anchor" public-house in the Market Place, now owned and occupied by Mrs. Budworth, is the reputed former residence of the "Captain of the Convicts."—EDITOR.

Under the Roman Empire the workmen in mines, says Professor Ridgeway, "were slaves, free labourers, soldiers, or criminals. In the latter case there was a military station always near the mines."¹ It is extremely unlikely that Wood knew anything about this Roman practice, even if the information were available in his time. Moreover, he speaks of a penal settlement "during and after the Septarchal ages," by which he appears to mean the Heptarchy. The question then is raised: Were the lead-mines in Bradwell, or its neighbourhood, worked by Roman criminals, who, as the phrase was, had been *damnati in metalla*, condemned to the mines, and was Anavio intended for a military station near those mines? And the further question arises: Had the embankment called Grey Dyke anything to do with this matter?

The answer to the first two questions depends on the value of the tradition. It is certain that tradition, even in this neighbourhood, has preserved historical facts, and that for a very long time. For instance, in Glover's *Derbyshire* we are told that "adjoining Little Barlow is a very large bog called Leech-field, or Leash-field.² from which two considerable brooks take their rise, supposed to occupy five or six hundred acres, being between three and four miles in circumference. There is a tradition that a town formerly stood here, from which have arisen the following proverbial lines:—

When Leech-field was a market town,
Chesterfield was gorse and broom;
Now Chesterfield's a market town,
Leech-field a marsh is grown.³

The tradition is still remembered, and I have heard the concluding lines repeated thus:—

Now Leech-field it is sunken down,
And Chesterfield's a market town.

¹ In Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Roman Antiq.*, ii., 168b., referring to Marquardt, *Staatsverwaltung*, ii., 252 *seqq.*

² *Leech* means lake or fen, and the village was built there for security.

³ Vol. ii., p. 86. In South Devon they say:

When Plymouth was a furzy down,
Plympton was a market town.

This tradition has been verified by the discovery of "fragments of rude earthenware" and "pieces of black oak, squared and cut by some instrument" on the spot.¹ Some years ago one of my friends saw at a farmhouse near the place, which is about two miles N.W. of Baslow, some remains of this kind found in Leech-field. I believe that Leech-field is the property of the Duke of Rutland, and there is no doubt that a prehistoric village here awaits exploration.

Again, about nine years ago, Mr. Bagshaw, a farmer living at Garner House, near Shatton, told me that "if a man could build a hut on the moors in that neighbourhood in a single night, and make a fire so that the smoke would go up in the morning, he would obtain a right of following a vein of lead on those moors."² This tradition in one point at least is right, and Jacob Grimm, writing of old German law, says "the kindling and maintaining of a fire upon a piece of land was proof of its lawful occupation and possession."³

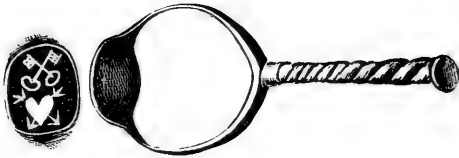
There is, therefore, no reason why the tradition about the "convicts" at Bradwell, and also at Wirksworth, should not be substantially right, and it is very unlikely that anybody would invent it. If it is right, it can only refer to the Romans.

In my article in *Folk-lore* I have described the short stature and other personal characteristics of the old inhabitants of Bradwell, but we need not discuss that subject here.

¹ W. Wood, *op. cit.*, p. 204, and my *Household Tales*, p. 58.

² *Folk-lore*, xii., p. 400.

³ *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*, 1854, p. 194.



Brass Tobacco Stopper.

By C. E. B. BOWLES, M.A.



THE above is a drawing, by Mr. George Bailey, of Derby, a member of our Council, of an old tobacco-stopper belonging to Miss Wright, of Eyam Hall. It was found about four years ago in a gravel-pit at the foot of "The Delfe," which is the name of the broken ground belonging to the Wright estate, and is entered by iron gates exactly opposite the Hall.

In this dell, among a group of rocks, which is raised above the surrounding ground, is a curious natural archway. This was used as a pulpit by Mr. Mompesson, Rector of Eyam, during the time of the plague, in the years 1665 and 1666. Here, having thought it wiser to close the church, he held the services, and it was possibly on one of these occasions that the tobacco-stopper was lost. It is of brass; two inches in length, the ring being $\frac{3}{4}$ inch in its widest part; while smoking the owner probably wore it on his finger. When so worn, the stem lies easily in the palm of the hand, and is not uncomfortable.

The part engraved with the cross-keys, above a heart pierced with two arrows, would be used as a seal, but the signification of the emblem is not so apparent. Mr. Dalton, of the British Museum, pronounces it to be "a tobacco-stopper of the seventeenth century," but will make no further suggestion. Might it not have been given as a love token to the landlord of an inn bearing the sign of "The Cross Keys"?

Derbyshire Fonts.

By G. LE BLANC SMITH.

DECORATED PERIOD.



THE period of Ecclesiastical architecture which is usually known by the very broad name of "Decorated" has no very numerous examples of fonts in Derbyshire.

It is a curious fact that this Decorated style, which perhaps owns more beautiful examples of churches than any other style of English architecture, should be the only style in which design, as applied to the Baptismal Font, is so lacking in feature or grace, and in which the workmanship is so rough and so badly executed as to shame, almost, the early Norman sculptor. Yet such is the case; poor quality of design, coupled with workmanship of an even worse quality, are the almost invariable characteristics of this period.

The Decorated style followed the Early English style, examples of whose fonts were given in the *Journal* of last year. The latter was the first to use the pointed window, and in the Decorated style we see this pointed window undergoing a process of evolution, resolving into one with a pointed head, but filled with other pointed windows, *i.e.*, tracery.

The principal fonts of this Decorated period which yet remain in Derbyshire are at Bradbourne, Bakewell, Ballidon, Chaddesden, Hartington, Monyash, Sandiacre.

Of these, the earliest is undoubtedly that at Bradbourne; the others are hard to place in order of date, and may be well taken in alphabetical sequence.

This font stands at the West end of the church, on a large block of stone. The most remarkable point about it is its



Fig. 1.—Bradbourne.

size. Height, 1 ft. 10 in.; width, 2 ft. 3 in.; diam. of bowl, 1 ft. 9 in.; depth of bowl, 11 in.

Paley illustrates it and describes it as Early English; I very much doubt if this is so, and feel confident that the Decorated period may legitimately claim it. The shape is one which no

Early English sculptor would use, *i.e.*, a square, for delicacy and lightness are predominant features in that style, and this great clumsy block of stone can lay claim to neither of these necessary attributes. Then, again, the weakly cut design (a feature of Decorated work, as we have seen), and the very nature of the design itself, is redolent of the early days of the Decorated style, which succeeded the days of plate-tracery.



Fig. 2.—Bakewell (faces 8, 1, 2, 3).

Here is the geometrical tracery with which the early days of Decorated architecture opened, *i.e.*, a quatrefoil.

What may partly have influenced Paley is the curious likeness to a font in Leicestershire, at Twyford; here is a somewhat similar design on a square font (now supported on legs), and this font has the dog-tooth ornament on its angles. This dog-tooth lends a suspicion that the font is the work of Early English carvers; this is most probable, but we find the font of the

neighbouring village of Thorpe Arnold (vide *The Reliquary*, vol. ix.) with the same ornament on it, also a characteristic bit of Norman symbolical carving.

Thus the Twyford (Leicestershire) font is very early in the Early English style, but this example at Bradbourne has the design more fully developed—from an arrangement of fleur-headed crosses *palécs* in a circle—into what may be called tracery.

BAKEWELL.

As Fig. 2 shows the angles of this font are chamfered and the sides are all ornamented with designs, as on the two shown. This font must not be confused with the other font at Bradbourne; this other font is Norman, and lies beneath the tower, rescued from the gardens of the hall.

This font is one of those rude specimens which have already been mentioned, and is, as a rule, pointed out, with much reverence, to the casual visitor to Bakewell Church as *Saxon!*

How many people depart annually from Bakewell with this curious and misleading piece of information instilled into their minds it would be hard to imagine, as even some of the guide books have not yet had this startling fact "edited" from their pages.

The three photographs of this really very interesting font show all the eight sides.

Each face of the octagon is roughly, indeed badly, carved with saintly figures under unorthodox canopies, formed by the interlacement of natural foliage (at least it is supposed to represent nature), with cusplings beneath the boughs.

Taking Dr. Cox's interpretation of the figures shown, we first light upon the very evident figure of St. Peter, with his customary symbols of church and key. The fact that the wards of the key are as bulky as the whole church was but a small, and quite unimportant, detail to this slovenly sculptor.

Facing him is St. Paul, with naked sword and open book. On the *right* of Fig. 2 (face 3, shown in Fig. 3) is a figure wearing a crown, and holding, in his right hand, a branch with a big bird sitting on it, and in his left what appears to be a musical instrument like a harp.

This personage is considered by Dr. Cox to be either King David or Edward the Confessor. The emblem of the former



Fig. 3.—Bakewell (faces 2, 3, 4, 5).

is either a figure playing on the harp or else a figure bearing the head of Goliath in his hand.

King Edward the Confessor is represented either as a crowned figure carrying St. John's Gospel, or else with a sceptre in his hands, though more often he bestows a ring upon St. John the Evangelist, who is dressed as a pilgrim.

Face 4, fig. 3, shows a figure seated in the attitude in which saints are usually portrayed in Anglo-Saxon art; in fact, this

resemblance is so striking that it may well have created the idea that the font was Saxon. This figure is nimbed, and raises both hands in blessing, and is considered by Dr. Cox to represent St. Augustine. This saint is often represented by his emblem of a heart, as one of the four doctors of the Church; sometimes as a bishop, before whom stands a child, nimbed, and with a spoon in its hand.

Face 5, Figs. 3 and 4, represents a figure with a scroll, which might be any saint, and, in the case of face 6, St. John the Baptist.

Face 7, Fig. 4, might represent any saint in the Calendar, and Dr. Cox considers face 8 (fig. 4) to be carved with a representation of St. Chad. It shows an undoubted bishop.

Mr. Rawlin's interpretation of these designs—read in the same order as the foregoing—seem rather wild; they are: 1 Abraham, 2 St. Peter, 3 Noah, 4 St. John, 5 St. Paul, 6 David, 7 Christ before Pilate, or Paul before Agrippa, 8 Pope, with triple crown.

BALLIDON.

This font is a curiosity, in fact one might almost term it a freak. It is, however, another of the many examples of the careless and little premeditated work of the designer's drawings, in the Decorated period of English church architecture.

The shape is one which originated, in a really graceful form, with the designers of Decorated times, and found much favour in the eyes of ecclesiastical architects for a very considerable period afterwards, lasting even into the debased and miserable style—if "style" it can be called—which succeeded the Reformation.

This design is chalice-shaped, and should therefore be an especially favourite one for the subject, as we thus get the two Sacraments of the Anglican Church symbolized by utensils of one shape.

In executing the finer carved work on this font, the sculptor evidently found it more convenient to work with the stone

reversed, perhaps to secure extra stability for his work. At any rate, whatever his object may have been, he has carved much of this font with designs upside down.

In Fig. 5, which shows the south side, we see in the upper row an inverted uncharged shield on the left; then, working round to the north side, are a blank panel, a panel filled with a mass of foliage and—not shown in Fig. 5—a human head and



Fig. 4.—Bakewell (faces 5, 6, 7, 8).

shoulders, the person depicted points with his right arm to an open book on the other side of the panel; then follow another uncharged shield and a three-light piece of Decorated period tracery. All this row is upside down like that beneath, which contains foliage, of a kind, all the way round, save under the uncharged shield, which is on the reverse side to that shown in the photo; here is a square panel, which contains sixteen

like pellets, arranged in lines of four. The third row, counting downwards from the top, is also filled with inverted foliage, of a nondescript and undescribable character.

Beneath this third row is a break in the stone of which the font is constructed; thus the complete font consists of two parts, the bowl and half the stem, which are carved upside down, and



Fig. 5.—Ballidon.

in the other part, the other half of the stem and the foot of the pedestal, which are carved right way up.

As shown in Fig. 5, on the left, the first panel is blank, the second contains some *square leaved* foliage, the third likewise, while the fourth has an object resembling a very attenuated

pear as much as anything, while No. 5 panel is blank, being followed by another of the curious designs as in the fourth panel.

The ornament on the foot consists of shields and what seems to be intended to represent bunches of grapes.



Fig. 6.—Chaddesden.

This font is 3 ft. 1 in. high and 2 ft. 6 in. wide. The church or rather chapel, is very tiny, and was once adorned with some curious frescoes, or perhaps wall paintings is a better term.

These a sapient churchwarden—of the period when our Church was in her darkest mood in the eighteenth century—

removed, owing to the fact that he considered their presence caused the church "to look like a bad place," to use his own words.

CHADDESSEN.

Here again we get another font which is something of a freak, not only in general appearance, but in its method of construction and design.

In shape it is heptagonal, being, I believe, one of the only four specimens known to be constructed on this peculiar plan. As far as shape was concerned, the favourite plan was that of an octagon, while the square, from which sprang the octagon, by chamfering off the corners, and the round planned bowls, were also firm, but earlier, favourites among constructors of mediæval fonts.

The general design is as nondescript as it is peculiar, and in addition to the foregoing peculiarities it is constructed of no less than three separate stones.

From mere appearance it seems as though the bowl of the present font was originally the upper portion of a larger font, which, so far from being perched on a very crazy-looking pedestal, was continued downwards from its present base, having the appearance of a heptagonal tub or vat, and consisting of one block of stone to the base.

The present broken and rough-looking upper portion of the bowl was no doubt once a highly decorated projecting cornice.

The bowl, as it now is, is ornamented with trefoil-headed tracery, such as was often used in the earlier examples of Decorated style windows; the lower part of the stem or pedestal is, I fancy—relying on memory—an octagon; while the little stone between the latter and the bowl is square in plan.

The pedestal is rather of the shape of the later style of ecclesiastical architecture, the Perpendicular, so that this font is perhaps constructed of three distinctly different fonts, or at any rate of two.

There is really nothing more to remark with regard to this font, save that it is a matter for serious wonderment how it ever came to be preserved at all during the ages in which anything with the taint of antiquity about it, anything not severely plain and puritanical, was consigned by those in charge of our Parish Churches to either the churchyard, or secular or horticultural purposes, should it, by any curious chance, avoid being smashed up.



Fig. 7.—Hartington.

Then, on the other hand, the apparent mutilation of the original bowl may have been accomplished by these very church-wreckers, and these fragments that remain pieced together and patched up by a more scrupulous and more sane-minded generation.

HARTINGTON.

The font in the border village of Hartington is another of these traceried examples of the Decorated style, but is more

carefully executed. When last I saw this font, some six years ago, it still was bedaubed with colours, which were once considered to be the height of beauty in church furniture; pillars, fonts, woodwork, monuments, etc., alike being either painted with all the varied hues of the rainbow, or choked up with successive coats of limewash. The use of whitewash still continues, unfortunately, in the south-west of this country, many fine old Devonshire churches being liberally plastered with it, to their utter ruin, in so far as appearances are concerned.

MONYASH.

This font is probably well advanced in the period known as Decorated, but seems to possess more characteristics of this style than the succeeding one, termed Perpendicular. The chief points about it are the coat of arms, within a shield, on the south side of the octagonal bowl, and the curious animal whose head projects from beneath the projecting bowl on the east side.

The stem consists of five clustered shafts—a large central one and four small side shafts. This arrangement would be rare, if not unique, in a font of the Perpendicular style, and inclines one to the belief that it was constructed in the earlier period.

The coat of arms is that of Bovill,¹ the armorial bearings being a *fess* between *three saltires engrailed*.

The curious semi-human, semi-bestial face which has been mentioned, has a counterpart in the angle corbel in the tower of Darley Dale Church. On the North-east and South-east pillars of the clustered shafts, which form the stem of the font, are the creature's forepaws and legs, while the hind legs project from the North and South sides of the stem.

The enormously heavy and ponderous-looking base should be noticed.

¹ Though not the proper armorial bearings of this family, they were thus borne by Bishop Bovill. Their presence here is perhaps owing to the marriage of Rich. Blackwell with the Bovill heiress.

SANDIACRE.

This font, of which but brief mention is necessary, is a very fair, but unusual, example of the Decorated period. It is octagonal and of a chalice shape, though somewhat too compressed. The panels round the bowl are carved with various

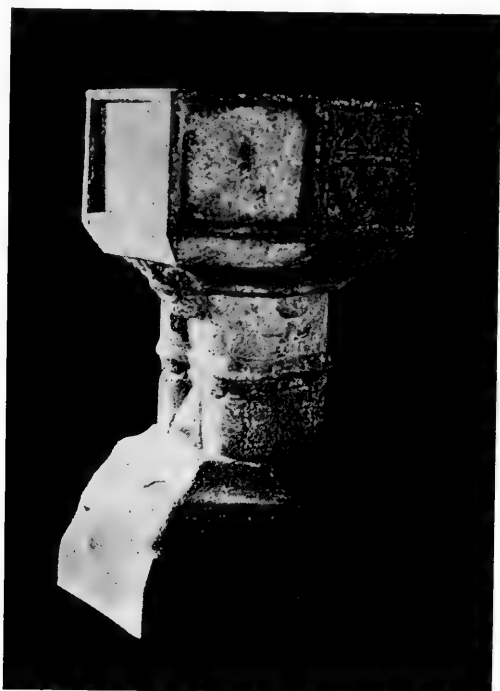


Fig. 8.—Monyash.

square-edged leaf forms. The mouldings round the lower portion of the bowl, the stem, and upper part of the foot, are bold, good and rich in style.

The fonts already dealt with in the last few volumes of the *Journal* have now shown the various phases of ornament and

design for no less than three separate architectural periods—Norman, Early English, and Decorated; or, as some people prefer it, Norman, First Pointed, and Middle Pointed.

Next year I hope to deal with several more or less interesting fonts of the Perpendicular, or Third Pointed, style. These are not numerous, however, and the gradual decline of richness in ornament, and poverty of thought in design, will be still more noticeable than in the last two periods which have been dealt with.

Grant by Sir John Bennet, Kt., to Pembroke Coll., Oxford, of certain Rents in Derbyshire.

By THE EDITOR.



THE Indenture transcribed below, the original of which is at Pembroke College, is from a copy in the possession of Mr. John Borough, of Derby, who for some years acted as Receiver of the rents.

Such documents are worth preserving, if only as a means of reference, and as a valuable assistance to the student of county history.

This particular Deed is a grant of certain fee farm rents,¹ etc., derivable from lands in Derbyshire and elsewhere to the Master and Fellows of Pembroke College, Oxford, for the purpose of founding two fellowships and two scholarships. A Bennet Fellowship is still in existence at Pembroke College. The donor was Sir John Bennet, of Dawley, co. Middlesex. He was himself of Pembroke College, where he had matriculated at the age of seventeen, on the 24th of April, 1635. He was the eldest son of Sir John Bennet, of Dawley, was created Lord Ossulston in 1682, and died in 1688. His son was created Earl of Tankerville—the title of his deceased father-in-law—and from him is descended the present earl.

Most of the rents mentioned in this Deed have at various times been redeemed in recent years by the freeholders. These rents had been purchased from the Crown by Sir John Bennet only three years² previous to this grant to the College.

¹ A fee Farm Rent is a perpetual Rent issuing out of an estate in fee of at least a fourth of the land at the time of its reservation.—*Coke on Littleton.*

² See page 73.

TRANSCRIPT OF THE INDENTURE.

This Indenture made the tenth day of November in the eight & twentieth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord Charles the Second by the grace of God of England Scotland France & Ireland King Defender of the faith &c. & in the year of our Lord God One thousand six hundred seventy & six Between the Honorable Sir John Benet of Doyly in the County of Middlesex Knight of the Bath on the one part and the Master Fellows and Scholars of Pembroke College in the University of Oxford on the other part Witnesseth that the said Sir John Benet in consideration of the sum of five shillings of lawful money of England to him in hand paid by the said Master Fellows & Scholars before the sealing & delivery of these presents the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged And under the trust & for such ends & purposes as are hereinafter mentioned & expressed Hath granted bargained & sold & by these presents Doth grant bargain & sell unto the said Master Fellows & Scholars all that amount or fee farm rent of five & twenty shillings of lawful money of England reserved and issuing out of or for the house & site of the late *Priory of Beauchief* in the County of Derby And also all that annual rent or fee farm of fifty seven shillings & fourpence of like lawful money reserved & issuing out of or for the Grange of *Tickenhall* in the said County of Derby And also all that annual Rent or tenth of eight shillings & eightpence of like lawful money reserved and issuing out of or for certain lands & tenements in *Thursley* alias *Thurmansby* in the said County of Derby And also all that annual rent or tenth of eight shillings & ninepence halfpenny of like lawful

Beauchief
25^{sh}Tickenhall
£2 17 4^dThurmansby
8^{sh} 8^d

money reserved & issuing out of or for the Grange
 called *Griffe Grange* in the said County of Derby Griffe Grange
 And also all that Annual Rent or tenth of eight 8^s 9^d
 shillings & eight pence of like lawful money reserved
 and issuing out of, or for lands in *Hartshorne* in the Hartshorne
 said County of Derby And also all that annual 8^s 8^d
 Rent of eleven shillings & fourpence of like lawful
 money reserved & issuing out of or for the Grange
 called *Stanley Grange* in the said County of Derby Stanley
 And also all that annual rent of Three Pounds & Grange 11^s 4^d
 nine pence of like lawful money reserved & issuing
 out of or for certain lands in *Eckington* in the said Eckington
 Co: of Derby heretofore belonging to the late Guild £3 0 9^d
 or Chantry there now or late paid by the several
 tenants there And also all that annual Rent of
 three pounds thirteen shillings & fourpence of like
 lawful money reserved and issuing out of or for the
 Capital Messuage in *Litchurch* in the said County Litchurch
 of Derby now or late paid by the Rt Hon the Duke £3 13 4
 of Newcastle. And also all that Rent or rents of
 Assize amounting to one Pound fourteen shillings
 and eightpence of lawful money payable by the free
 tenants of our Lord the King in *Brampton* in the Brampton
 said County of Derby now or late paid by Henry £1 14 8^d
 Tomlinson & others And also all that Annual Rent
 or tenth of Three Shillings and four pence of like
 lawful money issuing & payable out of or for one
 tenement in *Lynton* in the said County of Derby Lynton
 heretofor belonging to the late priory of Griesley 3^s 4^d
 in the said County & late in the tenure of Alice
 Carter And also all that annual Rent or tenth of
 Sixteen Pence of like lawful money reserved &
 issuing out of or for lands in *Mackworth* in the said Mackworth
 County of Derby late paid by Richard Robinsom 1^s 4^d
 And also all that annual Rent of Ten Pence of like
 lawful money reserved and issuing out of or for

Lands in *Barowcote* in the said County of Derby Barocote 10^d
 late paid by — Wilmot And also all that annual
 Rent or tenth of Two shillings & eight pence of like
 lawful money reserved and issuing out of or for
 Lands in *Farnefield* in the said County of Derby which Farnefield
 said premises out of which the said three last 2^{sh} 8^d
 mentioned rents are payable were heretofore parcel
 of the possessions belonging to the late Priory of
 Kings Meade And also all that annual Rent of
 twenty pence of like lawful money issuing and pay-
 able out of or for one shop in *Chesterfield* in the Chesterfield
 said County of Derby late in the Tenure of John 1^{sh} 8^d
 Fox & was heretofore parcel of the possessions
 belonging to the late Priory of Beauchieffe And
 also all that rent or rents of Assize amounting to
 eighteen pence of like lawful money issuing and
 payable out of the Town of *Thurlaston* in the said Thurlaston
 County of Derby now or late paid by Sir John 1^{sh} 6^d
 Stanhope Knight. And also all that annual Rent
 of five shillings of like lawful money reserved &
 issuing out of or for one messuage in *Sandy Acre* in Sandy Acre
 the said County of Derby now or late paid by 5^{sh}
 Sir Francis Leake Knt And also all that annual
 rent of three shillings and eleven pence of like
 lawful money reserved & issuing out of or for lands
 in *Mapperley* in the said County of Derby late Mapperley
 paid by — Powdrell And also all that annual rent 3^{sh} 11^d
 or tenth of tenpence of like lawful money reserved
 & issuing out of or for one messuage in *Burnaston* Burnaston 10^d
 alias Barnaston in the said County of Derby late
 paid by . . . Bullington Gentleman & which
 said premises last mentioned were heretofore parcel
 of the possessions belonging to the late Priory of

¹ He was of Elvaston, M.P. for Co. Derby, High Sheriff
 5 Charles I. (1629), and was half-brother of Philip 1st Earl of
 Chesterfield, and direct ancestor of the present Earl of
 Harrington.

Darleigh And also all that rent or rents of Assize amounting to two shillings & two pence of like lawful money issuing & payable out of *Boulton* in Boulton 2^s 2^d the said County of Derby late paid by Sir Thomas Burdett Knight And also all that rent or rents of Assize amounting to two shillings & fourpence of like lawful money issuing & payable out of or for *Ockbrook* in the said County late paid by Edward Ockbrook Osborne & others And also all that rent or rents of Assize amounting to sixteen pence of like lawful money issuing & payable by the Free Tenants in *Twyford* in the said County which said premises Twyford out of which three last mentioned rents are payable 1^s 4^d were heretofore parcel of the possessions belonging to the late Priory of Dale And also all that annual Rent of five shillings of like lawful money reserved & issuing out of or for one Cottage in *Thurlaston* in Thurlaston 5^{sh} the said County late paid by the said Sir John Stanhope which said premises did heretofore belong to the said Priory of Dale And also all that rent or rents of Assize of twelve pence of like lawful money issuing & payable out of *Chellaston* in the Chellaston 1^{sh} said County late paid by William Roberts And also all that rent or rents of Assize amounting to eighteen pence of like lawful money issuing & payable out of *Hartshorne* in the said County late paid by John Hartshorne Crosse which said premises out of which the said 1^{/6} two last mentioned rents are payable were heretofore parcel of the possessions belonging to the late priory of Repingdon And also all that rent or rents amounting to four shillings issuing & payable out of or for lands in *Middleton Moore* in the said County late Middleton 4^{sh} paid by . . . Fulwood which said premises out of which the said rent is payable did heretofore belong unto or was parcel of the possessions of the new works of Leicester And also all that annual pension

of two shillings of like lawful money reserved and issuing out of or for the Vicarage of *Brailesforth* Brailesford 2^{sh} in the said County of Derby late paid by the Vicar there And also all that free rent or rents amounting to five shillings of like lawful money being the free rents of Thomas Fitzherbert in *Norbury* in the said County of Derby which said last mentioned premises were heretofore parcel of the possessions belonging to the late Priory of Tutbury in the County of Stafford And also all that free rent of two shillings & sevenpence of like lawful money issuing and payable out of or for two tenements in *Chesterfield* Chesterfield 5^{sh} 4^d in the said County of Derby late in the tenure of James Woodward & John Smith And also all that annual rent or tenth of five shillings & four pence of like lawful money reserved & issuing out of or for the Grange of *Moldrich* alias Bouldertch alias Bolder Grange in the said County of Derby late paid by Edward Pegg Esquier And also all that annual rent or tenth of four shillings of like lawful money reserved & payable for the tithe hay in *Ulkerthorpe* alias Olkerthorpe alias Ogarthorpe in the said County of Derby late in the tenure of John Blackwell All which said last mentioned premises were heretofore parcel of the possessions of or belonging to divers Forraigne Monastereys And also all that rent or rents of Assize amounting to four shillings & tenpence of like lawful money of the Free Tenants of *Rowston & Overshell* in the said County of Derby which said last mentioned premises were heretofore parcel of the possessions belonging to the late Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem in England. And also all that rent or rents of two shillings & fourpence of like lawful money issuing & payable out of or for lands in the said County of Derby viz: out of *Newfoundlands in Campden* Newfoundlands in Campden 2/4

four pence & out of lands in *Ashborne* two shillings Ashborne 2^{sh}
 paid by the tenants there. And also all that annual
 rent of eighteen pence of like lawful money reserved
 and issuing out of or for lands in *Stoney Middleton* Stoney
 in the said County of Derby, now or late paid by Middleton
 Roger Ashton Esquier And also all that annual 1^s 6^d
 rent of three shillings & fourpence of like lawful
 money reserved & issuing out of or for the tenth
 part of the pannage of the Park of *Stakely*¹ alias Staley Park
Staley Park in the said County of Derby now or 3^s 4^d
 late paid by John Frethvile & others And also all
 that annual rent of three shillings & fourpence of
 like lawful money reserved & issuing out of or for
 a tenement² in the Town of *Derby* now or late paid Derby 3^{sh} 4^d
 by William Allestrey Esquier which said three last
 mentioned premises were heretofore parcel of the
 concealed lands in the said County And also all
 that annual or fee farm rent of twenty pounds twelve
 shillings & fivepence halfpenny of like lawful money
 reserved and issuing out of or for the Manor of
Chellareston alias Chellardeston & out of the scite of Chelaston
 the said Manor & out of the Rectory of Chellardston £20 12 5^½
 & out of divers other parcels of land Meadow &
 Pasture in Chellardston aforesaid with all their rights
 members & appurtenances in the said County of
 Derby now or late paid by Lyonell Earl of Hunting-
 ton And also all that fee farm rent of six shillings
 & eightpence of like lawful money reserved and
 issuing out of or for one messuage in *Nether Thur-* Nether
vaston in the parish of Longford in the said County Thurvaston
 of Derby And also all that fee farm rent of forty- 6^{sh} 8^d
 three shillings of like lawful money reserved &
 issuing out of or for two parts of the Ward of
Beureper called Belper Ward alias Beury Ward parcel Belper
 of the late Forrest or Chase of Duffield Frith in the £2 3^{sh}

¹ Now Staveley.² College Place near All Saints'.

said County of Derby And also all that fee farm rent of Sixteen shillings & eight pence of like lawful money reserved & issuing out of or for all that pasture & all that close called the *Newfield* lying & being without the Parke of Posterne with the appurtenances in the said County of Derby And also all that fee farm rent of forty shillings of like lawful money reserved and issuing out of or for the third part of the Ward of *Beurper* alias Belper alias Beury Ward with the appurtenances parcel of the said Forest or Chase of Duffield Frith in the said County of Derby And also all that annual rent of four pounds of like lawful money reserved and issuing out of or for all those the Manors of *Newnham Aure* & *Pulton* with the appurtenances in the County of Gloucester And also all that annual rent or tenth of Three Pounds one shilling of like lawful money reserved and issuing out of or for the scite and precinct of the late *Hospital of Saint John the Baptist in the city of Bristol* and also for divers Manors Rectories Lands tenements & hereditaments to the aforesaid late Hospital in the said County of Gloucester And also all that the annual rent or fee farm of Three Pounds seventeen shillings & fourpence of like lawful money reserved and issuing out of or for the Manor of *Lymington* alias Lemington in the said County of Gloucester And also all that annual rent or fee farm of Two Pounds eighteen shillings and sixpence of like lawful money reserved & issuing out of or for certain lands perteyneing to the Chantry of the blessed Virgin Mary in *Berkely* in the said County of Gloucester. And also all that annual Rent of Twenty six shillings & three pence halfpenny of like lawful money issuing & payable out of or for the Manor of *Perton* with all its rights members and appurtenances in the said County of

Postern Park
16^{sh} 8^d

Belper £2

Newnham
Aure and
Poulton £4

St. John's
Hospital
Bristol,
£3 1^{sh}

Lymington
Co. Glouc.
£3 17 4

Berkely Co.
Glouc.
£2 18^{sh} 6^d

Perton Co.
Glouc.
£1 6 3^d

Gloucester And also all that annual rent of Two Pounds eighteen shillings & three pence of like lawful money of England issuing and payable out of & for the Manor of *Dryfield* in the said County of Gloucester aforesaid now or late paid by George Hanger Esqr All which said Fee Farm Rents & other Rents & annual payments hereby bargained & sold were amongst other things granted & conveyed to the said Sir John Benet & his heirs for good & valuable considerations mentioned & expressed in the several Tripartite Deeds of Bargain & Sale Indented and Inrolled in His Majesty's High Court of Chancery bearing a date on or about the sixteenth day of June & the thirtieth day of July in the five & twentieth year of his Majesty's reign that now is & in the year of our Lord God one thousand six hundred seventy & three made between the Right Honorable Francis Lord Hawley Sir Charles Harbord Knight his Majesty's Surveyor General Sir William Haward of Tandridge in the County of Surrey Knight Sir John Talbot of Laceck in the County of Wilts Knight & William Harbord of Grafton Parke in the County of Northampton Esquier surviving trustees for the sale of fee farm rents and other rents of the first part The Right Honorable Charles Lord St John of Bazing Ralph Bucknall of London Esqr & Sir William Doyley the younger of the city of Westminster Knight of the second part and the said Sir John Benet of the third part with all and every the right royalties privileges Immunities benefits & advantages whatsoever of them the said Francis Lord Hawley Sir Charles Harbord Sir William Haward Sir John Talbot & William Harbord or which they or any of them their or any of their heirs or assigns could or might claim or of right ought to have of in & to the said rents

Dryfield
Co Glouc.
£2 18^{sh} 3^d

and premises by force or virtue of the letters patent & acts of parliament therein mentioned or either of them or by force or virtue of his Majesty's royal prerogative or otherwise howsoever As in & by the said several recited Indentures Tripartite whereunto relation being had more at large may appear And the reversion & reversions remainder and remainders of all the said fee farm rents & other rents & annual payments And also all the estate right title and interest Together with all and every the rights royalties privileges immunities benefits & advantages whatsoever of the said Sir John Benet, or which the said Sir John Benet his heirs or assigns can or may claim or of right ought to have of in and to the said rents and premises by force or virtue of the said several recited Indentures of Bargain & Sale or either or any of them or otherwise howsoever. To have & to hold the several fee farm rents and other rents and annual payments & every of them And the reversion & reversions remainder and remainders of them and every of them so granted as aforesaid with all and singular their right privileges and appurtenances—And all and every the benefits and advantages and other the premises whatsoever thereunto belonging or of right appertaining unto the said Master Fellows and Scholars and their successors To the only use and behoof of the said Master Fellows and Scholars and their Successors for ever In trust nevertheless & to the intent and purpose that the aforesaid fee farm rents & other rents & annual payments with all benefits and advantages whatsoever thereby yearly or otherwise coming & arising to the yearly sum of Threescore Pounds shall for ever hereafter be from time to time yearly laid out and employed for and towards the maintenance of two Fellows & two Scholars in Pembroke College in the University aforesaid who shall

be called & known by the name of Sir John Benets Fellows & Scholars. And shall be from time to time elected ruled and governed according to such orders rules and constitutions and for and towards their yearly maintenance shall have & receive such sum & sums of money respectively as are hereinafter mentioned & expressed (that is to say) That each of the said Fellows shall out of the rents and payments aforesaid have & receive the yearly sum of Twenty Pounds & each Scholar Ten Pounds That the election of the said Two Fellows & Scholars shall be made in the College aforesaid by the Master & Fellows of the said College for the time being or the Major part of them (of which the Master of the said College shall be one) Out of any Scholars in the University aforesaid except such as are or have been eligible by the former statutes of the College Regard being had first to those of the College who are not of the foundation nor have been eligible unto it. That in the Election of the said Two Fellows The Scholars of this Foundation shall be preferred before others if they be equally qualified That the Election of the Fellows and Scholars of the foundation aforesaid shall be as soon as conveniently may be after the place becomes void That none shall be chosen Fellow into this Foundation under the degree of Bachelor of Arts nor a scholar under two years standing That none so chosen shall continue Fellow beyond seven years after he is complete Master of Arts except he hath taken that degree before he is chosen fellow—In which case he may keep his Fellowship seven years from his election. Notwithstanding which if after the expiration of seven years a Fellow so chosen shall be found very useful in the Society It shall be lawful to choose him again

to continue for other seven years or longer if he obtain the consent of the Master for the time being of the College aforesaid. That within four years after they are Masters of Arts they shall take the Orders of Deacon & Priest And that these Fellows & Scholars shall be obliged to observe the Statutes of the College as other Fellows & Scholars are In witness whereof to the one part of these Indentures remaining with the said Master Fellows & Scholars the said Sir John Benet hath set his hand & seal, and to the other part thereof remaining with the said Sir John Benet the said Master Fellows & Scholars have set their Common Seal the Day & year first above written

Crich Ware.

By W. TURNER, IN "THE QUEEN," APRIL AND MAY, 1906.

By G. LE BLANC SMITH.

IN the pages of *The Queen*, Mr. Turner has concisely set forth much that is worth knowing about the old and almost entirely forgotten potteries of Crich.

Crich, on its craggy limestone hill top, does not appear a place either yielding clay for the potter or art for



Fig. 1.—Posset Pot of Crich Ware. 1717.

the pottery, but it has done both, and what is more, done them well.

Mr. Turner has lately explored the site of this old pottery, and when we hear that his companion-in-arms was Mr. Micah Salt, of excavation fame, we may rest assured that the work was thorough.

In the paper under notice Mr. Turner goes through the gradual development of the present name Crich; in 1085 it is "Crice," 1195 "Crech," 1291 "Crouche," 1580 "Cryche,"



Fig. 2.—Posset pot of Crich Ware. 1739.

1586 "Creach," 1693 "Critch," 1815 Crich ("i" pronounced long as to this day).

Mr. Turner concludes therefore that "Crouch ware" was Crich pottery, for "in the seventeenth century, when it became 'Cruche,' the pronunciation of it, in the *patois* of the county, would become 'Crouch.'"

After reference to the geological formation of the neighbouring country Mr. Turner continues:—

"Water, washing along various deposits, has formed a clay, called Wessington clay, and sometimes Crich clay.

which has a large amount of silica in it, very like (as Farey says) the clay which the Staffordshire potters called 'Clunch.' . . . It was a clay most suitable for the needs of the potters who made crucibles for the Bank of England."

The first move in the direction of establishing potteries at Crich was, Mr. Turner considers, the transference of "a piece of ground to one Thomas Morley, a potter," by Lady Mary Dixie (*née* Willoughby, and a descendant of one John Clay—a curious coincidence—of Crich). From ancient documents Mr. Turner places the first working date of these potteries at about 1666-1763.



Fig. 3.—Posset Pot of Crich Ware. 1777.

With regard to the discovery and excavation of the ancient site Mr. Turner says:—

"This is all that has been discovered about this old pot works, until the re-discovery of the site and its interesting contents by myself and friend in the year of grace 1904. In the refuse heap a trench was cut. It was about 6 feet by 4 feet, and 3 feet deep."

During the excavations the old potter's cellar, or store-house, was unearthed, and locally exaggerated into a subterranean

passage, some three miles in length, connecting Crich with Dethick!

Fifteen excellent photographs help to explain the nature of the pottery, a description of which, however, space does not admit in this notice. Of those here illustrated, fig. 1 is dated 1717, and is a posset pot from the collection of Mr. H. T. Wake, Fritchley. Fig. 2 is another posset pot, height 9 in., diameter $9\frac{7}{8}$ in., date 1739, with a fine lustrous glaze. Fig. 3, another posset pot, owned by a Crich family, is glazed, dated 1777, and has remains of the initials T. H. on the spout. Fig. 4 represents a punch bowl, marked "John Hogg and Sarah his wife, November 16th, 1732." It is well glazed.



Fig. 4.—Punch Bowl of Crich Ware. 1732.

The specimens illustrated are, with the exception of that in fig. 1, owned by Mr. Micah Salt. There are many old potteries in our county; does nobody know their history and associations? I am sure the Editor would be glad of contributions on this subject, and the feeling should be shared by many others.

It is satisfactory from our point of view, if not from that of Crich, to think that the decadence of the Crich potter's art was owing to "the overwhelming competition of the Staffordshire potteries," and not to State-aided "dumping" from beyond the seas, which has proved the death of another famous Derbyshire industry, *i.e.*, lead-mining.





SIR WILLIAM CAVENDISH.

From the original picture in the possession of His Grace the Duke of Devonshire.

Sir William Cavendish —1557.

By REV. F. BRODHURST, M.A.



IR WILLIAM CAVENDISH was descended from Chief Justice Cavendish, of Cavendish Manor, co. Suffolk, near Bury St. Edmunds. In the year 1366 King Edward III. raised John de Cavendish to the office of Chief Justice of the King's Bench, although he had not filled the office of Attorney or Solicitor-General, or even reached the dignity of the Coif. Lord Chief Justice Cavendish held his office sixteen years, being re-appointed on the accession of Richard II. About the year 1381 he received the appointment of Chancellor of the University of Cambridge; and as William Cavendish, 7th Duke of Devonshire, was Chancellor, and Spencer Compton Cavendish, the eighth and present Duke, is now Chancellor of Cambridge, there have been three members of this family who have borne the honour; the same can be said probably of no other family. The Chief Justice at last fell a victim to the brutality of the populace in Wat Tyler's insurrection, after the terrible confusion which occurred in the land owing to the visitation of the Black Death in the years 1349-1350. After that rebel chief had been killed in Smithfield by Sir William Walworth, to whom Sir John Cavendish, son of the Chief Justice, and an Esquire of the King, had given the *coup de grâce*, there was a rising in Norfolk and Suffolk, under the conduct of a leader much more ferocious, who called himself Jack Straw. One of his sayings was—

When Adam delved, and Eve span,
Who was *then* the gentleman?

A band of them, near 50,000 strong, marched to the Chief Justice's mansion at Cavendish, which they plundered and burned. The Chief Justice made his escape, but was taken in a cottage in the neighbourhood. Unmoved by his grey hairs, they carried him in procession to Bury St. Edmunds, as if to open the assizes, and after he had been subjected to a mock trial in the Market Place he was sentenced to death, Jack Straw's Chief Justice magnanimously declaring that in respect of the office of dignity which his Brother Cavendish had so long filled, instead of being hanged he should be beheaded. Thus three of the Chancellors of Cambridge—Chief Justice Cavendish, Sir Thomas More, and the Earl of Essex, for some time the favourite of Queen Elizabeth, have been beheaded.

Sir William Cavendish was the son of Thomas and Alice Cavendish. There were three sons—George, William, and Thomas. Thomas, the youngest son, was one of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, and died unmarried. George, the eldest, was seated at Glemsford and Cavendish, in Suffolk. He wrote the interesting biography of Cardinal Wolsey, and was with him at his death at Leicester Abbey. He quotes the last speech of the Cardinal: "Well, well, Master Kingston, if I had served God as diligently as I have done the king, he would not have given me over in my grey hairs." It has been supposed that Shakespeare must have read this biography, for he quotes this sentence almost word for word in his play of *Henry VIII*. But though written in the reign of Philip and Mary, it could not be published for many years afterwards—not until 1641, on account of the blame which he had laid on the memory of Henry VIII. for his dissolution of the monasteries, and his cruel divorce of Queen Katherine. If Shakespeare read it he must have read it in manuscript. When first published it was put out as the authorship of his better known brother, Sir William Cavendish. It was only in the year 1814 that it was rightly assigned to the elder brother, George Cavendish. The grandson of this George,

namely, William Cavendish, sold the Manor of Cavendish in Suffolk, from which the family take their name, in the year 1569.

At Welbeck there is a pocket book of Sir William Cavendish in which he has entered several particulars of his marriages and of his children.

I married first Margaret, daughter of Edward Bostock, of Whatcross, in Cheshire, esquire.

By this marriage there were one son and two daughters who died early, and two daughters who grew to maturity.

(1) Catherine, married to Thomas Broke, son to Thomas, Lord Cobham.

(2) Anne, married to Sir Henry Baynton, *knt.*

It was during this marriage that Sir William Cavendish was appointed a Commissioner for Dissolving the Monasteries, of which we shall speak further on. There is extant a document in the Record Office which runs as follows:—

To Wm. Cavendisse and Margaret his Wife, Pardon for having acquired to themselves and the heirs of their bodies, with remainder in default of issue to the right heirs of the said William for ever of Thomas Lord Audley of Walden the Lord Chancellor the Manor called Birkeholt, Herts., and the Messuage Lands, etc., called Birkeholt in Hertynghfordbury, Herts., without royal licence.

Margaret, his first wife, died 32 Henry VIII., and was buried in the church of St. Botolph's, Aldersgate, under the monument of Alice Cavendish, his mother.

Here lyeth buried under this stone Margaret Cavendishe late Wife of William Cavendishe, which William was one of the sonnes of the above-named Alice Cavendishe, which Margaret dyed the 16 June in the year of our Lord God MCCCCXL., whos soul Jesu pardon.

“Heven blis be here mede
Yat for the sing, prey or rede.”

During the years 1538-9, Sir W. Cavendish was very busy in taking the submission of the abbots, priors, prioresses, monks, and nuns of many monasteries and nunneries, and assigning pensions to them, and selling up all the internal fittings, the painted glass, the vestments, the corn and cattle, and all belongings excepting the lands, which usually were granted as a free

gift or let at a moderate rent to some responsible layman in the county. Thomas Cromwell's advice to King Henry was, "Divide the monastic lands as much as possible amongst the gentry of each shire, and then it will be more difficult to recover them again." And so Queen Mary found it when she came to the throne and desired to restore the monasteries. She found that those even who had remained steadfast to the Roman faith and obedience clung steadily to the lands they had received.

In the Record Office there is a book of accounts of Sir Wm. Cavendish and of his sale of the goods of eleven abbeys. He rode on horseback from abbey to abbey, taking with him a small army of masons and carpenters to unroof the abbey church and the dormitories and other buildings, that the monks might find no resting-place there, according to the orders delivered to him and the other Commissioners. He appears to have carried out his orders in a very merciful spirit, and very differently from the savage manner in which Sir John Russell, who became the first Earl of Bedford, acted towards the Mitred Abbot of Glastonbury, and a Lord of Parliament, whom he caused to be hung up in sight of his own abbey, and afterwards his body to be taken down and quartered and sent to four neighbouring towns and hung up on the walls to strike terror in the hearts of lesser men.

The book is headed:—

A booke of Accompts of Sre Wyllm Cavendyshe, Kt touching hys accompts for ye goods of Monasteries.

He was at

Merivale, 15th October, 30 Henry VIII.

Brewood, 16th October.

Lylleshall, Salop, 17th October.

St. Thomas, nigh Stafford, 18th October.

Delacres, co. Stafford, 21st October.

Darley, near Derby, 24th October.

Dale, co. Derby, 24th October.

Repton, co. Derby, 26th October.

Grace Dieu, co. Leicester, 28th October.

Pypwell, co. Northampton, 6th November.

Barnewell, co. Cambridge, 7th November.

The heading of the account of Dale Abbey is as follows:—

There after foloweth all suche þcells of implements or howsehold stuffe, corne, cattell, ornamentes of the Churche and suche other like founde within the late Mon: ther at the tyme of the dyssolucion of the same house sould by the Kinges Commissionēs to ffraunces Pole esquier the xxiiij. day of October in the xxx. yere of our sovegne Lorde Kyng Henry the VIII.

Some of the stonework of Dale Abbey is now made up in a terrace at Risley Hall. Some of the interior woodwork is at Radbourne Church, taken there by Mr. Francis Pole. It is supposed that the painted glass which was in the refectory, or as some think, in the cloisters, was bought by Sir Henry Sacheverell and given by him to Morley Church, where it now rests.

Sir Wm. Cavendish received from Mr. Francis Pole the sum of £30 (about £300 in present value) for the movables at Dale Abbey, as by the following certificate appears:—

And Sir Wm. Cavendishe owes xxx. li by ffraunces Pole de Rodborne in the Countie of Derby, Armiger a debt to his Majestie ye King by an obligacione given 24 October in the xxx^{mo} Regis predicti, to be paid on the Feast of the Nativitie 1540, as by an indenture and book more clearly appears.

There is extant a letter written from Lilleshall Abbey, 16th October, 1538, by Thomas Legh, LL.D., one of the Commissioners, to Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, who was the moving spirit and the adviser of Henry VIII. in the destruction of the monasteries.

At the Blackladies (or Benedictine Nuns, of Brewood in Co. Stafford), I received a letter from Mr. Heneage¹ containing the King's command for the preferment of Mr. Thomas Gifford to the farm of the house of Blackladies. There was Mr. Littleton also, who said the King was pleased he should have it, as he perceived by your Lordship when last in London. Wherefore I and Mr. Candishe have put them both in possession and sold the stuff to them both, till they know the King's further pleasure. Now being at Lilleshill I intend to put Mr. Candishe in possession of the farm of the house, who prays you that in his absence he be not in this behalf supplanted.

¹ Ancestor of Lord Heneage.

The Heading of the Accounts for Lilleshall Abbey is:

The late Monas^ſ of lylleshall in the Countie of Salopp.

Hereafter folowyth all suche þcells of Implements or houshold Stuffe, Corne, catell, Ornaments, of the Churche, and suche other lyke founde wythyn the late Mon: ther at the tyme of the Dissolucon of the same house, solde by the Kyngs Commissionrs unto Mr. Will^m Cavendishe Esquier as particularly and playnly folowyth:

In the *Vestry*: It: xi. Copies of olde blewe baudekyn.¹

It: iij Copis of Whyte Baudkyn.

It: iij other Copis of Whyte counterfeit baudekyn.

It: other iij copis of Whyte counterfeit baudekyn.

It: viij olde Copis of dyverse sorts.

It: vj olde Copis of Dornyx.

It: a Sewte of Blewe baudkyn.

It: an other Sewte of Blewe baudekyn.

It: a Sute of Redd Sylke full of Armes.

It: viij olde Alterclothys.

It: ij Alter Clothys to hange before Alters.

lx. s.

(About £30 in present Value.)

At Hardwick Hall at the present time, in the chapel, there is an ancient cope which covers the pulpit front. There is also an ancient hanging on the altar rails. It appears to be made up of the hoods and "orfreys"² of twenty-four copes. Not unlikely these were brought to Hardwick by Sir William Cavendish from Lilleshall Abbey.

On 28th November, 30 Henry VIII., a grant was made to "Wm. Cavendyshe of the House and Site of the late Monastery of Lylleshall, Salop, and divers lands (named) thereto belonging," formerly in the personal occupation of the late Abbot, for 21 years at a rent of £20 5s. od." (or about £202 in present value).

In 31 Henry VIII. To Jas. Leveson, of Wolverhampton, Stuff merchant, a grant in fee for £1,173 16s. 8d. (or about £12,000 in present value) was made of the reversions, and rents due, on certain Crown leases, including Lilleshall, and this is now in the possession of his descendant, Cromartie Sutherland-Leveson-Gower, Duke of Sutherland.

¹ A rich and precious species of silk stuff, interwoven with gold threads, introduced into England in the thirteenth century.

² Embroidered edging.

Besides the enormous grants of lands which Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, obtained, having the ear of the king, the number of bribes and presents he received from religious houses, to be good master to them and to spare them, were unnumbered.

As an instance of how abbey lands, and money, were squandered, and stolen, and not accounted for, this may be sufficient. After Cromwell's death the following memorandum was written and still remains among the Cottonian MSS. :—

May yt please yr moast excellente Majestie to be advertised that I your moast humble Servant John Gostwyck (one of the Commissioners) have in my hands whiche I treasured from tyme to tyme unknowne unto th' Erl of Essex, whiche if I had declared

unto hym he wolde

have caused me to

X. M.li.1

disburse by Commandement

without Warrant,

as heretofore I have don.

On the principle of "set a thief to catch a thief," Cromwell looked very sharply after those whom he chose to dissolve and sell up. Sir William Cavendish and Doctor Leigh were charged with having falsified accounts and kept back certain moneys in their hands. A Commission was appointed, to which the following refers :—

Declaration, made by Sir John Daunce by express command of the King, for the trial of certaine particular sums of money paid by William Cavendishe, Comm^{ner} appointed with Thomas Leighe, doctor in the law, for the dissolution of divers and sundry houses of religion hereafter ensuing for the rewards and wages of divers and sundry persons being servants within the same, "at the first payment," whereunto the said William Cavendishe added sundry sums of money, written with his own hand, without knowledge of any of his said clerks.

Total of the additions, £34 13s. 8d. ; about £350 in present value.

Memorandum.—As touching the Plate that was supposed to be sold by the late Abbot of Meryvale to George Warrene, Goldsmith of London, to the value of £18 st. (about £180 now) wherein information was given to Dr. Leigh and Will^m Cavendishe after they dissolved the said

¹ £10,000 would amount to £100,000 in the present day.

Monastery, riding by the way, the same Dr. Leigh and Wm. Cavendish sent unto the said late Abbott for the said £18 they confess that the said late Abbott sent it to them by one of their servants by way of free gifte to be good Masters unto him and his Brethren. And as the said Cavendishe doth affirm by his answer, and also by the said Dr. Leigh confessing the same.

Signed, John Daunce, Knt. .

We are not aware whether any record remains of the ultimate determination of these charges, but we know that Sir William Cavendish must have been able to clear himself entirely; for not only was he continued in office, but he was appointed to the responsible office of Auditor of the Court of Augmentation, and was constituted Treasurer of the Chamber to Henry VIII., and continued in that office in the reigns of Edward VI. and Queen Mary. He was also admitted to the Privy Council.

We sometimes see the families of Russells and Cavendishes named together as holders of large amounts of monastic property, and thus enriched and founded upon its possession. We know that Tavistock, Woburn, and Thorney Abbeys were granted to John, Lord Russell, and are yet the Duke of Bedford's. We are not aware that any such large and valuable estates were granted to Sir William Cavendish. His name is not mentioned by Spelman, or Burnett, or Froude. As far as we are aware (and we may be pardoned for naming it) the estates of the family have come through the four marriages of Elizabeth Hardwick, Countess of Shrewsbury, and the marriages with heiresses, such as the fourth Duke of Devonshire with the heiress of the Earl of Burlington and Cork, which brought Lismore in Ireland, and Bolton Abbey and Lanesborough and Chiswick in England; and other marriages which brought Eastbourne and Holker.

Sir William Cavendish received, however, a certain amount of monastic lands as a free gift, and also bought a certain amount, but the exact quantity of either of these it is probably now impossible to say. The following records of his purchases and grants are preserved:—

Wm. Cavendishe, one of the Auditors of the Court of Augmentations, and Margaret his Wife Grant in Fee for £769 8s. 4d. (about £8000 in present Value).

(1) The Lordships and Manors of Northawe, Cuffeley and Childewyke, Co. Herts., belonging to the late Monastery of S. Albans, Herts., the Rectory and Church or Chapel of Northawe, Herts., lately belonging to the said late Monastery; and the Advowson of the Vicarage and Parish Church or Chapel of Northawe; and all Messuages Lands &c. in Meriden in the Parish of Tewynge, Co. Herts lately belonging to the said late Monastery; and all appurtenances of the premises in Northawe, Cuffeley, Meryden and Chyldewyke, and elsewhere Herts., in as full manner as Ric. Boreman the late Abbott, held the same.

(2) The House and Site of the late Priory, Cell or Rectory of Cardigan S. Wales, which formerly belonged to the late Monastery of Chertsey, Surrey, and afterwards to the late Abbey of Holy Trinity Butlesham alias Bisham, Berks., the Rectories and Churches of Cardigan, Berwyke, and Tremeyn, S. Wales parcel of the possessions of the said late Cell; and the Advowsons of the Vicarages and Churches of those places, and all other possessions of the said late Cell.

The following extract refers also to the same grants:—

(1) Sale of Lands by virtue of the King's Commission to Thomas Lord Cromwell, and Sir Ric. Ryche, Chancellor of Augmentations: for cccc. li. (£400) by the said Treasurer received of William Cavendische generous in ptem solucionis Vcclxix. li. viij. s. iiij. d. pro Manerio de Northaw and Cuffeley with the Chapel and Church of Northaw, and also the Manor of Childewyke in Co. Herts lately belonging to the Monastery of S. Albans in the said Co.

And the Cell of the Priory of Cardigan with all the hereditaments of the said Cell, for the benefit of the said William, as by a writing made 28 Feb. 31st year of the Lord the King (A.D. 1540).

(2) And for cclxix. li. viij. s. iiij. d. the residue of the said sum V.cc.lxix. li. viij. s. iiij. d. (£769 8s. 4d.) for the same William Cavendisse paid to the said Lord the King for the Manors aforesaid, as by the said writing more clearly appears.

Note.—Item for cccxlviij. li. viij. s. iiij. d. (£348 8s. 4d.) to John Cavendish, armiger, as a Debt to the Lord the King for the Priory of Axholme in Co. Lincoln.

Item for Vcccx li. £810) to John Byron, Militem for Lands lately the Monastery of Newstede in Com. Nottingham.

In the year 1541, Sir William Cavendish was sent to Ireland to see after monastic property, and to inquire into the accounts of certain Irish officials. He was in Ireland a whole year; and after his return to England Sir Anthony St. Leger, the Lord Deputy, wrote to King Henry, praising much his good work in Ireland, and praying for his return there:—

Sir Anthony St. Leger, Deputy of Ireland to King Henry VIII. 6 May, 1542. It may please yr Matie to knowe that ther is grete lacke

here of suche bokes of survey as were late made by my fellowes yr hyghnes Comissions as well for saale of friars howses here wche yr pleasure is sholde be solde, as also of one to fynishe th' accompt of yr Vicethesaurer¹ here And trusting upon the seying ageyne of Mr. Cavendishe the same is as yet slacked. Which Mr. Cavendyshe toke grate paynes at his being here in yr saide saervice as well wth contynewall paynes aboute the saide accompts and surveis, as in taking very paynful jorneyes, aboute the same as to Lymericke and those ptes where I thinke none of your hyghnes mg^tie com^{is}sions com this meny yeers, and in suche wether of snowe and froste that I nev' roode in the like to my remembraunce. And I note him to be suche a man as letill ferythe the displeasure of any man in yor hyghnes sarvice wherfore I accompte him the meter man for this lande if yr hyghness pleasure so be; wherfore most humblie beseching yr majestie to pardon this my rude wryting, for seeing the grate paynes toke here in yr sarvice, I thought I coule no lesse do then to signifie the same unto yr Majestie; and also to desire yr hyghness that the same bokes, or the Copies of them may be retourned for the better order of yr Majesties affairs here, and the finishinge of yr saide Vicethesauriers accompts. And thus I beseche almightye Jhesu long to preserve yr mooste excellente Majestie in mooste prosperous helthe to his pleasure ffrom yr hyghnes Mano^r of Kilmaynan the vith of Maye in the xxxiiij. yere of your Majesties mooste Victorious reign.

Your Magestes most humble and obedyent subject and sarvant,
Antony Sentlegr'.

In Sir William Cavendish's pocket book at Welbeck there is this entry:—

Md, that I was married unto Elizabeth my Wife, Daughter of Thomas Parker of Postingsford in Suffolk, Esq., at the Black Fryars in London, the Morrow after All Soules Daie, Anno 34, R. H. 8 (1543).

His Wife died 1545; her three children died young.

Md, That I was married to Elizabeth Hardwycke my third Wiffe in Lecestersheere at Bradgatt (Bradgate) my Lord Marquesses (Dorset) House the 20th of August in the first yeere of kinge Edward the 6, at 2. of the clock after midnight; The Domyncall letter B.

The list of the god-parents is a most interesting one, and ought to be studied. If we except two names—the Duke of Somerset, the Protector, and the Duke of Norfolk—it contains the principal political personages of the period. And this should be noticed—during the reign of Edward VI. they were all chosen from the Reforming party. Sir William and Lady Cavendish cast in their lot with the Reformers. Their married life

¹ Vice-treasurer.

lasted for ten years—from 1547-1557, that is through the reign of Edward VI. and the first years of Mary. When Queen Mary came to the throne then, as good courtiers, they conformed to the religion of the Queen, according to the agreement of the Diet of Augsburg: “Cujus Regio, Ejus Religio,” which means, “Whoever reigns shall set the religion of his country.” But Lady Cavendish throughout her long life was a Reformer at heart. And in her last will the only books mentioned are of a religious character, as will be seen:—

My Ladyes Bookes
 Calvin uppon Job
 Covered with russett velvett.
 —
 The resolucon of Salomons proverbes.
 A booke of meditations.

Frances my 9 childe, and the first by the said Woman,¹ was borne on Munday, betweene the Howers of 3 and 4 at Afternoon, viz., the 18 of June Anno 2. R.E. 6 (1548), the Domynicall Letter then G.

Memorandum at the Cristeninge of the Childe, my Ladie Frances Grace, and my Ladie of Suffolkes Grace weare God Mothers, and my Lord of Suffolke God Father, and at Bishoppinge.

“My Ladie Frances Grace” was eldest daughter of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, by his wife, Princess Mary, Queen Dowager of Louis XII. of France, and youngest sister of Henry VIII. of England.

“My Ladie of Suffolkes Grace” was last wife of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, her maiden name Katherine Willoughby, daughter and sole heir of William Willoughby, the last Lord Willoughby de Eresby of that family, and therefore Baroness de Eresby in her own right, of Grimsthorpe, near Stamford, co. Lincoln.

“My Lord of Suffolke” was Henry Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, now eleven years of age, son of Charles Brandon, late Duke. He and his younger brother, the only sons of their father, were taken off quite young by the sweating sickness whilst at the

¹ It seems strange and a coarse manner of expression to speak of a wife, and she a lady of title, as “the said Woman”; but we must remember that language changes. Our Lord addressed His Mother as “Woman, what have I to do with thee?” and, again, “Woman, behold thy Son.” In each case in the original the word signifies “Lady.”

University of Cambridge. His eldest sister, the Lady Frances Brandon, had married Henry Grey, Marquis of Dorset, the father of the Lady Jane Grey. He was created Duke of Suffolk.

“At Bishoppinge,” or at Confirmation. This took place on the same day as the Christening if a bishop was present. Queen Elizabeth was confirmed when three days old.

Temperance my 10 Childe, and the second by the same Woman was borne on Tuesdaie in the Mornynge just at 2 of the Clock, viz., the 10th of June, Anno Tercio, R. Edw. 6 (1549). The domynicall Letter then F.

At the Cristnyng of the Childe, my Ladie of Warwick, and my Ladie Jane, my Lord Marques Dorsetts Daughter weare God Mothers, and the Earl of Shrewsburie, God Father, and at Bishoppinge.

“My Ladie of Warwick” was Jane, daughter and heiress of Sir Edward Guilford. The Earl of Warwick, her husband, was created Duke of Northumberland 4th October, 1551.

“My Ladie Jane” was Lady Jane Grey, the nine days’ Queen, daughter of the Marquis of Dorset, afterwards Duke of Suffolk. She was afterwards married to Lord Guilford Dudley, son of the Duke of Northumberland.

Sir Ralph Bagenhall, loquitur.

Seventeen—and knew eight languages—in music
Peerless—her needle perfect, and her learning
Beyond the Churchmen; yet so meek, so modest
So wife-like humble to the trivial Boy
Mismatched with her for policy! I have heard
She would not take a last farewell of him
She fear’d it might unman him for his end.
She could not be unmann’d—no, nor outwoman’d—
Seventeen—a rose of grace!
Girl never breathed to rival such a rose,
Rose never blew that equall’d such a bud.

From Tennyson’s “Queen Mary.”

“The Earl of Shrewsburie” was Francis, the fifth Earl.

Henry my 11th Childe, and the third by the said Woman, was borne on Tuesdaie at 12 of the Clock at night, viz., the 17th Daie of December Anno 4. R.E. 6 (1550), the domynicall Letter then E.

Memorandum. At the Cristnyng of the Childe, my Ladie Elizabeth Grace was God Mother, and my Lord Marques Dorsett and my Lord of Warwick, God Fathers, and at Bishoppinge.

“My Ladie Elizabeth Grace” was the Princess Elizabeth, afterwards Queen.

“Henry Grey,” the Marquis of Dorset, afterwards Duke of Suffolk, and John Dudley, Earl of Warwick, afterwards Duke of Northumberland, were spoken of by the German Reformers as the two most shining lights of the Church of England. They married their daughter and son—the Lady Jane Grey and Lord Guilford Dudley; and they persuaded Edward VI. on his death-bed to make a will in favour of Lady Jane Grey. It was witnessed by many of the principal men of the kingdom—amongst them being Sir William Cavendish. On the death of Edward, the Duke of Northumberland raised an army against Mary, who claimed the throne. His army deserted the duke; he was taken prisoner and was sent to the Tower. At his trial he said, “For the last seventeen years I have been playing the hypocrite; I have been a Catholic at heart; I did it to obtain power.” He received Mass, and went out to his execution. The Duke of Suffolk was pardoned by Mary; but when he afterwards joined in the rebellion of Sir Thomas Wyatt he too suffered execution; and through him Lady Jane Grey and Lord Guilford Dudley both lost their lives.

William my 12 Childe and the 4th by the said Woman, was borne on Sunday in the Morninge betweene the Howers of 2 and 3, viz., the 27th Daie of December. Anno Quinto R.E. 6 (1551). The Domynicall Letter then D.

Memorandum. At the Cristnyng of the Childe, my Lady Marques of Northampton was God Mother, the Marquis of Winchester, and the Earl of Pembroke, God Fathers, and at the Bishoppinge.

“My Lady Marques of Northampton” was Elizabeth Brook, daughter of Lord Cobham. Her husband, Sir William Parr, Lord Parr of Kendal and Marquis of Northampton, was brother to Lady Katharine Parr, last Queen of Henry VIII.

Sir William Paulet, the Marquis of Winchester, was Lord Treasurer. His portrait hangs in the drawing-room at Hardwick.

Sir William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, married the sister of the Marquis of Northampton and Lady Katharine Parr. He received the rich estates belonging to the dissolved abbey of Wilton. In the reign of Mary he consented to the restoration

of the abbes and her nuns. When Elizabeth came to the throne he again turned them out. The abbes reminded him of his promises, and of his protestations of sorrow for her previous disturbance. But all he replied was, "Go spin, you jade; go spin."

Charles my 13th Childe and the fift by the same Woman, was borne on Tuesdaie in the night betweene 9 and 10, viz., the 28th of November. Anno primo Mariæ. The domynicall Letter then D.

At the Cristnyng of the Childe, the Queens Majestie was God Mother and the Duke of Suffolke, and the Bishopp of Winchester, God Fathers, and at the Bishoppinge.

"The Queens Majestie" was Queen Mary; this was very shortly after she came to the throne, and therefore it is called the first year of Mary. At the next christening the Queen was married to Philip of Spain, and therefore it is said to be in the years of Philip and Mary, the first and second.

The Duke of Suffolk was at first thrown into the Tower, but was pardoned through the intercession of his Duchess, who was a personal friend of the Queen.

Elizabeth my 14th Childe and the 6 by the same Woman, was borne on Sundaye in the Morninge betwixt 8 and 9. Viz. the last daie of Marche Annis Phil. et Mariæ primo et secundo, the domynicall Letter then F.

Memorandum at the Cristninge of the Childe my Ladie Marques of Northampton and my Ladie Katharine Graye, weare God Mothers and Henry Cavendish my sonne, God Father, and at Bishoppinge.

"Ladie Katharine Graye" was second daughter of the Marquis of Dorset and Duke of Suffolk, younger sister of Lady Jane Grey. She was married as a child to Lord Herbert, who became second Earl of Pembroke, on the same day as her sister, the Lady Jane, was married to Guilford Dudley. Queen Mary was naturally jealous of all the Grey family for usurping her throne, and her influence led the Earl of Pembroke to consent to a dissolution of the marriage. She afterwards married, without the consent of Queen Elizabeth, Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford. For a Grey and a Seymour to marry was to shake her throne, as the Queen argued. Lady Katharine was sent to the Tower and died there.

Henry Cavendish was the eldest son of Sir William and Lady Cavendish, now three and a half years old.

Mary my 15th Childe and the 7 by the same Woman, was borne on Sundaie in the Morninge betwene 7 and 8, viz., the 22nd Daie of Aprill. Annis Phil. et Mariæ, Secundo et Tertio, the domynicall Letter then D.

Memorandum, at the Cristeninge of the Childe my Wives Mother and Miss Elizabeth Frechwell weare God Mothers, and Sir George Vernon, God Father, and at Bishoppinge.

Mary Cavendish was married to Gilbert Talbot, seventh Earl of Shrewsbury. She helped largely to build the Second Court of St. John's College, Cambridge, where her statue appears over the door into the butteries; but she was unable to complete it on account of the heavy fine—£20,000; over £100,000 in present value—for conniving at the flight of her niece, the Lady Arabella Stuart, and supplying her with £1,400 for that purpose.

"My Wives Mother" was Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Leake, of Hasland, Esquire, a member of the family then living at Sutton Scarsdale. The head of the family became Baron Deincourt, of Sutton, in A.D. 1624, and Earl of Scarsdale in A.D. 1645. The fourth Earl of Scarsdale died unmarried in A.D. 1736, when the peerage became extinct. It was he who erected the present Sutton Hall.

"Miss Elizabeth Frechwell" was of the Frechville family, of Staveley. Their monuments are in the Frechville Chapel in Staveley Parish Church. The representative of the family now is Sir John Ramsden, Bart., of Byram Hall, co. York.

"Sir George Vernon" was father of Dorothy Vernon, of Haddon Hall, who married Sir John Manners, second son of Thomas, first Earl of Rutland.

Luces my 16th Childe, and the 8 by the same Woman was borne on Shrove Tuesdaie in the Morninge between 2 and 3, viz., the second Daie of Marche. Annis P. and M. 3^o & 4^o (1557). The domynicall Letter then C.

At the Cristeninge of the Childe, my Sister Knyveton and Frances my Daughter weare God Mothers, and Mr. John Revell of Sherland, God Father, and at Bishoppinge.

Luces Cavendish died when young.

"My Sister Knyveton." This was Lady Cavendish's eldest

sister, Jane Hardwick, who married Godfrey Bosville, of Gunthwaite, co. York, and who after his decease married into the family of Kniveton, of Murcaston.

“Frances my daughter” was now nine years of age. She became the wife of Sir Henry Pierpoint, and it was her daughter “Bessie” who became so great a favourite and companion of Mary Queen of Scots, and who is referred to in her letters.

Mr. John Revell lived at Ogston; monuments of his family are in Shirland Church.

In these interesting notes, recorded in a pocket book which belonged to Sir William Cavendish, now at Welbeck, it will be noticed that the days of the week and the hours of the day, and the dominical or Sunday letters of the year in which the children were born are carefully recorded. This is probably owing to the wide belief there was at that time in the science of astrology. According to that science much depended on what planet was visible at the time of birth; and therefore not only the day of the month but the hour of the day was recorded. Also some days of the week were counted favourable, others unlucky and unfavourable. It would seem that Sir William believed in astrology, and very probably had a horoscope drawn for each child—that is the position of the planets at the time of birth, so as to foretell the chief events of their life.

Other members of the family also believed in astrology. In the reign of Elizabeth there was a Rev. Dr. John Dee, who lived at Mortlake, and whose wisdom in the occult science the Queen so much believed in that she preferred him to the Wardenship of the Collegiate Church at Manchester. The following notices appear in his Diary, published by the Camden Society:—

A.D. 1590. May 18th the two Gentlemen, the Uncle Mr. Richard Candish, and his Nephew, the most famous Mr. Thomas Candish,¹ who had sailed round about the World, did visit me at Mortlake.

May 29th bona nova de industria Domini Richardi Candishie cum Regina et Archiepiscopo et Domino Georgio Carey de propositione Etonensis Collegii obtinendi legem. He sent me a hogshead of Claret Wine as a gift.

¹ Vol. xxv., p. 109, of this *Journal*.

June 24. £20 of Mr. Candish.

Nov. 27. The Queens Majesty being at Richmond graciously sent for me. I came to her at three quarters of the Clock after noon, and she said she would send me something to keep Christmas with.

Nov. 28. Mr. Candish on Saturday gave my Wife forty shillings, and on Tuesday after sent £10 in Royals and Angels, and before he sent me £20, £32 in all.

Dec. 2. Her Majesty told Mr. Candish that she would send me an hundred Angels to keep my Christmas withall.

Dec. 4. The Queens Majesty called for me, at my door, circa 3½ a meridie as she passed by, and I met her at East Sheen Gate, where she graciously, putting down her Mask, did say with merry cheer, "I thank thee, Dee; there was never promise made, but it was broken or kept." I understood her Majesty to mean of the hundred Angels she promised to have sent me this day, as she told Mr. Richard Candish yesterday.

Dec. 6. A Meridie circa 3 recipi a Regina Domina. £50.

Dec. 14. The Queens Majesty called for me at my door, as she rode by to take the air, and I met her at East Sheen Gate.

Dec. 16. Mr. Candish received from the Queens Majesty warrant by word of mouth to assure me to do what I would in Philosophy and Alchemy, and none should check, controll or molest me; and she said that she would ere long send me £50 more to make up the hundred pounds.

Mr. Candish went from Mortlake at four of Clock at night toward London, and so into Suffolk.

Sir William Cavendish appears to have been fond of hawking. There is the following entry in one of the household books still existing in the muniment room at Hardwick:—

XVIII. die Novembris.

Anno. R.E. vj. vto (1551).

Itm paid to Mr. Richard Starkey of litle Saint Bartolimews by Smythfelde for a Gosse Hawk, by Mrs Comaundment.

lxvij. s. viij. d.

(£3 7s. 8d.) in present value about £33.

by me, Rychard Starkey.

In August, 1557, Sir William Cavendish was in London, employed doubtless about his official duties at Court. He was Treasurer of the Chamber to Queen Mary, as he had been to Henry VIII. and Edward VI. Lady Cavendish was at Chatsworth; probably in part on account of her young family, and in part to escape from the Court of Queen Mary. It will be noticed that the god-parents of their two youngest children are

chosen from their neighbours in the county of Derby—Sir George Vernon, of Haddon; Miss Frechville, of Staveley; Mrs. Leake, her mother, of Hasland Manor; and Mr. Revell, of Ogston. The god-parents of their previous children were from the courtiers. Lady Cavendish appears to have received notice of the serious illness of her husband. She started from Chatsworth on Friday, August 20th, and made forced marches to London. The journey took her three nights and four days, resting at Loughborough, Northampton, and St. Albans. On the first day a ferry had to be crossed. This was probably across the Trent, near Shardlow, where now is erected "Cavendish Bridge," built by the fourth Duke. The footmen (running footmen, we suppose) required two new pair of shoes at the end of the day; and some of the litter horses had also to be shod. A guide was required on this day. His charge was xij^d., or 10s. in present value. Lady Cavendish took with her her eldest son, Henry, aged 6½ years, and Elizabeth, aged 2½ years, leaving two younger children at Chatsworth as well as older—six in all.

On the second day at Northampton, the great town in that day, as in this, for shoemaking:—

For one payre off showes for Mistress Elesabethe viij. d.

It. for v yerds of poyntinge Reben x. d.

And again

It. for showinge the horses ther xiiij. d.

On the third day again:—

For one payre of showes for Anthony Flyntt (footman) xiiij. d.

On the fourth day:—

It. geven to fowre men whiche came wth my lady from Sancte Albons
in ye nycht x. s.

or £5 in present value.

These probably were for protection from highwaymen.

The journey cost her

iiij. li. v. s. xj. d.

or about £33 in present value. Thirty-four years afterwards, in the year 1591, as the Countess of Shrewsbury, her ladyship took a more deliberate journey from Hardwick to London,

taking seven nights and eight days. She had her litter, with four horses, three waggons for the luggage, and over forty nag horses for her attendants. The journey to London cost her £96 13s. 9d., or in present value about £676. The return journey cost her £112 15s. 10d., or in present value about £789. The church bells and the ways greeted her with their music at each resting-place.

The accounts for household expenses in London commence :—

Rheconk̄ of mony disboursed sens my ladies comyng to loundown beginning Tuesdaye the xxiv. off August. An. q̄t & q̄nt (4th & 5th) Regni Regis & Reginiæ Philip & Mariæ.

The chief things to be noticed are that provisions are bought each day for each day's consumption. There is a market held on Sundays as on other days. The wine is brought in from a wine shop for each meal.

25 August

Paid for Wyne at dyner	vj. d.
Paid for Wyne at sup̄r	viii. d.
Paid for one pyntt of Seke	ij. d. ob. (2½d.)
Paid for one pottell of Malvesey	x. d.
Paid for Wynne att aftnounge	ij. d.

Tea had not yet been introduced into England. What did ladies do without their afternoon tea? They had to be content with their afternoon wine.

And this lasted down to the year 1857 in Yorkshire to our knowledge. In old-fashioned families, when a friend made an afternoon call, wine and cake were introduced as a matter of course. And in Scotland when the present Duke of Portland first visited his estates there (A.D. 1880) he called upon his principal tenants; and one afternoon his Grace said to a friend: "This afternoon I have called upon thirty tenants, and do you know what that means? It means thirty glasses of whiskey." The national popular liquor was offered to the Duke as a matter of course, and he had to taste of each glass.

Frydaye.

27. Auguste.

Paid for halfe a bushell of oysters

Paid for v. place, ij. solles, and one haberdyne (Codfish).

No Flesh Meat bought on this day.

Saturdaye

28. August.

Paid for beff & moton wayinge lxxij. lb. at 1d. ob. (1½d.) the pound
ix. s.

Paid for one quart^r of velle xvij. d.

Paid for iij. dossen of sparowes (for a Sparrow Dumpling) ix. d.

Paid for Wyne att dyner & supervj. d.

Paid for bereij. d.

The next thing to be noticed is the food bought to tempt the appetite of the sick man.

Necks of Mutton. Pigeons.

Oysters. Whiting. Capons.

Calves' feet for Jelly.

Wormwood Wine repeatedly to sharpen his appetite.

And then—

Thoresday

vij. October.

For seyinge Messe—to a prestexx. d.

and to the Clarkevj. d.

This was doubtless for a private celebration of Mass for the sick man.

On Wednesday, October xiii., the accounts cease. Lady Cavendish is so busied with her husband she has no time or heart for accounts.

They do not commence again till xxvj. of November.

Here follows an extract from Sir William Cavendish's pocket book at Welbeck:—

Memorandum.

That Sir William Cavendyshe, knight, my most deare and well-beloved Husband departed this present life of Mundaie beinge the 25th daie of October, betwixt the howers of 8 and 9 of the same day at night in the yeare of our Lord God 1557. On whose soul I most humbly beseeche the Lord to have mercy, and to ridd mee and his poore children out of our great miserie.

Elizabeth Cavendyshe.

Thus Lady Cavendish was left a young widow, aged 37, with

eight children, the eldest nine years of age, the youngest six months, after a short married life of ten years.

From "Machyn's Diary," Camden Society:—

A.D. 1557. The xxx. day of October was bered Sir Wylliam Candyshe, knight, with ij. whytt branchys, and xij. stayff torches, iij. grett tapurs, and skochyons (or Escutcheons) at Saint Botulff with-out Alther-gatt.

When Sir William Cavendish came into Derbyshire he sold his monastic property and bought Chatsworth. Francis Leche, who had married Alice Leake, the youngest sister of Lady Cavendish, had lived there. Sir William Cavendish was building a mansion at Chatsworth at the time of his death. It was completed by Lady Cavendish at a cost, it is said, of £80,000. But that is not the present building. Chatsworth House, almost in its present stateliness, was built by the fourth Earl and first Duke of Devonshire about the year 1687. He had left the King's Council on account of the arbitrary measures of the King. He was dismissed from the Lord Lieutenancy of the county as others were. He spent the vacant time in the country by rebuilding Chatsworth; and he was the king-maker—contributing largely by his influence to set the Prince of Orange on the throne of England, by the title of William III., in the place of his father-in-law, King James II.

Of the children of Sir William and Lady Cavendish—

(1) The eldest son, Henry Cavendish, married the Lady Grace Talbot, and left no issue.

(2) William Cavendish was created Baron Cavendish of Hardwick and Earl of Devonshire; and the Dukes of Devonshire are descended from him.

(3) From Charles Cavendish, of Welbeck, were descended the loyal Duke of Newcastle, and the Dukes of Portland, in the female line.

(1) The eldest daughter, Frances Cavendish, was married to Sir Henry Pierpoint, and from this marriage were descended the two Dukes of Kingston and their representatives in the female line, the Earls Manvers.

(2) Mary Cavendish was married to Gilbert Talbot, seventh Earl of Shrewsbury. They had no son, but three daughters, who became Countess of Arundel, Countess of Kent, and Countess of Pembroke.

(3) Elizabeth Cavendish was married to Charles Stuart, Earl of Lennox, brother of Lord Darnley, who married Mary Queen of Scots. The only child of the Earl and Countess of Lennox was the Lady Arabella Stuart, who was heir-presumptive to the Crowns of England and Scotland in case James I. had died leaving no heirs.

Some Notes on Arbor Low and other Lows in the High Peak.

By T. ARTHUR MATTHEWS.



ANY excellent descriptions of Arbor Low have been published, but a few points, which appear to me of interest, have not, so far as I have been able to ascertain, been noted.

Arbor Low is about a mile from Parsley Hay Station, on the northerly slope of a hill which rises somewhat to the south, the centre of the "circle" being 1,231 feet above the Ordnance Datum.

Why was it not placed on the summit?

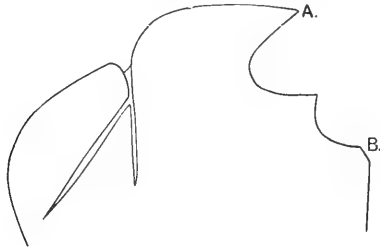
Arbor Low is in latitude $53^{\circ} 10\frac{1}{4}$ N. and longitude $1^{\circ} 45\frac{1}{2}$ W.; Stonehenge is in latitude $51^{\circ} 11$ N. and longitude $1^{\circ} 49$ W. (The latitude and longitude of Arbor Low are taken from the Ordnance map; those of Stonehenge are as given in Stanford's London Atlas.)

Thus Arbor Low is nearly due north of Stonehenge, and still more exactly two degrees of latitude to the north.

The division of the circle into 360 degrees is very ancient; it was used by Ptolemy in the *Almagest*, and probably long before his time, so that the double coincidence is noteworthy.

In the middle of the southern gateway of Arbor Low there is an isolated stone right away from the "circle," broken off, but with the base still in position. This stone is sharply pointed, and is due south of the centre of the "circle." I take it to have been the marker of high noon. This stone is shown on Mr. Gray's plan, but is not numbered. I call it the south pointer.

The largest of the stones in the centre of the "circle," numbered 1 by Mr. Gray, has the appearance of having been dressed to shape. The upper surface as it lies is approximately a plane. On one side two nearly semi-cylindrical portions have, in my opinion, been artificially removed, as their rounded sides are square to the plane face of the stone. If the stone were a surface stone (known locally as Rockery stone), and the holes had been produced by weathering, the arrises or angles would have been rounded off; the smooth appearance of a weathered stone is also absent. It is inconceivable that any process of cleavage or fracture could remove these semi-cylindrical portions, leaving the rounded sides square to the face.



— Sketch of South End of Stone N^o. 1. —

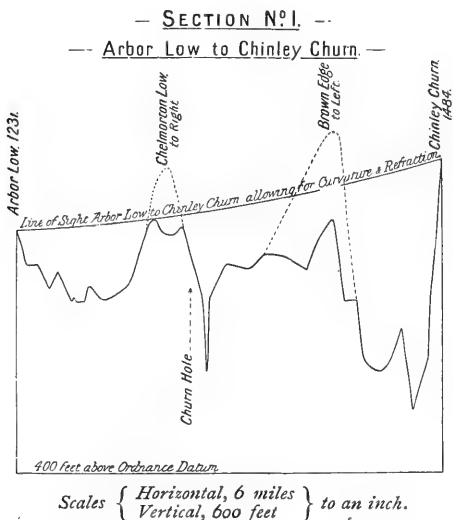
A to B dressed square to face

Scale, 4 feet to an inch.

This stone has a rough similarity of outline to the hawk-headed Egyptian sun-god, Ra. (See Sketch.) The stone when standing may have been used as a pointer for some object, one of the sharp points being used; or it may have been a base of observation, the spaces which have been worked out being used. I rather incline to the second idea, and think it was used in conjunction with the south pointer to mark the high noon.

If we stand in the centre of the "circle," due north of the south pointer, and lay off a line 30° west of the true

north and another 30° east of north (which may be readily done by describing an equilateral triangle with its base due east and west and its apex due south) we shall find that the line 30° west of north passes exactly through the middle of the northerly gateway or entrance to the "circle." Continuing it farther it passes exactly through the centre of a nearly semi-circular depression in the hills against the sky line, formed by Chelmorton Low to the right, and Brown Edge to the left. This cup-shaped hollow is so marked that it is one



of the most conspicuous objects to be seen from Arbor Low. Producing the line still farther, it passes exactly through the summit of Chinley Churn, at a distance of about fifteen miles (see Section No. 1). This line is almost exactly horizontal. Given a clear day, it is possible (but only just possible) to see the point of the hill (Chinley Churn) through the before-mentioned hollow, the lowest point of which nearly obstructs the view. The section along this line shows this clearly, and

is worth comparison with a section on an exactly parallel line from Hare's Hill (Section No. 3).

I should like to draw special attention to this direction, 30° west of north.

On its way this line from Arbor Low passes close by, but not exactly through, two lows on Chelmorton Low, and between two lows below Brown Edge called Lady Low and Cow Low. It also runs through the curious amphitheatre in Deep Dale called Churn Hole. I note this as the parallel section from Hare's Hill to Axe Edge and the Shining Tor runs through the Shining Ford. The words "Churn" and "Shining" are not common in place names.

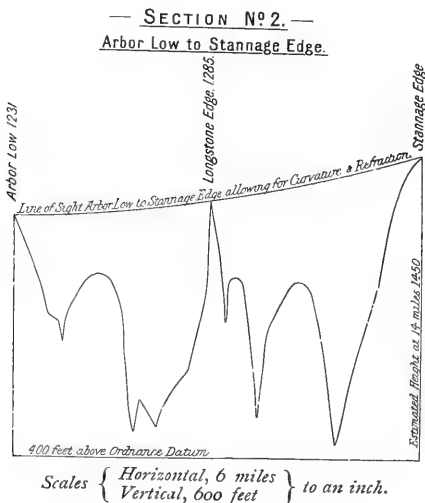
If we produce this line the reverse way, 30° east of south, it passes through the low just outside the embankment or vallum, and a little further on through the traces of another low, which has been destroyed. This line is the transverse axis or greatest diameter of the approximate ellipse formed by the stones of the "circle." The greatest diameter of the stone "circle" on Castlerigg, near Keswick, is also on this line.

Let us now take the other side of the equilateral triangle, which gives us a line pointing 30° east of north. At first sight it appears to pass through the summit of Longstone Edge, a very noticeable pointed hill and nothing else; but if we produce the line the reverse way (30° west of south), and stoop down in the ditch, we shall find that the centre of Arbor Low, the top of the vallum, the peak of Longstone Edge, and the crest of Stannage Edge against the sky line, are in a uniform gradient (see section No. 2); and this line is also almost exactly horizontal. Moreover the line passes through the biggest stone of the whole lot, numbered X by Mr. Gray. This stone is perforated; and when it was standing it is more than probable that the perforation was also in the same line of sight. In other words, the points named are in the same vertical plane and in the same horizontal plane.

It is obvious that any two points must be in the same straight line. The odds against three points being in the same straight

line *by accident* are enormous; so that we may safely say that the existence of four, and possibly five, so placed is due to more than coincidence.

It seems to me that the people who laid out Arbor Low arranged their gateways, or *positions of unobstructed view*, in what they regarded as the most important directions, namely, one 30° west of north and one due south. 30° east of north appears to have been also of great importance, but not perhaps quite so great as the westerly line. My first idea,



naturally, was that these points 30° east and west of north marked the position of the midsummer sunrise and sunset. I spent midsummer night at Arbor Low on one occasion, hoping to verify this. There was so thick a fog that I could hardly see across the "circle." I have, however, found that the midsummer sunset in the latitude of Arbor Low takes place about 40° west of north, so that the theory appears untenable.

But is it possible that when the site of Arbor Low was selected the sun did rise and set 30° east and west of north

at midsummer? If this were so, an approximate date for the construction would be ascertainable. I put this with great diffidence.

From my knowledge of the climate, I have no hesitation in saying that the selection of the site was an undertaking requiring many years (perhaps hundreds) of observation. This appeals to me as being quite as great an achievement as its material construction.

Having been much impressed by the angles I have noted, I applied them to a convenient low adjoining Ashbourne on the Old Hill. This low is on the northerly slope of the hill, and is happily placed for observation, as it is not much blocked by trees or buildings.

There is nothing noticeable 30° east of north. The view south is blocked.

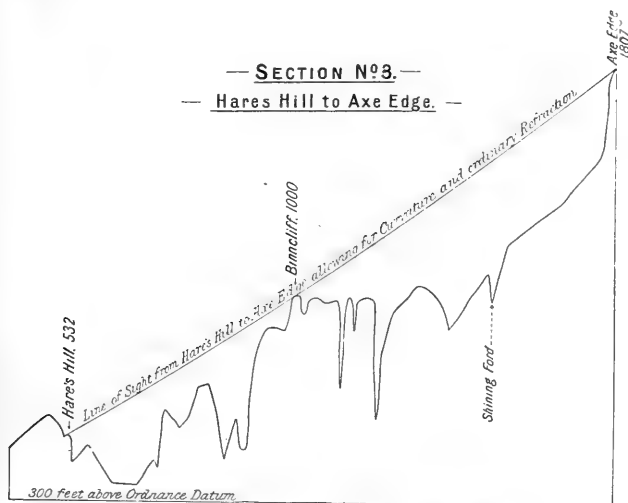
On the line 30° west of north there is a very marked depression in the hills against the sky line, formed by the eastern slope of the pyramid-shaped hill, Thorpe Cloud, and the western slope of Sharplow. This line is nearly horizontal, but not so nearly as the parallel line from Arbor Low. Somewhat to the east of this line I found a low near the top of Hinchley Wood. I was much puzzled that this should be so much out of the line, but from its own point of view the lowest part of the hollow between Thorpe Cloud and Sharplow is exactly 30° west of north. Still nearer the hollow, Broadlow, from its name and position, probably had another low with a similar bearing 30° west of north. An old quarry may account for its destruction.

Following the reverse line from the Old Hill, 30° east of south, I found three lows near Tinker's Inn, which probably have the bearing 30° west of north to the Thorpe Cloud and Sharplow depression; but I cannot state it positively, as trees and buildings are in the way.

I can, if necessary, give many more instances of lows which (*not* being on the tops of pointed hills) have sky line depressions bearing 30° west of north. Perhaps it is sufficient to say that I have found for myself, without having received any information

on the subject, close on a score of such, none of which are shown on the Ordnance maps. In fact, in the neighbourhood of Ashbourne wherever there is a marked sky line hollow 30° west of north, there one or more lows will be found.

And now I should like to say something about the little known Hare's Hill. It is a mound, probably partly natural and partly artificial, at the head of a deep and narrow side dale running into the valley of the Dove near Clifton. The summit



Scales { Horizontal, 6 miles } to an inch.
 { Vertical, 600 feet }

is about 190 yards long and 85 yards wide. Its greatest length is on the line from 30° east of south to 30° west of north. The line from it, 30° to the west of north, runs down the narrow, twisting dale, and if it were not for trees of modern growth there would be a clear view. This line points for Axe Edge and the Shining Tor in Cheshire. A section to scale (see Section No. 3) shows that Axe Edge is theoretically visible, but only just visible, over the western shoulder of Binncliff precisely as the extreme peak of Chinley Churn is just visible from Arbor

Low. I think that the Shining Tor is also theoretically visible, but as the Ordnance contours above 1,000 feet are at 250 feet intervals, I have not been able to get a section to prove or disprove this. I have never had a sufficiently clear day to make a practical observation.

On its way this line 30° west of north passes through or close by two lows near New Buildings, a very large low near Clifton station, a curious mound of something resembling gravel concrete near the Orchards Farm, Mayfield, an excavation in Okeover Park (which is very conspicuous as one walks along the line from Hare's Hill), the remains of a low at the top of Okeover Park, and three lows near Blore, known as Lady Low, Little Lady Low, and a nameless one. All these I have personally examined. Further on the line crosses Binncliff, where there may be a low, Wetton Low, with probably two, Ecton Low, Warslow, and the Shining Ford (to which I have previously referred). From the names and positions a further exploration might disclose other lows with which I am at present unacquainted.

I have perhaps said enough to show that this direction, 30° west of north, had a peculiar importance, or perhaps sanctity, for the makers of the lows. I am unable to make any further suggestion as to the reason for it, and should welcome any explanation.

CASUAL NOTES.

NOTE 1.—The apparent radiation of the Arbor Low "circle" stones, as they lie, which has been noticed, may be accounted for in this way. The stones are all more or less flat, with two nearly parallel faces. The flat faces, when and if the stones were upright, were in line with the circumference of the "circle." When they fell, or were thrown down, it would naturally be side-ways, so that whether they fell inwards or outwards they would lie approximately radially.

NOTE 2.—In Dr. Flinders Petrie's plan of Stonehenge the midsummer sunrise is shown at 45° east of north. Assuming the midsummer sunset to be at 45° west of north, this would

give 90° , or the fourth part of a circle, as an angle of some importance. At Arbor Low 60° , or the sixth part of a circle, is undoubtedly of importance. The square with an internal angle of 90° , and the equilateral triangle with an internal angle of 60° , would be amongst the first mathematical figures to be used.

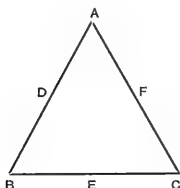
NOTE 3.—The Low on the Old Hill, Ashbourne, is of peculiar construction. It bears traces of a raised terrace running all round the mound, or low proper, giving somewhat the appearance of a soup plate turned wrong side up. I only know one other low of this construction. This second instance is on the hill above Okeover to the north of the road leading to Blore. The raised terrace is here very evident. This is locally called "Arbor Low," but the name must not be confounded with that of the stone "circle."

NOTE 4.—May I make a somewhat fanciful suggestion, which may be applied to the positions of the hills as seen from Arbor Low and Hare's Hill? The sections show the appearance under circumstances of *ordinary* atmospheric refraction. Refraction is greatest at sunrise and sunset, so it may be possible that the positions of the hills would appear to vary. If so, at sunrise, from Arbor Low, Longstone Edge would show *below* the line of sight from Arbor Low to Stannage; as the sun got higher Longstone Edge would appear to rise. On the other hand, the distant hill tops—Chinley Churn from Arbor Low and Axe Edge (? Shining Tor) from Hare's Hill—would at sunset appear to grow above the intervening obstructions. I am again very diffident about this.

NOTE 5.—I may mention a few lows and other antiquities to which I have not had an opportunity of applying the angle 30° west of north. There is (a) Gib Hill, near Arbor Low. I may have been wrong in regarding this as a "hill-top" low, and I have never had time enough when at Arbor Low to examine it. (b) A low shown on the Ordnance map near Wyaston. (c) A tumulus, marked on the Ordnance map, near Bentley Hall, between Alkington and Great Cubley. (d) The stone circle

on Eyam Moor. (e) The Bow Stones, about two miles, as the crow flies, west of Whaley Bridge. (f) Two tumuli, about half a mile north-east of Little Hucklow. Doubtless there are many more.

NOTE 6.—Referring to Note 2, the equilateral triangle has the curious property of accurately dividing the horizon into twelve equal parts, corresponding with the ancient divisions of the Zodiac.



Thus—

BC being East and West.

BA produced gives 30° East of North.

CA „ „ 30° West of North.

BC „ „ 90° East of North.

AB „ „ 150° West of North.

AC „ „ 150° East of North.

CB „ „ 90° West of North.

And D being the bi-section of BA; E the bi-section of BC; F the bi-section of AC.

AE produced is South.

EA „ „ North.

BF „ „ 60° East of North.

CD „ „ 60° West of North.

FB „ „ 120° West of North.

DC „ „ 120° East of North.

This perhaps seems rather complicated on paper, but in practice, given the north and an equilateral triangle, it is quite simple.

Recent Cave-Digging in Derbyshire.

By W. STORRS FOX, M.A., F.Z.S.

DURING the past three or four years three papers have been read before learned societies in London on the subject of cave-exploration in Derbyshire. The discoveries thus recorded are presumably of greater interest to residents in this county than to those outside its borders; and it would, therefore, be unfortunate if there were no means of bringing these facts under the notice of those most likely to appreciate them.

The caves were situated in the Carboniferous Limestone—the first at Doveholes, near Buxton; the second at Longcliffe, near Brassington; and the third in Cales Dale, a branch of Lathkil Dale. Taking them in this order, their respective heights above Ordnance datum were 1,150 feet, 1,090 feet, and 800 feet. In point of time, the Mammalian remains found at Doveholes belong to a much earlier, and those from Cales Dale to a much later, period than the Longcliffe bones.

The Cales Dale Cave is a natural passage in the rock, probably enlarged to a slight extent by the action of water passing through it. It begins at its innermost extremity with an impassable cleft, widens out to a maximum height of $3\frac{1}{2}$ ft. and width of 6 ft., and opens into the dale by means of two small exits, each of which is less than 3 feet high and wide. It is quite evident that the bones found in this cave entered it from the dale through one or other of these two openings.

At the outset of the work of excavation the passage was in no way choked with earth and stone, so that its extremity could be reached without difficulty; and the deposit containing bones was only a foot or so in thickness.

Far otherwise was it in the case of the Doveholes and Longcliffe Caves. These two had many points in common. They were both broken into accidentally during the ordinary processes of quarrying. They both were filled, or nearly filled with earth and stone, with which deposits the bones were mingled. They both exist no longer, having been quarried away. But the most important point of likeness was the fact that these deposits showed unmistakable signs of having been laid down by water. In short, it has been shown by Professor Boyd Dawkins¹ and Messrs. H. H. Arnold-Bemrose and E. T. Newton² that each of these caverns is an old swallow-hole.

Now, anyone who visits either of these localities to-day will be struck by the fact that each of these caves was practically on the top of a hill, whereas a swallow-hole implies a gathering-ground for water. Professor Dawkins explains that the physical conditions and the lie of the land have entirely changed owing to the denudation of masses of rock which existed at the time when the caves were being filled up. He writes:

“The drainage of their eastern slope” [*i.e.*, the eastern slope of the Yoredale Shales] “passes downward until it reaches the limestone at its base. Here it sinks into the rock through the many swallow-holes which mark the upper boundary of the Carboniferous Limestone. There are no surface-streams in the limestone in the immediate neighbourhood of the quarry, which, from its position on the divide, could not, under existing geographical conditions, receive the drainage of the range of hills to the west or from any other direction. The existence,

¹ “Pliocene Ossiferous Cavern at Doveholes,” by W. Boyd Dawkins; *Quarterly Journal Geological Society*, vol. lix., 1903.

² “The Ossiferous Cavern at Longcliffe,” by H. H. Arnold-Bemrose and E. T. Newton; *ibid.*, vol. lxi., 1905.

however, of numerous 'swallets' on the divide, as well as in other portions of the Carboniferous Limestone, at a considerable distance from the impervious Yoredale Shales covering the limestone, proves that the limestone did in ancient times receive from the surface a considerable drainage which it no longer gets. Most of these 'swallets' are now filled with clay and loam, and some, as in the case of that at Windy Knoll, near Castleton, about six miles to the north-east, contain considerable quantities of the remains of Pleistocene mammalia."

Similarly, it must be granted that where there is now a hill-top at Longcliffe, there existed, at the time when the swallow-hole was active, a valley bounded by shales, and constituting a gathering-ground for water.

The question naturally arises: What caused the bones of so many animals to be carried down into these swallow-holes? Messrs. Bemrose and Newton are very cautious on this point. After suggesting several possible solutions, they favour the conclusion (1) that there may have been an old hyæna den above the swallow-hole, and that some of the bones may have been carried by water out of it into the cavern where they were found; (2) that animals may have fallen into the hole itself, and possibly through the roof of the cavern; and, lastly, (3) that the cavern itself may have at one time served as a hyæna den. The second suggestion seems hardly probable when it is borne in mind how very few unbroken marrow-bones were found. Probably no record has been kept of the exact number of such bones. The presence of a few gnawed bones and of "over forty hyæna-coprolites," gives support to the third hypothesis; and the more or less complete stratification of the soil in which the bones were deposited makes it probable that the first one at least partly accounts for the phenomena in question.

But Professor Dawkins is much more decided about the causes of what he found at Doveholes. After calling attention to the fact that "the preponderance in the cave at Doveholes

of the remains of young, as compared with old, teeth of *Mastodon* is exactly that which is noticeable in the case of calf and adult mammoths in all *hyæna dens*," he proceeds :

"It may be concluded that the fragmentary remains at Doveholes were derived from a den of *hyænas* belonging to the Pliocene Age. It is, however, obvious that they were not introduced by those animals into the chambers where they were discovered, but that they were conveyed from a higher level into it by water. My reading of the riddle is simply that they were originally accumulated in a *hyæna den* open to the surface, and that afterwards they were conveyed into lower chambers, where they were protected by the limestone from the denudation which has destroyed nearly all traces of the original surface."

Having now discussed the caves generally, it is necessary to give some account of their discovery, and of the animals represented in each of them.

It is not an uncommon occurrence to find in quarries a joint, or fissure, filled with earth or clay. So that when the men, in the course of their ordinary duties, broke into the cavern at Victory Quarry, near Doveholes, no special interest seems to have been aroused, nor was it deemed surprising that large bones were embedded in the deposit which filled it. Consequently, a great number of them were thrown on the rubbish-tip and were soon buried beneath an immense accumulation of waste matter. The importance of these animal remains was first brought to light by a boy who picked up some teeth of *Mastodon*, and showed them to Mr. Micah Salt, of Buxton. Mr. Salt at once communicated with Professor Boyd Dawkins, who visited the cave, and, having obtained the permission of the owner of the quarry, secured all the remaining "finds."

The following is a list of the bones and teeth thus preserved :—
Machairodus crenatidens.

This rare sabre-toothed lion was represented both by teeth and by bones—namely :

3 canines (2 of them being very fragmentary),

- 2 upper carnassials,
- 1 distal end of a right tibia,
- 1 proximal end and shaft of a right radius,
- 1 fragment of the shaft of a femur.

Two of these bones bear "unmistakable marks of the teeth of *hyæna*."

Hyæna.

- 1 fragment of a left ulna of a large species, bearing teeth-marks of another animal of its own kind.

Mastodon arvernensis.

- 18 teeth, exclusive of fragments, as well as many broken and water-worn bones.

Elephas meridionalis.

- 1 much-worn fragment of a molar.

Rhinoceros etruscus.

- 2 fragments of water-worn molars.

Equus Stenonis.

- 2 upper and 1 lower molar.

Cervus.

"The Cervidae are represented at Doveholes by numerous bones, all more or less fragmentary, and therefore very difficult to determine specifically. They belong, however, to one or other of the many species of Pliocene deer, and agree more particularly with *Cervus etueriarum* of Croizet and Jobert."

With regard to the period to which these remains belong, Professor Dawkins gives his opinion as follows:—

"The mammalia of Doveholes belong therefore to the *Mastodon arvernensis* fauna of the British and Continental Pliocene strata, and are clearly defined from that of the Pleistocene age, not only by the presence of characteristic Pliocene forms, but by the absence of those which came into Europe at the beginning of the Pleistocene, such as the cave-bear, the

mammoth, the woolly rhinoceros, and the living Palæartic species."

And, again, Professor Dawkins' own words must be quoted, when he sums up the nett result of the discovery as follows:—

"It has added one species, *Machairodus crenatidens*, to the Upper Pliocene fauna of Britain, leaving out of account *Cervus eluciarum*. It has not added to our knowledge of the distribution of Upper Pliocene land and sea, but it has confirmed the conclusions arrived at on other evidence. It is the only Pliocene cave yet discovered in Europe, and is the only evidence as yet available of the existence of the Upper Pliocene bone-caves, which, from the nature of the case, must have been as abundant in Europe as those of the succeeding Pleistocene Age."

As has already been stated, the cave at Hoe Grange Quarry, Longcliffe, was also broken into accidentally. At the place where the opening was first made there was a space left between the top of the deposit and the roof of the cave. Stalactites¹ hanging from the roof attracted the attention of a lad named Walton working in the quarry, and he crawled in to secure them. He brought out with him several bones. This led to further exploration, and soon the vast number and variety of bones and teeth attracted notice. The news of the discovery was spread throughout the locality, and before long reached Mr. H. H. Arnold-Bemrose, who at once took the matter in hand, and from that time spared neither time nor trouble in making the cave a success scientifically. Those who were associated with him in this excavation could not fail to be struck with admiration at the thoroughness and perfection of his work.

But before he came on the scene large numbers of specimens had been carried off by private collectors, to many of whom they could be of no value whatsoever. And it is regrettable that all these could not at least have been identified and catalogued. The number, however, of those secured was very great, as the following list testifies:—

¹ Watericles they are locally called.

<i>Felis leo</i> (Lion)	7
<i>Felis catus</i> (Wild Cat)	11
<i>Hyæna crocuta</i> (Spotted Hyæna)	667
<i>Canis lupus</i> (Wolf)... ..	5
<i>Vulpes alopec</i> (Fox)	1
<i>Ursus horribilis</i> (?) (Grisly Bear)	91
<i>Meles taxus</i> (Badger)	2
<i>Vespertilio auritus</i> (?) (Long-eared Bat)	1
<i>Bos</i> or <i>Bison</i>	1,855
<i>Cervus giganteus</i> (Irish Deer)	4
<i>Cervus elaphus</i> (Red Deer)	38
<i>Cervus dama</i> (Fallow Deer)	1,592
<i>Capreolus caprea</i> (Roebuck)	16
<i>Sus scrofa</i> (Wild Boar)	4
<i>Rhinoceros leptorhinus</i>	144
<i>Elephas antiquus</i>	1
<i>Lepus cuniculus</i> (Rabbit)	43
<i>Lepus sp.</i> (Hare)	2
<i>Microtus glareolus</i> (Bank Vole)	4
<i>Microtus agrestis</i> (?) (Field Vole)	5
<i>Microtus amphibius</i> (?) (Water Vole)	1
<i>Mus sylvaticus</i> (?) (Field Mouse)	1
<i>Asio accipitrinus</i> (Short-eared Owl)	2
<i>Turdus iliacus</i> (Redwing)	6
<i>Erithacus rubecula</i> (?) (Robin)	1
<i>Rana temporaria</i> (Frog)	30
<i>Bufo vulgaris</i> (Toad)	11

Thus twenty-seven species were represented, and 4,545 bones and teeth were identified. Besides these, 3,461 remained undetermined, so that altogether a total of 8,006 were secured and examined.

The most interesting discovery was the presence of fallow deer in this cave, mingled indiscriminately with other Pleistocene animals. Hitherto this species had been supposed to have

been introduced into Britain by the Romans. Its absence from other Pleistocene cave-deposits is extraordinary, but Longcliffe provided ample material for examination, and Messrs. Bemrose and Newton have sifted the evidence in a masterly manner. To quote their own words at length:—

“The deposits might have been formed at a date subsequent to Pleistocene times. That is to say, they might have been washed in from a hyæna den, or other Pleistocene deposit, and mingled with later ones. In this way the occurrence of the fallow-deer with the Pleistocene species would be accounted for. The abundant remains of what we take to be fallow-deer in nearly all parts of the bone-deposits necessitate a very careful consideration of the possibilities of these deposits being of recent origin. But the supposition that they are of recent origin would imply that the surface of land in the neighbourhood must have been sufficiently elevated above the swallow-hole to collect water to wash the remains into the cavern; and that this land has been denuded, not, indeed, since Pleistocene times, but since the redistribution of the bones in Roman or post-Roman times, if the fallow-deer was really first introduced into this country by the Romans. Such rapid denudation does not seem possible, and we do not think the supposition tenable.”

In commenting upon the discoveries at Longcliffe, Dr. Boyd Dawkins declared that “the occurrence of the lower jaw of a lion’s whelp was the most important recorded from any cave in this country.”

Whereas the Doveholes Cave was 90 ft. long, 15 ft. high, and 4 ft. wide at its mouth, and the Longcliffe one was half as long again, that in Cales Dale¹ is only 40 ft. long, and its narrow passage only in one place is enlarged into a sufficiently spacious chamber to form a suitable den for a fair-sized animal. Not many bones were obtained from it, but many of those which were found were of special interest.

¹ “On Some Bones of the Lynx from Cales Dale, Derbyshire,” by W. Storrs Fox, *Proc. Zool. Soc. of London*, 1906, vol. i., pp. 65-72.

About 1894 Dr. Melland, of Manchester, then a student at Owens College, entered the cave and carried off one or more bones, which he presented to Professor Boyd Dawkins, who identified them as belonging to *Lynx*. Up to that time bones of this species had only twice been found in Britain. In 1866 part of a skull and the right ramus of the lower jaw of the *Lynx borealis* were unearthed in Pleasley Vale,¹ on the borders of Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire, and are now in the Nottingham University Museum. And about fourteen years later the late Mr. James Backhouse, of York, found a humerus and metatarsal of the same species in Teesdale.²

There appears to be no sort of record of Dr. Melland's find, and the cave was left undisturbed again until 1897. In the spring of that year all the contents of the chamber, or den, were removed. The remains of *Lynx* then found were as follows:—

- 1 right ramus of the lower jaw, with its teeth;
- 1 right upper carnassial tooth;
- 1 right premaxilla, containing its 3 incisors;
- 3 canines;
- 1 humerus—the shaft and distal end;
- 1 ulna—proximal end only;
- 1 axis vertebra;
- 1 left os innominatum—almost perfect;
- 1 right os innominatum—a fragment, and evidently from a different individual;
- 1 left femur—shaft and proximal end;
- 1 left femur—the head only;
- 5 tarsal bones;
- 6 metapodials;
- 11 phalanges, including a terminal one.

These altogether make up a total of thirty-five specimens as compared with four only which had hitherto been recorded.

¹ "British Pleistocene Mammalia," part iii., pp. 172-176 (Palæontographical Soc., vol. for 1868).

² *Geological Magazine*, vol. for 1880, pp. 346-348.

The other animals represented were: Wild cat, fox, dog (or wolf), badger, hare, rabbit, water vole, bank vole, sheep, goat, and ox; also fowl (possibly pheasant), grouse, raven, jackdaw, kestrel, common gull, toad, and frog.

Such little evidence as is given by this cave supports the view that the *Lynx* lived in Britain in Prehistoric times, in association with animals which still exist in the island at the present day.

In conclusion, it may be well to call attention to the fact that other caves in the county await the necessary funds for working them; and that they will probably disclose facts interesting not only to the palæontologist, but also to the antiquarian.

The Geological Society has kindly permitted the use of the following plates to illustrate this article.

EXPLANATION OF PLATES I.-VIII.

PLATE I.

- Fig. 1. Upper canine of *Machairodus crenatidens*, nat. size :
a = serration magnified.
- Figs. 2 & 3. Left upper carnassials of *M. crenatidens*, nat. size.
- Fig. 4. Left upper carnassials of *M. crenatidens*, from the Val
d'Arno : nat. size.
- „ 5. Upper milk-tusk of *Mastodon arvernensis*, nat. size.

PLATE II.

- Fig. 1. Upper canine of *Machairodus crenatidens*, nat. size.
- „ 2. Outer view of lower milk-tusk of *Mastodon arvernensis*,
nat. size.
- „ 3. Outer view of upper milk-tusk of *M. arvernensis*, nat.
size.
- „ 4. Outer view of upper milk-tusk of *M. arvernensis*, nat.
size.
- „ 5. Lower milk-molar 3 of *M. arvernensis*, from the Crag of
Norfolk : nat. size.

PLATE III.

- Fig. 1. Last upper milk-molar of *Mastodon arvernensis*, unworn,
nat. size.
- „ 2. Last upper milk-molar of *M. arvernensis*, worn, nat. size.
(*d.* = talon.)
- „ 3. Lower milk-molar of *M. arvernensis*, nat. size.
- „ 4. Section of molar of *Elephas meridionalis*, nat. size.
(*a* = enamel ; *b* = dentine ; *c* = cement.)

PLATE IV.

- Fig. 1. Tibia of *Machairodus crenatidens*, $\frac{1}{2}$ nat. size. (*a*, *a* =
tooth-marks.)
- „ 2. Left lower true molar 2 of *Mastodon arvernensis*, $\frac{1}{2}$ nat.
size. (*a* = ridges ; *b* = secondary cusps ; *c* = valleys ;
d = talon.)
- „ 3. Humerus of *Mastodon arvernensis* (?), gnawed by hyæna :
 $\frac{1}{2}$ nat. size.
- „ 4. Femur of *Machairodus crenatidens*, gnawed by hyæna :
 $\frac{1}{2}$ nat. size.

PLATE V.

- Figs. 1, 2 & 3. Upper molar of *Equus Stenonis*, nat. size.
 „ 4, 5 & 6. Upper molar of *E. caballus*, from the Pleistocene
 of Creswell Crags, nat. size. (*a* = columella.)

PLATE VI.

- Fig. 1. View of the cavern soon after the work was commenced, showing the wooden door at the entrance, 27 feet north-north-west of the place where the men first broke in. The rock on the left-hand side had been quarried before the cavern was discovered. (From a photograph taken by Mr. W. Walker, of Buxton.)
 „ 2. A more general view of the quarry, showing the position of the cavern. (From a photograph taken by Mr. Arnold-Bemrose.)

PLATE VII.

[All the figures are of the natural size, and are reproduced from photographs.]

- Fig. 1. *Felis leo*: left ramus of the lower jaw, with milk-teeth.
 „ 2. *Felis catus*: left femur, from the front.
 „ 3. *Felis catus*: right humerus, distal portion, from the front.
 „ 4. *Ursus horribilis* (?): last lower molar.
 Figs. 5 & 5a. *Elephas antiquus*: half milk-molar 3, side- and end-views.
 Fig. 6. *Cervus dama*: three true molars of the left side.

PLATE VIII.

[All the figures are half the natural size, and are reproduced from photographs.]

- Fig. 1. *Cervus giganteus*: metacarpal.
 „ 2. *Cervus elaphus*: metacarpal.
 „ 3. *Cervus dama*: metacarpal.
 „ 4. *Capreolus caprea*: metacarpal.
 „ 5. *Cervus giganteus*: astragalus.

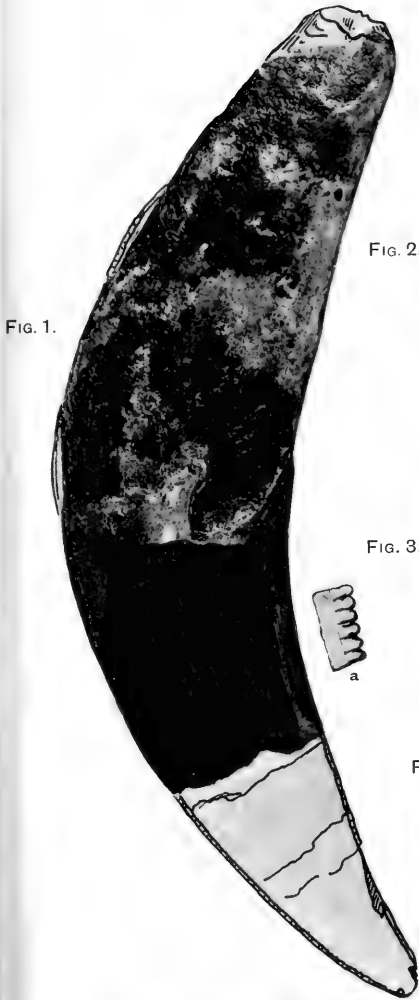


FIG. 1.

FIG. 2.

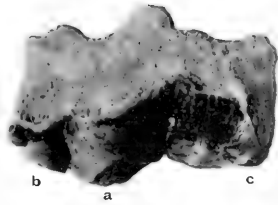


FIG. 3.

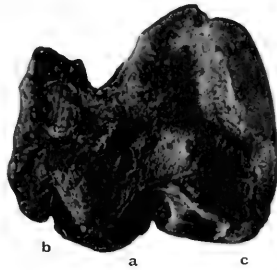


FIG. 4.

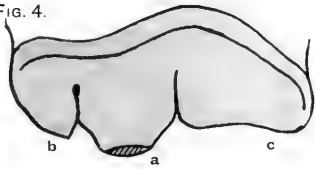


FIG. 5.





FIG. 4.



FIG. 3.



FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.

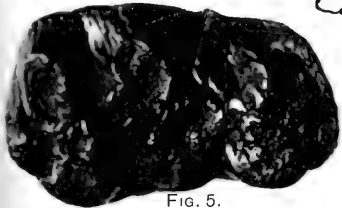


FIG. 5.



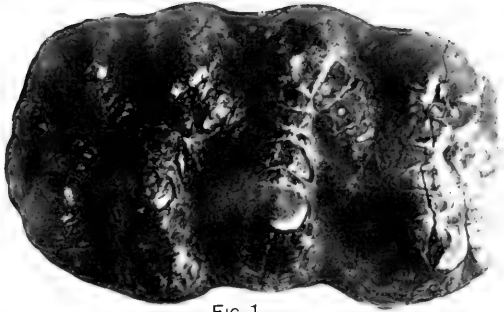


FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.



FIG. 3.

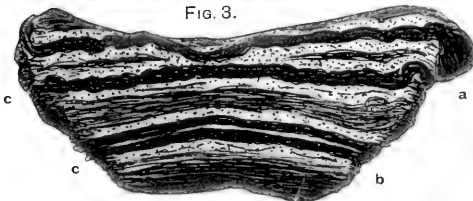


FIG. 4.



FIG. 2.

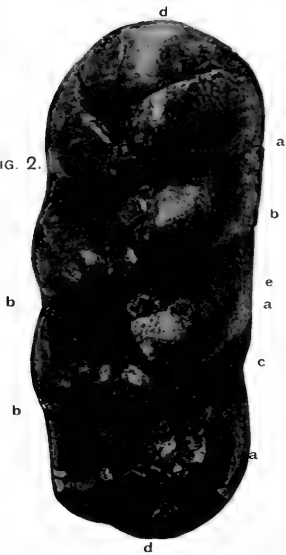


FIG. 4.



FIG. 1.



FIG. 3.

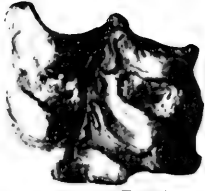


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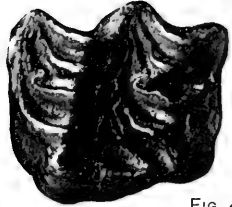
Benrose Ltd., Collo.

MACHAIRODUS CRENATIDENS AND MASTODON ARVERNENSIS.
From Doveholes Cavern.





a FIG. 1.

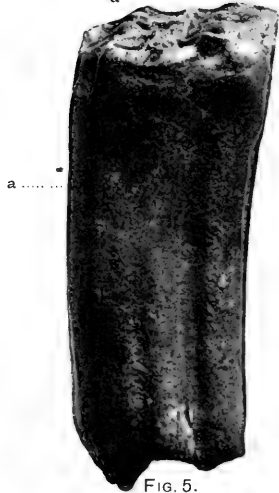


a FIG. 4.



a.....

FIG. 2.



a.....

FIG. 5.



FIG. 3.



FIG. 6.

Bemrose Ltd, Collo.

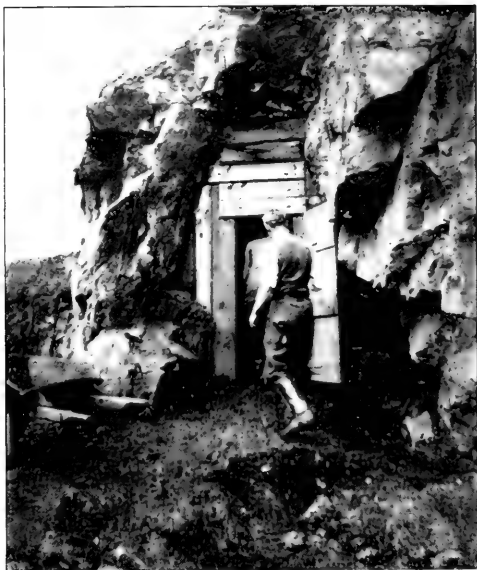
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EQUUS STENONIS AND EQUUS CABALLUS.

From Doveholes Cavern.



HOE GRANGE CAVERN, LOOKING N.N.W.



W. Walker, Photo.

FIG. 1.



H. A. B., Photo.

FIG. 2



m. i. m. ii. m. iii.



FIG. 6.



FIG. 2.



FIG. 5A.



FIG. 4.



FIG. 5.



FIG. 3



FIG. 1.





FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.



FIG. 3.

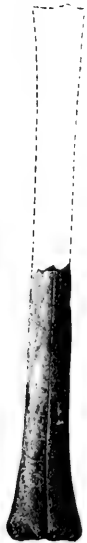


FIG. 4.



FIG. 5.



Ornithological Notes from Derbyshire for the Year 1906.

By THE REV. FRANCIS C. R. JOURDAIN, M.A., M.B.O.U.



ON January 19th Mr. G. M. Bond saw a drake Scoter, *Oedemia nigra* (L.), fly over the road between Ashburne and Hanging Bridge as he was driving home from Ashburne. It was so close to him that he had every opportunity of identifying it, and he is, moreover, familiar with the appearance of the bird, having in his possession another drake which was shot within a mile of the spot on November 4th, 1904.

Mr. J. Henderson came across a very large flock of Redpolls on January 29th in the Dove Valley, near Okeover—at least a hundred in number. The weather was mild, and the Thrushes, Mistle Thrushes and Hedge Sparrows could be heard singing in all directions. On February 8th the hedgerows near Osmaston were covered with Fieldfares in the morning, and in the afternoon great flocks passed over Clifton in a westerly direction. Next day we had about four inches of snow, which, however, did not stay long.

Hérons have been much more numerous during the last year or two in the Dove and Manifold Valleys. It is quite a common thing to see five or six on the wing at the same time, and as they were reported to be nesting in a wood not far off, I walked up the river on February 20th to the place, and again later in the year, but could find no trace of nests, and am inclined to think that they come across the hills from the Churnet Valley, where a small heronry has been established of late years.

At Mapleton a remarkably early Blackbird's nest in a laurel hedge contained young birds on March 6th.

On March 10th Mr. A. S. Hutchinson received a cock Blackbird, which had been killed near Derby. The plumage was entirely of a pale cinnamon colour, with a few lighter feathers under the chin. On the 19th I picked up a fresh Wild Duck's egg in a small swamp not far from Dovedale, from which I had flushed several duck. On the same afternoon while walking with Mr. J. Henderson by the river Dove we noticed a *Phylloscopus* on the opposite side, about twelve yards away. The wind was cold and the bird kept low down beneath the shelter of the bank, and did not utter a note, but after a careful examination through the Goerz glass, we came to the conclusion that it must be a Chiff-Chaff, *P. rufus* (Bechst), the feet being too dark for the Willow Warbler. The early arrival is the more remarkable as since the summer of 1903 the Chiff Chaff has entirely deserted the upper Dove valley, where it was formerly common. Subsequently, however, we found breeding pairs established at Norbury and Offcote, so that it appears to be gradually re-colonizing the district. With the exception of this solitary individual, no *Phylloscopi* were seen till April 2nd, when Mr. Henderson reported the arrival of a second, probably also a Chiff Chaff. A fine old elm tree not far from Ashburne has been occupied by a pair of Brown Owls and two or three pairs of Jackdaws for many years past. On climbing to the hole and looking in, I saw the owl sitting quietly on the nest. As she flew off she disclosed two eggs, which appeared to be much incubated (March 20th). There were no dead mice or birds in the nest.

On March 26th we noticed some eight or ten Wheatears on a ploughed field in the Dove valley, about three and a half miles from Dovedale. Now the Wheatear is a common summer visitor to Thorpe Cloud, Bunster, and the whole upland country to the northward, but curiously enough, although it probably follows the course of the Dove valley in order to reach its breeding haunts, I have never met with it on passage in the

low-lying pastures of the lower Dove valley until the present year. For the next three or four days we noticed several small parties of these birds in the same field, and once in another ploughed field on the opposite side of the road, but nowhere else.

On the 28th three Wild Swans were seen by a local farmer, near the Dove, and on April 2nd a small herd of five birds came flying down the Henmore valley. Two of them pitched in the river Dove below Birdsgrove, the other three flew on towards Calwich. Mr. J. Henderson, who was the first to notice them, thought they were Whoopers, *Cygnus musicus* (Bechst.), and after examining two through the glass, I came to the same conclusion. Unfortunately they were driven off by a man who mistook them for ordinary Mute Swans, and set out to capture them with a landing net and some sopped bread! It is almost unnecessary to add that the swans did not await his arrival, but took wing while he was still some distance away.

On April 7th we noticed the arrival of a party of six Sand Martins at a quarry on Cannock Chase, and the same evening three more were seen at Clifton. During the latter half of April and the early part of May I was on the Continent, and on my return found that all the summer migrants had arrived, and nesting was in full swing. On the whole, the spring was decidedly late and everything very backward, but the summer was wonderfully fine and hot, and the rainfall much below the average.

Thanks to the provision of nesting boxes affixed to the trees, Great Tits have increased in numbers in my own garden, and this year we had four boxes occupied by them, from which over thirty young were reared.

While returning from looking at a Snipe's nest with two eggs on May 28th, we flushed a Tree Pipit from a nest with four eggs, in the evening. For quite six or seven yards she tumbled along the ground, looking in the dusk more like a frog than a bird, till at last she took wing. I have seen a

Tree Pipit run a yard or so from the nest occasionally, when taken by surprise, but never quite like this. Another Tree Pipit's nest in a railway cutting contained a fine olive brown Cuckoo's egg in addition to four red-spotted eggs of the Pipit (May 30th). On the way home we surprised a Stoat in the act of killing a rabbit in the usual way, paralyzing it by a bite at the back of the head.

The Great Spotted Woodpecker seems to have been driven away from the Ramsor woods by the extensive felling that has been carried on there, and a careful search on May 31st failed to show any signs of birds or new nest holes. Underneath a Kestrel's nest lay a dead hen Kestrel, which had obviously been shot as she flew from her eggs. On June 4th I climbed to another Kestrel's nest in a Magpie's nest at the top of a tall larch. Earlier in the season the local keeper had shot both Magpies from this nest, and a few days before my visit I was informed that he had managed to kill both Kestrels. In the nest were four eggs, cold and wet. The thorny roof of the nest was still in place, but the lining of roots had been ejected by the hawks.

In some open sheds at the Dog and Partridge Inn, Thorpe, several pairs of House Martins were nesting on the beams *inside* the roofing, instead of affixing their nests to the outside walls, as is usually the habit of this species. The entrance to these nests was at the side, unlike the open nests built by the Swallow.

The warm summer must have been favourable to bird life on the whole, as the clutches were in many cases larger than usual. Thus a nest of the Greenfinch found on June 9th contained seven eggs; one of the Thrush had six (the only one I have ever met with, although I have examined many hundreds), while two Blackbirds' nests with six eggs were reported to me—one from Egginton (Rev. F. F. Key), and one from Clifton. However, the most extraordinary case occurred at Osmaston, where the Tufted Ducks are common, and breed on the islets in the ponds. On one of these islets, covered

with rhododendrons, were three nests. The first contained two eggs, the second ten (both apparently forsaken), while the third held no fewer than twenty-eight eggs! On looking closely at them, however, it was evident that they were the produce of three or more ducks. Eight eggs were dark brownish and very distinct, while the others, though more alike, showed at least two types. A duck was on the nest, or rather heap of eggs, when found, but it is needless to say that the bulk of them were quite cold. There are now two pairs of Great Crested Grebes on the ponds at Osmaston; one pair had three young (almost as big as their parents) with them on June 13th. On the same day I had a good view of a fine drake Pochard, which was strong on the wing, so that it is quite possible that this species may have bred with us. On July 19th Mr. G. Pullen found an addled egg of the Nightjar on Breadsall Moor, where the birds have been common this year.

At Rocester station on July 20th I heard the cries of young birds from an iron crane, and a minute's search disclosed a brood of young Great Tits in a hollow part of the crane to which the old birds obtained access through a chain hole. Perhaps this may have been a second brood, though all the evidence has hitherto seemed to point to the Great Tit being single brooded.

Canon Molineux writes from Staveley to say that an Egyptian Goose was shot this spring on a pool not far away, and that the Stock Dove still breeds in the district.

Most of our local Swifts had disappeared by the middle of August, but five or six were flying over the lake at Calwich on August 16th, and two more were seen by the river Dove on August 18th by Mr. Henderson.

Mr. W. Storrs Fox noticed a Chiff Chaff singing in his garden at Bakewell on September 14th, rather a late date for this species, although in 1902 I heard it as late as October 2nd at Clifton. The record is the more remarkable as the bird is so very uncommon in the Bakewell district.

Swallows and Martins were present in their usual numbers

in the Dove valley till about October 11th-12th, although previous to that date large passages of migrants from further north had taken place.

Two correspondents from the Bakewell district (Messrs. W. Storrs Fox and W. Boulsover) remark on the unusually large number of Yellow Wagtails, *Motacilla flava raii*, seen during the past season. The Tufted Duck appears to be well established as a breeding species in the Bakewell district.

On October 12th a dead Redwing was picked up at Bakewell (W. Boulsover), and on the 29th a flock of about fifty or sixty Fieldfares passed over Clifton, flying westward.

On the afternoon of November 5th, Mr. Alfred G. Tomlinson found a Little Owl, *Athene noctua* (Scop.), sitting in a privet bush in the wood close to Mr. H. G. Tomlinson's house at Burton-on-Trent. It allowed both gentlemen to approach within four yards and to watch it for ten minutes before taking wing. Only one definite occurrence of this bird in the county is on record: one having been caught in or near Derby in 1843. The late Lord Lilford turned many of these birds down in the neighbourhood of Lilford Hall, near Oundle, and they have now become well established and breed commonly in Northamptonshire, while of late years numerous occurrences have been reported from the adjoining counties, so that its appearance in the south of the county is not altogether unexpected

The Manor of Abney: its Boundaries and Court Rolls.

BY C. E. B. BOWLES, M.A.



THE Manor of Abney consists of two separate hamlets—Abney and Abney Grange—which are about a mile apart. Together they form one township in the Union of Bakewell, containing about 1,400 acres.

The existence of the Poor-house—necessary to each township before the “Union” system was in force—and at least one inmate is within the recollection of the oldest inhabitant.

Prior to the year 1875, when, much against its will, this township was included in the new ecclesiastical parish of Bradwell, it formed part of the large and widely-straggling parish of Hope.

In the *Domesday Book*, Abney is included among the numerous manors bestowed by the Conqueror on William Peverel; and is thus described: “In Habenai, Swain had one carucate of land to be taxed land to one plough. It is waste.”¹

Presumably it passed out of the possession of the Peverel family, together with the rest of their vast estates, in 1155, when William, the third of his name, was banished in consequence of the murder of Ranulph, Earl of Chester, of which crime he was accused. During the next four centuries the history of the manor is not very clear. About half a century after it passed out of the possession of William Peverel it appears to

¹ *Glover's Derbyshire*, vol. ii., p. 3.

have formed part of the possessions of one Gilbert de Stoke, for among the earliest of the Rufford charters (fol. 129) is one which is dated 2 John (1200), and, as quoted by Mr. Pym Yeatman in his section viii., p. 402, is as follows:—"Gerebertus de Stoca gave half of Abbeneia to the Abbey of Rufford." Another charter, from the same source, is quoted in section v., p. 189, to this effect:—"Galfrey Pavelli had license of concord with Eustace de Mortain. Robert Pavelli attested a charter of Amicia, Lady of Stoke, to Rufford, concerning half the manor of Abney—dated 3 John."—(Rufford Charters, 234.)

Whether this is the same moiety granted by Gilbert, or whether it alluded to the other half of the manor, does not appear.

To this day there is almost conclusive evidence that a portion at least of Abney was held by the Abbey in the word "Grange" attached to the smaller of the two hamlets. A grange, although it signified a repository for grain, was, in feudal times, the term specially applied to an outlying farm-house, with barns, belonging to a religious establishment or a feudal lord, where crops and tithes in kind were stored; the land attached to the house and buildings being farmed in the interests of the Abbey.

Whether Amicia, Lady of Stoke, owned the manor of Abney in her own right, or in that of her husband, Gilbert, is not clear. Nor is it clear as to the date or manner in which this estate passed into their hands. Mr. Pym Yeatman more than suggests that this Amicia was a member of the Albini family, and obtained the manor of Abney through her father, and sees in this fact another proof that Albini and Abney were one and the same word, and one and the same family.

According to his pedigree of the Albinis,¹ Amicia, daughter of Henry Albini, Lord of Cainhoe (*vita* 1107), married Mathew, son of Walthieu de Ponington, and by him, "who gave the whole of Albenya to Rufford," had one daughter and sole heir, Amicia, who married Lancelin de Stokes, son of Lancelin,

¹ *Feudal History*, cf. pp. 393 and 401, sec. viii.

both of whom, in 12 Henry III. (1227), are proved by a fine of that date to have been in possession of the "Manor of Abney."

From another Rufford charter (fol. 127) we obtain the knowledge that Richard de Grey made a grant to the Abbey of "half of the manor of Abney, which he had of the grant of Lancelin de Stokes and Amicia, his wife, and the ancestors of the said Amicia."

In 1473, the Abbot and Convent of the Virgin Mary at Rufford leased the grange of Abney to Ralph Eyre, of Offerton, for 86 years.¹

From these evidences, there seems little doubt that a moiety of the manor of Abney—evidently that portion which bears the name of Grange—was either held under the lord or actually owned by the Abbey of Rufford.² The former supposition, as will be seen by succeeding events, is probably the correct one, for quoted hereafter is the proof³ that the whole of the manor was owned, in the year 1317, by Robert Archer, a member of a family who were lords at this time of at least three other manors—Hucklow, Stoke, and Highlow. It is not improbable that all were owned by the same member of the Archer family, and that the manor of Abney having been settled now on one of the sons, it was found necessary—possibly for the first time—clearly to delineate the exact boundaries. Mr. Pym Yeatman⁴ says that: "There is an inquisition post-mortem of Ralph le Archer, of Great Hucklow, 32 Edward I. (1303), when he was found seized of a messuage and land in Great Hucklow, held by the service of keeping the King's forest of High Peak with a bow and arrows." Ralph, his son, died 12 Edward III. (1338), and was succeeded by his son and heir, Thomas le Archer, aged 26 years. "The Archers," he says, "acted as if they were members of the Albini family called by another name."

¹ Wolley, ii., 80.

² There is no proof that the Abbot, or any subsequent owner of Grange—which comprises less than one-eighth of the whole estate—ever claimed half the waste.

³ See p. 132.

⁴ Sec. viii., p. 391.

This is, of course, quite possible, and might account for their possession of Abney—if Abney and Albin be indeed the same name.

The following manuscript¹ is in the writing of about the sixteenth century, and is probably what it purports to be, namely, a copy of the original partition deed.

A trewe and perefect Copy of a Deed Concerning ye Mannor of Abney as followeth

Saturday in y^e morning after St Michael y^e Archangle in y^e 12th yeare of y^e reign of King Edward y^e second y^e King of England in the year of our Lord 1317, it is thus covenanted and agreed upon between Robert Archer y^e Lord of Abney of y^e one partie and Thomas Archer y^e Lord of High Lowe of y^e other partie yt is to say yt y^e Signeing Moore from y^e Baxton delf gate to y^e Chapman feild to y^e Stoak ford and so up along Abney brooke to a hole or pit near Abney Lidgate Assett or assett shall be and remain in free common of pasture to the afores^d Thomas and Robert and their heirs and their tenants for ever.

Savinge y^e woods of both parties by y^e ancient mears² or marks to be cropped and cutt down at y^e owners will and pleasure within y^e said marks or bounds also it is agreed yt y^e dunge to y^e Nick Lee shall be comon of pasture as is aforesaid concerning Signeing Moore 'or Moss. In witness whereof y^e parties enterchangeably have put their hands and seales.

These being witness

Philip of Streadaylee (?)

John Archer

Richard of Padley

John of Bradwall

Richard of Moston

Will: Hawley

Will of Abney, &c.

Dated at Abney as aforesaid.

The two following manuscripts, in the writer's possession, set out more minutely the boundaries of the whole manor of Abney. The first, as will be observed, bears the same date as the one just quoted, viz., 1317. The other, dated 1726, is so nearly identical in wording, that it seems sufficient only to notify in the first the points in which it differs from the later one. These differences will be found in the footnotes. It is an interesting fact that all the places here mentioned are known

¹ In the writer's possession.

² Or boundaries.

by the same names to-day, except Clusterberry Low, which name seems to be lost. It is described in another MS. as being at Bagshaw Edge, "above the sitch going to Arnott Well." Further down the stream, on the eastwardly side, near the Silver Well, was a piece of land—some 74 acres—which, in 1803, was found to have been for many years a bone of contention between Abney and Hucklow. A wall had been built by the Great Hucklow people, which was pulled down by Mr. Bradshawe, and never rebuilt; but the dispute remained. It came to a climax when the Enclosures Act of Parliament brought the notice of the public eye upon the debatable ground—when the case was taken to the assizes in the spring of 1804; with the result that an equal division of the land in dispute was made between the two townships.

"A cobby of ye Boundaries of Abney Lordshipp 12 Edward II.

It begins at ye Stoke forth¹ and so goes up Routing Wall sich and so to ye *Slack att the Highlow Head*² and so straight over ye Moore to a round hill or Knowle called Berching Hatt³ and so through ye way to ye Dunge Clough Head and following ye *Brooke*⁴ to Burton Boole⁵ and from Burton Boole following ye gate to ye Woolfe pit down along Saunderson Sich and so to the *Clough Head above Ufferton*⁶ and from the Clough Head above Ufferton straight following the Sich to Robin Crosse from Robin Crosse to the height of Blacklowe as the water falleth from ye Blacklow⁷ so to Clusterberry⁸ Low and then to ye stone yt lies on ye South side of Clusterberry Low and then straight to ye Archer stone lying ye south side (of) Rivenage from Abney and then follow down ye Slack unto Arminett Well and so to ye Sylver Well and so follow ye water to Stark home following ye water down ye bottom of Bretton Clough and so to Musford green and so to Odstor⁹ and so following ye water to Stoke forth and so wee end where wee began.

On the 30th of Sept., 1736, "the Boundaries were beaten" in the presence of Mr. Thomas Tilney, the Steward of the Estate.

¹ Ford.

² Instead of "Slack," etc., read "to the corner of ffox wall."

³ Insert here "from thence to Standing Stone."

⁴ Instead of "ye Brooke" read "Signeing Sich."

⁵ Bole.

⁶ Instead read "Odderdale Head."

⁷ Insert here, "So following the wall to Rivenage and so to the top of Clusterberry Low."

⁸ Clusterberry is still the local name for the Cowberry (*Vaccinium vitis Idæa*), which grows abundantly on the Eyam Moors, but somewhat sparsely at Abney. It makes a very good preserve.

⁹ Ostor.

The wording, except in a few unimportant particulars, which have been noted, is identical with that of 12 Edward II. It is signed by those who were present, as follows:—

Wm. Bagshaw	- aged 66	Thos. Dakin	- aged —
Nicholas Barber	- „ 70	Joshua Francis	- „ —
Robt. Drable	- „ 68	George Eyre	- „ 43
John How	- „ 51	Francis Eyre	- „ —
Robert Barker	- „ 41	Robert Barker	- „ 45
Francis Townsend	- „ 36	George Bamforth	- „ 76
Thos. Townsley	- „ 28	Jchn Bagshaw	- „ 35
Robt. Townsley	- „ 24	Anthony Mosley	- „ 32
Robt. Hall	- „ 24	Robert Middleton	- „ 63
Thos. Bocking	- „ 27	Martin Middleton	- „ 34
John Holm	- „ —	Francis Barker	- „ 33
Wm. Bradwell	- „ 55	Robt. Barker	- „ —
Thos. Barker	- „ 49	Francis Townsend	- „ 66
Robt. Radford	- „ 40	Robt. Middleton, jun.	
Robt. Robinson	- „ 40	Robt. Oldfield	
George Robinson	- „ 49	Wm. Oldfield	
Francis Robinson	- „ 47		

In the four centuries which lie between these two “Beatings of the Boundaries,” the manor of Abney had changed hands at least twice. At what date it passed out of the possession of the Archers, as well as the manner in which it did so, is still a mystery. From an Inq. P.M. of Robt. Eyre, of Padley, who died 14 Nov., 19 Henry VII. (1504), we know that Nicholas Bagshawe was then lord of this manor. Although the exact date and manner of its acquisition is unknown,¹ members of this family were landowners and resident at Abney as early as 1329, at which date the name of Robert Bagshawe, of Abney, appears in an inquisition. At the end of the sixteenth century the whole manor was sold by Nicholas Bagshawe, of Farewell, co. Stafford—the great grandson of Nicholas, first in the visitation of Staffordshire—to Godfrey Bradshawe and Francis Bradshawe, the eldest and third sons of Godfrey Bradshawe, of Bradshawe.

¹ No evidences of any previous purchase of the manor are in the possession of the writer, which fact suggests that it was probably acquired by the Bagshawes through some marriage, possibly through that of Nicholas with the co-heir of Hall, of Great Hucklowe.

The elder of the two brothers, Francis, had married, nearly thirty years before, when not ten years of age, one of the daughters and co-heirs of Humphry Stafford, of Eyam, and had, with his wife, acquired large estates at Eyam and Bretton.¹ The manor of Abney marched with these estates, hence, probably, the cause of this new purchase. In 1610 his brother's share of Abney was acquired. The conveyance of the manor of Abney is dated 26th October, 35 Elizabeth (1593), and is from Nicholas Bagshawe, of Farewell, co. Stafford, gentleman, to Godfrey Bradshawe, of London, and Francis Bradshawe, of Eyam, gentlemen, in consideration of £1,000 to be paid by them. This deed includes all the lands within the manor which were purchased by the said Nicholas of Godfrey Foljambe, deceased; but not all the lands passed on this occasion with the manor, as several messuages and lands were acquired at later dates. The manuscript citing the boundaries in 1736 was written the year after George, the last of the Bradshaws, had died, when Ellen, his widow, was lady of the manor. At her death the estate passed to her husband's nephew—the son of his only surviving sister—Pierce Galliard, of Bury Hall, co. Middlesex. At his death, in 1789, the manor was inherited by his daughter Mary, who had married, in 1774, Charles Bowles, of Sheen House, co. Surrey, second son of Humphry Bowles, of Burford, co. Salop, and Wanstead, co. Essex. He died during his year of office as High Sheriff for co. of Surrey, 1795, and was succeeded by his son, Humphry Bowles, who, dying 1859, left the estate of Abney to his eldest son, Charles Bradshaw Bowles, the father of the present lord of the manor.

There is no evidence that the Great Court Baron of Abney was ever held since its purchase in 1593, except on four occasions. The results of these Courts Baron are written on one skin, which is in the possession of the writer of this article, and appear sufficiently interesting to be published.

I.—The first was held by Francis Bradshawe, of Bradshaw, grandson of the original purchaser of the manor. He was the

¹ Vol. xxv., pp. 35 to 37 of this *Journal*.

eldest son of George Bradshawe,¹ who had succeeded his brother Francis, the High Sheriff, in 1635. He was born in 1630, and had married, in 1652, Elizabeth, elder daughter and co-heir of John Vesey, of Brampton, co. York. With his wife came to him the estates and ancient mansion house of the Vesey's, and there he had taken up his abode. He held this, his first Court Baron, two years after his marriage, namely, October, 1654. His eldest son, and eventual successor, was born in the April of that same year.

Abney. The great Court Baron of Francis Bradshawe, Esq^r Lord of the said Manor holden for the said Manor the 20th day of October 1654 before Henry Kniveton Gentleman, Steward there.

Names of Jurors.

Thomas Bocking Wm. Middleton Robert Daykane Edward Padley Wm. Worrall Francis Marshall Roger Bagshawe	} Sworn		Wm. Bradwall George Troute Wm. Redferne Francis Eyre Geo. Hallom Wm. Fox Thos. Bagshaw	} Sworn
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Which said Jurors being sworn and charged upon their oathes say and present that John Greaves Thos Eyre Robert Hall the heirs of Wm Bagshaw Thomas Bagshaw Robt Dolphine & Thos Drable owe suits and service to this Court, and have not appeared to do the same but made default therefore everyone of them is in the mercy of the Lord as doth appear over their head.² Faines laid there.

First we lay a pain that the orders hereafter menconed for ye eatinge of the towne field of Abney shall be duely observed untill the next Court to be holden for theis Manor Otherwise every the partyes offending against the same shall forfeit to the Lord of the Manor for every offence 12^d

Which said Orders are as followeth viz. First that itt shall & may be lawfull for any two or more of the best inhabitants of the towne aforesaid upon the Twentiyeth day of March every yeare to drive the said townefield and to give warneing to the rest of the inhabitants to keep forth their Cattell till after harvest & that none of the said Inhabitants shall keepe or tether their horses or beasts in the said towne field in harvest tyme unlesse itt be when his hay or corne is drie & then to tye his horse to the Cart till he hath put his hay together; that ye next day after ye corne is shorne & last load lead out of the Townefield aforesaid that the inhabitants aforesaid shall putt in for every acre of land a beast untill Martlemas Day then next followeing and then to put in till St Andrewe's

¹ Vol. xxv., p. 46, of this *Journal*.

² 2d. is placed over the name of each.

Day for every acre Twenty sheep & noe more & this their stint for their beasts viz: a horse or mare for two beasts, five sheep for one beast & seaven lambs for one beast and also for other Cattell every head to be for one beast; & also if any of the said Inhabitants or their servants take the cattle trespassing contrary to these orders to drive them to the Common pound, & there detaine them untill the party oweing ye cattle trespassing shall pay to ye party that impounded them, for every beast iiij^d unlesse itt be him that doth wilfully put in his cattle contrary to ye order aforesaid & then he shall pay for every beast xij^d Also we lay a pain that every person shall make his ring fences & gates standing in them in good repair before the Twentieth of March next else forfeite for every offence iij^s iiij^d

Alsoe we laye a pain that noe person not inhabiting within this manor shall burne digge or carry away any of the Lords soyle in pain to forfeit for every offence iij^s iiij^d

Also we lay a pain that noe persons shall oppresse the Commons belonging to this Manor in Sumer with more cattle than he can keep in Winter hogge sheep only excepted on pain to forfeit for every xx^{tie} sheep x sh

Also we lay a pain that noe person shall turne any running waters out of their ancient courses within this manor in pain to forfeit for every tyme xij^d

Also we lay a pain that noe person shall grynd any of his corne groweing within this manor¹ from the Lords milne on paine to forfeit for every tyme soe offending iij^s iiij^d

II.—Francis Bradshaw died five years after the above Court was held, and was succeeded by his son Francis, who was then in his sixth year. In 1664 his mother held the Court for him; he being at that time little more than ten years old.

It is written in Latin, of which the following is a translation:

The Great Court Barron of Francis Bradshawe Armiger infant per Elizabeth Bradshawe² Junior widow his guardian Lord of the said manner held there for that manner the twenty fifth day of October in the 16th year of the reign of our Lord Charles the Second now King of England and in the year of our Lord 1664 in the presence of Henry Kniveton gentleman Steward there

Thomas Bocking William Furnes William Worrall William Greaves William Bradwall Thomas Hall Robert Dolphin	} Jurors		John Hoe Richard Mortaine Elizeus Marshall Robert Barber Richard Bocking Thomas Drabel	} Jurors
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¹ This signifies "away from"—all tenants were obliged to use the Lord's mill.

² Her husband's mother, Elizabeth Bradshawe, was still alive.

Imprimis the said Jurors declare on oath and present that Rowland Eyre of Hassop armiger Thomas Bocking Henry Francis William Middleton Thomas Bagshaw Robert Dolphine Ralph Townesend Robert Dakeyne John White Thomas Mortain Robert Barber . . . Robinson widow & Richard Robinson owe their suits to the said Court & have not appeared but have made default therefore every one of them is in the mercy of the Lord ijd

The Jury present that Francis Eyre fed his sheep with others outside the manner in winter & in the summer fed them on the Common of the said manner in defiance of the penalty lately imposed in that case Therefore he is in the mercy of the Lord iijs iiijd

They present that Richard Redfern did it by advice (consile) Therefore he is in the mercy of the Lord of the said manner vid

They present that the Inhabitants in the Manner did not make in August a pair of Stocks the second penalty lately imposed in that case Therefore they continue in the mercy of the Lord xxxx sh

The Jurors aforesaid doe present & say that all former pains laid & by lawes made in this Court & ratified & confirmed by any former verdict or verdicts being not repugnant to the knowne lawes of this land shall remain continue and stand good.

III.—Five years later, the third Court Baron was held. Francis Bradshaw was still an infant. In the interval, his mother had taken to herself, as her second husband, John Bolle, of Thorpe Hall, co. Lincoln, and it will be observed that he is associated with his wife in holding the Court for his step-son.

Great Court Baron of Francis Bradshaw Armiger Infant—"per" John Bole & Elizabeth his wife his guardians—Lord of the Manner held there for the said Manner on the 20th day of October in the twenty first year of the reign of our Lord Charles the Second now King of England & in the year of our Lord 1669 in the presence of Henry Kniveton Gentleman Steward there

William Redfern	}	Jurors	Francis Eyre	}	Jurors
William Bradwell			John Howe		
John Bagshaw			Richard Morton		
Thomas Bagshaw			Richard Bocking		
Thomas Deykeyn			William Furnes		
Thomas Hall Junr			Robert Redfarn		
Francis Marshall					

which said Jurors for the Manor being sworn and charged on their oath say and present that Rowland Eyre arm: William Middleton Abraham Crosland John White Robert Barber and John Francis owe suits and service to this court and have not appeared to do the same but made default thereof. Every one of them is in the mercy of the Lord ... ijd

They present that John Bamforth encroached on the waste of the Manner vjd

They present that Edmund Ashmere did it by advice and is therefore in the mercy of the Lord ijd

They lay a pain that if Henry Furnes doe not make up his fence at Wall head sufficient and good before the twentieth day of March next and soe continue the same he shall forfeit for his neglect iij^s

They lay a pain that if any person sleat¹ or chase sheep upon ye Commons of this Mannor with doggs or otherwise shall forfeite for every offence xij^d

They lay a pain that if any of the inhabitants of Abney or Grange doe or shall digge or delve Turfe upon any white ground within the Mannor except for Clods² to cover their houses shall forfeit for every offence iij iij^d

IV.—Fifteen years elapsed before the next Great Court Baron of the manor of Abney was held. In the meantime, a change had taken place in the owners.

Francis Bradshaw never lived to hold a Court Baron in his own person as lord. He died, at the age of twenty-three, on 29th December, 1677, and was succeeded by his brother John, who was born 27th June, 1656, and who, April, 1683, held his first Court Baron. He died in his seventy-first year at Brampton, co. York, and was succeeded by his only surviving son, George Bradshawe—the last of the Bradshaws, of Bradshaw.

The following is the last evidence of a Court Baron being held at Abney:—

Great Court Baron of John Bradshawe armiger Lord of the Manor held there for that Manor 23rd April in the 35th year of Charles II. (1683)

In the presence of George Lee Gentleman Steward

Thomas Bocking	} Jurors	Robert Howe	} Jurors
William Lowe		Clement Marshall	
Robert Barker		Francis Barker	
John Bomford		Thomas Daykeyne	
Robert Redfern		Thomas Drable	
Peter Furness		Robert Bamforth	
Arthur Worrell			

Which said Jurors being sworn, say on their oath and present that Thomas Eyre Esqr, Richard Wheawood Robert Middleton senr John White Robert Marshall Thomas Morton Edmund Hall Thomas Eyre Thomas Hall senr Richard Bocking Abraham Crossland Thomas Bamforth George Bomford William Bomford Thomas Worrall Eliseus Winterbotham Francis Towns- end Peter . . . Robert Bagshaw owe suits to this Court have not appeared but have made default thereof Each one therefore is in the mercy of the Lord ijd

Fines imposed

They present that Ellis Slater of Hardlemere pastured and fed his

¹ To slate a beast is to hound a dog at him to bait him.

² To this day small fowl-houses are occasionally roofed with turfs at Abney.

sheep on the Common pastures of this Manner against the Customs of the said Manner

he is in the mercy of the Lord iij^s iiij^d

They present that Thomas Morten encroached on the Commons of this Manner

he is in the mercy of the Lord iij^s iiij^d

John Bagshaw Richard Bocking Thomas Daykeyn Francis Eyre and Richard Weywood are in the mercy of the Lord

for the same offence each vjd

They lay a pain that if any person or persons within this Mannor doe or shall digge or delve up any Turfe beneath ye gate goeing Doopoe Brooke and Moerge Ditch except for Clods for repair of their houses and fences shall forfeit to ye Lord of the Manor for every Cartfull they or any of them shall soe gett vjd

and for every burthen vjd

They lay a pain that if any person or persons within this Manor doe delve or plough up any Clodes and burne them on ye Commons or wast ground of this Manner for Ashes for their ground shall forfeit for every offence iij^s iiij^d

They lay a pain that if any inhabitant or inhabitants within this Mannor doe refuse to come to mend ye highwayes haveing notice of the tyme appointed shall forfeit to ye Lord of this Manor for every default xijd

They lay a pain that if any person or persons within this Manor having right of Common doe neglect or refuse to come and helpe to stone ye sitches and ditches upon ye Common or Commons of this Mannor haveing notice thereof shall forfeit to ye Lord of this Mannor xijd

They lay a pain that if any one doe breake and take away any other man's hedges shall forfeit for every burthen they shall soe take away iiijd

If any person or persons within this Mannor doth or doe throwe open any out gate shall forfeit for every offence xijd

They lay a pain that if any person or persons doe winter out any sheep and bring them to ye Commons of this Mannor in Summer shall forfeit for every sheep soe wintered and brought upon ye Commons of this Manor except hoggs vjd

They lay a pain that if any person belonging to ye Long field doe not make up his fence there att or before ye five and twentyeth day of March next and keepe ye same in good repair shall forfeit to ye Lord of this Mannor for his default iij^s iiij^d

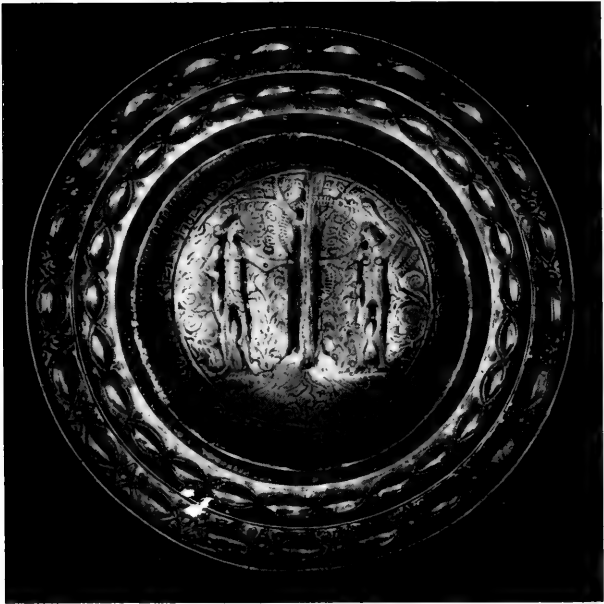
Item they lay a pain that if the inhabitants of Abney doe not before the fower and Twentyeth day of June next repair their Stockes they shall forfeit to ye Lord of this Mannor for their neglect x^s

They lay a pain that if any person or persons within this Mannor doe carry and take away the fearne mowed and raked together by any other without leave of the person or persons that soe mowed the same for every offence iij^s iiij^d

They present that John Bagshaw and Richard Bocking have lead and carryed away the fearne which Robert Bagshawe had mowed and raked together therefore they and each of them in the mercy of the Lord xijd

The Jurors aforesaid doe find approve allow agree and present that all Antient Customs in this Court and all former pains laid and by lawes made (not repugnant to ye known Lawes of this Kingdom) heretofore used and had in this Court and ratifyed and confirmed by any other former verdict or verdicts shall remain continue and stand good.





BRAZEN ALMS-DISH AT TIDESWELL.

Brazen Alms-Dish, Uideswell.

By G. LE BLANC SMITH.



UIDESWELL CHURCH, which has obtained the title of "The Cathedral of the Peak," contains somewhat of a curiosity in the form of an alms-dish, richly embossed, with a representation of Adam and Eve in the centre. It is rather larger than most dishes, being no less than 20½ in. in diameter. As regards its date, it is unsafe to hazard any conjectures, for there is really nothing to guide one. The ornament consists of two rows of a very handsome design—best explained by reference to the photograph—evidently intended to represent a jewelled border, which surround the raised edge of the dish. The centre is raised, and in the hollow left between the raised centre and edge of the dish is an inscription. This inscription clearly shows the country which gave it birth to be Holland, for the inscription is in Dutch, and reads: "NYT SONDER GODT YS VAN ALLEN SCHRYFTHREN HET SLODT," which, Anglicised, reads: "The key to all the Scriptures is, there is nothing without God."

The central raised portion contains the picture of the Fall. Here we see Adam and Eve, on the left and right-hand sides of the tree respectively. In the centre is the Tree of Knowledge, round which is wound the serpent; in his mouth he holds a branch, on the end of which is the Apple of Eden. To make his meaning quite clear, the craftsman who executed this piece of metal work has shown a whole series of events in one picture. Firstly, the Serpent plucks the Fruit; secondly, Eve

receives it in her left hand; thirdly, she hands it to Adam with her right hand, he receiving it in his outstretched left hand; fourthly, Adam is shown dressed in his scanty attire of leaves, which argues that he has received and eaten the fruit.

Thus we see (1) the temptation by the serpent; (2) the fall of Eve; (3) the temptation of Adam; and (4) his fall. Eve's wavy hair is curious, and, for that matter, so is Adam's, for it is done up in a sort of "bun" behind his head. The curious method of showing the joints in the limbs of both Adam and Eve is worth notice, for the artist has shown them as having pegs through elbows and knees much on the principle of the "Dutch doll." The Serpent has a scaly body, and exactly resembles that on a similar type of alms-dish at St. Ninian's, near Stirling. The roots of the Tree—like the fangs of a tooth—are remarkable, and resemble those in the similar tree on a dish at the little Devonshire village of Dunsford. It is a very curious thing that, besides this Derbyshire dish, I can only hear of three other similar examples of Adam and Eve alms-dishes in the United Kingdom. They are at Christ Church Priory, near Bournemouth; St. Ninian's, near Stirling; and Dunsford, Devon. And it is also remarkable that we have here a dish of Dutch workmanship and design which is repeated almost in *fac-simile* at St. Ninian's (the border, in fact, being a perfect likeness); and this very border is likewise repeated on another dish at Gargunock, also near Stirling—but in this case the centre is occupied by two busts of persons in large hats, and one of these is playing the bagpipes. This stamps the Gargunock dish as Scotch, and leads up to the query as to whether the St. Ninian's dish (which so closely resembles this at Tideswell) was likewise a Scotch copy of a Dutch dish, or was imported from the land of its origin. The St. Ninian's dish lacks the Dutch inscription which characterises Tideswell's specimen, and *may* be a copy, but if so it is a remarkably good one. If there were but a few of these alms-dishes imported—as seems to be the case—it is perhaps unlikely that one would have strayed as far north as Stirling. Yet, on the other hand,

they may have been much more plentiful in a more lenient age, and the prudish ideas of later days may have seen the destruction of many a fine specimen.

The connection between the Fall of our forebears and the act of charity, or alms-giving, is far from apparent.¹

In three of the four specimens which have come to my knowledge the figures of Adam and Eve occupy the same sides of the tree as here;² the Serpent is similarly coiled, but lacks scales in the Devonshire example; and in the cases of the two English examples Eve receives the apple while Adam's hand is outstretched to grasp it, but in the Scotch specimen Adam plucks an apple himself with his left hand. On the Devonshire dish the figures are entirely unclad; while in that at St. Ninian's they are partly hidden by foliage growing from the ground.

¹ Probably because poverty is one of the results of the Fall.—EDITOR.

² In *Early Christian Symbolism*, by J. Romilly Allen, the author says: "Throughout all periods of Christian Art, Eve is generally shown on the right hand side of the tree, and Adam on the left; but the rule is not always adhered to." We thus see an arrangement which has been more or less in force since A.D. 50, but why? What does it symbolize? The curious round leaves here, and particularly at Dunsford, seem to be a survival of the berries or fruit universally shown in early Celtic Art, when this subject was under treatment.

Editorial Notes.

Haddon—The Manor, The Hall, Its Lords and Traditions, by G. Le Blanc Smith. Published by Elliot Stock. "Good wine needs no bush," and by this time Mr. Le Blanc Smith's book—a prospective notice of which appeared in our last issue—has made good its position as a valuable addition to a Derbyshire library. The artistic illustrations, the product of the author's camera, are very seductive, and add considerably to its value. The family history of the Vernons is interesting, and sets right points which are not probably generally known. The pedigree at the end of the book would have been more useful had dates been given under each individual, or at least reference to the page where he might be found in the family history. The lack of an index, too, seriously detracts from the usefulness of the book. With respect to the Peverels, the author falls into the popular error of describing the first of that family as a son of the Conqueror. Although probably near of kin to him, his age would prohibit such a relationship. The matter collected from various published works is most useful and handy. In ascribing, however, the letter on page 37 to Dorothy, the daughter of Sir George Vernon, the author has been very naturally misled by the article taken from vol. xv. of this *Journal*. The hand-writing is too modern to have been written in the sixteenth century. Mr. Le Blanc Smith, however, is much to be congratulated on the success of this, his first venture. He has begun literary work early in life, and we trust we shall see many more productions from his pen.

All about Derby and Neighbourhood, third edition. Richard Keene, Ltd., Irongate. Both pretty and useful is this little 6d. handbook. First published in 1881, as a welcome to the Royal Agricultural Show, it reached its third edition in time to welcome that Society's second visit to Derby last June. It contains a great deal of most useful information—ancient and modern—is well illustrated, and is quite worth buying.

Derbyshire Charters, by I. H. Jeayes, of the British Museum. Bemrose & Sons Ltd., price 42s. This exceedingly valuable work we owe to Sir Henry Bemrose, whose idea of collecting from all available sources—public and private—the various charters and deeds connected with this county, has rapidly been executed by an expert in such matters. Mr. Jeayes is sincerely to be congratulated on the accuracy and efficiency of his book. It is no mean work to go through several hundred charters and deeds—many of which are almost indecipherable from age, damp, or bad caligraphy—carefully collecting what is material from each. This has been Mr. Jeayes' work—with the result that the whole collection is arranged in chronological and alphabetical order, each charter being entered under the township with which it is mainly concerned.

Longstone Records, by G. T. Wright. Printed by Benjamin Gratton, Bakewell. As a society interested in the preservation of records, we are much indebted to Mr. Wright, of Longstone Hall, for the pains he has taken in compiling this interesting history, and as the owner of a library, small though it be, we are exceedingly obliged to him for his kindness in presenting the Society with a copy. In compiling this history, nothing has seemed too modern or too insignificant to be left unrecorded. This is as it should be with a parish history to be read by future generations. If somebody in every parish had for generations made it his business to collect all material connected with it, what wonderful county histories we might have

at the present time. Much, too, has been collected by the author, and included, which has already been published by other writers, such as Dr. Cox and Mr. Pym Yeatman. This is also very useful to the ordinary reader, who is not likely to have easy access to all publications. A portion of the book is devoted to the history of Mr. Wright's family. This is natural, for it is one of the oldest among our Peak families, and is inseparable from the history of the place which gave it birth, and which has been connected with Longstone Village for many generations. Indeed, to use the author's own words in the preface, "Longsdon, *i.e.*, Longstone, was the *name* of the Wrights as well as of the township long before the family assumed the distinctive name of Wright." We must congratulate Mr. Wright, "who has compiled most of these records in extreme old age, and through a painful illness, away from his home and publishers," on the success of his undertaking. The book has many interesting and beautiful illustrations.

Mattathias, and other Poems, by Frederic Atkinson, M.A., Canon of Southwell, late Rector of Darley Dale. Longmans, price 4s. 6d. net. This collection of poems bears the deeply-cut impress of a scholar and of a true poet. The contents embrace a wide range of subjects—war, scenery, religion—but though archæology can hardly be said to be one of them, the fact that some half-dozen poems bear especially on Derbyshire scenes, makes some comment on those poems at least not out of place. Foremost of these stands out conspicuously that on the Darley Yew. This, however, speaks for itself from the *Journal's* own pages, having been quoted at length in Dr. Cox's article on the Church in volume xxviii. In another poem the legend of the two sycamores on Oker Hill, at Darley, is touched upon, as a supplement to Wordsworth's lines on the same subject. On the next page is a worthy memorial to the hermit who spent his solitary life among the Catcliffe Rocks, near Birchover, where he has left, in his hermitage, a monument for all time in "an old-world carving of the Crucified." In a few pretty

touches of his poet's brush Canon Atkinson describes all the loveliness of a wood in spring and summer. The spot he has chosen is Depedale, at Dale Abbey. The short poem, of which the late Bishop of this diocese—George Ridding—is the subject, speaks tenderly and reverently of one whose character was appreciated most by those who knew him best. The most powerful, however, of the Derbyshire poems is that called "Flood on the Trent," which occurred at Long Eaton in 1875. It was the highest flood since 1795, and in it many lives were lost.

"'Twas the 19th of October our Church-bells were newly hung,
 So in memory the date securely dwells;
 And the men were ready at the ropes for the first peal to be rung,
 For the priest had come to dedicate the bells."

And so the story is told, so graphically that the whole scene, in all its horror, is present with us as we read.

Journal.—A few words seem necessary to account for the appearance of the *Journal* in January, which, so far as is possible, will be its future date of issue. The most interesting report of the excavations at Melandra, for which we are so much indebted to the Manchester Classical Association, and which will be found at the end of this volume, arrived too late to be included in our last issue. Owing to its exclusion, the *Journal* contained somewhat less, as this contains somewhat more, matter than it has done of late. Those who compiled the report, however, were so disappointed that their efforts to be in time were in vain, and that all this valuable matter would be buried for twelve months, that I undertook to issue the *Journal* sooner than usual.

ILLUSTRATIONS.—We are indebted, as usual, to Mr. Le Blanc Smith and his camera for many of the illustrations. Those of the fonts and of the Tideswell alms-dish are his work. Those illustrating Monyash Church are the work of Mr. R. F. Hunter, photographer, of 4, Station Approach, Buxton. They

were originally done by him for Dr. Cox's article in *The Builder*, and he has kindly allowed us to make use of them.

We are indebted to the proprietors of *The Queen*—Messrs. Horace Cox—for the Crich Ware illustrations, and to the kindness of the Rev. F. Brodhurst for the portrait of Sir Wm. Cavendish.

Mr. Arnold-Bemrose has kindly arranged that we should have the use of the plates which illustrate Mr. Storrs Fox's interesting article.

Church Restoration.—Bakewell and Wirksworth Churches are both undergoing careful restoration. Both are in the hands of able architects. The restoration of Bakewell is a really big affair, and will be eagerly watched by archæologists.

CHARLES E. B. BOWLES.

The Nether House, Wirksworth.

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27MAI 1871

1906.

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OF THE



DERBYSHIRE ARCHÆOLOGICAL

AND

NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY.

FOUNDED 1878.



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REPORT OF THE HON. SECRETARY.



THE twenty-eighth Annual General Meeting of the Society was held on Friday, May 25th, 1906, at 8.0 p.m., at the St. James' Hotel, Derby, under the presidency of Sir W. de W. Abney. The minutes of the last meeting having been read and passed, the Reports of the Hon. Secretary and the Hon. Financial Secretary were adopted. On the proposition of Mr. W. M. Wilson, seconded by Mr. J. Hunter, the retiring Officers were re-elected, viz.: Mr. C. E. Newton, Hon. Treasurer; C. E. B. Bowles, Hon. Editor; P. H. Currey, Hon. Secretary; W. Mallalieu, Hon. Financial Secretary; C. B. Keene and W. Bemrose, Hon. Auditors. The members of Council retiring under Rule V. were Messrs. W. J. Andrew, G. Bailey, W. Bemrose, J. Borough, C. E. B. Bowles, the Revs. R. J. Burton, Dr. J. C. Cox, and F. C. Hipkins; the Rev. R. J. Burton had signified his wish to retire, as he had left the county; on the proposition of Mr. Mallalieu, seconded by Mr. A. G. Taylor (Bakewell), these members, with the exception of the Rev. R. J. Burton, were re-elected, and the Council were instructed to fill the vacancy. Six new members were elected. After the meeting an interesting lecture on Haddon Hall, illustrated by lantern slides, was given by Mr. G. Le Blanc Smith.

Owing to the earlier publication of the *Journal* for 1907, a full year has not elapsed since the issue of the last Report; five meetings of the Council have been held, which have been well attended, and many matters of archæological interest have been under discussion. The preservation of the old Bull Ring on the side of the highway at Snitterton has been secured, and

the possible excavation and securing of similar rings at Eyam and Foolow has been before the Council, but the matter is still under consideration. The Council greatly regret that through unavoidable difficulties they are not in a position to proceed with the further exploration of the Roman Camp at Brough. Efforts are being made to secure the proper draining away of the water flowing from the "Ebbing and flowing well," mentioned by Hobbes as one of the wonders of the Peak. The Council have appointed Mr. F. Were to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of the Rev. R. J. Burton. Arrangements have been made for an exchange of publications with the Yorkshire Naturalists' Union and the Library of the University of Harvard. Our thanks are due to Mr. W. Bemrose for his kindness in defraying the cost of illustrating the paper on South Sitch in the last issue of our *Journal*. Owing to the lamented death of the late Duke of Rutland, who has been president of the Society since 1892, the election of a new president became necessary. The Council felt that it would be for the benefit of the Society if in the future the Presidents were not elected for life, and gentlemen who would take a share in the Society's work were elected to that office, as a recognition of services to the Society or to Archæology in general; to effect this object an alteration of the rules became necessary. A Special General Meeting was called to consider the matter, and met in the Society's Library at 3.30 p.m. on Thursday, December 13th, 1906. The Hon. F. Strutt having been appointed chairman, Mr. W. J. Andrew proposed that Rule IV. be altered to read as follows: "Rule IV., Officers.—The Officers of the Society shall consist of a President, Vice-Presidents, an Hon. Editor, Hon. Treasurer, and Hon. Secretary, who shall be elected annually; but the President (although he shall be eligible for re-election), if he shall have held that office for three consecutive years, shall not be proposed as President in the list of officers for the ensuing year recommended by the Council for election." This was seconded by Mr. W. H. Whiston, and carried unanimously. Mr. C. E. B. Bowles then proposed the election of the Hon. F.

Strutt as President, and spoke of the valuable services which Mr. Strutt had rendered to the Society from its first beginning; this was seconded by Mr. W. J. Andrew, and carried unanimously.

We have to record with great regret the death of Mr. Arthur Wilson, who had been a member of the Society for twenty-five years. Our membership shows a slow but steady increase, and now numbers 319.

On Friday, May 25th, a party visited Repton, and were kindly conducted over the Church and Priory by the Rev. F. C. Hipkins. The Annual Dinner was held the same day at the St. James' Hotel, Derby, followed by the General Meeting, as reported above.

On Saturday, May 26th, a party of fifty-three met at Melbourne, and drove to Staunton Harold, where the gardens and the interesting seventeenth century Church were inspected, by kind permission of Earl Ferrers. Lunch was taken at the Melbourne Hotel, after which the Rev. Canon Singleton took the members round the grand old Norman Church, and Mr. W. Garratt, by kind permission of Lady Amabel Kerr, showed the Hall, with its quaint gardens. The weather was stormy, but the expedition was much enjoyed.

On August 29th, a party numbering thirty-seven met at Burton Station, and drove to Barton-under-Needwood Church, an interesting sixteenth century building, the history and features of which were pointed out by Mr. W. R. Holland. Walton Church was next visited, and explained by the Vicar, and the party then proceeded to Drakelowe, where they were hospitably entertained by Sir Robert and Lady Gresley; both the gardens and the treasures contained in the house proved of very great interest, and a much longer time than was available could have been pleasantly spent there.

PERCY H. CURREY, Hon. Sec.

Derbyshire Archæological and STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS

Dr.**RECEIPTS AND**

	£	s.	d.
1906.			
Dec. 31. To Printing <i>Journal</i> , 1906	118	13	11
,, Part Expenses <i>Journal</i> , 1907	29	5	0
,, Rent of Room, 2 years	15	0	0
,, Printing and Stationery	10	5	4
,, Hon. Secretaries' and Editor's Postage, and Petty Cash	10	16	7
,, Expenses of Annual Meeting and Expedition ...	5	9	6
,, Subscription to Congress of Archæological Societies	1	0	0
,, Repairs to Snitterton Bull Ring	0	15	0
	<u>£191</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>

NET REVENUE

	£	s.	d.
1906.			
Jan. 1. To Balance brought forward	126	6	5
Dec. 31. ,, ,, deficient, Receipts and Payments Account	28	19	8
	<u>£155</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>1</u>

BROUGH EXCAVATION

	£	s.	d.
1906.			
Dec. 31. To Balance carried forward	49	11	1
	<u>£49</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>1</u>

BALANCE SHEET,

	£	s.	d.
1906.			
Dec. 31. To Capital Account, as per last Balance Sheet ...	420	10	0
,, Entrance Fees received in 1906 (25)	6	5	0
,, Balance in hand "Brough Exploration Fund"	49	11	1
	<u>476</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>1</u>
Less Deficiency on Net Revenue Account	155	6	1

£321 0 0

Examined and found correct.

Dated this 12th January, 1907.

C. BARROW KEENE, Hon. Auditor.

Natural History Society.

TO DECEMBER 31st, 1906.

PAYMENTS ACCOUNT.

		£	s.	d.	Cr.
1906.					
Dec. 31.	By Subscriptions	128	12	6	
	„ Donation	0	10	6	
	„ Donations for Plates for <i>Journal</i>	10	16	3	
	„ Sale of <i>Journals</i> and Bound Copies	16	1	0	
	„ Interest on Investments	6	5	5	
	„ Balance, being Deficiency on year	28	19	8	
		£191	5	4	

ACCOUNT.

		£	s.	d.
1906.				
Dec. 31.	By Balance carried forward	155	6	1
		£155	6	1

FUND ACCOUNT.

		£	s.	d.
1907.				
Jan. 1.	By Balance brought forward	49	11	1
		£49	11	1

DECEMBER 31ST, 1906.

		ASSETS.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1906.									
Dec. 31.	By Investments, viz. :—								
	Derby Corporation Stock, 3 %/o ...	120	0	0					
	Derby Corporation Stock, 3 %/o ...	100	0	0					
							220	0	0
	„ Furniture in the Society's Room, Market Place						12	2	3
	„ Crompton & Evans' Union Bank, viz. :—								
	In hand Capital Account ...	194	12	9					
	„ Brough Exploration Account	49	11	1					
				244	3	10			
	<i>Less</i> Deficiency on Net Revenue Account	155	6	1					
							88	17	9
							£321	0	0

W. MALLALIEU, Hon. Finance Secretary,

January 9th, 1907.

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PREFATORY NOTE BY PROFESSOR R. S. CONWAY.

THE following pages contain the record of the excavation and study of the site and antiquities of the Roman Camp known as Melandra Castle, near Glossop, in 1905, by members and friends of the Excavation Committee of the Manchester and District Branch of the Classical Association in pursuance of a friendly arrangement with the trustees of the site (the Glossop Archæological and Natural History Society). The excavation is far from complete yet, but we have done our best to interpret as fully as possible the abundant evidence already obtained, and I venture to think the chronological results we have established (to mention only these) are of some historical importance. The Excavation Committee is especially indebted to its Secretary, Mr. F. A. Bruton, for undertaking the heavy work of planning and describing the camp so far as it is yet opened. The actual operations were directed first by him, and later on by Mr. J. H. Hopkinson and myself.

Each contributor to the Report is responsible for his own article only, but at the request of the Committee of the Branch I acted as General Editor. I may, perhaps, be allowed to express the pleasure with which our Committee entered into an arrangement with the Editor of this *Journal* whereby our Report on this well-known Derbyshire site is appearing in its pages. The division of the cost of publication has enabled us to make our illustrations far more complete than we could have ventured otherwise to do.

R. S. CONWAY.

The University, Manchester,
April, 1906.

P.S.—Mr. Bruton has now kindly added, at the request of the Excavation Committee, a brief account of the operations which he and Mr. A. C. B. Brown, B.A., directed this summer, of which a full report will appear early in 1907, under the title *Toothill, Mancunium, and Melandra*.

EXCAVATIONS AT MELANDRA IN 1906.

The work at Melandra during the year 1906 was directed definitely to obtaining answers to four questions:—

1.—Did any remains exist of the *spina* of the eastern gateway? The answer was in the negative, but the excavations produced the first specimens of the iron sockets of the gates found at Melandra so far.

2.—Were there any buildings on the terrace half-way down the western slope? Several deep trenches revealed nothing, and the work was abandoned.

3.—Did the ridges outside the north gate indicate a building? Excavation soon brought to light a small square building, evidently of Roman construction.

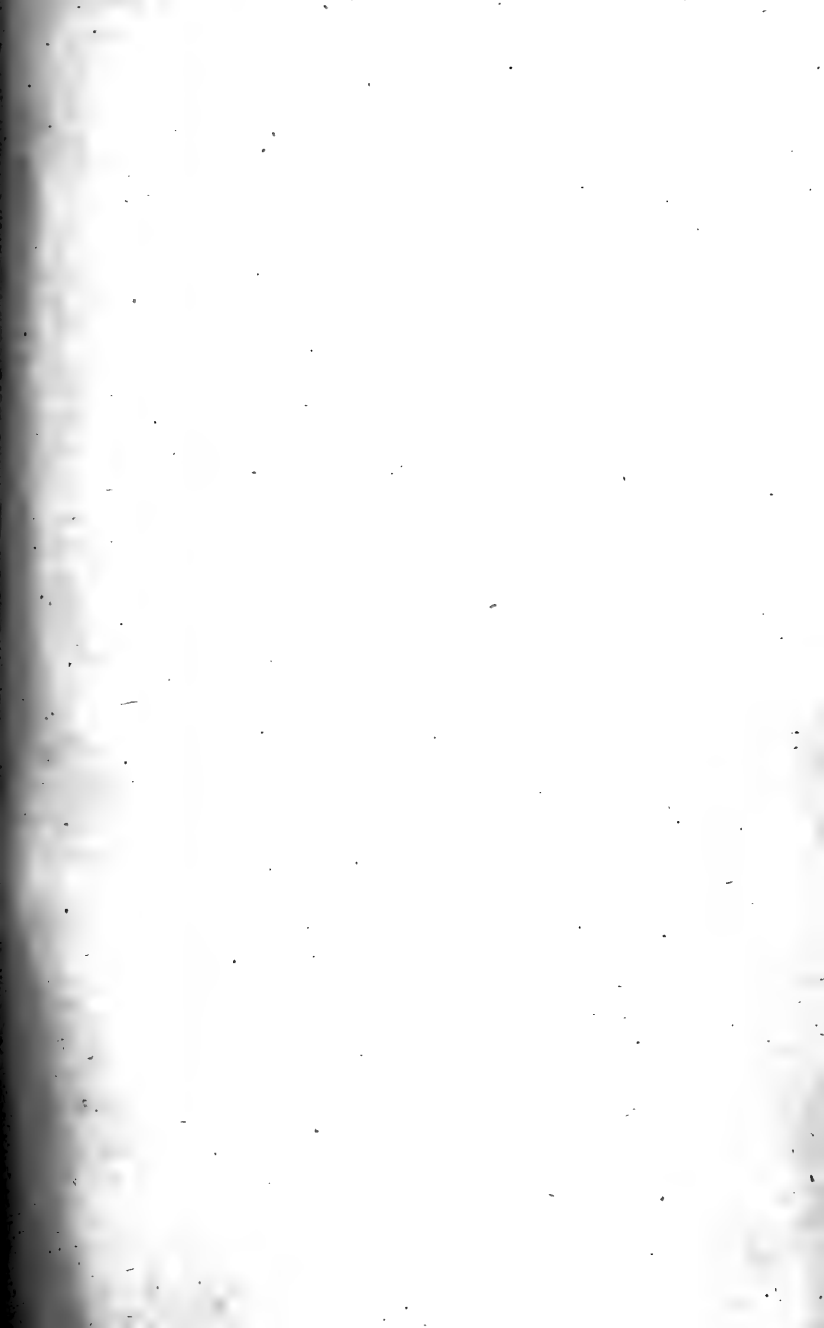
4.—Would the uncovering of the rest of the central building afford further evidence of its plan? The heavy work of removing the surface soil, which in some cases was piled five feet high, has not been unrewarded. The whole building is now cleared, and the three rooms have been trenched in the search for buried remains. Thanks mainly to Mr. Hamnett's subsequent work, foundations, indicating a plan somewhat similar to that of the Hard Knott headquarters, have been met with, the foundations lost by Mr. Garstang have been picked up, and a pit, containing part of an altar and other remains, has been discovered.

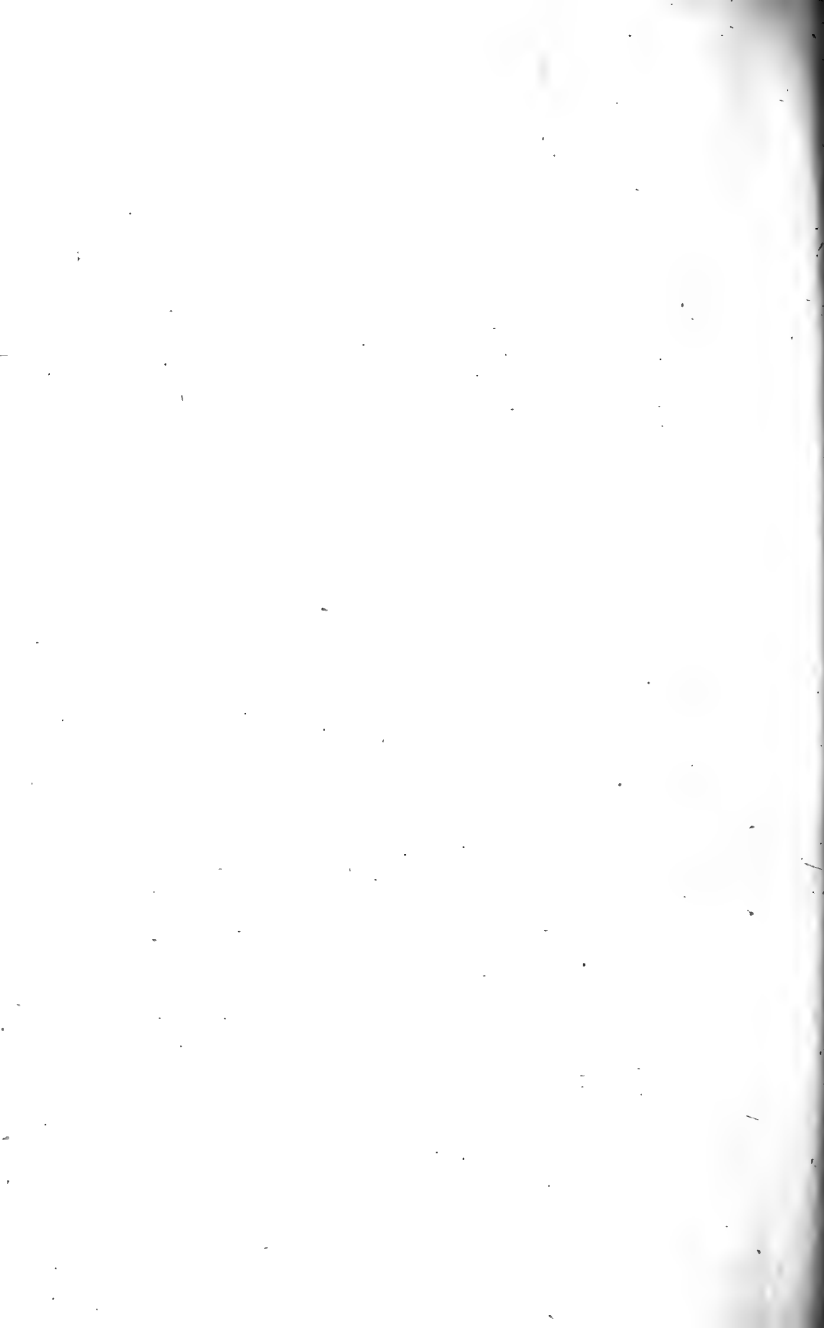
A detailed report of the work sketched above, illustrated by plans and photographs, will be issued early in the New Year by the Committee of the Classical Association, entitled *Toothill, Mancunium, and Melandra*. Canon Hicks has kindly consented to write for this report an article on the Melandra Altar and Mithras Worship among the Romans in Britain.

F. A. BRUTON,

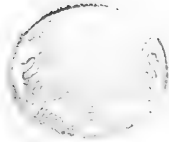
Hon. Secretary, Excavation Committee.

November, 1906.





Melandra Castle



SHERRATT & HUGHES

Publishers to the Victoria University of Manchester

Manchester : 27 St. Ann Street

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Melandra Castle

BEING THE REPORT OF THE

Manchester and District Branch of the

Classical Association

for 1905

EDITED BY

R. S. CONWAY, Litt.D.,

Professor of Latin.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION

BY

The Rev. E. L. HICKS, M.A.,

Cannon Residentiary of Manchester; President of the Branch.

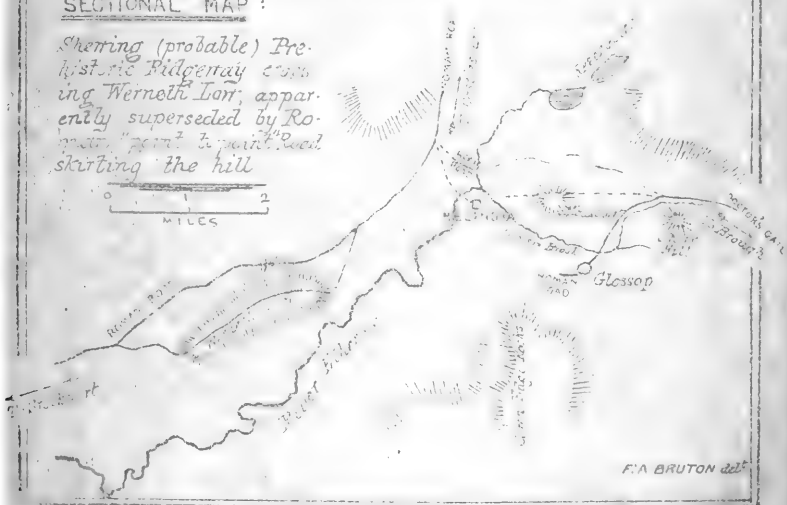
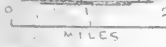
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SECTIONAL MAP :

Showing (probable) Pre-historic Ridgeway crossing Wernoth Linn, apparently superseded by Roman "point to point" road skirting the hill



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Editor's Note.

IF the aim of the Classical Association may be defined in a sentence, it is to preserve and proclaim the connexion of Classical studies with the larger and deeper interests of daily life. The history, the politics, the society, the literature, the religion of our own community, all have their roots in antiquity; and none of these can be fully understood without the help of the great ancient writers whom the Classical student learns to count among his wisest and most delightful friends. His work is to build a bridge between the life of the past and the life of the present; his ambition is to make the bridge a broad, well-trodden road. One of the means to this end is to discover and interpret the actual traces which remain in our own district of the power which the Romans held in Britain throughout the first four Christian centuries.

To this task of enquiry the Manchester and District Branch of the Classical Association hopes to contribute something year by year. The present volume is the fruit of our first year's work upon a particular site known as 'Melandra Castle,' and upon the various objects found within it; though it seemed well to include two articles not directly connected with this site (Dr. Haverfield's and Miss Limebeer's) but dealing with kindred topics. At the end of the volume will be found the Proceedings of the Branch for 1905, including its Treasurer's Statement and its List of Members.

On behalf of the Excavation Committee I have to thank the

Subscribers to the Excavation Fund and to appeal for the continuance and increase of the support which has enabled us to proceed so far. We hope this summer to attack a new site, which so far as we know has never yet been disturbed, and to continue the work at Melandra. And on behalf of the General Committee it is well that I should remind our members to make the Branch known as widely as possible to all those who are likely to be interested in its objects, so that its numbers may be maintained and increased, and its general work prosperously continued.

It is a pleasant duty to acknowledge how much our enterprise owes to the kind help of many friends. First of all to Mr. Robert Hamnett, (Hon. Secretary of the Glossop Natural History and Archæological Society) to whose skill and enthusiasm is due the rescue of the site, the preservation of the remains, and the whole possibility of any systematic study of the fort. All of us who have been at work on the spot owe him an especial debt for his unwearied kindness. Then to Mr. John Swarbrick, A.R.I.B.A., of Manchester, for his generous help in surveying the site; to Mr. Francis Jones, M.Sc., for his kindness in analysing various substances found in the camp; and to Mr. F. W. Parrott, of the Manchester Grammar School, for the very great care and skill he devoted to producing the photographs contained in this volume. Nor are we less grateful to Professor William Ridgeway, of Cambridge, and Dr. F. Haverfield, of Oxford, for valuable advice on many important points. Other acknowledgements will be found in the particular articles.

It is, I suppose, forbidden to an Editor to express his gratitude to his companions in producing a volume of this kind, however generous he feels their help to have been; but it is at least right that I should record the debt of the Excavation Committee to the experience and enthusiasm of their Hon. Secretary, Mr. F. A. Bruton, M.A., and of all the contributors; to Mr. W. J. Goodrich, M.A., for his kindness in making the Index. *Sic vos non vobis.*

Finally we have to thank the Publications Committee of the University of Manchester for undertaking a considerable share of

the cost of this volume ; their Chairman, Professor T. F. Tout, for valuable guidance in matters relating to its production ; and their publishers, Messrs. Sherratt and Hughes, with the very able foreman of their works, for the pains they have taken to meet the special difficulties it involved.

R. S. CONWAY,

*Chairman of the Committee of the Branch,
and of the Excavation Committee.*

MAY, 1906.

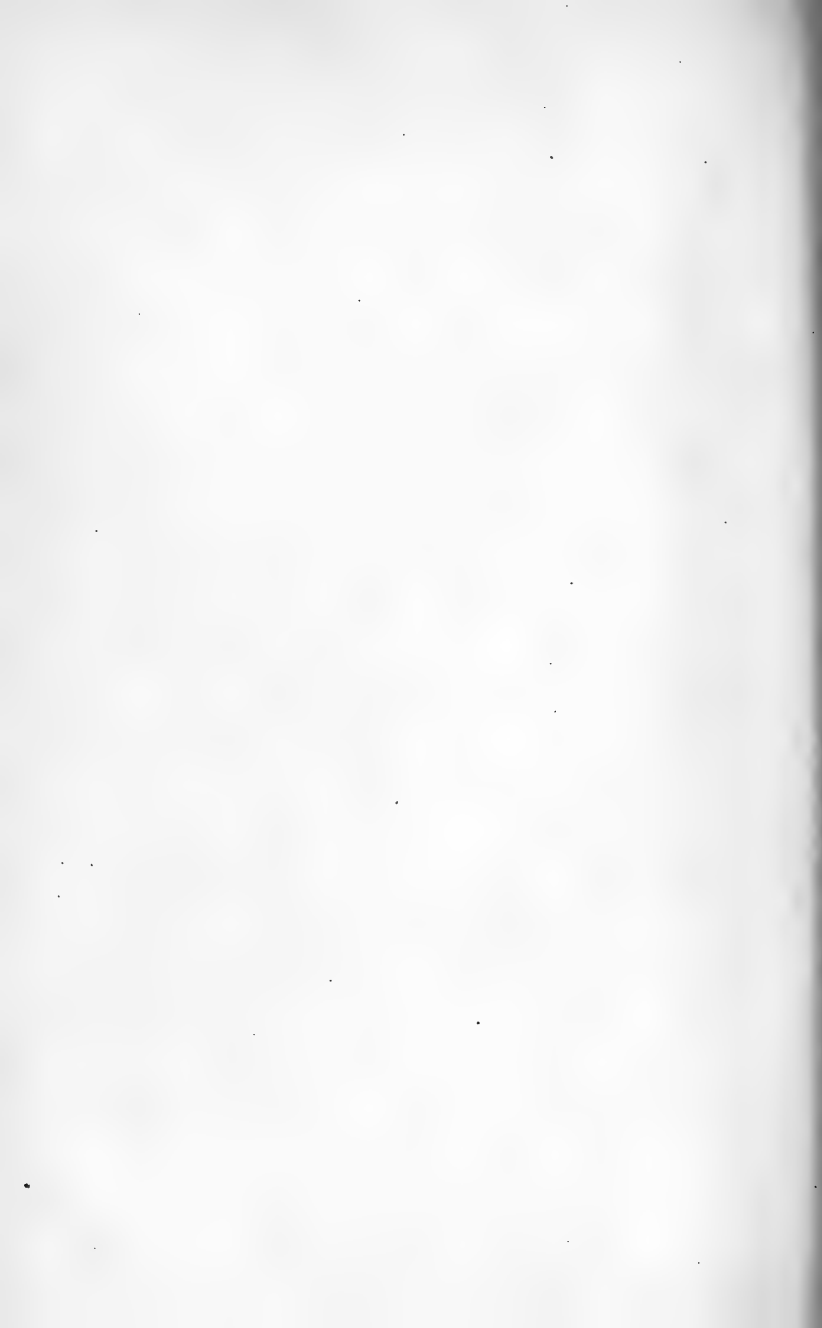
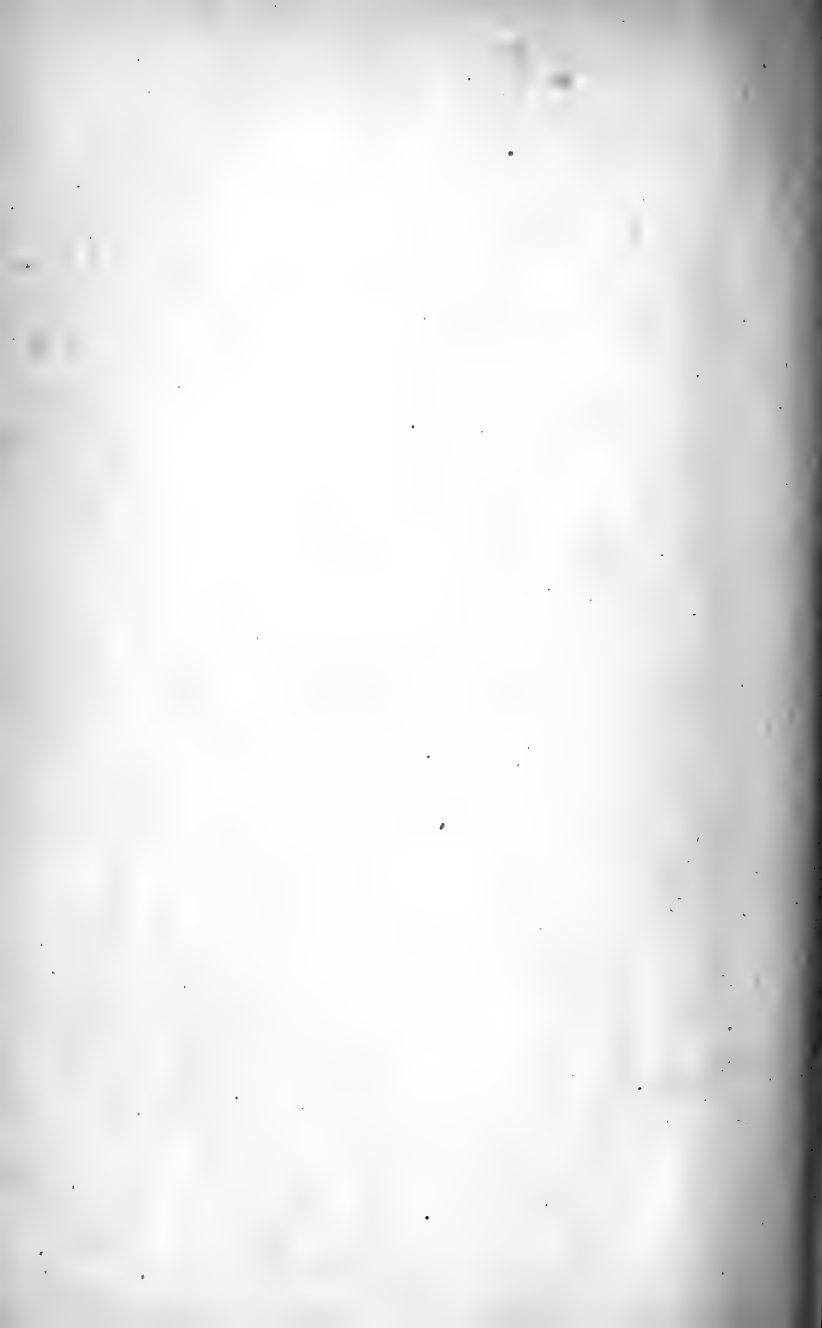


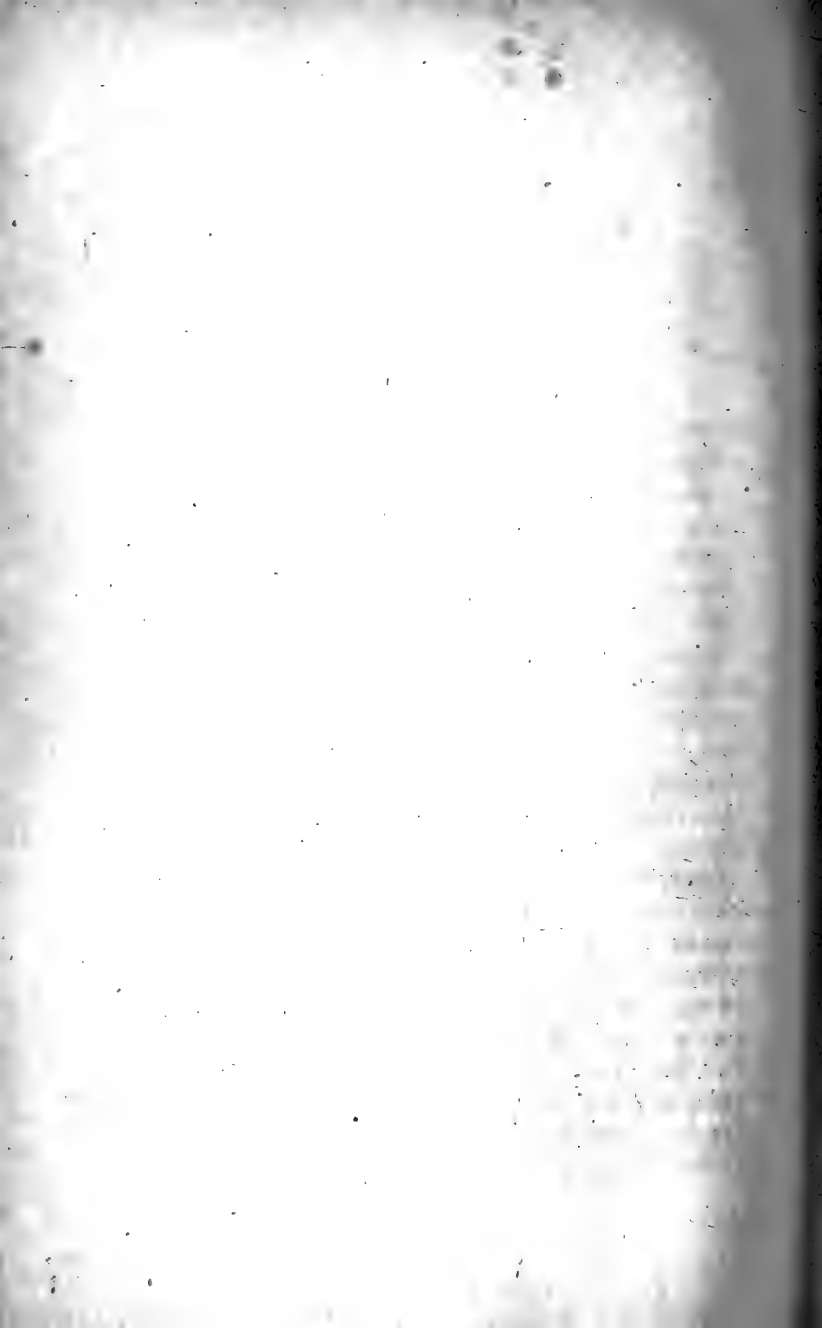
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Introduction.

THERE are, perhaps, some to be found, even now, who would class the archæologist where Samuel Johnson affected to place the lexicographer, among "those who toil at the lower employments of life," as one "whom mankind have considered, not as the pupil, but the slave of science, the pioneer of literature, doomed only to remove rubbish and clear obstructions from the paths of learning and genius, who press forward to conquest and glory, without bestowing a smile on the humble drudge that facilitates their progress." But the growth of more scientific ideas has brought a loftier estimate of historical research, a keener appreciation of its methods. The general reader, as well as the average scholar, will, it is hoped, be glad to follow the processes of research recorded in this volume, and to appropriate the results (for some results there are) which have been attained. Foremost among these should be mentioned the plan of the camp and its gates, wherein every stone has been carefully measured; the chronological evidence of the vase-fragments now studied for the first time with a precision which supplies us with a virtual treatise on British pottery; the conclusions as to the date of the occupation, which throw interesting light also upon the the date of the Roman fort at Manchester; the description of the Roman and pre-Roman roads; and the study of the

weights, which opens up some new points in the relation of the Roman and Keltic systems. The literary study at the close is not without historical interest.

These pages have also a value as showing what classical study really means. It is not chiefly concerned with books but with humanity—with the doings and feelings of man. The spade as well as the pen must be called into play, if we would reproduce the history of the past and fill up some of the huge gaps left by the literary evidence.

It will also be seen that researches like these are an important instrument of education. Much of our knowledge we are obliged to receive almost passively upon the authority of others. But it is essential that on some points we should sift the evidence to the bottom, and base our beliefs upon foundations we have built for ourselves. One genuine experience, however small, of really original enquiry makes all the difference between progressive and unprogressive study. Discovery is the test of the scholar in whatever field he may be working. *Est aliquid, quocumque loco quocumque recessu*, to have made one's self proprietor of a single fact. The exploration of a small Roman fort, which has apparently been spoiled in ancient times of most of its relics, can be made a precious object-lesson of Classical method. It has already been so employed with marked effect by Professor Conway and his friends.

What the Manchester Branch of the Classical Association has been endeavouring at Melandra, it may perhaps repeat on other and more fruitful soil. Considerable discoveries may await its efforts; for one great charm of archæology is the emergence of the unexpected. In the meantime this little volume affords a pleasing foretaste of better things to come, and will sensibly enliven our historical imagination. It carries us back at once to Roman, and even pre-Roman

times, and enables the mind to reconstruct, in living form and colour, the earlier stages of our island-history. Every sentence in the several essays is an appeal not only to scientific interest but also to local patriotism. Nor is such a sentiment, especially when it finds vent in methodical research, an unworthy or fruitless impulse. There is a human touch in these researches which brings the men of that early date into close contact with ourselves. In the patient exploration of an ancient site, in the scientific study of the results of that research, the scholar of our time experiences the same feelings which prompted Dr. Johnson's famous rapture about his visit to Iona: "To abstract the mind from all local emotion would be impossible, if it were endeavoured, and would be foolish if it were possible. Whatever withdraws us from our senses, whatever makes the past, the distant, or the future, predominate over the present, advances us in the dignity of thinking beings." We feel the same as he, though we might nowadays put it differently. Manchester itself, though a great industrial and commercial centre, has never been wholly given to the idolatry of wealth. It is not the slave of materialism, nor are its sons and daughters mere drudges of the mill, the market, or the forge. The Muses have not yet deserted us, in spite of the smoke and din: Clio and Euterpe make willing and welcome sojourn. *Non tam aversus equos nostra sol jungit ab urbe.*

E. L. HICKS.

Whitsuntide, 1906.

ADDENDA.

- Page 5. A note should be added referring the reader to the Sectional Map in the Frontispiece.
- „ 42. A note should be added explaining that the photographer has slightly over-reduced the plan of Gellygaer.
- „ 98. In reply to a question, Professor Hope W. Hogg has very kindly sent me the following note (May 19, 1906):—

“ Among the Jewish coins assigned to the period A.D. 132—135 are coins of the first year bearing the name ‘Simon Prince of Israel,’ and coins of the second year bearing the name ‘Simon.’ It is reasonably inferred that ‘Simon’ was the personal name of the leader of the Jewish revolt against Hadrian. Jewish sources call him Ben— (or Bar—) Koziba, perhaps from his native town or his father; Christian sources call him (Bar) Chochebas, ‘Son of the Star,’ a Messianic title founded on Numbers xxiv., 18. Of his career and the course of the war not much is known with certainty; but the struggle was severe, and the revolt was suppressed only after Roman troops had been amassed in considerable strength by (Sextus) Julius Severus, governor of Britain (*leg. pr. pr. provinciae Britanniae, leg. pr. pr. provinciae Judaeae* [C.I.L. iii. n. 2830]), who was transferred to Judaea to take charge of the war (Dio Cassius, lxix., 13). Has that any connection with the presence of the coin at Melandra?”

The information given us by the authorities Prof. Hogg cites, seems to give a negative answer to his final question; since it seems clear that this Severus was never in command in Judaea before coming to Britain, and that he did not return to Britain after the Jewish war. But there is nothing to prevent our supposing that some Roman officer of lower rank had served in Judaea before coming to Britain.

- „ 113. At the foot should be added—

RECORD OF LOST FRAGMENT OF INSCRIPTION.

Small sketch, by R. B. Robinson, of the left-hand top corner of a moulded stone found at Melandra, but now lost, containing the letters I M P. C . . . See page 128.

R. S. C

The Ancient Roads connected with Melandra and the Site.

IN the following imperfect sketch I propose to deal with Melandra from the point of view offered by the study of the Roman and pre-Roman roads in the district. Melandra was obviously placed where it is to command the western portion of one of the cross ways linking the great Roman roads on the west with those of the east of the Pennine Chain.¹ It dominated the western, just as the answering fort of Brough commanded the eastern portion of the same road near Hope at its junction with the road from Buxton through Bamford to Sheffield. Some ten miles to the north of Melandra the fort of Castleshaw kept watch and ward over a similar crossway, passing over the Pennine moors to the north-east, by way of Slack to join at Castleford the Roman road from the south to York. Before, however, we can discuss these roads it is necessary to distinguish clearly the roads used by the inhabitants long before the Romans set foot in Britain, from those which were made by the Roman engineers.

The earliest roads in Britain, with which I am acquainted, go back into the Prehistoric period as far as the Bronze Age. They undoubtedly had their origin in foot-paths, some of Neolithic age, taking the easiest course between one village and another, or one stronghold and another. They are dated—as for example, on the moors and wolds of north eastern Yorkshire—by the burial

1. For details of these roads see Codrington "Roman Roads in Britain," 1903.

places which cluster round them as well as by the habitations. In Derbyshire the road passing along the ridge from Hope past Mam Tor, along Rushup Edge and on to the west, is dated by the stronghold of Mam Tor and by tumuli of the Bronze Age. These roads occur, as might naturally be expected, where the natural conditions were easiest. They are represented by many of the existing "ridgeways" which follow the higher ground. At the time they were made, the whole of Britain, with the exception of a few isolated clearings in the uplands, was covered with forest, the remains of which are to be seen in the stumps of trees lying in the peat on the top of Kinder Scout, and in the large trunks of oak found in the peat between eleven and twelve hundred feet above the sea, by Mr. Watts in making the Upper Swineshaw reservoirs for the supply of Oldham.² The bottoms of the valleys were for the most part marshes, and the low-lying region of the Lancashire and the Cheshire plain was covered with forest and marshes, so impenetrable that even as late as the Bronze Age it was rarely traversed. This is proved by the rarity of the remains of this age in the Lancashire and Cheshire plain, as well as in the great low-lying tracts of clay land on the east of the Pennines ranging from London as far as York and Newcastle. The roads therefore in the Bronze Age followed the irregular direction of the ridges, winding along the water partings, and avoiding the valleys as far as possible.³ They were probably used by pack-horses.

2. ["In an old document it is said that the bailiff of the Lord of Stockport has for his perquisite all the trees washed down by the Mersey from the hills of Longden." *Longdendale*, by Ralph Bernard Robinson (Glossop, 1863), p. 10n. Ed.]

3. These generalisations are based on the study of the roads of the south of England from Devonshire to Kent, as well as of those ranging from London through the eastern counties as far as the Tyne, and in part also of those of Derbyshire and of Wales.

In the Prehistoric Iron Age, or that period which immediately preceded the Roman conquest, these roads were improved and developed so that they could be used by wheeled vehicles. Sometimes, as in the case of the Pilgrim's Way from Dover through Canterbury, stretching away westwards on the chalk downs to Berkshire, the slope was chosen for the road rather than the summit of the hills. This also is to be observed in tracing the Icknield Way in some parts of its course from near Bury St. Edmunds to the Thames at Streatley, and southwards, until it climbs the Berkshire downs and is lost in the network of Prehistoric roads in that county. They also were extended into the low forest-clad and marshy districts so as to link together such centres as Manchester and York with the surrounding higher and dryer regions. In the Prehistoric Iron Age the forests of the lower lands were disappearing before the axe of the farmers and herdsmen, and there were probably large clearings in the neighbourhood of the fortified towns in the lower grounds. In these lower grounds it is impossible, according to my experience, to distinguish them from later roads, but when we examine the uplands they are plainly marked by their irregular and winding course, along the ridges, avoiding, as far as may be, the marshy bottoms of the valleys. There is no evidence that they were more than old lines of communication worn by long travel, which may or may not have been mended from time to time. These roads were used also during the Roman occupation, and many of them are still in use.

The Roman roads were made on a totally different principle. They were not only carefully constructed, but they were run from one point of observation to another in a straight line, and as far as the ground would allow, regardless of obstacles, such as hills and the marshy

bottoms of the valleys.⁴ Like railways they were from point to point. They did not avoid the lower grounds. In some cases the Roman engineers improved the older roads, and made short cuts, as in instances which I have met with in the road between Canterbury and London, and in some of the roads in the moors of north-eastern Yorkshire. In this respect, therefore, we have a means of distinguishing between the Prehistoric roads which have been used during the Roman occupation and afterwards, and those first constructed by the Roman engineers.

With these facts before us we are in a position to consider the relations of Melandra to the roads in the district. It not only commands the continuation of the "Doctor's Gate" through Glossop, but it is also within striking distance of the western road to Stockport, and of the northern road to Castleshaw, at their junction at Mottram a little over a mile off. The "Doctor's Gate" (one inch contour map sheet 86) starts from the Batham Gate near Hope, a Roman road, mostly straight, running from Buxton to Brough over the plateau of carboniferous limestone, and sweeps northwards along the ridge dividing the valley of the Noe from the Ashop. It follows the westward trend of the latter valley, crossing the stream at a place marked Ford on the map, and winding along the irregular slopes of the ground above Woodlands until it joins the main Sheffield road, which it leaves within a short distance of the water parting. Thence it passes to the north of Cold Harbour Moor, and follows the north side of the valley of

4. The Roman roads were the principal means of communication in Britain down to the beginning of the 19th century, and during all those centuries they apparently grew worse and worse, as is amply proved by the incidental notices of the difficulty of travelling. The duty of repairing them fell mainly on the parish, or on the manor, and it was counted for merit in the church to repair a length of road or to rebuild a bridge. Road-making as a system, could scarcely be said to have existed in Britain from the days of the Romans down to the time of Telford and Macadam.

the Shelf brook into Glossop (sheet 86). Throughout this portion of its course it has all the characters of a road of the Prehistoric Iron Age. It was continued through Glossop, where several fragments of Roman road are preserved, and through Dinting in the valley of the Glossop brook close under Melandra. It crosses the Etherow at Woolley Bridge, and joins the Roman road to Stockport at Mottram. In this section of its course it has undoubtedly been reconstructed and carried along the bottom of the valley by the Roman engineers.

The road to Stockport is a point to point road, and therefore Roman. It passes from Mottram to the south and west, following the line of the high road through Gee Cross and Woodley to Stockport (sheet 98). After crossing the Great Central Railway, an old winding ridge way, named Apple Street, ascends to the height of over 900 ft. by Windy Harbour, over Werneth Low, rejoining the main road at Woodley. In my opinion this is a portion of the original line of the Prehistoric cross way, superseded by the later work of the Roman engineer, carried along an easier gradient. It is obvious that this was a line of communication between Stockport and Brough. From Mottram (sheet 86) there was another line of communication probably of prehistoric age, but marked by fragments of a Roman road, passing northwards through Roe Cross,⁵ and following the contours of the east side of the Tame near Bucton Castle⁶ in the direction of the Roman fort at Castleshaw. Here it joined the road from Manchester through Oldham and Delph, which from its structure and straightness is undoubtedly Roman.

5. S. Andrew *Trans. Lanc. and Chesh. Antiq. Soc.*, x., p. 48.

6. There is no evidence that this is Roman. It probably belongs to the Prehistoric Iron Age.

The direction of the "Doctor's Gate" through Glossop during the Roman occupation is marked by the fragments of Roman road in the lower town. It is, however, likely that in the prehistoric Iron Age it traversed Old Glossop, ascending the hill by the church, and making for Mouse-low Castle, to the north of which a deeply-worn, winding road, Shaw Lane, between Banks Wood and Castlewood, descends into the valley at Brookfield, close under Melandra. Mouse-low Castle occupies a commanding position. It consists of a fosse circumscribing the irregular summit of a hill, and clearly defined, excepting on the southern side, where it has been destroyed by a quarry. Within it is a large mound on the northern side, which may have been the site of the keep of an early Norman Castle, and on the south two mounds, probably formed by the debris from the quarry and of no archaeological significance. It may have been a stronghold of the Prehistoric Iron Age—or one dating back to the Norman times,—or again it may be both Prehistoric and Norman.⁷

We may now consider the site of Melandra. The fortress stands on a promontory of glacial sand and clay overlooking the valleys of the Glossop brook and the Etherow, at the junction of the two streams. It is⁸ of the usual rectangular form, with the sides facing to the north-east, and the corresponding quarters. Each side has a central gate. The main entrance, with a double gateway, is on the north-east. From this the road led into the valley of the Glossop brook, down a steep descent, along

7. All irregular fortified enclosures consisting of fosse and ramp, with one large mound cut off from the rest, which were formerly considered by Mr. Clarke and others to be of Saxon origin, have recently been proved, by Messrs. Round and St. John Hope, to be of early Norman age; the mound represents the keep, the lower area within the fosse being the bailey. Both mound and fosse were defended by palisades, and at a later time by walls.

8. [Approximately, see p. 67. Ed.]



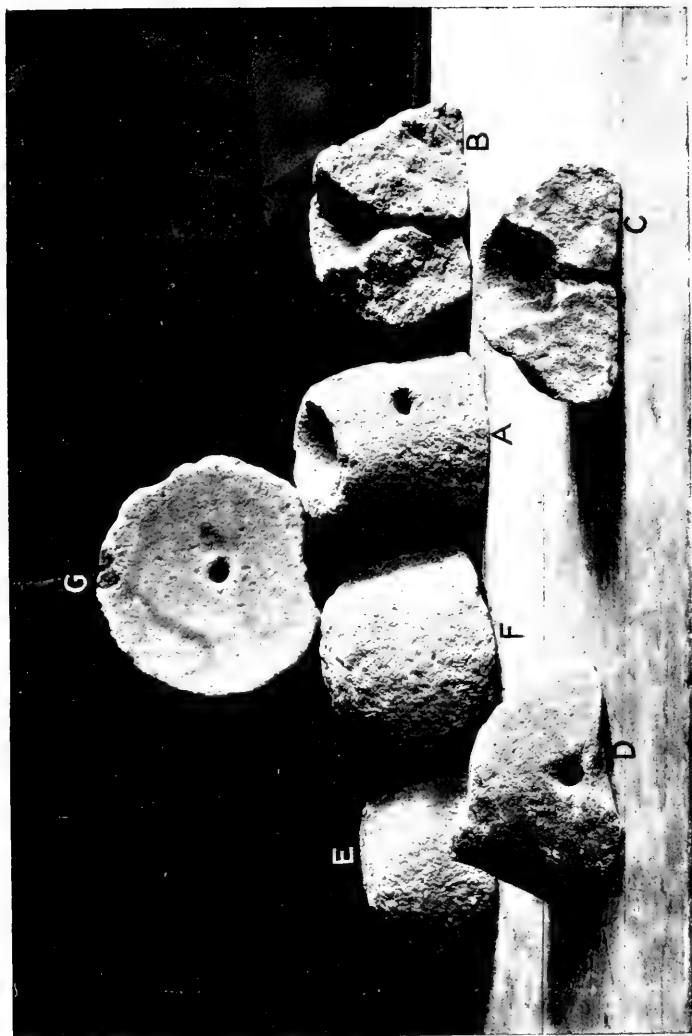


Fig. 1. Pre-Roman Querns.

which its course has been obliterated by slips. In the south-west gateway a road, now represented by a ridge in the first and third fields to the south, curved round to the east opposite Lower Gamesley Farm. From the small size of the gateway it may be inferred that this was an approach of little importance. It must, however, be observed that the small gateway may stand in relation to the fact that this was the weakest side of the fortress. On the other three sides it was amply protected by the lie of the ground. On the north-west it was not only protected by the steepness of the scarp but by the morass (now represented by alluvium) at its base, traversed by the Etherow; on the north-east by the scarp overlooking the marshy valley of the Glossop brook; and on the south-east by a ravine which formed a tête-du-pont, covering the access to the gate at a distance of about 60 yards. Neither here nor on the opposite side are there traces of roads.

The walls of Melandra are made from the sandstones of the Millstone Grit in the neighbourhood. They, as well as the discoveries which have been made inside, will be described by the members of the Classical Association who carried on the work. I will content myself with calling attention to evidence which seems to me to point to the fact that the site was occupied in Prehistoric times.

A considerable number of flint splinters, knocked off in the manufacture of implements, have been discovered, which show that the site was occupied, like many others near Rochdale and elsewhere in the Pennine Chain, in the Neolithic, or, as is more probable, in the Bronze Age. The evidence that it was occupied in the age of Prehistoric Iron is afforded by portions of seven querns, of bee-hive shape, which characterise that age, four (fig. 1, A. B. C. D.) being upper, and three (E. F. G.) the lower stones. They are all made of millstone grit.

They are identical with the querns found in Danebury, near Northampton, and in the Lake Village of Glastonbury, both of which belong to the Prehistoric Iron Age. They differ from those introduced by the Romans in the fact that the latter are thinner and wider, and disc-shaped, with grinding surfaces frequently grooved, as may be seen from the group (Fig. 2) of six portions of Roman querns from the mill-house in Melandra. These are, with one exception, of Millstone Grit, and were probably made in the district. The exception (the lowest in the figure) is of volcanic rock, and came from the Roman quern factory of Andernach, near Coblenz, from which querns were sent almost over the whole of Roman Europe.⁹ A fragment of another quern of the same material has also been found. The bee-hive querns are frequently met with on the moors of Yorkshire, and, so far as my experience goes, are not found in association with Roman remains. Whether or no they were used in Roman times is an open question. If they were used they are merely a survival from the Prehistoric Iron Age—like the greater portion of the roads guarded by Melandra.

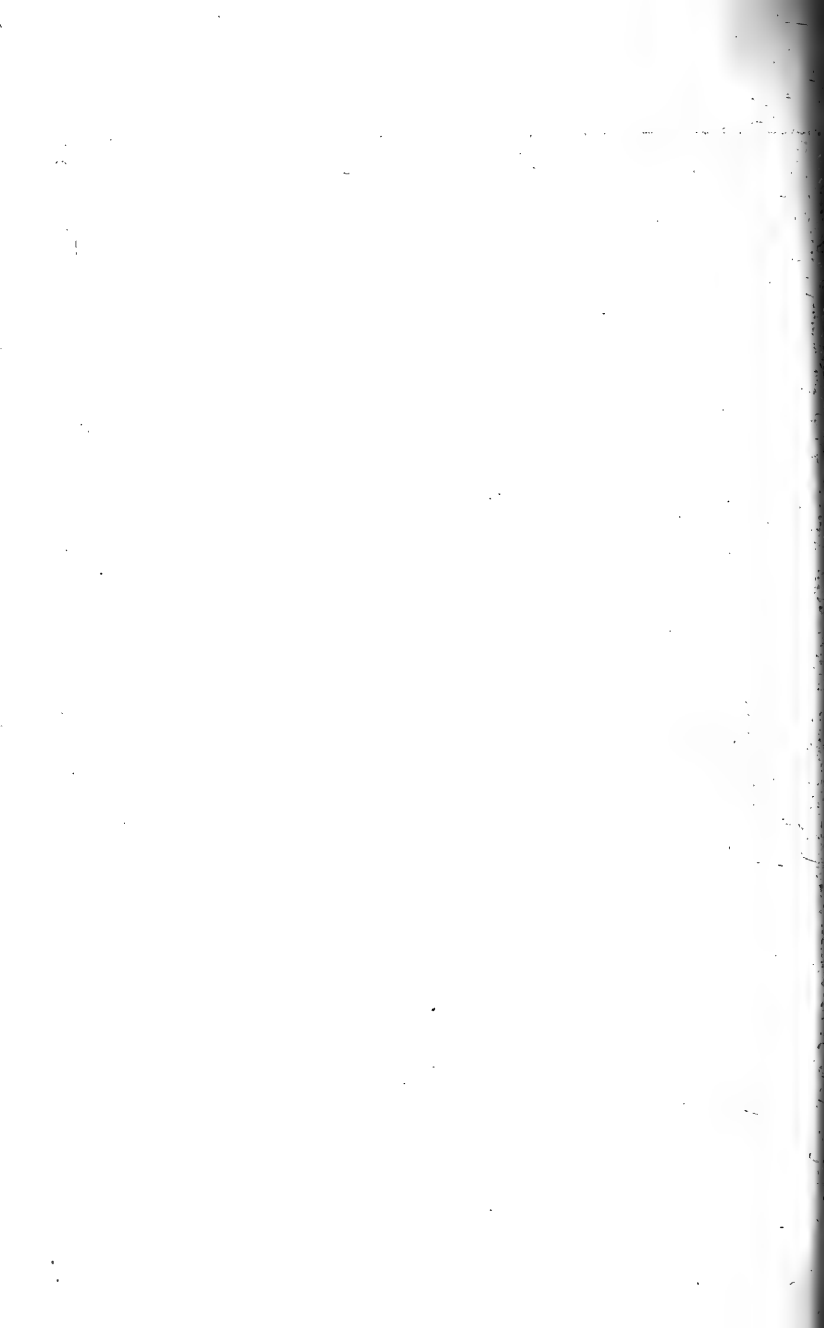
In conclusion, we may very well ask why should the roads from Melandra westwards point towards Stockport and Manchester. The answer is to be found in the fact that both these places, as pointed out by Mr. Henry Taylor and Mr. Roeder, were inhabited centres in pre-Roman as well as in later times. Both grew round the fortified rocks which commanded, the one the marshes of the Mersey, and the other the junction of the Irk with the Irwell.

W. BOYD DAWKINS.

9. I have identified these querns in Hod Camp, near Blandford, in Roman Chester, and in Caerwent.



Fig. 2. Roman Querns.



The Roman Occupation of Derbyshire.

FROM the earliest days the Romans drew a sharp distinction between the spheres of peace and of war. This distinction was, in the first instance, local. Certain regions, the city of Rome in particular, were *domi*; others, outside the sacred line, were *militiae*. The same distinction reappears rather curiously under the Roman Empire in the provinces. Technically, no doubt, the whole provincial area was *militiae*. Practically it was divided into two portions, one the region of peace and the other that of war, or at least of military men. Thus we find in most provinces two distinct areas. The troops, legions or auxiliaries are massed on or near the frontiers. The peaceful population lives behind the military lines and is free from the presence of soldiers. In the Gallic provinces, for example, the whole garrison, with one trifling exception, was massed along the Rhine in the *hiberna* and *castella* which guarded the frontier against German inroads. Similarly, in the Danubian lands, as the frontier advanced under successive rulers from Augustus to Trajan, the troops advanced too. The land behind became a land of peace, and the fortresses were turned into municipalities.

This feature appears equally in Britain. So soon as the conquest of the province was tolerably complete, we can recognise two regions in it, the lands of the north and west, confronting Hibernia and Caledonia, and the lands of the south and east. The first was the district in which troops were posted. The second was a peaceful area, and saw no more of armed forces than occasional

drafts of recruits and veterans passing to and from their posts.

The dividing line between these two regions of Britain is geographical. Britain, as geographers do not always tell us, falls, physically considered, into two parts—uplands and lowlands. The uplands consist of the west country moors, the Welsh hills, and the Pennine chain and northern highlands that adjoin it. The lowlands are the midland plain and the southern and eastern counties. A line drawn from York through Derby to Chester, and from Chester through Shrewsbury to the Bristol Channel, would form a rough boundary between these two areas. Hills no doubt occur to the south of that line, and low ground to the north. But with obvious exceptions this line divides two very different kinds of country.

The uplands are rough and mountainous. They usually rise above 600 feet and often considerably higher. They are scarred with deep ravines and tortuous valleys and sudden gorges. They are unsuited to agriculture, and incapable of supporting a numerous population. The lowlands present a very different spectacle. They are level or covered with gentle hills that rarely rise above 600 feet. Their soil and climate favours, or at least tolerates, serious agriculture, a dense population, and peaceful and settled life.

The difference between these two regions is well marked in the history of Roman Britain. Even the course of the conquest illustrates it. Little as we know the imperfectly recorded details, we can see that the lowlands were overrun in three or four years (A.D. 43—47). By the end of that period the Roman arms had so far advanced that they could operate against the Welsh hill tribes, could seize the mines of Flintshire, and prepare to attack the Brigantes of Yorkshire. But here their victorious career

was stayed. Instead of four, it cost nearly forty years to subdue the uplands (48—85), and even after that the spirit of the hillmen was not finally crushed.

In the development which naturally followed the conquest, the two areas remained distinct. The lowlands became rapidly Romanized. Progress was necessarily not uniform. Some districts, like Kent and Essex, had learnt not a little of Roman culture before 43. Others lay so far outside the main currents of provincial life that they never became thoroughly amalgamated. Others, again, like Warwickshire, were so thinly inhabited that substantially there was no population in them to Romanize. Class, too, differed inevitably from class. The wealthier and better educated naturally adopted Roman speech and manners more accurately and intelligently than the labourer or the rustic. But in the main the lowlands were civilised. A few municipalities, with Roman charters, were established. Many smaller and less privileged towns developed and flourished. The countryside was dotted with the residences of large land owners, generally Romanized natives. The minerals were worked in suitable places. Corn was grown and exported. Wool was dyed and obtained a name.¹ There was perhaps little wealth, but there was abundant comfort, orderliness and peace.

Turn now to the uplands. We meet no towns or "villas," no indication of comfortable unwarlike ease. Everywhere our civilian life stops where the hills begin. Instead, the spectacle is military, and the normal elements are forts and fortresses. Here, in these uplands, was distributed the garrison of forty or fifty thousand men which kept the hill tribes quiet and prevented the inroad of the Caledonian Highlander or Irish pirate. No doubt

1. See my paper *Romanization of Roman Britain* ("British Academy Proceedings," vol. ii.), p. 25, and references there.

this was not the only function of this garrison. It was there also to keep the peace in the lowlands, ready to crush a rising if such occurred. So far as we know, its services in this matter were never needed. In the more important work of keeping the peace along the hills and frontiers, it was continuously and seriously engaged.

The organisation of the garrison proceeded on the normal lines of the Roman army. That army, as it was under the Empire, consisted of two principal grades of troops—legions and auxiliaries. The legion was a body of 5,000 to 6,000 heavy infantry, recruited from the civilised and Roman or Romanized portions of the Italian or provincial populations, and constituting in size and morale and fighting strength the dominant element in the army, but an element which, owing to its very size, was a cumbrous as well as a powerful weapon. Three legions garrisoned Britain, one in each of three large fortresses—York, Chester and Caerleon. These formed the basis on which the defence of the province relied. But besides the legions, we have also the troops of the second line, the so-called auxiliaries. These were levied from among the subjects (but not the citizens) of Rome. They were less well-paid, less favoured in conditions of service, less reliable in warfare; they were also grouped together in less potent units of 500 or 1,000 men. But they had advantages. They were handier units, and they often included cavalry, bowmen, light troops. Accordingly they were stationed, not in large *hiberna* but in small *castella*, each covering some three or four or six or eight acres. These *castella* in most of their general arrangements were only a simplified variety of the *hiberna*. They were rectangular walled areas with four gates planted symmetrically in opposite pairs, central *principia* or headquarters in the middle, and barracks and storehouses

in wood or stone covering the rest of the interior. Such forts were dotted over the military area in strategic positions, along the frontiers, along the great roads of the north or west, or wherever need was apparent.

Derbyshire counts three of these forts. They are the most southerly forts in England proper, that is, among those which guarded the north as distinct from the garrisons of the Welsh mountains and valleys. One of the three—Littlechester, on the north side of Derby—is hardly known at all as a fort. But the remains there, as seen by Stukely in the eighteenth century, can only be explained as those of a fort. A second fort is at Brough, near Hope, in the Noe valley, guarding the route across the Pennine hills from the fort at Templeborough, near Sheffield, to the posts in the Cheshire and South Lancashire lowlands, and watching the wild heights of High Peak and Kinderscout. The valley in which it stands is the one bit of open habitable lowland among all the north Derbyshire hills, and it is just here that we might expect a fort to be placed to keep peace and order in the difficult region. The third fort is Melandra, near Glossop, planted on a spur that juts out into Longdendale and overlooking the easiest access from the western lowlands into the hills. It, too, by its position declares its purpose plainly.

We can tell the purpose of these forts. We cannot guess so easily their history. We know that the Roman advance northwards moved along the two lines of least resistance. Quite early in the conquest the legions had forced their way up the wide valley which separates Derbyshire from Wales and had established a legionary fortress² at Chester (about A.D. 48—50). It was probably

2. Full references to the authorities for this and other statements in this and the following page will be found in the *Victoria History of Derbyshire*, i., 201—221.

not so early that they pushed on from Lincoln to York. But it is likely enough that when they did advance the intervening wedge of Derbyshire was left still unconquered. Its adits were doubtless held. Coins³ suggest that Melandra may have been established at least as early as Agricola (A.D. 78—85). Littlechester may also have been planted early, and thus if the hillmen were not conquered, they were at least hemmed in. By about A.D. 100 it was found possible to send into the Peak a *consitor* to register the natives for taxation and recruitment, and that step usually accompanies growing civilisation. But the progress was not wholly forwards. Late in Trajan's reign the north of Britain was disturbed and a whole legion was annihilated. The rising was crushed, and Hadrian's Wall was built to cut off the insurgents from the unconquered and unconquerable Caledonians (about 123). But a new generation sprung up that knew not the defeat of their fathers, and a fresh rising broke out (about A.D. 158). Then the fort at Brough was either built or rebuilt, and, as coins suggest, the other forts were occupied in force. The rising again failed, and it is the last in this part of Britain. Further north, troubles continued. But in Derbyshire, comparative peace apparently ensued. Littlechester seems to drop out of sight as an important place before the end of the second century. It may, indeed, have been dismantled and abandoned. The life of the other forts was possibly longer. But we have no cause to connect them with further troubles. They remained as part of the military system of the north, rather to prevent the growth of restlessness than to coerce unquiet men.

F. HAVERFIELD.

3. See the article on *The Coins, infra*.

The Roman Place-names of Derbyshire.

It is unfortunate that the ancient authorities which supply us liberally with the Roman names of towns or forts in Britain have for the most part left Derbyshire severely alone. The reason is not far to seek. The fact that none of the principal Roman roads led through the county is sufficient to explain the neglect of it in such a work as the "Itinerary of Antoninus." A traveller in search of knowledge or 'impressions' of Britain would naturally choose the more important roads, which would offer him easier and safer travelling, better accommodation, and more to see. The additional information which seemed to have come as a godsend to grateful antiquaries from the publication of the work of "Richard of Cirencester" in 1757, was shown some forty years ago to be but vanity. "Richard's" history proved to be a forgery palmed off upon the world by one Charles Bertram (1723—1765), an Englishman resident in Copenhagen, who used his ingenuity and his absence to dupe the over-credulous Dr. Stukeley and others.¹

We must be thankful for small mercies. They come in the shape of the work of the *Ravennas Anonymus*, whoever or whatever he may be. The compilation which goes under this name, first published at Paris in 1688, appears

1. There is an interesting account of Bertram and his remarkable forgeries in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. He originally called himself "Richard of Westminster." The mischief done by him still lingers on in some quarters. He has vitiated most of the maps of Roman Britain published during the last century.

to have been written in the seventh century.² It contains an unmethodical, careless, and sometimes demonstrably inaccurate list of the names of places in various parts of the Roman world. But with all its faults it is certainly "founded on fact," and cannot be neglected by the student of ancient geography. The section which is of use for the present purpose is V, 31 (Pinder and Parthey). There we find the following series of names, in the ablative case, as is usual in the itineraries:—

Nanione or Nauione.³

Aquis.

Arnemeza (Arnemeya, *codex Basiliensis*).

Zerdotalia.

Let us consider these names in order.

In Vol. vii. of the *Journal of the Derbyshire Archæological and Natural History Society*, Mr. W. Thompson Watkin suggested that *Nauio* was the name of the Roman fort at Brough, where successful excavations have recently been conducted by Mr. Garstang. In support of his view he cited a fragmentary sepulchral inscription⁴ found at Foligno, in Italy. There we read of a *censitor* (census-officer) *Brittonum Anauiou*. Watkin took the letters *Anauiou* to represent a *Nauione*, *i.e.*, "from Nauio," but, as Dr. Haverfield⁵ points out, we must read *Brittonum Anauiou(ensium)*, *i.e.*, "of the Anavionensian Britons."

2. Pinder and Parthey's ed. (Berlin 1860), *Praef.*

3. The alternative reading has been added in accordance with the information now to hand in Dr. F. Haverfield's very important article on "Romano-British Derbyshire," contributed to the *Victoria History* of the county. There we learn (p. 210, footnote) that Professor Phillimore reports the reading of the best MS. (Vatican Urbinas 961) to be *Nauione*. Though most of the present article was prepared before the *Victoria History* was available, I gratefully acknowledge valuable assistance derived from it.

4. *Ephemeris Epigraphica* vii, 1102.

5. *Derb. Arch. Journ.*, xxvi. (1904), to which I am indebted for most of the facts stated about (A)nauio; *Victoria Hist.*, p. 210.

In the year 1862 a Roman milestone (now in the Buxton Museum) was found near the Silverlands of Higher Buxton. It refers to some place as being distant 10 or 11⁶ miles ANAVIONE. It is impossible to tell from the inscription alone whether we are to understand ANAVIONE as one word, *i.e.*, from *Anauio*," or as two, *i.e.*, A NAVIONE, "from *Nauio*."⁷ But the Foligno inscription constitutes a strong presumption in favour of the former alternative. Two other considerations taken in connexion with the facts already stated practically settle the question of the Roman name of Brough:—

1. Assuming, as we may reasonably do, that the milestone has been found near its original site, we may conclude that it was set up in Buxton. Now the only Roman fort about 10 miles by the road from Buxton was Brough.

2. Ravennas mentions in succession two rivers named *Anaua* and *Doruantium* respectively. It is difficult to resist the conclusion that *Doruantium* is the modern Derwent, and *Anaua* the modern Noe (or Now), the stream on whose bank the remains of the Brough fort have been found. *Anauio* would then be derived from the name of the stream.

Thus we may infer that the Roman name of Brough was *Anauio*.⁸

6. The number is not clear. Dr. Haverfield thinks it is probably 10 (*Derb. Arch. Journ.*, loc. cit.), but possibly 11 (*Victoria Hist.*, pp. 210, 226).

7. This reminds one of a somewhat similar difficulty in Cæsar's *Gallic War*, I. xxxi. 12 quod proelium factum sit Admagetobrigae. As this use of the locative case (referring to a town at which a battle is fought) is very irregular, it has been suggested that we ought to read *ad Magetobrigam*, *i.e.* "at Magetobriga." The real name of the town is unknown.

8. Horsley's alternative theories about the *Nauione* of Ravennas (especially the second, that the word is a corruption of *Causennae*) are worthy of the age in which Voltaire defined etymology as "A science in which the vowels count for nothing and the consonants for very little."

The name *Aquae* was given by the Romans to several watering-places more or less famous for their baths or medicinal springs. Thus *Aquae Sulis* is the modern Bath, *Aquae Aureliae* is Baden-Baden, and *Aquae Mattiacae* is Wiesbaden. The warm springs and baths of Buxton were known to the Romans, as the remains of a bath-house which have been discovered are sufficient to show. It was only natural—one may say it was inevitable—that the name *Aquae* should be applied to such a place, and it is unreasonable to doubt that the fort of that name mentioned by Ravennas after *Anauio* is that of Buxton. Whether any epithet was added to distinguish this *Aquae* from others we cannot tell, but it is very probable. If one may claim the antiquaries' privilege of making rash guesses, it might be suggested that *Arnemeza*, the next name given in Ravennas, a name about which nothing is known, did not designate another place, but was separated from *Aquis* by a natural and common mistake. We should then read *Aquis Arnemezae*. *Arnemeza* may represent the name of a deity associated with the springs or with the district; we may compare *Aquae Apollinares* ("Apollo's springs; *Phoebi uada*, Martial, vi. 42, 7) in Etruria.

But the suggestion at the end of the last paragraph may justly seem to be "a wild and uncritical guess." These are the words used by Dr. Haverfield of a conjecture made by Mr. Watkin as to the ancient name of the fort now known as Melandra Castle.⁹ Mr. Watkin identified this place with the *Zerdotalia* mentioned by Ravennas next to *Arnemeza*. He also thought "that, like numerous other misspellings in the work, *Zerdotalia* should be *Zedrotalia*, and that the name of the station was preserved in the river which flows beneath it, the Edrow, as it was styled to the

9. *Derb. Arch. Journ.*, vii., pp. 86-7; also Watkin's *Roman Cheshire*, p. 24.

beginning of this (i.e., the nineteenth) century, now softened into Etherow.”¹⁰ This conjecture is ingenious, and one would fain accept it; it would give an interesting parallel to the naming of the fort *Anauio* from the river *Anaua*, which has been already mentioned, and as to the exact form of the word, whether *Zerdotalia* or *Zedrotalia*, the authority of the MSS. of Ravennas is certainly not great. But it is sadly to be feared that the *Z* at the beginning of the word is an insuperable objection to the theory, and it must be considered very doubtful if there is any connexion between the names *Etherow* and *Zerdotalia* (*Zedrotalia*). As to the origin of *Zerdotalia*, *Arnemeza*, and *Melandra*, nothing certain can be said. The name *Melandra Castle*, commonly applied at the present day to the fort near Glossop, has not been traced further back than the year 1772. In that year the Rev. Mr. Watson read before the Society of Antiquaries a paper which was subsequently published in *Archæologia*, Vol. iii. (1775), paper xxvi.¹¹ There he says: “The people call it *Melandra Castle*; the area of it is called the *Castle-yard*, and eleven fields adjoining to it are named in old deeds the *Castle Carrs*.” The word *Melandra* has a curiously Greek appearance, and looks like the creation of a pedant.

Somewhat earlier in the same section of Ravennas in which we find the five names which have just been dealt with, there occur two other names which must be mentioned, namely, *Lutudaron* (other readings *Lutudaton* and *Lutudarum*) and *Derbentione*.

Several lead pigs which have been discovered in the

10. *Roman Cheshire*, loc. cit.

11. *An Account of an undescribed Roman Station in Derbyshire*. By the Reverend Mr. Watson; in a Letter to the Reverend Mr. Norris, Secretary. Read at the SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES, Dec. 10, 1772.

eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in various parts of England bear the letters LVT, LVTVD, or LVTVDARES. The last of these abbreviations¹² stands for *Lutudarensis*, which doubtless means "Of Lutudarum." The correct reading in the Ravennas citation is most probably *Lutudaro*. In the inscription last mentioned the adjective *Lutudarensis* is applied to a mine (*Metallum Lutudarensis*). The fact that far more pigs bearing the name of Lutudarum have been found in the neighbourhood of Matlock than in any other place is some reason for supposing that the name was applied to that district or to some part of it. If the ordinary view as to the identity of the place mentioned next in Ravennas be correct, the locality of Lutudarum may be regarded as being fixed with fair accuracy.¹³

It is now a very long time since *Deruentio* was first identified with Little Chester. "There is good ground," says Lysons (V., p. ccxv.), "to suppose it (Little Chester) was called *Deruentio*, from the neighbouring river (the Derwent), though there were at least two other towns of the same name in the island; one near York, and a second in Cumberland. The many roads bearing in every direction to the station, the numerous remains dug up on the spot, and the exact distance from *ad Trivonam* and *Etoctum*, which Richard states *Deruentio* to be in his 18th iter, put this subject out of all reasonable doubt." We now know the value of "Richard" and his statements, but the other reasons here assigned all hold good. Little Chester was in Roman times a place of considerable importance, partly because it was the meeting-point of a

12. Found on Tansley Moor, about two miles north-east of Matlock, in 1894. Dr. Haverfield (*Proc. Soc. Antiq.* xv. 188; *Vict. Hist.* p. 232) and several others have written on the subject.

13. Lysons (*Magna Britannia*, V., p. ccvii.) says "there is great reason to suppose" that Lutudarum "was the present town of Chesterfield." The reasons which he adduces in support of this idea (*ib.* p. ccxi.) are quite inconclusive.

number of roads. The neighbouring town of Derby used to be identified with *Deruentio* (*Derbentio*), but besides the fact that the etymology of *Derby* is very uncertain, it may be safely asserted that if *Deruentio* was in that district it must have been the important station of Little Chester. The variant *Derbentio* need, of course, cause no surprise, as *b* was often written for consonantal *u* in later Latin.¹⁴

Such is the meagre information which we possess on the subject of this paper. For further knowledge we must wait till the discovery of another inscription or of some long-lost work comes to reward our patience.

W. B. ANDERSON.

14. This was due to changes in the pronunciation.

The Excavations at Melandra in 1905.

THE Excavations carried out at Melandra during 1905 by the Special Committee of the Manchester Branch of the Classical Association, while throwing considerable light on the construction, if not on the history of this fort, have been not less fruitful in suggesting how much has still to be done before the remains can be said to have disclosed all the information to be obtained from them. In preparing this report, the opportunity has been taken of indicating the lines of enquiry which have been thus pointed out.

The best summary of the results of the excavations is obtained by a glance at the plan¹ which accompanies this article. When work was commenced in February, 1905, not only was it impossible to produce a plan of the fort, but the very existence of any remains of two of the gateways, and of the greater part of the stone rampart had yet to be determined. As will be shown presently, the exact dimensions of the structure have now for the first time been obtained.

One word is necessary as to the scale on which the plan is drawn. It is greatly to be regretted that, with a few exceptions, the plans of the Roman works in Britain are

1. See plan at the end. I wish especially to thank Mr. John Swarbrick for the assistance he has given in the preparation of this plan. He has not only spent a number of whole days with me at Melandra, making the necessary measurements, but he kindly undertook to plot the results, and has also helped me with some technical details which his professional knowledge enabled him to furnish.

drawn to nearly every conceivable scale, so that a comparison of plans, which might throw much useful light on them, is at present out of the question. Even the beautifully executed and very complete plan of Birrens, for example, seems to have a scale of its own. An attempt has been made recently to rectify this. The Society of Antiquaries have recommended the adoption of a uniform scale of 30 feet to the inch. This is the scale on which the results of the recent explorations at Silchester and Caerwent have been plotted, as well as the plans of the forts at Housesteads, Aesica and Gellygaer, and possibly elsewhere. I have, therefore, chosen this scale for the plan of Melandra, and the Committee have thus taken the first step towards making their small contribution to the "Corpus of Roman works in Britain," the need for which has been urged by Mr. Garstang,² and which it is to be hoped the Society referred to will undertake at no distant date.

Alas! it is only the skeleton of a plan after all, and when the beautifully complete plans of other forts are compared with it, one wonders whether the plan of Melandra will be recovered before the site is so riddled with trial excavations as to make the task difficult if not impossible. It is true that the absence of stone foundations makes the task less easy, but against this should be set the fact that the remains have lain practically undisturbed, and that the local committee have taken care to preserve them with a substantial enclosure.

In order to make clear at what point the work was taken up last year, it will be necessary briefly to record what had been already accomplished. It is curious that no reference to this fort has been discovered earlier than

2. *On some features of Roman Military Defensive Works.* *Trans. Hist. Soc. Lanc. and Chesh.*, 1901, vol. iii., p. 2.

1772, when a letter referring to Melandra was read at the December meeting of the Society of Antiquaries, from the Rev. John Watson, of Stockport.³ The letter (which was illustrated by a plan of the camp, and a drawing of the Centurial Stone) reported the discovery of the site by Mr. Watson in July, 1771. He says: "The plough has not defaced it, so that the form of it cannot be mistaken." The four gates and the foundations of a building within the area he reports as "exceedingly visible." Of the defences he says: "The ramparts, which have considerable quantities of hewn stones in them, seem to be about three yards broad. On the southern and eastern sides were ditches, of which part remains, the rest is filled up."

Unfortunately, since Watson's time, much havoc has been worked, not only by the plough, but also by the cutting of drains and the deportation of great quantities of stone for building purposes. No effort seems to have been made to examine the site from an archæological point of view till August, 1899, when, after some preliminary operations, inspired mainly by Mr. Robert Hamnett, Mr. John Garstang was asked by a local committee to superintend the work of excavation. The only accounts of these excavations (lasting from August 24th to October 5th) which I have been able to find consist of a short interim report dated September 14th, 1899, and a paper by Mr. Garstang in the Proceedings of the Derbyshire Archæological Society.⁴ In the former he summarizes the results of the excavations by saying that "they have so far determined the nature and positions of the corner turrets of the Roman fort, the eastern entrance with its guard chambers, a greater part of the prætorium, or some group

3. *Archæologia* vol. iii., p. 236.

4. *Proc. Derb. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xxiii., p. 90. [The interim report appeared in the *Glossopdale Chronicle*, September 22, 1899. Ed.]

of buildings of importance, and the position of the western entrance." It will appear later that a number of conjectures made by Mr. Garstang before he was called away to his work in Egypt, have since been found to be correct. It was during these excavations that a large number of the smaller finds (a list of which has been prepared)⁵ were secured, though some of the most interesting and important of these objects have been found since by a small band of men working under Mr. Hamnett's direction.⁶

We now come to the work of the Committee of the Classical Association in 1905, which may be said to have been directed mainly to the solution of the following problems:—

- (1) The nature of the northern and southern gateways.
- (2) The exact dimensions of the fort.
- (3) The extent and mode of construction of the rampart.

How far it has been possible to obtain answers to these questions the following details will show.

THE NORTHERN GATEWAY.

A slight depression in the line of the rampart on the northern side of the enclosure was the only indication of the remains of this structure when its excavation was commenced in February. A modern stone wall had to be

5. *Infra: List of Miscellaneous Objects.*

6. Messrs. J. J. Booth, S. Mellor, and W. Russell. I wish to put on record the work done by these men, because, while their methods are no doubt open to criticism, they have by their perseverance won from the somewhat intractable soil of Melandra some of the most valuable evidence of the importance of the site. The beautiful little set of Roman weights was found by Mr. Russell. Of Mr. Hamnett's work, which is beyond praise, there is of course no need to speak. It is well known that he has been the originator and guiding spirit of the work of exploration. He has himself unearthed some of the most valuable relics the site has yielded.

taken away and the superincumbent earth removed to a considerable depth before the first trace of the foundation was discovered. When, however, the outer line of the stone rampart had been struck on both sides, the position of the gate was located and gradually the foundations of the structure were uncovered. The excavations raised a number of interesting points, which it will be well to put on record.

Beginning at the western side of the gate the stone rampart was found to terminate in a stone 3 ft. square, wider than the rest of the course, and beyond this appeared a large boulder, apparently placed in position to protect the angle of the gateway. This stone is embedded in a considerable quantity of dark cement. An analysis of this cement by Mr. Francis Jones, M.Sc., has shown that it contains ferric oxide, traces of other metals, and sand. It may be mentioned here that in his section of the wall of the Roman fort at Manchester, Mr. Charles Roeder marks a course of "brownish-black Roman mortar."⁷

The plan shows that this gate was just as deeply recessed as that on the east, but though the masonry is of excellent character, what remains is not quite so massive. The general plan appears to have been the same at both entrances. The foundations of the western guard-chamber (if such it be) are nearly complete. Immediately to the west of it, instead of the clay rampart, was found a mass of charcoal about two feet deep, containing fragments of pottery, and the floor of the chamber also showed traces of charcoal. This is, however, a common feature of these chambers.⁸ The natural inference is that we have here

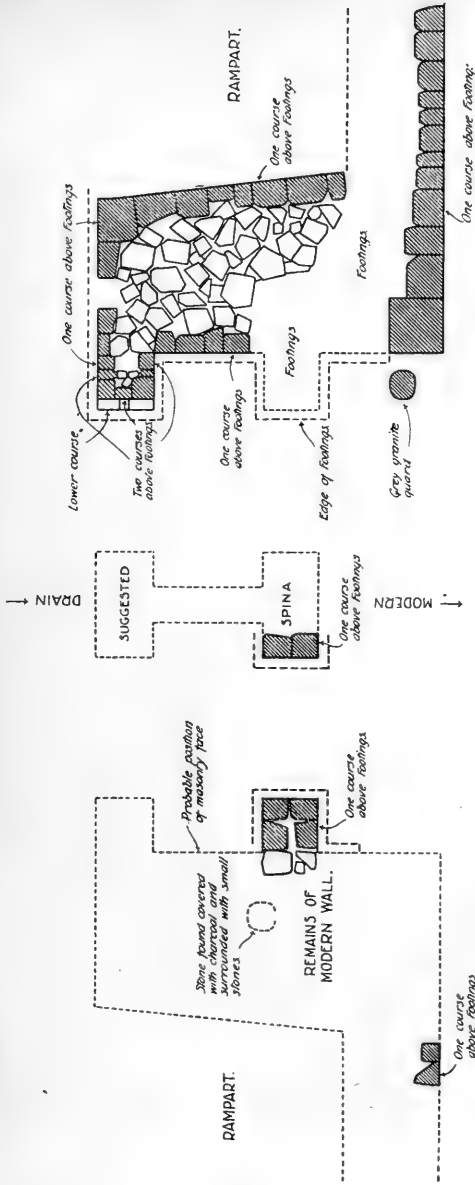
7. *Roman Manchester*, p. 8.

8. See Ward: *The Roman Fort of Gellygaer*, p. 40. (I have to thank Mr. Ward for kindly giving me permission not only to quote from his book, but also to make free use of his illustrations). See especially also on this point Mr. J. P. Gibson's account of his excavation of the Mucklebank Turret. *Arch. Aelian.*, vol. xxiv., p. 16.





NORTH GATEWAY.



MEASURED BY
 F. A. BRUTON M. A.,
 AND
 JOHN SWARBRICK ARIBA
H. G. 1911



the remains of a large fire,⁹ but the bank has not yet been cut back sufficiently to show how far the charred remains extend. As the section has weathered back during the winter, the black layer has only come out more distinctly.

The floor of the chamber consists of irregular stones and clay, and there is no indication of an entrance on either side. The faced stones of its shell that still remain are 18 inches long, set back six to eight inches on a flag foundation. Of the outer of the two bases of the pilasters on this side nothing remains but the flag foundation, which is about 3 ft. 6 ins. square; that is, much larger than at some other forts, indicating what stately structures the Melandra gates must have been. The inner one has two courses of dressed stones *in situ* (the upper recessed), and the accompanying photograph, though taken in an unfortunate light, will serve to show the nature of the work. The photograph is taken looking inwards, towards the camp, in a westerly direction. In the foreground to the right, part of the flag foundation of the outer pilaster can just be made out, and the masonry of the inner pilaster is well shown, as well as the floor or core of the chamber in rear. The first course of stones has a depth of 1 ft. 1½ ins., the second of 10 inches. The pilaster is very well squared, and (just as would be done in work of the present day) the straight joint has been broken on both sides. The style of the work leaves no doubt that both arches were of a substantial character, though, as the plan shows, the inner part of the *spina* is lost. It was not considered worth while to show in the plan the irregular stones lying about between the chambers.

Near this pilaster, evidently embedded in the road,

9. Røder searched in vain for evidences of a conflagration at Manchester. *Roman Manchester*, p. 56.

were found the bases of two columns. These are shown in the photograph resting on the bank above. They are of much better workmanship than those found at Brough,¹⁰ and bear a striking resemblance to those discovered *in situ* in the building called the Prætorium at Borcovicium.¹¹ Each consists of two recessed *tori* on a square plinth of $18\frac{1}{2}$ in. side. It requires no stretch of the imagination to suppose that these once formed the bases of columns in the colonnade of the headquarters building at Melandra. The other objects found in excavating the gateway include several voussoirs, one of excellent workmanship, pieces of other columns of inferior style, and fragments of millstones and of ornamented "Samian" and other ware. The massive impostes which are such a feature of the eastern gate, are entirely wanting at the northern entrance.

It may be mentioned here that in the course of the excavations a number of the earlier (beehive-shaped) querns have been thrown out. I have collected no less than seven of these, found at Melandra (besides base-stones), including at least three different patterns; we have had these photographed, and Professor Boyd Dawkins has dealt with them in his article.¹² The fragments of tiles were not so numerous as at the other gates, *e.g.*, the west gate, where the road was strewn with fallen roof-tiles.¹³ The road passing through the gate was found to be in excellent preservation, having a hard surface of concrete, raised to the level of the top of the first course of dressed stones.

One other find may be mentioned. On one of the

10. *Roman Brough. Proc. Derb. Arch. Soc.*, 1904, p. 19.

11. *Arch. Aelian.*, vol. xxv., p. 270. A beautiful photograph of the Prætorium, showing the stones *in situ*, faces p. 193.

12. See p. 8. Nearly all these querns are broken in two.

13. Hamnett, *Proc. Derb. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xxiii., p. 100.

stones a figure was found rudely cut in outline with a pointed tool. I should not mention this if it had not happened that a very similar piece of work was found at Aesica, a photograph of which is given in Mr. Gibson's report.¹⁴ When placed at a proper angle to the light the Melandra figure comes out fairly distinctly. Canon Hicks suggested that, rude as it is, it may have been originally intended to represent the god Mithras. The Aesica figure, which is executed in exactly the same style, has been conjectured to represent the god Mercury, as it seems to bear something resembling the *caduceus*, and there is a suggestion of wings above the head. The workmen at Aesica gave it the name of "Ould Charlie."

Passing to the other side of the gate, it will be seen that the guard chamber there (if one existed) is not so well indicated, though the outer pilaster appears as an exceedingly well squared block of masonry. One detail, however, seems worthy of mention. Inside the wall was found what may be a small hearth, carrying several inches of charcoal. If this is a hearth (which is, however, quite uncertain) it would appear to settle the question as to whether the lower portions of the flanking towers were used at all, or whether (as they are so small) they merely served as supports to the upper part of the towers.

We now come to one of the most interesting points under discussion. In describing the eastern gate, Mr. Garstang said: ¹⁵ "The bed of the central *spina*, which supported the weight of the double span in the centre, alone was difficult to locate." An examination, in 1905, of the ground between the towers of the north gate brought to light part of the base of the central pier. Unfortunately,

14. *Arch. Aelian*, vol. xxiv., p. 64.

15. *Proc. Derb. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xxiii., p. 94.

the cutting of a modern drain had removed a portion of this base. But for this accident it would now be possible to finally answer the question whether the arches of the Melandra gates were equal. In his interim report, Mr. Garstang hazards the suggestion that possibly the eastern entrance was "surmounted by two *unequal* arches, the larger for road traffic, the smaller for foot passengers." He states that this is indicated both by excavation and "by the trend of the street crossing the interior." He repeats the statement in his paper on Melandra (p. 95), and again, in his paper on Roman Military Works (p. 12), he speaks of "some suggestion of unequal arches."

The first question that arises is: What were Mr. Garstang's grounds for the theory? In cutting one of the sections we discovered in 1905 that the foundations of the eastern gate (which we supposed had been fully examined), went one course deeper than Mr. Garstang had thought. We do not know if his conjecture in regard to the east gate was based upon the position of the irregular stones lying between the guard chambers, and which he very likely had no time to examine. I have myself had these stones lifted; they appear to be lying loosely about and to have no connection with the foundations of a *spina*, which (as shown by our work at the north gate) must lie nearly two feet deeper. It was only when the draft of this report was written that I found on enquiry that the excavations at this point had never been taken deeper. It is possible the evidence required may yet exist, but there is no time to obtain it before publication. Mr. Garstang first adduced Lincoln as a parallel case (p. 95); but in a footnote, apparently added later, he says: "The Lincoln gate is not really analogous."¹⁶ The other parallel instance adduced

16. The great inequality of the arches of the Lincoln gate would surely prevent its being used as a parallel.

is that of Hard Knott.¹⁷ Lastly, reference is made to Mr. Haverfield's mention of a similar construction in some of the smaller Roman forts of Northern Africa.¹⁸

Let it be said clearly that, as far as the eastern and western gates are concerned, the question is still an open one, which may yet be settled by a fuller excavation of the former. Fortunately, we discovered part of the central pier at the north gate, and there is little doubt that the arches at that entrance were equal. At all events, we have there the exact width of one span, and, assuming that the door jambs (if such existed) rested on the first course (and this is rendered probable by the fact that the road seems to have been made up to this level), the exact width of the opening would be 7 ft. 10 in. Neglecting the door jambs the space might be 8 ft. 6 in. This is almost precisely the width assumed by Mr. Garstang for his wider arch,¹⁹ the calculation being made from one of the voussoirs found, which indicated a span of eight feet. We are then left with a little over 13 feet for the other span and the central pier. As the pilasters are exactly equal on both sides, it is difficult to see why we should assume that the other span was smaller. Of course one arch may have been *built up*, leaving only a small arched door for entrance, but in that case the whole idea of adducing Lincoln and Hard Knott as parallels falls to the ground.²⁰ In both those cases the inequality is shown by foundations.

17. The inequality of the arches there worked out in one instance to 3 inches! (9ft. 11in. and 9ft. 8in.). In two other gates, however, Mr. Dymond reports as much as 2ft. 11in. and 3ft. 7in. respectively.

18. In his own very interesting account of Melandra (*The Victoria History of Derbyshire*, vol. i.), Mr. Haverfield states that the arches were reported to be unequal at the western gate also. Here *western* has evidently been printed for *northern*. (The northern arches were at first supposed to be unequal). Mr. Hamnett, who excavated the western gate, tells me (March, 1906), that he found no such indications at that entrance.

19. See drawings. *Proc. Derb. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xxiii., p. 93.

20. It is clear, however, from Mr. Garstang's plan (*Some Features of Roman Military Defensive Works*, Plate iv.) that he did not intend this.

If we are discussing whether one arch was built up, and pierced by a small door, the only possible evidence of a construction of that kind left now must be derived from the voussoirs. Apparently Mr. Garstang rested his theory upon these. He found one voussoir, which gave a span of eight feet, and he assigned this to the larger arch.¹⁹ Three others gave spans respectively of 2 ft. 6 in., 2 ft. 3 in., and 2 ft. 1 in., and these he conjectured might belong to a door and a smaller arch, though this arch and the central pier had somehow to fill a span of over 13 feet. Now we have turned out a number of voussoirs at the northern gate, and their evidence is equally conflicting. They vary greatly in size, and in quality of workmanship. By far the best, which is a well worked piece of gritstone, and which I have measured several times, gives a span of just under 14 inches. A keystone, not so well worked, gives the same span. A much larger voussoir, roughly worked, gives a span of 21 inches. There are others, but so far I have not found one belonging to the 8 foot span. Very likely one may be there, but the voussoirs would probably be carried off. Voussoirs have also been found at the southern gate, which it would be impossible to connect with the span at that entrance. A rough measurement shows that one of these also gives a span of 21 inches. Another indicates a narrower opening. It is perfectly evident that these voussoirs do not belong to the main arches at all. They point to the existence of windows or similar openings. Moreover, as we find bases of columns in the road near the north gate, which may have come from the central building, it is possible some of the voussoirs came from that building also. Perhaps a careful examination of all the voussoirs by an expert might lead to some conclusion. But there seems little reason to doubt that the two main spans of the original structure were equal,

and about 8 feet wide. We should thus be left with about 5 feet for the central pier (*i.e.*, not quite twice the width of each of the side pilasters), and this is apparently the width of the central pier at Aesica and Borcovicium.

Assuming that we have here the standard width of the Melandra gates (*viz.*, about 8 ft.), this corresponds pretty nearly with those of Chesters and Borcovicium.²¹ It is, however, less than that of the Gellygaer gates, which measure 9 ft. 6 in.²² The gates at Aesica were wider still. As far as excavation can show, it would appear that there was in these cases no central *spina*, but that there were two central piers. The argument from analogy would seem to point in the same direction. I can only find proper *spinae* represented in two cases, *viz.*, the west gate at Silchester and the south-west gate at Gellygaer. They are apparently wanting (to mention a few cases) at Chesters, Borcovicium, Aesica and Lambessa.

No trace has been found at Melandra of either the sills or jambs of the doors, which have of course been discovered at other forts. In several cases where they are present the wheel ruts are clearly shown on the sills of the gates, and their gauge is a matter of interest. The wheel ruts still to be seen on the sill of the east gate at Borcovicium are about eight inches deep, and the gauge is given by Bruce²³ as "a little more than four feet six inches and a half." The gauge shown by the ruts on the Roman road through Delamere Forest, according to the careful measurements of Watkin,²⁴ is "four feet

21. As far as I can make out from the plans. I have not the figures by me. I remember distinctly that the first thing that struck me on looking at the gates at Borcovicium was the narrowness of the entrance.

22. As mentioned below, the flanking turrets at Gellygaer were also much larger than at Melandra.

23. *Handbook to Roman Wall*, 1895, p. 142.

24. *Roman Cheshire*, p. 37. See also *Proc. Lanc. Chesh. Ant. Soc.*, vol. iii., p. 187.

six inches, measuring from the centre of the bottom of each rut." On the supposed Roman road crossing Blackstone Edge, Watkin (and also Dr. March) made out no less than five parallel pairs of ruts, each giving a gauge of "four and a half feet."²⁵ On the sill of the south-west gate at Gellygaer, Ward found "two worn hollows, about five feet from centre to centre, made by the passage of wheels."²⁶ In the place already referred to above, Bruce also mentions the similarity of the gauge of the wheel ruts which anyone who has visited Pompeii will remember as so clearly shown in its streets. I have no measurement of this gauge, and the only other reference to it that I have been able to find is in Baedeker's *Southern Italy* (1900, p. 123), where mention is made of "deep ruts in the causeways, not more than four and a half feet apart." The correspondence of these measurements, recorded independently, and at places so far apart, is striking. It is worth while comparing them with the gauge of our English railways and tramways, which is regulated to four feet eight and a half inches, measuring to the faces of the flanges.

Another feature is wanting which is common at the gates of the forts on Hadrian's wall. There it is usual to find distinct traces of at least two periods of occupation. Unless in the fact that parts of columns, etc., seem to have been used for making the road last constructed, we have so far no evidence of the kind in the stone remains at Melandra.

Finally, to return for a moment to a question raised before—were the bases of the towers that flanked the gateways used as guard chambers, or were they closed? Here analogy would certainly suggest that they were so

25. *Roman Lancashire*, p. 61.

26. *The Roman Fort of Gellygaer*, p. 40.

used. Anyone who has visited other forts would expect that this was the case. The presence of what might be a small hearth in one of them points in the same direction. Whatever may be the answer to this question, the space inside must have been very limited. The outside measurements of these towers at Melandra vary from 8 ft. 5 in. to 9 ft. 11 in. Even if the walls were only two feet thick (and at Gellygaer they are thicker than this), the inside dimensions would be not more than 5 ft. 11 in. and 4 ft. 5 in. respectively, so that the rooms would be mere cells. (As will be seen in a moment, this was not the case at the southern gateway.) At Chesters, Gellygaer, Borcovicium, and other places where guard chambers actually existed, the inside measurements vary from 8 to 12 feet.

There is one other point. If we may draw an analogy from the angle turrets at Melandra, there seems no doubt that the lower chambers of these had no entrance from the outside, and can only have been used, if used at all, as storerooms entered from above. Mr. Garstang (who excavated the two best-preserved towers) says expressly²⁷ that "in no case had a tower, whether in a corner, or flanking a gate, a masoned floor at the ground level, nor any definite appearance of an entrance;" and he goes on to refer to similar cases on the German *Limes*, where the turrets are conjectured to have been provided with a useful chamber in the upper storey only, which might be entered directly from the sentry walk on the rampart. We need not, however, go so far afield as the *Limes* for an illustration. The towers at Hard Knott, with outside measurements varying from 13 ft. 3 in. to 8 ft. 8 in. had no entrance on the ground floor, but

27. *Proc. Derb. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xxiii., p. 92.

evidently had upper storeys.²⁸ It is quite possible that the upper parts of these turrets were largely constructed of wood. Vitruvius expressly recommends this as a precaution: "so that, if the enemy obtain possession of any part of the walls, the wooden communication may be promptly cut away by the defenders, and thus prevent the enemy from penetrating to the other parts of the walls without the danger of precipitating themselves into the vacant hollows of the towers."²⁹

To sum up, the excavations in 1905 (coupled of course with those of 1899) would seem to show that the three double gateways at Melandra were massive stone structures consisting of two double arches of equal span springing from six piers and flanked by towers which may or may not have had a useful chamber on the ground floor.

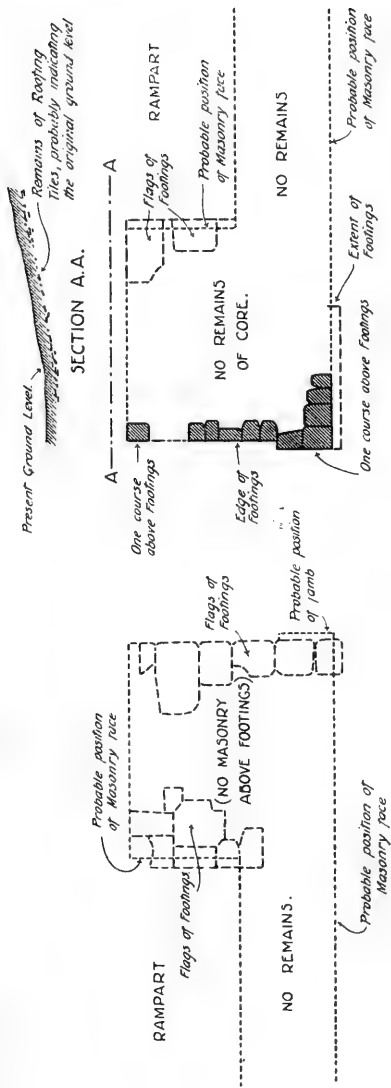
THE SOUTHERN GATEWAY.

Mr. Garstang's conjecture that both the northern and western gates would be found to be "similar in plan" to the eastern entrance turned out to be correct. He proceeds (*loc. cit.*, p. 95): "The fourth may have been smaller and spanned by a single arch, or even enclosed in a wooden frame." The excavation of this gateway, of which, again, no indication existed but a slight depression in the bank, was commenced in April. The plan is given opposite. It will be seen that the entrance took the form of a single gateway, flanked by towers, the dimensions of which are greater than those of the other flanking chambers. The width of the gateway was about 10 ft., and the outside measurement of the towers is 12 ft. by 11 ft. 3 in. The

28. *Cumb. and Westm. Antiq. and Arch. Soc. Proc.*, vol. xii., p. 383.

29. Vitruv. *De Architect.*, i., 5.

SOUTH GATEWAY.



MEASURED BY
F. A. BRUTON M. A.,
AND

JOHN SWARBRICK ARIDA.

ALL



ground floor of these is paved with large slabs, which are roughly indicated to scale in the plan; at the other gates no such paving is seen, the interior appearing to be a mere core. No bold projecting pilasters are seen here; there is merely a slight projection of two stones at the outer side, as if to receive a light arch. Fewer voussoirs were found, but this is the side from which it would be most easy to carry away stone. The indications are not strongly in favour of the existence of a stone arch at all. The form of the gate can only be a matter of conjecture. While the road that passes through the gate (the road is in excellent condition) was being uncovered, an iron bar five feet long was found lying across it between the guard chambers. Unfortunately it was not possible to preserve it intact. The only other finds were a few voussoirs, and a chamfered impost measuring $8\frac{1}{2}$ by $6\frac{1}{2}$ by $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

One of the most interesting facts brought out by the excavation of this gate was first pointed out by Mr. J. H. Hopkinson. In the vertical section of the bank that rested against the inner face of the eastern guard chamber (the clay rampart clearly came right up to the tower walls at this gate) a line of fragments of red tile was distinctly shown sloping gradually downwards towards the road. Assuming (as is most probable) that this line represents the original slope of the bank, upon which the tiles fell as the building was demolished, it shows clearly that right and left of the gateway inside the fort, the bank sloped gently upwards, and so served as an approach to the rampart walk. This was also the method of approach to the rampart walk at the Saalburg.³¹ At Gellygaer, where the earth would be too loose to form a bank, the rampart walk was approached precisely at this point by

31. *Das Römerkastell Saalburg*, von A. von Cohausen und L. Jacobi, p. 24: "ein Wehrgang, zu welchem eine sanfte Böschung hinaufführte."

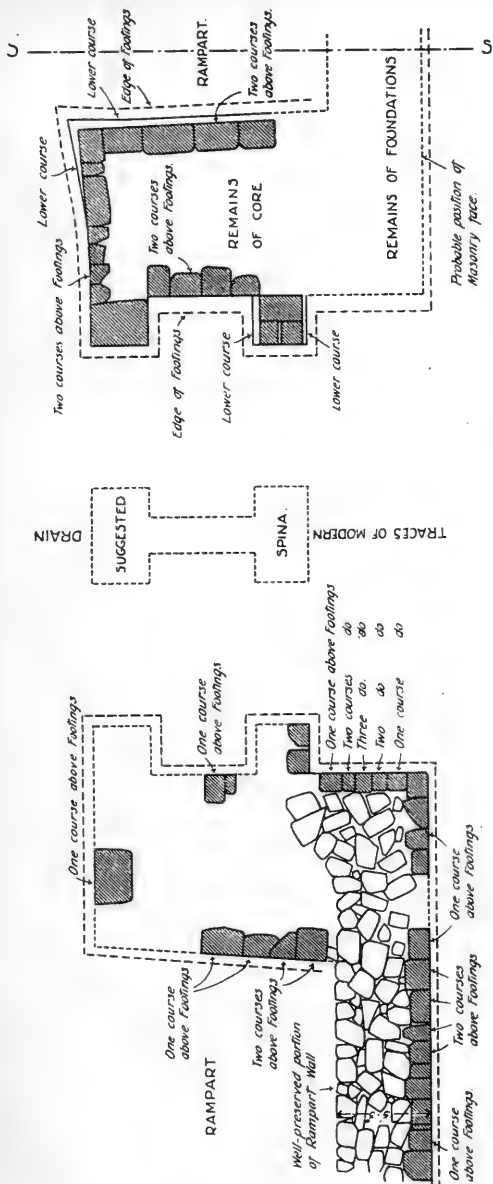
means of steps, which may be seen on the plan. When the final measurements at Melandra were being checked early this year (1906), the bank was found to have weathered back, and this red line was so regular and so clearly defined that we measured the angle of the slope in order that it may be shown with the plan of the gate. The line may also be clearly seen in the section north of the east gate, where I have myself several times found the dressed stones, lying, apparently just as they had fallen, upon the broken tiles.

THE EASTERN GATEWAY.

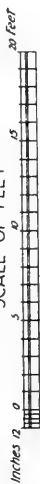
This gateway, which is by far the best preserved of all, and gives indications of having been the most massive, was excavated by Mr. Garstang in 1899. As no detailed plan of it has ever been published, a measured plan has now been prepared on the same scale as the other plans, partly for purposes of comparison with the northern entrance, which it so strongly resembles (the latter was a few inches wider), partly because the plan shows in a striking manner on the southern side the way in which the rampart joined up with the gateway tower. No excavation has been done here except such as was required to obtain clean sections of the rampart on either side. In the course of cutting these sections, as mentioned elsewhere, it was found that the foundations of the gate went one course deeper than had been supposed. A curious irregularity appears at the north-western corner of the plan, both in the courses and the footings. I compared the plan with the gateway before the drawing was inked in, and the twist in the foundations exists exactly as shown.

The remains of the western gate are so broken and

EAST GATEWAY.

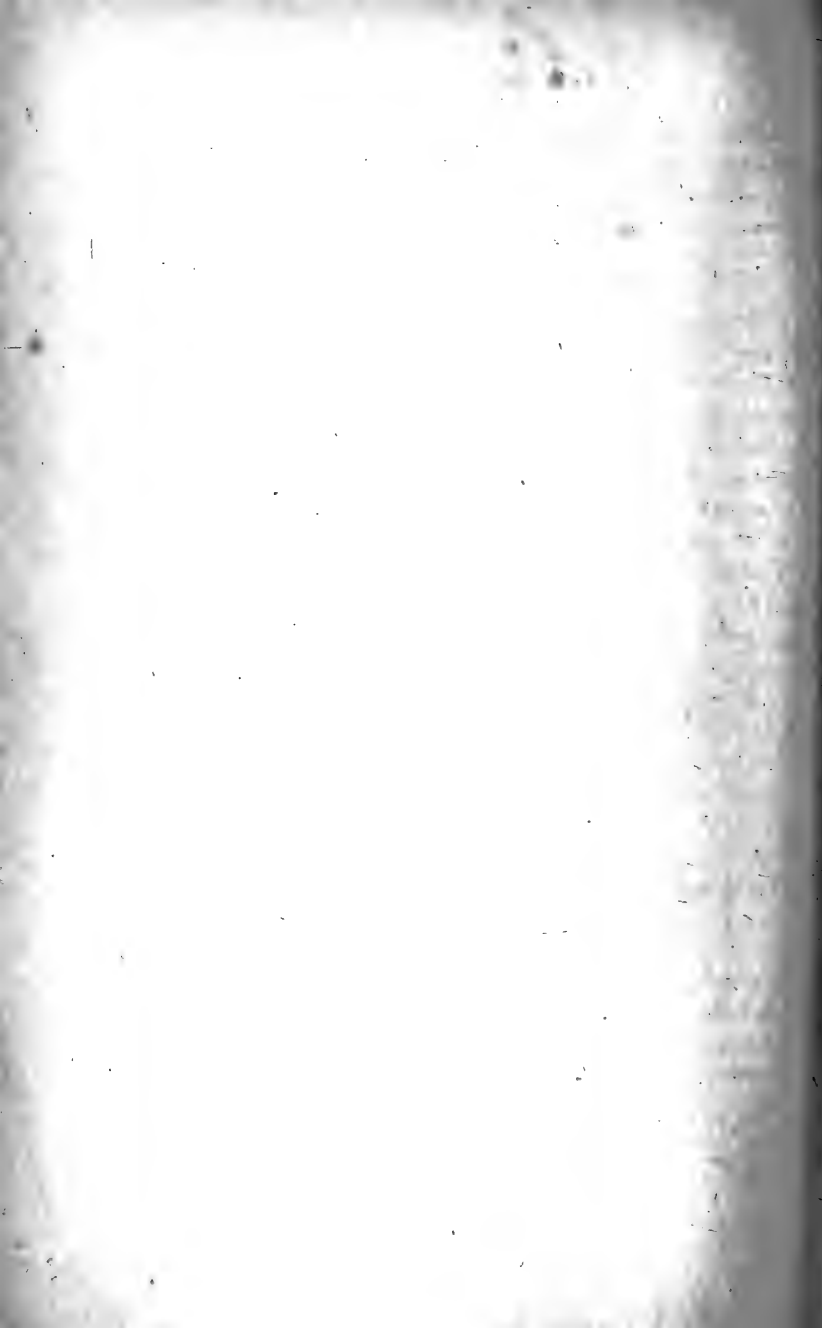


SCALE OF FEET



MEASURED BY
F. A. BRUTON, M.A.,
AND
JOHN SWARBICK, ARIZONA.

J.S.



fragmentary, and are so constantly under water, that a reliable plan of that entrance can scarcely be hoped for. Such measurements as have been taken, however, indicate that it was similar to the other double gateways.

DIMENSIONS OF THE FORT.

The uncovering of the north and south gateways made it possible for the first time to obtain the exact dimensions of the fort. Turning to the plan, it will be seen that the enclosure is almost a rhombus, with the corners rounded off, as was usual. As is explained elsewhere,³² the departure from the rectangular shape is no doubt due to a slight error in setting off the right angle in the centre at the outset. It will be seen that the plan of Gellygaer received a similar twist in the opposite direction. Apparently, the angle was only set off once, after which measurements were made with ten-foot rods (*decempedæ*), along and parallel to the two base lines at right angles. This explains the repetition of the error throughout. Curiously, another error appears in both plans. If the front line of the central building be produced, it will be found in each case to pass out at about the centre of one of the western gates.

The orientation of these plans is a matter of interest. When forts lay along a frontier, of course the lie of the fort would be determined by the lie of the frontier. In the majority of other cases, so far as I can find, the *diagonals*, roughly speaking, are directed towards the cardinal points. Of course this may be purely a matter of chance, due to the lie of the ground.³³

The exact length of Melandra, measuring to the outer

32. See p. 67.

33. Vegetius (*De Re Milit.*, 23), is explicit on this matter: "*Porta autem quae appellatur praetoria aut orientem spectare debet, aut illum locum qui ad hostes respiciet.*" Why orientem, I wonder?

faces of the stone rampart, along a line perpendicular to the line of the south wall is $398\frac{1}{2}$ feet; the breadth, measured along the centre of the *Via Principalis*, also to the outer line of rampart is $368\frac{1}{4}$ feet. The area covered by the fort, making allowance for the irregularity of the shape, but disregarding the rounding off of the corners, is 16,265 square yards, or 3.36 acres approximately. Now that the exact dimensions are known, it will be interesting to compare them with those of other forts, excluding, of course, those that are out of proportion larger than Melandra. These comparisons are more interesting if the forts are taken in groups. Those to which we naturally turn first are the neighbouring forts at Manchester, Brough, and Castle Shaw, and the little earthwork at Toot Hill. The dimensions in feet, as reported, are as follows:—

	Length.	Breadth.
Mancunium ³⁴	525	420
Melandra	398	368
Castle Shaw ³⁵	363	330
Brough ³⁶	336	275
Toot Hill ³⁷	198	145

The comparison is of course only a rough one, as in two cases an earthwork has been measured.³⁸ The fort at

34. Røeder. *Roman Manch.*, p. 49. Watkin's numbers are 490 and 440. *Roman Lanc.*, p. 92.

35. Aikin. *Desc. of Country round Manchester*.

36. *Proc. Derb. Arch. Soc.*, 1904. *Rom. Brough.*, p. 10.

37. Measured by Mr. T. C. Horsfall and myself in 1905. Our measurements agreed exactly with those made by Watkin and Earwaker in 1874. The figure is irregular and these numbers indicate greatest length and breadth of vallum.

38. In these quotations of areas, I am uncertain in some cases whether the rampart is included. Where this is of clay, the difference may be considerable. Aesica, with its earthen rampart, is a case in point. When the above was in type, I found that the areas assigned to Aesica and Vindobala did not quite agree with Mr. Haverfield's figures in his article in *Social England*. The areas given above are taken from Mr. A. E. Wallis Budge's list in his *Roman Antiq. at Chesters*.

Ribchester was larger³⁹ (about 615 feet by 440), approaching more nearly in size to several recently excavated on the Antonine Vallum. Of the forts on the wall of Hadrian, while several are less than half as large as Melandra, a number are very nearly the same size, as the following table will show (Ribchester and Manchester are included for purposes of comparison):—

	Approximate area.
Ribchester	6 acres.
Amboglanna, Cilurnum and Tunno- celum	$5\frac{1}{2}$ acres.
Manchester and Borcovicium	5 acres.
Segedunum, Vindobala, Procolitia, Magna and Pons Aelii	$3\frac{1}{2}$ acres.
Melandra	$3\frac{1}{3}$ acres.
Vindolana	$3\frac{1}{4}$ acres.
Aesica and Gabrosentis	3 acres.

Finally, two forts, one in the north and one in the south, both of which resemble Melandra in several points, are of almost exactly the same size. The figures are:—

	Length.	Breadth.
Gellygaer ⁴⁰	402	385
Melandra	398	368
Hard Knott ⁴¹	375	375

When we turn to the continental forts we find (I think) none whose dimensions correspond to those of Melandra. Some have an area of between one and two acres, others range from $4\frac{1}{2}$ to seven acres and upwards. Thus, of between thirty and forty *Kastelle* that have been excavated

39. Garstang. *Roman Ribchester*. (Preston: Toulmin, 1898.)

40. Ward, *op. cit.*, p. 8

41. *Proc. Cumb. and Westm. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xii.

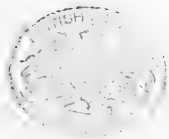
on the Ober-germanisch-raetische Limes nine have an area of between 6,000 and 7,000 sq. yds., ten have an area of between 24,000 and 26,000 sq. yds. (Melandra would come half-way between the two groups), the rest are much larger.

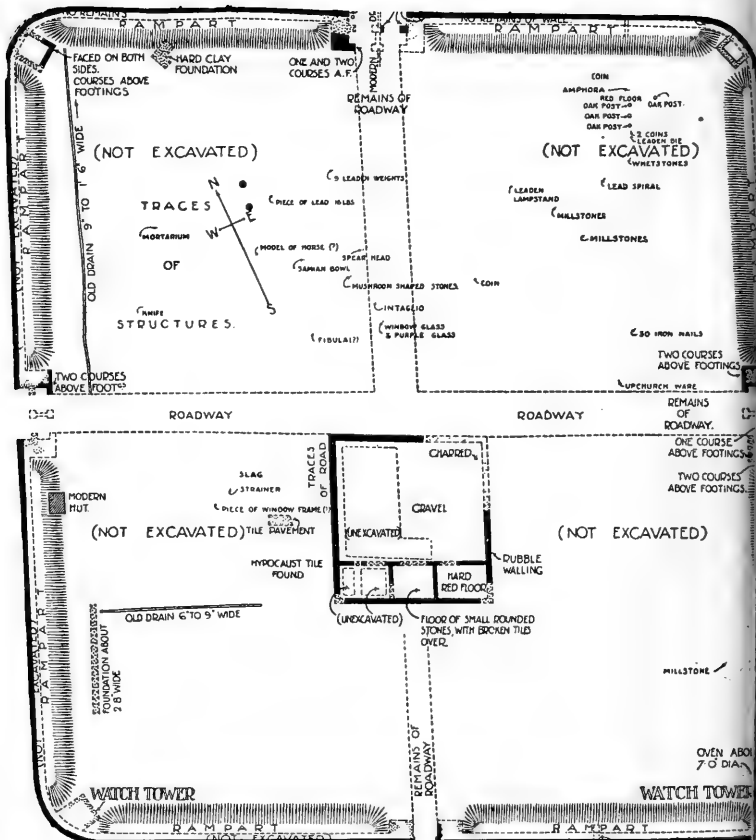
The variation in the dimensions of the forts suggests the question as to how far these were determined by the number of men to be accommodated, a point which it would be out of place to discuss here. Apparently each of these forts was garrisoned by an *ala* of cavalry or a cohort of infantry,⁴² both auxiliary troops. There is reason to suppose that the forts at Manchester and Melandra were both garrisoned by infantry. The cohort of Tungrians at Borcovicium is supposed to have numbered 1,000 men. Mancunium covered the same area as Borcovicium. It is probable that the garrison at Melandra did not much exceed half that number.

Without doubt the fort that most resembles Melandra is that of Hard Knott. The plans are almost identically the same and apparently at both stations all but the official buildings were of wood. Unfortunately, a plan of Hard Knott to the standard scale has not been published. I have, therefore, for purposes of comparison, placed the plans of Melandra and Gellygaer,⁴³ both drawn to the same scale, on opposite pages. An examination of the two plans side by side will show the striking points of resemblance, and perhaps it is not unreasonable to assume (at least until the further excavation of Melandra has disclosed the plan of the interior) that the arrangement

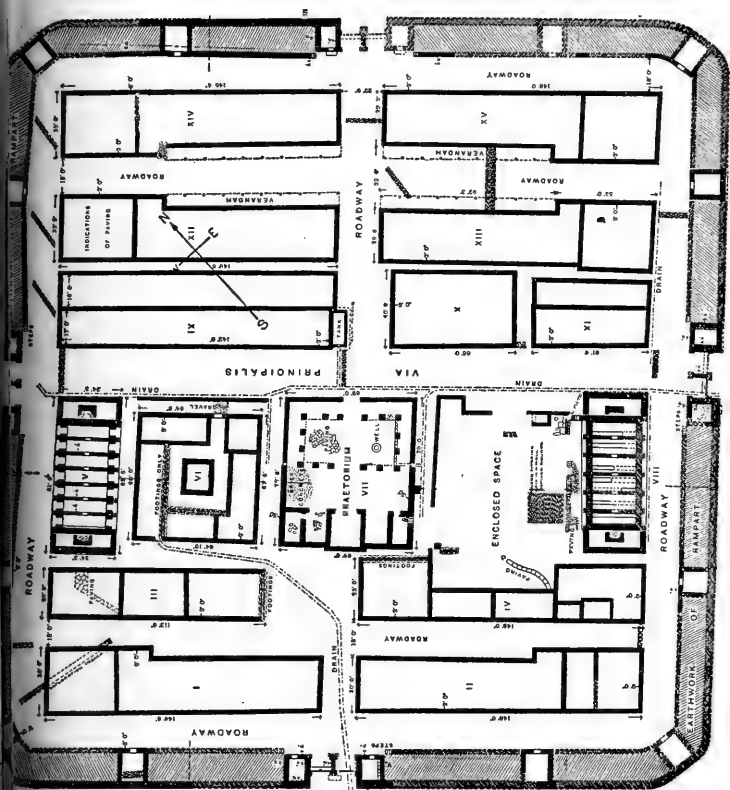
42. Except the smaller forts. Mr. Haverfield estimates that some of the smaller forts on the Danubian frontier may have been held by as few as 50 men under a *beneficiarius*. (*Athenæum*, October 22nd, 1892.)

43. As explained above, I am indebted to Mr. J. Ward, F.S.A., for permission to reproduce the plan of Gellygaer from his memoir on that fort.





Roman Fort: Melandra.



Roman Fort: Gellygaer.



of the buildings was not unlike that of the southern fort. One point in which the two have a striking resemblance, is the central position of the *Via Principalis*.

As the details of the interior of Melandra have still to be obtained by excavation, the numbered squares (of 20 ft. side), into which the area has been divided, have been laid upon a separate sheet, so that, as excavations proceed, the results may be added from time to time, pending the publication of a more complete plan of the fort.

THE RAMPART.

We now arrive at one of the most interesting questions which the excavation of Melandra has raised. In his interim report, referred to above, Mr. Garstang said: "The rampart surrounding the fort is a feature of great archæological interest, and apparently of unique type." In his paper on Melandra he describes it as "a form of rampart unusual in Roman works." Nothing has transpired that would tend to qualify this description, and in entering upon a short discussion of the subject it is better to state at the outset that the mode of construction of the Melandra rampart remains an unsolved problem. So far no other fort fully excavated shows a similar defence, though Mr. Haverfield kindly tells me (under date December 27th, 1905) that "the rampart now uncovering at Newstead, near Melrose, seems to have had a stone facing, some rubble, and a lot of clay, but its details are not yet clear."⁴⁴

Mr. Garstang's description of the Melandra defence is

44. The excavations at Newstead are not yet completed. Dr. Anderson has, however, kindly sent me the information that this station, the largest as yet investigated in Scotland, was "defended by a great earthen mound some 40 feet in width, faced with a wall 8 feet thick, with three parallel lines of ditches."

as follows: "The outer shell of masonry has a thickness of little more than a foot, which the backing of rubble increases to four or five feet at its lowest course. With the base of the mound included the width is increased to twenty feet or more." (p. 92). This account was accepted from Mr. Garstang by Mr. Haverfield in the *Victoria History of Derbyshire*⁴⁵ (p. 212), with the addition of the remark that it appeared to be an earlier type of rampart than the more usual wall of stone such as was found at Brough. In what follows it is important we should be clear as to what is meant by "rubble." In two standard authorities I find the following statement: "*Rubble walling* is either coursed or uncoursed." In either case the term is used to denote, not a heap of loose material, but a solid wall.

In the summer of 1905, a number of cuts were made into the rampart under Prof. Conway's direction. These cuts, several of which are marked on the plan, are of interest, as showing the excellent construction of the clay bank, which contains no stone whatever. They do not, however, make clear any other point. A number of sections have also been cleared near the gates, and these are more instructive.⁴⁶ The best undoubtedly are those immediately north and south of the east gate. The first of these is perhaps the more interesting, but, unfortunately, while the clay bank there is well preserved, the wall has been almost entirely removed. Much later in the year, a portion of the wall that still remains to the

45. Mr. Haverfield has kindly given me permission to make use not only of this article, but also of his valuable notes on the fort at Gellygaer.

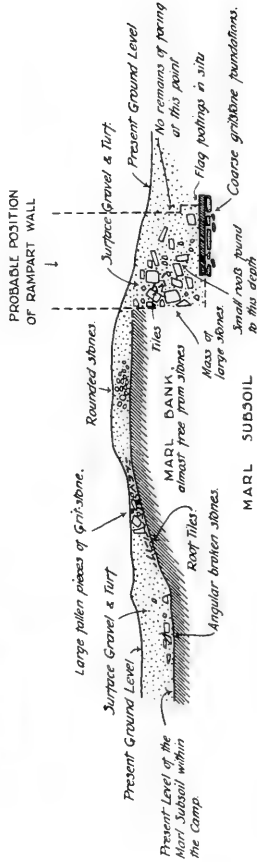
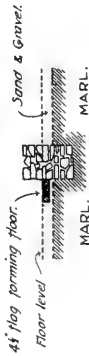
46. It may be as well to state that what is said of these sections refers to their appearance when freshly cut. When the section is much weathered, the details may be obscured. This statement may be necessary, in case anyone should compare the descriptions given with the sections as they appear now.



FRAGMENT OF RAMPART WALL ON THE SOUTH SIDE OF THE EAST GATEWAY.



SECTION THRO' ONE OF THE WALLS OF THE CENTRAL BUILDING.

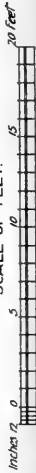


TYPICAL SECTION THRO' RAMPART.

NOTE.

THIS SECTION IS TAKEN ALONG LINE MARKED "3-3" IN THE PLAN OF THE EAST GATEWAY.

SCALE OF FEET.



MEASURED BY
F. A. BRUTON M. A.,
AND
JOHN SWARBRICK ARIDA

Handwritten signature or initials.

south of the east gate was carefully cleared, and it is possible that an examination of the section at this point, where the wall is better preserved than at any other part, may assist in solving this much-discussed problem. We have, therefore, prepared a measured section of the rampart to the *north* of the east gate, and above this we have placed a section of the wall only, as it may now be seen to the *south* of the east gate.⁴⁷ By combining these two sections, I think we may arrive at the original construction of the defences of the fort. To the left of the section the clay bank is seen sloping upwards from the interior of the camp area, its original outline being indicated by the line of broken tiles, on which dressed stones are found, lying apparently just as they fell as the tower was demolished. The clay bank, both north and south of the gate, seems to terminate in a vertical face. On the south side, as shown in the upper section, the wall, consisting of an outer facing, with a roughly coursed rubble backing, runs back to this vertical face. On the north side, the wall is apparently represented by the footings only, the rest having been removed, and a great part of the *débris* there, as shown by the presence of tiles, may have been derived from the ruins of the tower. The remainder of the section explains itself. The general inference is that the fort was defended by a wall a little over five feet thick, which served as a revetment to a clay bank which ran back some fifteen feet further.

Turning to other forts, and disregarding for the moment the case of Newstead, as still *sub judice*, we find somewhat similar features at Gellygaer and at the Saalburg, on the German *Limes*. The outer defence of Gellygaer consists

47. I think it should be said that this wall has not been exposed down to the foundation. The foundations are inserted exactly as they are found to exist elsewhere.

of a bank of earth about thirteen feet wide, faced on the outside with a four-foot wall, on the inside with one somewhat thinner.⁴⁸ The inner retaining wall was probably necessary there on account of the looser nature of the earth. No inner retaining wall has been found at Melandra, though Mr. Garstang mentions that "a row of flat stones placed vertically, forty feet within the outer wall may possibly have been designed to assist the alignment and construction."⁴⁹ The defence of the Saalburg fort is described⁵⁰ as consisting of "a battlemented wall which served on the inner side as revetment to an earthen wall. . . . The rampart, $2\frac{1}{2}$ metres high, had a fortified platform 3 metres broad, up to which a gentle incline led."⁵¹ The Saalburg wall was about 1.9 metres thick.

There is one other possible parallel to the Melandra rampart, but it is in the defences of a city and not a fort. The wall of the Roman settlement at Cirencester, known as Corinium or Durocornovium, may still be seen on the bank of the little river Churn, that flowed round and possibly through it. Leland (V. pp. 64, 65) speaks of "the cumpace of the old waul" as "nere hand ii myles," and adds "A man may yet walking on the bank of Churne evidently perceyve the cumpace of foundation of towers sumtyme standing in the waul." When the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society visited the site some years ago (*Proc.* II. pp. 13, 14), there was still to be seen "a perfect earthen bank which supported the Roman wall." A correspondent informs me (April, 1906) that this remains, and that in the course of the last three months draining operations have uncovered another por-

48. *Rom. Fort of Gellygaer*, plate iii., p. 32.

49. *Interim Report*. We have not seen these stones.

50. *Das Römerkastell Saalburg*. A von Cohausen and Jacobi, p. 24.

51. See p. 37 and note 31.

tion of the wall. In describing these defences in his "*Roman Britain*" (1903, p. 179) Conybeare says: "The rampart consisted first of an outer facing of stone, then of a core of concrete, and finally an earthen embankment within, the whole reaching a width of at least four yards." It is interesting to remember, in comparing this with Melandra, that two at least of the Cirencester inscriptions seem to belong to the end of the first or the beginning of the second century, and that the coins found correspond very nearly with those found at Melandra. (Same *Proc.* XX. p. 262.)

In attempting to decide if we have at Melandra a parallel to either of these constructions, and especially to that at the Saalburg, it will be better to state at the outset what has actually been found there. The foundations of the outer shell of the rampart rest upon the subsoil of marly clay. Near the east gate they go down about two feet into the clay, measuring to the underside of the flag footings. The footings are formed of four inch gritstone flags, upon which the wall rests, being set back upon them about eight inches. Beneath the footings are boulders and lumps of gritstone of poorer quality. Only two courses of dressed stones remain. The lowest consists of blocks of the best gritstone, the outer surface of which has been worked plain, while the inner projects for the purpose of forming a key. The height of the courses varies from eight to thirteen inches. The depth of the faced stones from front to back averages about 1 ft. 6 in. We know that at least one centurial stone was once built into this outer facing, probably near the N.E. corner, where it was afterwards found. Now, one of the most important points brought out by the excavations in 1905 is the fact, of which there can hardly be any doubt (as a glance at the plan will show), that this facing of ashlar masonry, the whole of

which has been scabbled with a mason's pick (or some such tool), completely surrounded the fort. In all these details the work corresponds exactly with the facing of the Wall of Hadrian,⁵² though anyone who has seen both will at once notice that the stones at Melandra are larger and better dressed than those on the Wall.⁵³ Behind this excellent facing, which it will be seen has entirely disappeared in places, is now found an accumulation of stones, and beyond this a bank of pure marly clay, free from stones. At one place, near the east gate, the backing seems to have remained undisturbed, and there, though there is no inner facing, the inner part of the wall seems to have been roughly coursed. The whole question is whether the loose stones (which are seen falling outwards in other places where the facing has been uncovered) once formed a roughly coursed rubble backing, making with the ashlar facing a wall about five feet thick which would serve as a revetment to the clay bank. For the sake of clearness, the arguments which follow are numbered.

1. The rubble wall shows no sign of an inner facing. An inner facing, however, is not necessary in the case of a revetment, and as a matter of fact, does not appear to exist in the revetment walls of the German *Kastelle*.⁵⁴ Even at Hard Knott, where there was no bank, and where the outer facing is "of good hammer-dressed stones," Mr. Dymond reports the inner face as "far inferior to the outer" and "as poor as possible."⁵⁵

52. Cf. Bruce. *Handbook to the Roman Wall*, 4th edition, 1895, pp. 34—37.

53. This was one of the points noticed by Mr. Haverfield.

54. My only authority for this statement is Dr. D. Christison's report on the Castlecary excavations. *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, 1903, p. 10. Mr. Haverfield tells me that (according to Hettner) the *Saalburg* wall was faced on both sides.

55. *Proc. Cumb. and Westm. Arch. Soc.*, p. 393.

2. If there was such a wall, the mortar has disappeared. Now, we know for certain that there was good mortar at Melandra, as some can still be shown *in situ*. But it has nearly all disappeared, even from the gateway piers. The mortar has also so completely disappeared from Hard Knott, that it was only by the most careful examination that the presence of mortar was detected at all,⁵⁶ and at Gellygaer it is reduced to a sandy loam.⁵⁷

3. There is one very possible reason for the disappearance of the mortar at Melandra. The fort is built in the midst of the gritstone country, and the difficulty of obtaining lime (so far as I know, there are no limestone beds within a radius of ten miles) may easily have influenced the character of the mortar.⁵⁸ I have dealt with this question later,⁵⁹ in the section headed "Materials."⁶⁰

4. But the point which seems to have been most frequently lost sight of in the discussion of the Melandra rampart is the question of the lateral fluid pressure due to the presence of a bank of clay, or an accumulation of loose rubble. I must confess that, bearing this point in mind, the conjectural sketch of the Melandra defences given by Mr. Garstang on Plate I. of his valuable paper on Roman Military Works seems to me to be an impossible one. If I

56. *Ib.*, p. 413.

57. Ward. *Op. cit.*, p. 25.

58. Moreover, lime from the carboniferous limestones is said to be not as good for mortar as that from other formations.

59. See p. 61.

60. It is interesting to note that Vitruvius mentions the decay of walls in Rome in his time through the perishing of the mortar. "We may see this in several monuments about the city, built of marble or of stones squared externally . . . but filled up with rubble run with mortar. Time has taken up the moisture of the mortar, and destroyed its efficacy. . . . All cohesion is thus ruined, and the walls fall to decay." (*De Arch.*, ii., 8.)

understand it aright, he there represents an ashlar wall one stone in thickness and 14 feet high, as serving as a revetment to a bank of clay with some rubble at the bottom, rising to within a few feet of the top of the wall. Now a rough rule due to calculation and experience would seem to show that ground of an average character can be retained by a wall that is one-third or possibly one-quarter as thick as it is high. It is practically certain that the outer shell of masonry at Melandra could not have sustained the pressure of a clay bank.⁶¹ If we assume that the wall at Melandra stood at the height (suggested by Mr. Garstang) of 14 feet, then a wall 5 feet thick, which seems suggested by the remains still to be seen south of the eastern gate would be sufficient to hold in a clay bank, and the whole structure would thus resemble that at the Saalburg.†

5. Of course the question arises: What has become of this rubble wall? I think the 1905 excavations, which Professor Conway has specially directed towards the uncovering of the outer rampart, have materially assisted in answering this question. Mr. Garstang said of the outer wall: "The traces of this now remain near the chief gateways only." We have traced it more or less completely on all sides, sufficiently to prove without a doubt that it once extended round the enclosure. But the plan will show how completely this wall has been stripped by those in search of stone, so that sometimes for 20 or 30 yards not even a trace of the footings remains. The rubble wall (even if it was not carried away) being thus robbed of its support and pressed by the clay bank, would fall outwards.

61. It is most interesting to note how emphatic Vitruvius is on this question of lateral pressure of earth. Thus (*op. cit.* i., 6) "In the construction of ramparts . . . the wall must be of sufficient thickness to resist the pressure of earth against it." And again (vi., 11) "the thickness of the wall must be proportioned to the weight of earth against it."

† Mr. Haverfield does not think a height of 14ft. probable.

Melandra, as we happen to know, lies in a very bleak and exposed situation. It forms, as it were, a focus for every wind that blows. If we add to the wholesale pilfering that has taken place there the effects of frost, rain, springs, the roots of vegetation, and the dampness of the soil (which would materially assist the frost in its work), and remember that the disintegrating influences which we have actually seen work such havoc in a single season have had free play for many hundreds of years, during which time the wall has been frequently exposed, the wonder will be not that so little but that so much remains. Let us end as we began, by saying that the mode of construction of the Melandra rampart remains an unsolved problem. But I have examined all the sections very many times, both when they were fresh and (which is instructive) at frequent intervals during the winter, when the various forces of denudation have had their way, and taking into consideration all the arguments, and especially remembering how completely the ashlar wall has been stripped, and how exposed the situation is, there seems to me fair ground for supposing that the Melandra defences were *of a similar form* to those at the Saalburg, though the masonry of the wall may possibly not have been so good, and that at the Saalburg seems to have had two faces, and to have been the chief defence.

One final question arises. Is there any evidence to show whether the wall was built later than the clay rampart? I think anyone who has studied the remains and realised how much they have suffered from destruction and decay will feel how impossible it must be to answer this question. In making his sections into the rampart Professor Conway thought he detected in several places a line of boulders, marking what he thought might have originally served as a drain to the outer face of the bank. If this line could

be followed for some distance, it might afford some evidence, but the occurrence of a few boulders at intervals under so much rubble would hardly be conclusive.

Will the argument from analogy help us here? The ramparts of the Scottish forts are, almost without exception, made of earth. The later forts were of stone, and apparently the rampart of earth and stone marks a transition. The neighbouring forts of Mancunium and Brough had a stone rampart 6 to 7 feet thick. The exact history of the transition, however, has not yet been made out. In his valuable note on this subject,⁶⁴ which I am glad to be able to use, Mr. Haverfield mentions the case of a fort in the Carpathians built not earlier than A.D. 110, which had at first earthen walls, and was given stone ramparts in 201. A similar case is reported by Arrian as occurring on the Armenian frontier. Mr. Haverfield concludes: "It is exactly the same development as that by which the early earthen tumuli of Rome grew into stone structures like the tomb of Caecilia Metella, . . . in these cases, as in the ramparts, there was a period of transition when earth and stone were both in use." As far as Melandra is concerned, I know of no evidence to show whether the wall was added to the clay bank, or whether the two were raised simultaneously, but Professor Conway sends me the following note on this subject:—

My knowledge of walls and earths is far too slight for me to venture to set any opinion of my own on a practical matter against a definite judgment of either Mr. Bruton's or Dr. Haverfield's. But as every general description of the rampart is inductive and to some extent constructive, it seems one's duty to state what one believes one's self to have seen. Mr. Bruton's descriptions of what is now visible

64. *The Roman Fort of Gellygaer*, p. 38.

appear to me absolutely exact; the only doubt possible to me is about his conclusion as to the sections north and south of the east gate, where to him (p. 45) the clay-mound "seems to end in a vertical face" towards the outside of the camp. I am not quite convinced that the face may not once have been a sloping, and not a vertical front. On the other hand, in several sections of the southern rampart the outline of the whitish-brown clay seems to me fairly distinct, sloping outwards beneath a mass of darker-coloured rubble. From what now is visible I find it difficult to understand the sketch provisionally given by Mr. Garstang (in his paper on Roman Defensive Works) of the rubble (*i.e.*, the stones and earth outside the clay rampart and inside the facing of the wall) as thickest at the ground level. I am at least certain of this much, that in no single spot of the rampart now exposed will the yellowish clay be found *above* any rubble; while, as I have said, I can point to more than one place in the section of the southern rampart where the rubble seems, to me at least, to have been superimposed upon the clay. I cannot help, therefore, inclining to the belief that the wall and all that belongs to it was later than the clay rampart; but I am far from thinking that the evidence is clear enough to make this provable.

R. S. C.

THE ANGLE TURRETS.

Mr. Garstang reported (p. 92) that as the outer wall was stripped from the corners, it was not possible to examine the exact connection between it and the corner towers. The excavations last year, however, practically settled this point. All four corners have now been cleared. At both ends of the northern wall the dressed stones remain, and the rounding of the corners is distinctly shown, as well as the fact that the side walls of the turrets ran up to the outer wall. Whether there was an outer projection, as at the Saalburg,⁶⁵ cannot now be determined. At the latter fort no foundations of corner towers were met with. The curve of the wall at Melandra proved (as

65. *Op. cit.*, p. 25.

the result of several measurements) to be roughly the arc of a circle of 32 foot radius. This was afterwards found to be exactly the figure obtained at Brough.⁶⁶ The walls of the corner tower at Brough, however, were splayed. The two best preserved towers at Melandra were excavated by Mr. Garstang, and he records the interesting fact that in one or two instances he found that the mound was piled against the walls of the towers (p. 92). At the two other corners we found only the core remaining, and this may account for the apparent inequality of the Melandra turrets, as shown by the plan. These structures are, however, unequal in other forts.⁶⁷ The photograph opposite shows the rounding of the wall at the N.E. corner, where, though the walls of the tower are missing, two courses of the outer rampart remain.⁶⁸

THE CENTRAL BUILDING.

No important work has been done here during the year. The clearing of the floor of the central room brought to light a circular stone lying a few inches below the surface of the floor in the middle of the room. The western half of the courtyard has yet to be examined.

ROADS.

The *Via Principalis*, which is in good preservation, had already been uncovered. The excavation of the north gate brought to light the remains of a hard concrete road

66. *Proc. Derb. Arch. Soc.*, 1904, p. 10. The radius of the curve at the Saalburg was 12 metres. (*Op. cit.*, p. 25.)

67. Cf. e.g. Hardknott, where the side measurements vary from 8ft. 8in. to 13ft. 3in. The turrets at Borcovicium show the same irregularity.

68. It will be interesting here to refer to the fact that the recent excavations at Castlecary on the Antonine vallum have brought to light "the first Roman wall-tower met with in Scotland." *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, Ap., 1903, p. 11.



North East Corner of Fort.

To face p. 54



passing through that entrance. On opening up the southern gateway the road leading from that entrance to the central building was also found to be in excellent preservation. The present surface of this road is practically level, and the clay subsoil on which the foundations rest seems also to have been worked level, both being devoid of the usual camber or curvature. The road is about 1 ft. 3 in. thick, and is composed of large rounded stones, smaller cobbles, pebbles, and coarse gravel. The whole of these have been well rammed together and thoroughly consolidated. As neither camber nor wheel ruts can be detected, it is possible that the present surface does not represent the upper surface of the original road.

DRAINS.

The investigation of the Roman drains is rendered more difficult by the fact that the site was drained in the last century at the time of the cotton famine. Before 1905 one Roman drain had been uncovered, which is shown in the plan as pursuing a somewhat irregular course northwards towards the N.W. corner of the area. This was traced back last summer to the southern side of the *Via Principalis*, where it was lost. Two other drains have since been discovered. The first was found to terminate in the rampart wall near the north-east corner, and is so marked on the plan. It has not yet been opened up. The other runs parallel to the *Via Principalis* about half-way between that road and the south wall, and has been followed practically as far as the central building. It is formed of large flags, but has apparently been narrowed by lateral earth-pressure. The clayey subsoil of the site causes it to hold much water, and even in the summer excavation is somewhat impeded for this reason.

THE INTERIOR OF THE FORT.

The indications of buildings within the area have been marked on the plan. I have taken some trouble to get the position of these, as well as of the principal finds, accurately determined, as, pending the complete excavation of the site, such information may be instructive. Fortunately, owing to Mr. Hamnett's care, all the important spots had been marked with stakes. Near the south-eastern turret are plainly indicated the foundations of a kiln or oven. In clearing this during the summer some molten lead was found. While following the drain which is marked to the S.W. of the headquarters, the workman came upon what appears to be a rough stone foundation, which, as the plan will show, was followed for about fifty feet, just before work was abandoned for the season. About the same time the hard clay foundation marked in the N.W. corner was uncovered. Trial excavations, made in previous years, have brought to light a number of floors composed apparently of red burnt earth, five or six inches thick. The substance of which these floors is composed has been examined by Mr. Francis Jones, who finds that it contains silica, iron and traces of other metals. The bases of several oak posts have been found in one of these floors near the N.E. corner, and their position is marked on the plan. The upper part of the posts had been burnt and on following the charred remains the bases were discovered. The one which I saw raised was a squared oak pole, not pointed, but cut square at the bottom, which was 2 ft. 7 in. below the red floor. The wetness of the soil makes it difficult to examine the sockets. When first taken up the oak seemed well preserved and showed the annual rings distinctly, but it rapidly turned black. It was at this point that the coins of Galba and

Trajan were found, as well as a large amphora with pointed base, besides whetstones, and fragments of pottery, lead and glass. It will be seen that the position of these posts corresponds pretty nearly with that of the posts, lines of which were found fronting the barrack-buildings at Gellygaer, and which (as Mr. Haverfield suggested the search for them) were known to the excavators there as "Haverfield's posts." The excellent preservation of those already found suggests that if a systematic excavation of the northern area were undertaken, the plan of the buildings there might be recovered. It is possible to draw inferences from the position of the other finds, especially where there happens to be an accumulation near one spot.

One of the interesting cases is that of the millstones, of which a number were found together some years ago. We found several more in the same place last year, and no doubt others are there. (I also rescued a perfect specimen from the valley below, where I learnt it had been rolled by boys at play.) It was disappointing, when we had taken some pains to collect the millstones for a photograph (see p. 8) to be told afterwards that three perfect specimens were lying at a cottage in the neighbourhood. As two of the Roman millstones seemed to be composed of a volcanic tufa I submitted one to Professor Boyd Dawkins, who has identified it as having come from the banks of the Rhine. One of these appears in the photograph, in the foreground.

In the early part of the year several sections were examined for finds, but they were quite unproductive, and it is a question whether the more profitable method of excavation would not be to set about recovering the original plan of a large section of the interior. In the late summer the sections numbered 136, 137 and 162 to the W. of the central building were examined by Professor

Conway and Mr. Hopkinson. The result is described by the excavators as "on the whole disappointing." Traces of the road that must (judging from other plans) have run along the W. of the building were met with, and fragments of tiles scattered about seemed to suggest that the tiled floor, a portion of which was found by Mr. Garstang in section 160 may have extended in this direction. "Below this level there was nothing but a fine, closely trodden dark brown mixture of clay and sand, permeated with very small fragments of pottery, and averaging about a foot deep, and beneath it was the natural light-brown wet boulder clay of the site." The finds included nothing but a few glass counters and an earthenware strainer, which latter was found under a mass of charcoal, which was one of several indications of fires met with. Near one of the layers of charcoal was found a large lump of slag. Concerning this Professor Boyd Dawkins writes me: "The iron slag implies the working of iron. . . . It may belong to the Prehistoric Iron Age—the same age as the Beehive Querns. I have met with it in the lake village of Glastonbury, and in the prehistoric centres of Northampton, Lewes, Hod, and elsewhere. On the other hand, it may be post-Roman." The discovery (March, 1906) in one of these sections of what is described as a portion of an oak window frame (a measured drawing of which Mr. Hamnett sends me) suggests that, as the soil preserves the oak, we may yet recover some of the wooden fittings of the buildings. The recovery of the small finds is the result of much patient labour, especially as the soil is difficult. Thus the nine small weights which were found together in section 67 were all collected within a square yard. The small figure of a horse was found by Mr. Hamnett in section 81, but it was only after several hours' search that he found the tiny *ephippium* belonging to it, which, as is

mentioned elsewhere (p. 91), is a rather unique relic. In a number of cases the fragments of pottery found have been successfully pieced together, so that fairly complete specimens may be seen of the "Samian" bowl, the amphora, the mortarium, the patera, and glass bottles (see the List of Miscellaneous Remains, *infra.*).

The soil of Melandra has a deteriorating influence on the pottery, which is quite soft when found, though it hardens on exposure. On the other hand, the glass is well preserved. Exactly the opposite is, I believe, the case at Wilderspool, where the soil is sandy. All objects of lead found at Melandra are thickly coated with the double hydrate and carbonate of lead which is usually produced when lead is left in contact with water. The coating has been analysed by Mr. Francis Jones, who finds that it contains no unusual features.

MATERIALS.

Some reference has been made in an earlier paper to the materials of which the walls are built. On this point Professor Boyd Dawkins writes me in answer to a question: "All the sandstones at Melandra come from the millstone grit, the light coloured flags as well as the massive blocks. They might very well have come from Mouselow, or even nearer. . . . The Roman tiles were probably made from boulder clay, but not necessarily from any of the clays in the immediate neighbourhood."⁶⁹ As is indicated above, the gritstone varies greatly in quality. Broken pieces of the upper beds, which have poor weathering qualities, have been used for the founda-

69. Vitruvius (*De Arch.*, i., 5) declines to dilate on the question of materials "because those which are most desirable cannot, from the situation of a place, be always procured. We must, therefore, use what are found on the spot."

tions of the footings. Stone from other beds of superior quality, but of thin laminated strata, has been used for the walls of buildings within the fort, for the footings of the rampart wall, and for the drains. An example of the wall executed with this material, may be seen in the central building. In this instance the courses vary from 3 in. to 5 in. or 6 in. in height. On account of the different thicknesses of the laminated beds, the work has been irregularly coursed.⁷⁰ There seems to have been no attempt to work stone of this description beyond such squaring as could be done with a spalling hammer.

Measurements of the stones of the rampart facing have already been given (p. 47). In the remains of the east gate, however, much larger stones are found. Thus a pier stone may be seen measuring 2 ft. 11½ in. by 2 ft. 7 in. by 8 in., while the splayed impost of the adjacent pier measures 3 ft. 1½ in. by 2 ft. 1 in. by 10 in. The largest I have measured is lying (now broken) on the heap of stones just inside the east gate. Roughly its dimensions are 3 ft. 3 in. by 2 ft. 10 in. by 9 in. Each of these blocks, which are of the finest millstone grit, would require several men to place it in position. The last two mentioned might weigh as much as seven or eight cwt. each before the splays and sinkings were worked upon them. In other Roman work, (*e.g.*, in the remains of the piers of the Roman bridge across the Tyne at Cilurnum) all the large stones have lewis holes neatly worked in them. Lewis holes have not been found in any of the stones at Melandra, nor is there any indication that mechanical appliances were used for raising them.

Of the tiles it need only be said here that the roofing tiles, of which a large number have been found, are of the usual pattern, *i.e.*, they consist of flat flanged *tegulae* and

70. A section appears on the plate facing p. 45.

curved tapering *imbrices*. In the *tegulae* nailholes are found which seem to show that nails of oblong section were used, and an abundance of iron nails has been found on the site. Some of the bricks measure $10\frac{7}{8}$ in. by $10\frac{3}{4}$ in. by $2\frac{3}{8}$ in.

Under one of the large blocks at the west gate an excellent specimen of the mortar (still white and hard, though deteriorating) may be seen *in situ*. I submitted a specimen to Professor Boyd Dawkins, and he pronounces it to be made with sand from the millstone grit of the neighbourhood.⁷¹ Mr. Francis Jones has made an analysis of this mortar. The analysis gives the following results:—

Silica	85·47
Lime (CaO)	5·08
Iron and Alumina (Fe ₂ O ₃ and Al ₂ O ₃)	2·66
Carbon dioxide	2·82
Water (dried at 200°C.)	1·04
Magnesia (MgO)	Trace.
Alkalies, etc. (not det.)	2·93
	100·00

There was more lime than corresponded to the amount of carbon dioxide found, but as sulphuric acid is also present, the remaining lime is no doubt present as sulphate and also as silicate.⁷²

It is interesting to remember, in this connection, that

71. Vitruvius devoted a whole chapter to the question of the selection of sand. *De Arch.*, ii., 4.

72. As affording an interesting case for comparison I give the figures of the analysis of the mortar found in the walls of Hadrian's villa. They are as follows:—Silica 41·10, Alumina 14·70, Lime 15·50, Ferric oxide 4·92, Magnesia 0·30, Carbon dioxide 11·80, Potash 1·01, Soda 2·12, Organic matter 2·28, Water 5·20, Total 98·73. (See W. Wallace: *On ancient mortars*, *Chem. News*, 1865, vol. xi., p. 185, and *Dingler's Polytech. Jnl.*, 1865, vol. clxxviii., p. 372. See also Thorpe, *Dict. Appl. Chem.*, vol. i., p. 467.) The cement of the mosaic on the Baths of Caracalla at Rome contains 25·19 per cent. of lime. Mortar from the Pnyx at Athens has 45·70 per cent. of lime. It is not easy to say if any of the original lime has been washed away from the specimen of Melandra mortar analysed by Mr. Jones.

a specimen of the mortar from the fragment of a Roman wall still to be seen in Manchester, was analysed in 1828 by no less an authority than Dr. Dalton, who found that it contained 15 to 20 per cent. of carbonate of lime, some clay and iron, and about 80 per cent. of sand.⁷³

A comparison of specimens of mortar from Manchester and Melandra is of special interest, for this reason: It is more than probable that the Roman soldiers who built Mancunium obtained the lime for their mortar from the well-known Ardwick beds.⁷⁴ The existence of limestone close at hand may account for the better quality of the Manchester mortar. Melandra, on the other hand, lay on the boulder clay, in the midst of the gritstone country, and its builders could not (I think) have obtained limestone nearer than at Ardwick or at Castleton, *i.e.*, about twelve or fourteen miles away. In the excavation of the wall last year, especially on the east side, many pieces of limestone were thrown out. I brought away a number of these for Professor Boyd Dawkins to examine, and he writes: "The limestones are hard masses of burnt limestone⁷⁵ left when the lime was used for mortar. They are crinoidal limestones, like those of Castleton, and other places in Derbyshire." We thus obtain an interesting glimpse into the past. We see the Roman carts,⁷⁶ loaded

73. Baines. *Hist. Manch.*, vol. ii., p. 152.

74. Røeder actually found in the limestone at Mancunium the *Spirorbis* which is characteristic of the Ardwick beds. (*Rom. Man.*, p. 79, *seq.*). See also Mr. Pettigrew's analysis (p. 83) which, however, is perhaps not so conclusive.

75. Vitruvius has a separate chapter on the burning and slaking of lime. His explanation of the binding effect of lime is interesting. (*De Arch.*, ii., 5.)

76. May we not actually hear the creaking of the axles?

montesque per altos

Contenta cervice trahunt stridentia plaustra.

Verg. *Georg.* iii. 536.

Nec plaustris cessant vectare gementibus ornos.

Verg. *Aen.* xi. 138.

with limestone, climbing the steep road from the Snake, past the beautiful Lady Clough, then turning down the famous Doctor's Gate (where the road drains were still visible in 1722,⁷⁷ and may yet be discernible), and so across the moors—as wild now as they were then—for the new fort building at Melandra.

WORK REMAINING TO BE DONE.

It would be easy to fill pages with suggestions as to work that remains to be done. A number of indications have already been given. In addition to these there are the questions of the excavation of the roads approaching the camp, the search for baths and a cemetery, and the examination of buildings outside, traces of which are visible. The example set by those who have had in hand the excavation of other forts would seem to suggest that the first task should be a systematic stripping of the site with the object of obtaining a complete plan of the fort as it once existed. Such a task—owing to the nature of the soil—would be one of great difficulty and would entail considerable expense. It would, however, throw some interesting light on the early history of Manchester.

Meanwhile, if members of the Classical Association have been expecting that more would be accomplished as the result of the first year's work, we can only point to the motto given to us by Canon Hicks, the newly elected President of the Association, when we began work in February, 1905: "In excavation it is the *unexpected* that always happens."

F. A. BRUTON.

77. *Archaeologia* iii., p. 237.

Some Features of Roman Forts in Britain.

THE excavation, during the years 1894—8, of several forts on the Wall of Hadrian (one result of which has been Mr. Bosanquet's admirable plan of Borcovicium), the completion in 1901 of the work at Gellygaer, and the interesting investigations now in progress on the Wall of Antonine under the auspices of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, have turned the attention of archæologists during the last few years to the subject of the particular form of defence known as the *castellum*, which seems to have been used by the Romans for the purpose of watching the tribes of the hill country, or holding the lines of fortifications that marked for the time being the limits of the empire.

Manchester, as it happens, is not unfavourably situated for this particular study. There may still be seen in the neighbourhood of Knott Mill¹ the remains of the fort which has given its name to the city, and which a writer who visited Manchester about 1540 described² as "almost ii. flyte shottes without the towne." The plan of Mancunium is now lost beyond recovery, but about twelve miles to the east lay the sister fort now known as Melandra, which is shown by the inscriptions³ on four

1. Roeder: *Roman Manchester*, p. 11. Watkin: *Roman Lancashire*, p. 104. An excellent specimen of the core of one of the walls is preserved *in situ* under one of the Railway arches.

2. Hearne's *Leland*, vol. v., p. 94 (edit. 1769-70).

3. *C.I.L.*, vii., Nos. 178, 213, 214. A fourth is figured in *Mem. Lit. Phil. Soc. Manch.*, vol. v., plate vii., opp. p. 534, which does not appear in the *Corp. Ins. Lat.*, vol. vii. The explanation seems to be that the Editor of the *Corpus*, as he states on p. 56, only consulted these memoirs as far back as 1805. Vol. v. is dated several years earlier. The pattern of the border on this stone is similar to that of the Melandra stone.

centurial stones to have been garrisoned by the same cohort that assisted in building the fort at Manchester. Twelve or fourteen miles south-east of Melandra, we have a smaller fort at Brough, the treasures of which are in the safe keeping of the Derbyshire Archæological Society, and further to the west, on the Cheshire hills just above Macclesfield, is the little earthwork known as the Toot Hill Camp, which may yet have a story to tell. Finally, some nine miles to the north of Melandra, on the main road⁴ that ran from Chester to York by way of Manchester, lies the rather unique station of Castleshaw, sometimes referred to as an example of the *castra unius diei*, whose secrets have certainly not yet been fully unearthed.

As Mr. Haverfield has written:⁵ "A peculiar and additional interest attaches to Melandra, in consequence of its connection with the Roman fort which constituted the earliest beginnings of Manchester. . . . At Melandra we can win some picture of what Manchester was in the dim days of its birth under Roman rule." How far is it possible already to recover this picture? Not to mention a number of forts the excavation of which is still in progress, we now have more or less complete plans of Borcovicium,⁶ Cilurnum,⁷ Aesica,⁸ Bremenium,⁹ Ardoch,¹⁰ Birrens,¹¹ Camelon,¹² Lyne,¹³ and Gellygaer;¹⁴ and to come nearer

4. The second *Iter* of Antonine.

5. Unpublished note on Melandra.

6. *Arch. Ælian.*, xxv., p. 193.

7. *Ib.* x., etc.

8. *Ib.* xxiv., p. 19.

9. *Jour. Roy. Arch. Inst.*, i.

10. *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, xxxii.

11. *Ib.* xxx.

12. *Ib.* xxxv.

13. *Ib.* xxxix.

14. Ward: *The Roman Fort of Gellygaer*.

home we have the results of the excavations at Hard Knott,¹⁵ and of Mr. Garstang's work at Brough¹⁶ and Ribchester.¹⁷ As illustrations of later work we may mention the Roman Coast Fortresses of Kent.¹⁸ A comparison of these plans with one another, and with the plans of the continental examples of similar works, shows that while certain features are common to all, it would be rash to predict in the case of any fort not fully excavated, what would be the lie of the buildings and the character of the interior arrangements.

Let us consider for a moment the points in which the plans are almost invariably similar. It is not uninteresting to reflect that, roughly speaking, these forts were laid out, as far as their general features are concerned, mainly on the same lines and by the same methods as were the camps of the younger Scipio Africanus in his campaign against Carthage. Of course, that is not meant to imply for a moment that the names applied to the various parts were identical in the two cases. We should perhaps be nearer the truth if we said that in their general features the forts resembled the temporary legionary camps occupied by Agricola in his campaigns in Britain. Whether excavation will ever throw light on these temporary camps remains to be seen. General Roy devoted a whole chapter¹⁹ in his famous work to an account of Agricola's camps in Scotland, but his theories were not verified by excavation. Perhaps a fuller examination of the large camp at Inchtuthill, in Perthshire, partly excavated in 1901,²⁰ may

15. *Trans. Ant. Soc. Cumb. and West.*, xii.

16. *Proc. Derb. Arch. Soc.*, 1904.

17. Garstang: *Roman Ribchester* (Preston: Toulmin).

18. *Arch. Cant.* and Fox in *Arch. Jour.*, 1896.

19. *Milit. Antiq. of Brit.*, ch. ii.

20. *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, xxxvi., p. 182, seq.

give information on this interesting point, though this camp (which is about 500 yards square, covered some 55 acres, and may have accommodated as many as 11,000 men) would seem to afford evidence of more than temporary occupation.

The very fact that at least three plans recently obtained by careful survey (Melandra, Gellygaer and Newstead)²¹ have come out askew, can be fully explained if we assume (as no doubt was the case) that the foundations were set out and measured off in precisely the way described by Polybius,²² who was himself present at the destruction of Carthage. We may perhaps stand at Melandra on the very spot where the *metator*—acting possibly under the eye of Agricola—placed the standard or the *groma* and proceeded to make the necessary measurements. An error of two degrees in setting off the right angle with the *groma* would account for the skew appearance of the Melandra survey. When once the *cardo maximus* and the *decumanus maximus* were laid down, the method followed in completing the plan would ensure that the error would be repeated throughout.

The other points in which the plan of a fort like Melandra would seem to resemble that of the consular camp are the rectangular shape, the existence of four gates at points dividing the sides similarly, the lie of the roads connecting them, and the shape of what we may call for the moment the headquarters building; for the shape of this building in practically all the forts more nearly resembles the *prætorium* of the Polybian than of the Hyginian camp. The rounding of the corners is of course a feature of the camps of the early empire, while the

21. Perhaps Cardiff should be added. The plan of Brough is also out of truth, but with less regularity.

22. Polyb. *Hist.*, vi. 27.

position of the angle turrets within the line of the rampart points at any rate to the earlier period of the Roman occupation of Britain: the towers of the forts on the Saxon shore are nearly always external.²³

The existence in all cases of at least four gates leads to the interesting question as to why these should have been considered necessary. Josephus²⁴ expressly states that the gates were "wide enough for making excursions should occasion require." There are just three passages in Livy which throw light on this matter, two of which are worth referring to here. In the first of these two legions are represented as receiving the command to march out by the two principal gates;²⁵ in the other the signal is given to make a sally from all four gates at once.²⁶ The fact that the gates are invariably present, even when they face a steep descent, would seem to show that the construction of them was looked upon as an important point.

The selection of the site of the camp is a point of special interest in the case of Melandra, because it is within the bounds of possibility that this particular site may have been chosen by Agricola himself. The importance of the matter is shown by the fact that the duty was not unfrequently performed by the commander. Thus, to take only two instances out of many, we read that Vespasian went in person to mark out the ground of his camp,²⁷ and in two striking passages in the life of Agricola it is stated that that general would himself choose the position of the

23. It is remarkable that Vitruvius, who is supposed to have served under Julius Cæsar, B.C. 46, recommends *external* towers (Vitruv., *de Architect.*, i. 5).

24. *Bell: Jud.* III., v.

25. Liv. xxxiv., 46. Cf. also *Caes. B.G.* v., 58.

26. Liv. xl., 27.

27. Tac. *Hist.* ii., 5.

camp,²⁸ and further, that "it was noted by experienced officers that no general had ever shown more judgment in choosing suitable positions, and that not a single fort established by Agricola was either stormed by the enemy or abandoned by capitulation or flight."²⁹ The position of Melandra (a good idea of its strategical position may be obtained by viewing it from Mottram churchyard) would not seem to be wanting in any of the points named as essential by Vegetius, viz., "abundance of wood, food and water;"³⁰ nor will those who have spent many hours at Melandra deny that the other condition laid down by Vegetius is fulfilled: "*Et si diutius commorandum sit, loci salubritas eligetur.*"

Of the main streets that crossed the forts at right angles, we have only so far found the roads that always connected the gates, but these are in an excellent state of preservation. The central position of the street known as the *Via Principalis* is a feature in which Melandra resembles Gellygaer, and possibly Brough; in the Hyginian camp, and in most of the other British forts (so far as I have been able to discover), this main street is pushed further forward; in the Polybian camp it lay, of course, much farther back.

Turning now to the buildings within the enclosure, the one structure which unfailingly appears in all the forts is fortunately well shown at Melandra. Its plan is, moreover, of a fairly normal, though simple, type. The corresponding structure at Brough presents some unusual features; and its further excavation by the Derbyshire Archæological Society will be awaited with interest. It is just possible that part of the Headquarters Building at

28. Tac. *Agric.*, xx.

29. *Ib.* xxii.

30. Veget. *De re milit.* i., 22.

Manchester is still standing,³¹ and it would be safe to say that no fort was without this structure. Even at the little camp at Toot Hill, which may have been only an earth-work (though that is a point yet to be decided), a careful examination of the central area will show the outline of the central structure.³² The name by which this building has hitherto been known, will, however, probably have to go. "Prætorian here, Prætorian there, I mind the bigging o't"³³ might perhaps be repeated to-day with a different meaning from that which the words have hitherto conveyed. It is well known that the Prætorium of the legionary camps fulfilled a somewhat different purpose from that for which the central building of the forts was constructed. "Possibly it reproduces in some way the altars, *auguratorium*, and tribunal, which formed (as it were) an official *annexe* to the Hyginian prætorium, but in that case the *annexe* has usurped the site of the proper prætorium. What it was called we do not know for certain. . . . No direct evidence exists to prove that the term Prætorium was applied to any edifice in the small forts."³⁴ *Porta Praetoria* appears to have been found once, but it seems impossible to decide which gate was intended.

Only last year an inscription was published which may throw light on the nomenclature of the buildings of the forts. In the excavation in 1903 of the headquarters building of the fort called Rough Castle on the Antonine

31. Roeder. *Roman Manchester*, p. 22. The piece of walling already referred to in a previous note may have been part of this building.

32. Curiously this does not appear to have been noticed by Watkin, who makes no reference to it, and does not show it in his plan. Mr. T. C. Horsfall and I measured it in 1905, and found it to be about 54 feet square.

33. Scott, *Antiq.* ch. 4.

34. Mr. Haverfield in Appendix to *The Roman Fort of Gellygaer*. I have to thank Mr. Haverfield for kindly giving me permission to use his notes on this and other forts.

Vallum an inscription was found, the last five words of which read: *Cohors sexta Nerviorum principia fecit*.³⁵ This is the first time the word *principia* has been found in Scotland as apparently describing the headquarters buildings. We have two examples of it in inscriptions found in England. One discovered near Bath reads: *Naevius principia ruina oppressa a solo restituit*.³⁶ Another found at Lanchester runs: *Imperator Caesar . . . principia et armamentaria conlapsa restituit per Maecilium Fuscum . . .*³⁷ This is important evidence, but I am not able to say if more than one building was indicated by the word *principia*.

Whatever may have been the special uses to which the various divisions of the central building were put, there seems little doubt that the centre room of the three or five that face the court served the purpose of a *sacellum*, or sanctuary, in which the standards³⁸—not flags, but clusters of emblems—were deposited and worshipped. The occurrence of what appears to be a strong room in connection with the *sacellum* in several forts (e.g., at Bremenium, Cilurnum and South Shields) has confirmed the theory that this part of the building also served the purpose of a treasure house or bank. This is a point of special interest for us, because one of the most interesting of these chambers has been unearthed at Brough. Concerning this Mr. Haverfield writes:³⁹ “In its details—size, shape, steps, position and date—the Brough pit agrees

35. *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, May, 1905, p. 30.

36. *C.I.L.*, vii., No. 62.

37. *C.I.L.*, vii., No. 446.

38. Is it not at least possible that the small figure of a horse (?) found at Melandra may have formed part of these symbols? A horse was one of the figures mentioned by Pliny: *H.N.* x. 4, s. 5. A small bronze figure of a horse found at the Saalburg is shown in Jacobi's account of that fort. Cf. also object 1905 [No. 1348] in Chesters museum.

39. *Vict. Hist. Derb.*, p. 205.

well with other specimens of these vaults, and we may fairly consider that it was built as a strong room."

So far we are on safe ground. If now, by a comparative study of the plans of forts already excavated, we attempt to reconstruct the interior of the fort at Melandra, we shall find the task quite impossible. Even the order of the important buildings that faced the principal street would not seem to be the same in any two cases. A careful examination of a number of plans will, however, enable us to make certain predictions with a tolerable degree of safety. The existence of a strongly buttressed building with a raised floor, which there is good reason to suppose was used as a storehouse or granary is very common. The position varies so much that it is quite impossible to say where this building stood at Melandra. At Borcovicium, Camelon and Castlecary, it stands on one side of the so-called Prætorium, at Lyne such buildings stand on both sides of it, at Cilurnum it is behind, and at Gellygaer it is separated from it by other buildings. At Birrens again there are three such buildings, unsymmetrically placed on both sides of the *Via Principalis*. The importance of the building is clearly shown by the references to it in the classical writers. In the *Agricola* there is an exceedingly graphic passage, which may well apply to a fort situated as Melandra was. The Britons are represented as being "compelled to endure the farce of waiting by the closed granary and of purchasing corn unnecessarily and raising it to a fictitious price."⁴⁰ Agricola not only removed this abuse, but also put a stop to the practice of compelling those Britons who had a winter camp close to them to carry their tribute by

40. *Tac. Agric.*, 19. The meaning seems to be that if they had no corn they had first to buy the corn at an exorbitant price, and then pay it as tribute; the corn never leaving the granary at all. The passage, however, is one that has given considerable trouble to the commentators.

“difficult by-roads” to “remote and inaccessible parts of the country.”⁴¹

Two other classes of buildings, the use of which it would be comparatively safe to conjecture, are the commandant's or officers' quarters, generally containing hypocausts, which in most forts appear to have faced the *Via Principalis*; and the long rows of double buildings, either placed back to back, as at Birrens and (in some cases) at Borcovicium, or facing a common street, as at Gellygaer; sometimes opening towards the rampart, sometimes away from it. There seems little reason to doubt that these take the place in the forts of the *strigae* or double rows of tents of the Hyginian camp, in which the centuries were quartered. It is possible that the fragments of red floors and the oak posts already discovered at Melandra give a clue to the position of these barrack-like buildings, the foundations of which are found so clearly marked in other forts, though there is so far little to indicate whether the buildings themselves, in any of the forts, were of stone or of wood.⁴² In some cases, as at Birrens, Lyne, and Gellygaer, they run parallel to the *Via Principalis*; in others, as at Borcovicium and Camelon, they are at right angles to it.

The question of the rampart is so fully dealt with elsewhere that we will pass it over here, only referring to a remarkable feature which is shown by the outer defences of the Scottish forts now and recently under examination. Even a cursory glance at the plans of these forts will show how enormously strong were the earthworks that sur-

41. *Ib.* This again seems to have been done in order to compel the Britons to pay a heavy money tribute in lieu of corn; [and to enrich the providers of transport who would of course pay over part of their gains to the sub-officials who had framed the oppressive requisitions. This I take to be implied in *paucis lucrosum fieret*.—ED.]

42. At Ardoch the outlines of the principal buildings are defined mainly by lines of post holes.

rounded them and defended the approaches to them. It is stated on good authority that there are perhaps no such defences in any other part of the Roman empire. The explanation suggested by Mr. Haverfield⁴³ is of great interest. "We may be tempted," he says, "to think that even in Roman days the Highland charge was uniquely fierce and irresistible."

If we turn from the defences and the buildings to the life of the fort, whether military or social, there is much that is suggested by merely reading over the list of finds that appears on another page, and which need not be entered into here. There is one graphic detail of the military life of a Roman camp, given by Polybius, which it will be quite safe to assume had its place in the life of the garrison at Melandra. In the little museum of antiquities at Caerleon-upon-Usk there is an inscribed stone bearing two words only: *Primus Tesera*.⁴⁴ *Tesera* here (as explained in the *Corpus*) probably stands for *Tesserarius*. In a fort situated as Melandra was, with the special function of watching the hill tribes, it may be safely said that sentry duty was rigorously carried out. According to the account given by Polybius,⁴⁵ a new watchword was given out every night. To avoid detection the word was never said aloud, but written on a wooden tablet (*tessera*), and handed by the commander-in-chief to a tribune. The tribune in his turn handed the *tessera* to the *tesserarius*, who returned with it to his maniple, in order that it might be passed along the whole line.

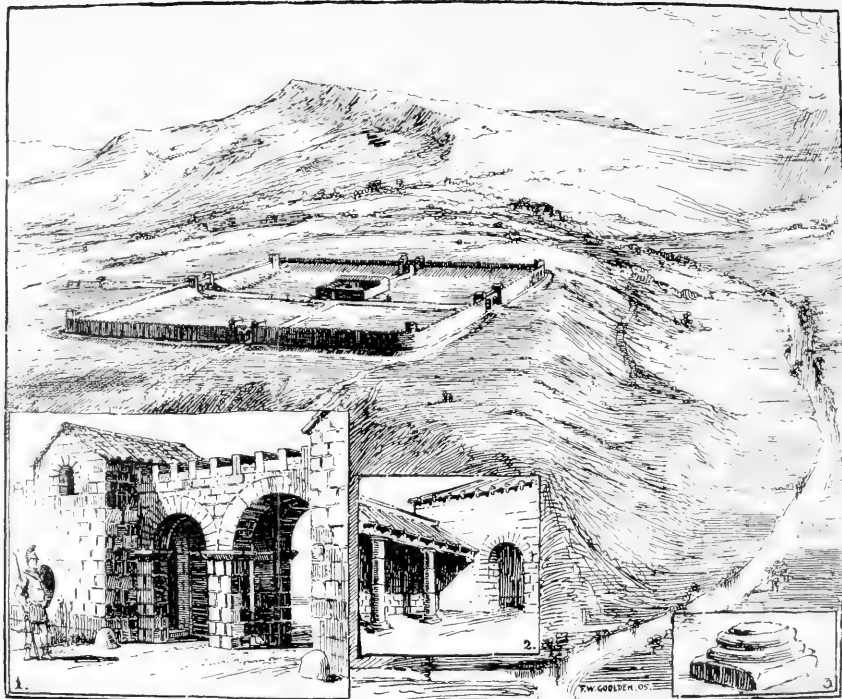
While spearheads have been found at Melandra, no evidence exists of the use of military engines, as is the case in the forts on the Wall of Hadrian, where heaps of *ballista*

43. *Vict. Hist. Derb.*, p. 197.

44. *C.I.L.*, vii., No. 117.

45. *Polyb. Hist.* vi., 36.





Conjectural Restoration of the Roman Fort known as Melandra Castle.

stones are sometimes met with. These catapult stones have also been found at Brough.⁴⁶ The clay on which the fort is built, however, abounds in small boulders, which may easily have been used as missiles. Professor Boyd Dawkins writes that if these were found in numbers together, they must have been collected. They have not, however, been so found.

Some idea of the position of the fort, and the way in which it was protected by the natural features of the site, may be obtained from the attempted restoration which is appended, and which is here reproduced by permission of the proprietors of the *Manchester Guardian*. The view is taken in the direction in which the visitor of to-day approaches Melandra, that is, looking across the river Etherow (which protects two sides of the fort), just below the point where that stream is joined by the Glossop Brook. Cown Edge and Coombs Rocks rise in the background to the south-east.

As only the central building has so far been discovered, no other is inserted. The restoration of the gateway,⁴⁷ (in which, however, the arches should probably be equal), is made possible by the completeness of the foundations recently uncovered, and the finding of the actual voussoirs, and chamfered and mortised imposts, as well as perfect specimens of the *imbrices* and rimmed *tegulae*, and the nails that fixed them. The second inset is an attempted restoration of the colonnade which almost certainly surrounded the courtyard of the central building, as evidenced by the column bases recently found, and the remains of foundations. It is based upon a restoration of the

46. *Jour. Derb. Arch. Soc.*, 1904, p. 20. "Balls of gritstone, of diameters $1\frac{1}{2}$, $3\frac{1}{2}$, 4, and 6 inches respectively."

47. As all doorsills and jambs have been stripped from the Melandra gates, no attempt has been made to restore the doors themselves, indications of which, of course, exist at other forts.

colonnade at Borcovicium, made by Mr. Bosanquet with much more ample materials.

In attempting to form a picture of the fort as it was under Roman occupation, it is well to remember how different were the surroundings at that time. Melandra lay in an amphitheatre of hills, from which the river Etherow, that flowed at its foot (and was certainly not then confined within such narrow bounds) seems with difficulty to find an exit. To the south-east stretched the wilds of the outliers of the Peak, while to the north-east opened the jaws of Longdendale, concerning which it was reported a thousand years later in Domesday book: "The whole of Langedenedale⁴⁸ is waste. Wood(land) is there, not for pannage (but) suitable for hunting."

"The work of reclaiming the wilderness began in the days of Agricola. The Romans felled the woods along the lines of their military roads; they embanked the rivers and threw causeways across the morasses."⁴⁹ A graphic picture of these labours is presented to us in the impassioned words which Tacitus puts into the mouth of the Caledonian chief, Calgacus: *corpora ipsa ac manus silvis ac paludibus emuniendis inter verbera ac contumelias conteruntur.*⁵⁰

F. A. BRUTON.

48. [Cf. also p. 2. Ed.]

49. Elton: *Origins of English History*, 2nd ed., p. 218.

50. Tac. *Agric.* xxxi., 2.

The Pottery.

ON nearly all sites of classical antiquity the pottery and other objects of earthenware form one of the most important parts of the excavator's harvest. This is due partly to the fact that in early times clay was commonly employed for almost all utensils of household use and furniture, and partly to the fact that, however fragile an earthenware vessel may be in itself, its fragments, if only it has been properly fired, are practically indestructible. They offer little temptation to the treasure-hunter and are far less liable to destruction by time and the elements than are wood and most of the metals. One may therefore be sure of finding abundance of pottery on almost all ancient sites, and it thus becomes one of the best sources of evidence for determining the date of the site and its relations to contemporary civilization.

At Melandra, indeed, the importance of the pottery is limited by the fact that we are dealing with a fortified camp occupied merely by an Auxiliary cohort (see pp. 12 f.) where one cannot expect to find either any distinctive local fabric or any considerable number of vases of the finest type. Moreover, the length of time during which the camp was occupied prevents one from having any such fixed date to assign to the vases found as one has for example in the case of the camps recently excavated at Haltern and Hofheim in Germany. What we do get is just a representative collection of vases or fragments illustrating the fabrics commonly in use during the Roman military occupation of Britain, and its interest lies not in any beauty or variety of ware but rather in its forcible

illustration of the homogeneity of Roman civilization even in the small details of common life and at the far outposts of the Empire.

For the general study of Roman pottery in Britain it is convenient to refer to Mr. H. B. Walters' *History of Ancient Pottery* and to Mr. F. Haverfield's articles on the *Roman Remains* in the various volumes of the Victoria County History of England. Of foreign works the most important are Déchelette's *Les vases céramiques ornés de la Gaule romaine* and the articles of Dragendorff in the *Bonner Jahrbücher* and *Bericht über die Fortschritte der römisch-germanischen Forschung* (1904). The latter works treat of Roman provincial pottery in general and of Britain only incidentally. In the present article nothing more has been attempted than a provisional classification of the fabrics represented at Melandra with a brief account of each fabric and of the more important fragments.¹ In a later report it is hoped that this present account may be supplemented by the analyses of clays and glazes which have been most kindly promised by Mr. William Burton, whose researches in ceramic chemistry and wide practical experience will give them an unusual authority. It has been impossible to illustrate many fragments by photographic reproductions since the damp, clayey soil of Melandra has had a most destructive effect upon the pottery, not only spoiling the surface but even in many cases rotting the clay body itself.²

1. All the laborious task of first sorting the fragments was carried out by Mr. Hamnett with his usual indefatigable zeal. To Mr. Walters' book the indebtedness of the present article is too obvious to require statement, but I would gratefully acknowledge the personal help given by the author in dealing with the Melandra pottery.

2. The line drawings of the fragments here reproduced are by Mr. Robert Duddle of the Manchester School of Art. The more complete vases are shown in section also by means of heavier black lines.

The pottery at Melandra falls naturally into two main divisions: (A) the fine red ware with embossed ornamentation, known as *Terra Sigillata*, which is certainly imported, and (B) the plainer wares which to a very large extent at any rate were made in Britain itself and may be loosely termed *Roman-British*. To these are appended in the present article notices of the *Tiles* and of the *Glass*.

A. TERRA SIGILLATA.

This is the ware long known as *Samian* and identified with the "vasa Samia" of Latin literature.³ The old name has now been abandoned, since it wrongly suggests that Samos was the chief centre in which the vases were made, and the new term *Terra Sigillata* (seal clay), denoting the fine, consistent, red clay of which the ware is made, has been generally adopted. The characteristics of the ware are (1) the red clay, which was no doubt originally a natural ferruginous clay but was probably later coloured artificially by an admixture of certain ochres, (2) the fine transparent varnish in which the vases were dipped to give them their smooth lustrous surface, (3) the embossed ornamentation, produced by pressing the vase into a mould while the clay was still soft, with occasional variations such as casting small pieces of the design separately and applying them to the vase with slip. The real origin of the ware is perhaps to be sought on the coast of Asia Minor. Recent excavations at Priene and Pergamon have shown that vases of similar technique were there manufactured in direct continuance of the late Hellenistic pottery imitative of metal-work. It is even possible that further excavation may show some real historical justification for Pliny's use of the word "Samia."

3. Cf. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxv. 46; Plautus, *Menaechmi* i. 2, 65 and *Bacchides* ii. 2, 22, etc.

In Italy the manufacture of Terra Sigillata seems to date from about 40—30 B.C. and had its principal centre at the Etruscan town of Arretium, whence is derived the name of *Arretine* (“*vasa Arretina*”) given to the Italian vases in general. This Italian fabric produced by far the finest examples known to us of red relief vases, and in the Augustan period the Arretine vases were not only used in Rome and Italy but were exported throughout Gaul and Germany.

The manufacture of Terra Sigillata in the Western provinces (*Provincial Terra Sigillata*) began about the close of the first quarter of the 1st century A.D., and developed with extraordinary rapidity. Partly by the greater convenience of the provincial factories as centres of distribution, and partly by the greater cheapness of the ware, it rapidly ousted the finer Arretine vases from the markets of Western Europe.⁴ The earliest factories were in the territory of the Ruteni⁵ (Southern Gaul) at the modern Graufesenque, Montans and Banassac, and until the later part of the 1st century A.D. this “Graufesenque ware” is predominant throughout Gaul and Germany. It is found even in Italy, at Rome, Pompeii and elsewhere, and reached as far as Britain to the north-west. By the time of Hadrian, however, the factories of what is now Lezoux, somewhat to the north of Graufesenque, were rapidly overtaking it in public favour, and during the 2nd century

4. Thus at Haltern (dated 11 B.C.—17 A.D.) there is, according to Dragendorff, nothing but Arretine with the exception of a few fragments which may be from a provincial branch of some Italian factory. At Hofheim (dated 40—60 A.D.), to judge by the potters' names, Arretine has wholly ceased and there is nothing but Gallic ware of the “Graufesenque” type.

5. The views here put forward are those of M. Déchelette, l.c., which are based upon an unequalled knowledge of the local remains and museums of Southern France.

and the first half of the 3rd the Lezoux ware must have been manufactured and exported in enormous quantities. There were other factories at Rheinzabern and Westerdorf in the Rhine valley, but the potters' names are conclusive evidence that the bulk of the good Terra Sigillata vases in Western Europe came from the workshops of Southern and Central Gaul. The manufacture of the ware seems to end about 260—270 A.D., probably when Gaul was overrun by ruder Teutonic invaders.⁶

This Gallic ware, as a whole, is coarser than the Arretine both in technique and design, although the classical forms of ornament still survive unaffected by the late Celtic art of Gaul. The distinction between the *Graufesenque* and the *Lezoux* fabric can be drawn by comparison of the potters' names, which are often impressed with a stamp on either the inside or the outside of the vases, by the types of ornament, and by the characteristic shapes of the vases most commonly made at the two centres. The method of ornamenting the vases with reliefs by pressing them into a mould necessitates that the common form should always be that of an open bowl decorated on the outside. Three principal types of bowls are found, outlined in Fig. 1, which in accordance with Dragendorff's enumeration of shapes are known as nos. 29, 30 and 37. No. 29 is characteristic of Graufesenque; no. 30 is common in the first century B.C., but also is used later; no. 37 is in general characteristic of Lezoux, though early forms appear at Graufesenque.

There is no evidence for any manufacture of Terra Sigillata in Britain, and the examples of the ware that have been found at Melandra probably all come from Gaul. Bowls of shape 29 are found in Britain as far north

6. Cf., e.g., Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, chapter 10.

as York, but beyond York (*i.e.*, in the parts of Britain occupied later than 80 A.D.) only bowls of shape 37. As this agrees with the evidence from Gaul and Germany one is justified in assuming that the occurrence of shape 29 on any site is good evidence for its occupation as early as 80 A.D. In the following list of Terra Sigillata fragments from Melandra nos. 1—4 are of shape 29; no. 7 is of shape 30; nos. 8—14 seem all to belong to bowls of shape 37, though the fragments are not in all cases large enough to give the shape with certainty. The evidence of these

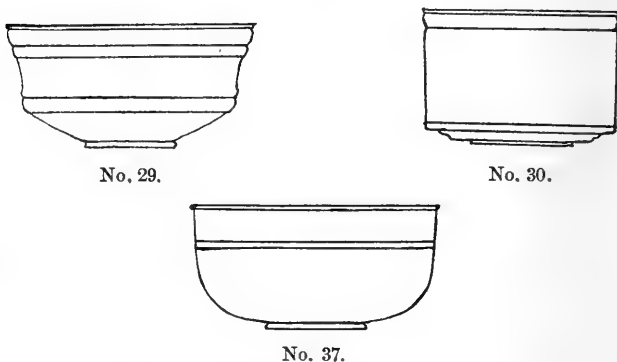
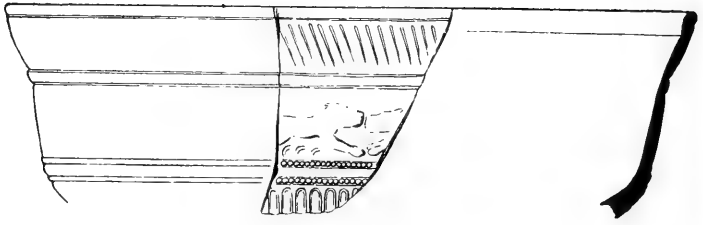


Fig. 1.—Shapes of Terra Sigillata Bowls.

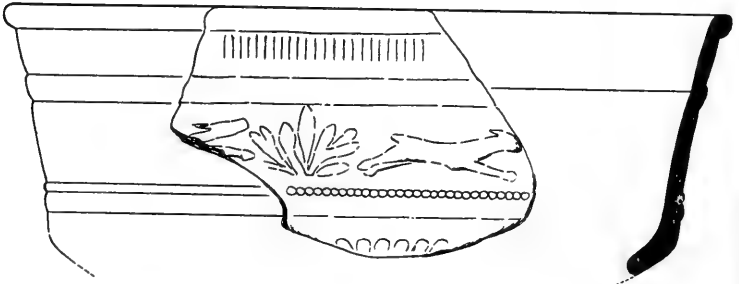
shapes for determining the date of the camp is important. Nos. 1—4 of the list are of shape 29 but belong to its later period when it is already tending to the less elaborate form of shape 37. The exterior mouldings of the vase are less pronounced than in the earlier examples, and the frieze of animals and plants has succeeded to the purely formal designs of the earlier period. On the other hand no. 8 in the list is certainly a very early form of shape 37. In the more fully developed examples of the shape the plain band below the rim is quite flat and usually much



PLATE I.



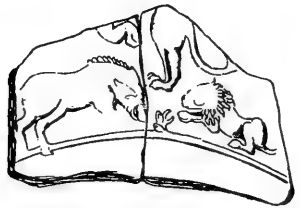
1.



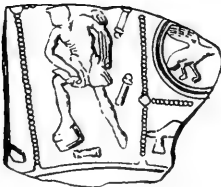
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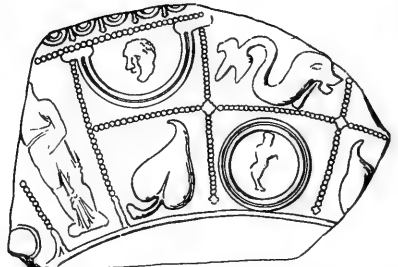
3.



4.



5.



6.

Terra Sigillata.

To face p. 83

deeper, and the foot also loses the subsidiary moulding. The method too of arranging the ornament in two principal friezes is natural to shape 29 where the moulding of the vase breaks up the surface into two principal fields, but is a less appropriate arrangement for the simple curve of shape 37. The design of both friezes seems to be distinctively "Graufesenque" (*cf.* Déchelette, *l.c.* vol. i., pl. vi. 5, and viii. 1). Fragment no. 14 again is closely allied to no. 8, coming apparently from a bowl of the same shape and the same arrangement of friezes. The design too is classed by Déchelette as "Graufesenque" (vol. i., pl. vii. 24). It is necessary therefore to class these two examples of shape 37 (nos. 8 and 14) as roughly contemporary with the examples of 29 (nos. 1—5) and to assign them to the close of the Graufesenque potteries, about 80 A.D.⁷

To much the same date probably belongs no. 7. Bowls of shape 30 are common to both Graufesenque and Lezoux, though they occur more frequently at the former, and both the form and the cruciform ornament of the Melandra bowl are of a transitional type. In nos. 9—12 the designs are those of the Lezoux vases but in no case need belong to a very late period of the fabric.

The evidence of the pottery would therefore suggest that the most important occupation of the camp was about 80 A.D., and that it continued in use for a considerable time after that date.

List of the more important fragments of Terra Sigillata from Melandra:—

1. Fragment of bowl of shape 29. "Engine-turned" pattern below rim: frieze of animals and plants: tongue pattern. Plate I., 2.

7. There is a striking correspondence between these "late Graufesenque" bowls from Melandra and those found at Pompeii. The Pompeii vases are presumably those in use in 79 A.D.

2, 3, 4. Three fragments from similar vases (one in Plate I., 1).

5. Several fragments from a bowl of similar shape, but embossed from very poor moulds. The design is shown in almost flat outline without modelling, and the mouldings of the bowl are also much flattened. The design apparently contained human figures in panels. The style seems to belong to the very end of the Graufesenque fabric.

6. Base of small bowl stamped on interior ITNO, probably to be restored as OF. PONTI (*i.e.*, Officina Ponti). This same potter's name occurs on a bowl of Graufesenque type found at Buxton (Vict. Count. Hist. of Derby. p. 225, Fig. 27). It occurs also at York and London, in Germany, and five times at Graufesenque itself (C.I.L., vii. 83—87, and xiii. 1545).

7. Shape 30. Narrow plain band below rim: "egg and dart" pattern: cruciform patterns in rectangular panels and circles. Plate II., 2.

8. Several fragments forming an almost complete bowl of shape 37. Narrow plain band below rim, slightly moulded: "egg and dart" pattern: frieze of festoons and tassels, with leaves on long, winding stalks within each festoon: frieze with running design of volutes and foliage: wreath pattern. Plate II., 3.

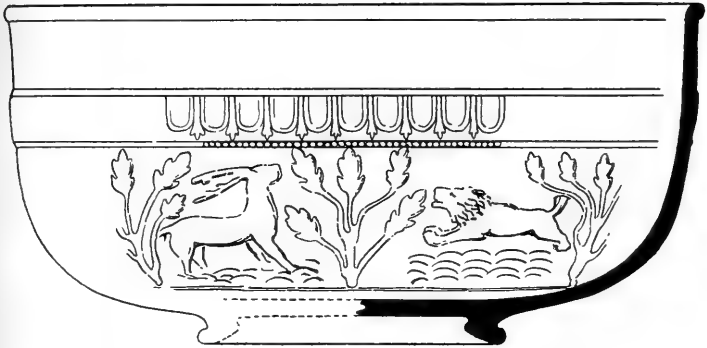
9. Fragments forming a similar bowl. Plain band below rim: "egg and dart" pattern: "free" design of trees (oaks), stags and lions. Plate II., 1.

10. Fragment with beaded lines dividing panels. One panel contains a well-known figure of Vulcan, clad in exomis and pileus, the right foot raised on a base, with the right arm resting on the thigh, the left hand holding his smith's pincers: uncertain objects in the field. The head has apparently been obliterated with a square stamp. The other panel contains a bird with raised wings within circle. Plate I., 5.

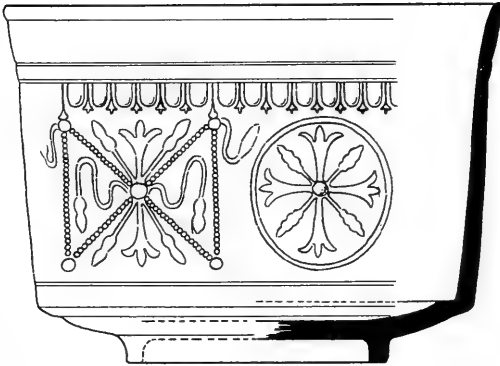
11. Fragment of "free" design with large and small lions and boar. Plate I., 4.

12. Fragment with two bands of panels, containing ivy-leaf, sea monster, concentric circles and semi-circles enclosing mask of a bearded male head, and another, doubtful object. In a larger panel is a draped female figure, much damaged. Plate I., 6.

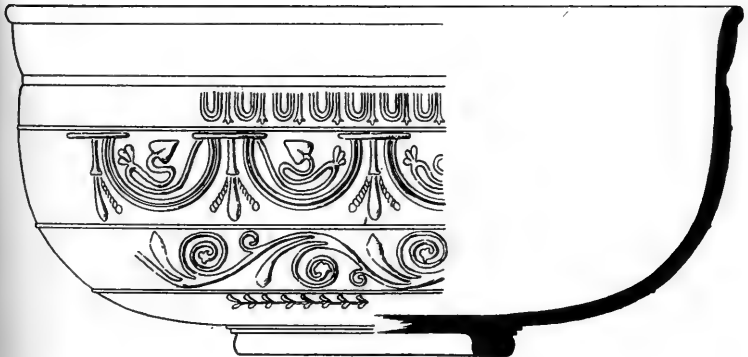
13. Fragment with "egg and dart" pattern, and hares within semi-circular festoons.



I.



2.



3.



14. Fragment containing (a) band of panels with festoons within which are a bird and a volute, (b) a wreath pattern below. Plate I., 3.

15. Part of base, with raised boss in centre. Dull brown clay with black engobe on interior and reddish-brown on exterior. Remains of potter's stamp on interior, perhaps to be read . . . ATULXUS (only the last three letters are certain).

16. Fragments of a base with roughly incised inscription under the foot M TYRI.

17. A large number of bases, mostly from bowls or from flatter vessels with low, almost vertical sides. Many of the latter bases have a raised boss in the centre on which the potter's name was stamped, though the stamps are now destroyed. Often with band of "engine-turned" pattern on interior. Two fragments of stamps have (a) O NI (b) ❖ O.

18. A large number of fragments of rims from bowls of shape 37. Also rims of flatter vessels, as above. In a few cases the engobe is black instead of red.

19. Various other fragments from bowls of shape 37 with remains of ornamentation.

20. Saucer with ivy-leaves embossed on rim by the "en barbotine" method.

21. Fragments of vases with sides expanding in a double curve. Plate III., 1.

Miscellaneous Fragments.

The following fragments, though not of Terra Sigillata, may be most conveniently mentioned here:—

1. Fragment of base. Pale pink clay, very friable: covered with dark red engobe which easily peels from the soft body. Apparently an imitation of Terra Sigillata.

2. Several small fragments of leather-coloured clay with surface either polished or covered with dark brown engobe: from very thin-sided carefully moulded vases. Two fragments are from open vessels with the outside delicately fluted in horizontal bands. Probably from South Gaul.

B. ROMAN-BRITISH WARES.

CASTOR WARE.

The finest of the Roman-British wares is that which was made in the kilns at Castor, the site of the Roman

Durobrivae, in Northamptonshire. Vases of this type are found in Northern Gaul as well as in Britain and it is probable that Castor was the chief rather than the only centre where such ware was manufactured. There is much variety in the Castor vases but the general characteristics of the fabric may be summed up as being (1) a pale, white to buff or red, clay with black or dark engobe, and (2) ornamentation in relief done either by the "thumb" or the "barbotine" process. In the former process the surface of the vase is worked by the potter's fingers while the clay is still soft into various projections and indentations, sometimes in regular patterns of knobs, semicircles, etc., and sometimes merely producing an irregularly broken surface. In the barbotine process the design is executed by applying a thick slip of the same light-coloured clay as the body and thus stands out in relief, and often also in colour, against the dark engobe of the vase. The slip is applied while the clay is still only leather-hard and the vase is afterwards completely fired.

The date of the ware is uncertain. Much of the characteristic "floral scroll" design seems to be derived from late Celtic forms, and it may well be that the ultimate origin both of the design and of the methods of technique is earlier than the Roman conquest.

The fragments of Castor Ware at Melandra are:—

1. Lower part of small vase on stem. Buff clay with brown-black surface. Rough workmanship. Band of floral scrolls round the body in "barbotine" technique. Plate III., 2.

2. Fragments forming an almost complete vase in form of an open-mouthed jar. Red clay with black engobe. Good workmanship. The rim is reeded on its outer surface. An incised groove separates plain band below rim from lower surface ornamented with "thumb" decoration of small irregular

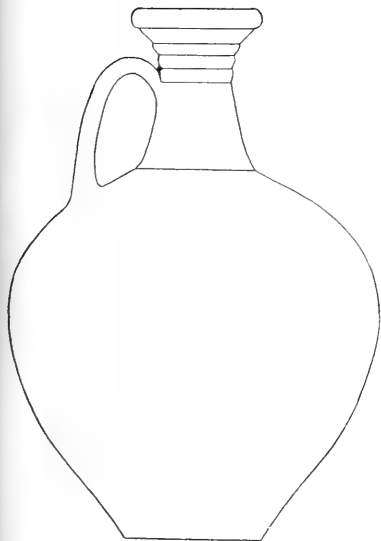
PLATE III.



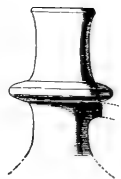
1.



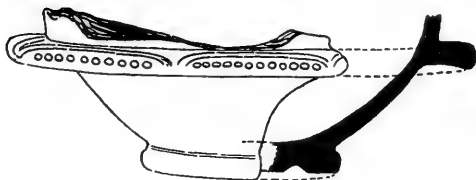
2.



4.



3.



5.

1. Terra Sigillata.

2-3. Castor Ware.

4-5. Red Ware.

To face p. 86



projections resembling "rough-cast." Flat base without basering. Also fragments of smaller vases of similar type.

3. Neck of jug (Plate III., 3).⁸ Buff clay with black engobe.

PLAIN WARES.

The plainer wares of Roman Britain have not yet been classified on any satisfactory system that is both convenient and scientific. The simplest method for the present is to arrange the vases according to the general characteristics of the clay-body. By this method one gets four principal wares, the *Black*, *Grey*, *Red* and *Pale* Wares. Of these the first two are closely related in the shape and technique of the vases, and also the last two; but between these two wider groups there is practically no overlapping. The second group employs a decidedly more elaborate and stereotyped series of vase-shapes which seems to have come fully formed into Britain with the Roman invaders, whereas the simpler and more experimental shapes of the *Black* and *Grey* Wares seem to be rather those of the native British pottery. The names of vessels mentioned in Latin literature, so far as they can be attached to existing vase-shapes, seem all to belong to the group of *Red* and *Pale* wares.

Black Ware. This ware often receives the name of *Upchurch* from its occurrence in large quantities near *Upchurch* in the *Medway* marshes, but the style is not distinctive enough to limit it to any one locality. The body of the vases is black throughout, the clay being apparently permeated by smoke in the process of firing.

8. Necks of this shape are found on small jugs with globular body that come from the *New Forest* (*Crockhill*). This "*New Forest Ware*" is closely related to *Castor* in many respects but is usually fired at a greater heat, which often produces a surface with a metallic lustre and an almost maroon colour. It is possible that the neck at *Melandra* comes from the kilns at *Crockhill* rather than from those of *Castor*.

Where ornamentation occurs it consists either of very faintly indented lines crossing diagonally and forming a lattice pattern or of various groupings of small projecting knobs, incised zig-zag and wavy lines, etc.

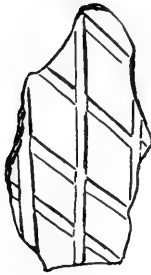
A large quantity of the Melandra fragments belong to this type. They are, for the most part, of coarse clay and rough workmanship. Sometimes the surface seems to have been polished to give it a slight lustre, but in general it has the natural texture of the clay. In one or two fragments at Melandra where portions of the vase have missed proper firing the clay is a pale buff. The decoration in almost all cases consists of the intersecting diagonal lines faintly impressed in the clay by some blunt instrument and showing rather as smooth markings on the rougher surface of the clay than actual incisions (Plate IV., 2 & 6). A few fragments have a band of more deeply impressed parallel zig-zag lines (Plate IV., 9). Most of the fragments are from open-mouthed jars, the sides of which are more or less vertical and turn in to the foot almost at an angle. The bottom of the vase is usually flattened without any basering. The rims of these jars show much variety in the angle and curve at which they turn outward from the vase. Besides the jars there are examples of circular flat-bottomed dishes, the bottom of which is decorated on the outside with a faintly impressed line carried in loops over the whole surface. These dishes have small projecting handles ornamented with incised concentric circles (Plate IV., 11 and 11a).

Two fragments of black ware are of somewhat different character from the rest. Both surface and body are a deep metallic black and the clay is very harsh in texture with hard firing. The vases must have been fired in a true "smother-kiln." One fragment is from the rim of a large globular vessel with frilled pattern under the rim: the

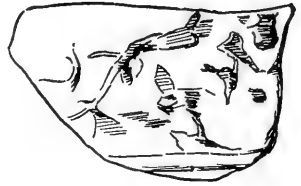
PLATE IV.



I.



2.



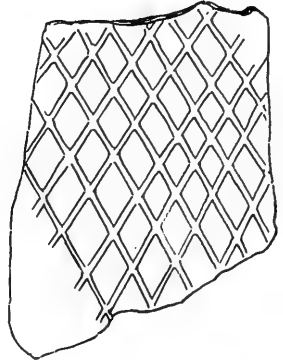
3.



4.



5.



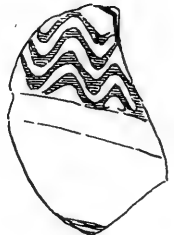
6.



7.



8.



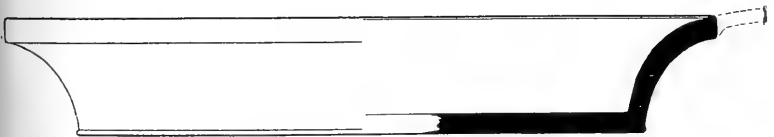
9.



10.



IIIa.



II.



other is a neck of similar shape to that represented in Plate III., 3.

Grey Ware. This ware is distinguished from the Black Ware by the colour and texture of the clay. The vases are closely related to those of black clay in shape and general character but the clay is always dull grey in colour and of a curiously soapy texture apparently very lightly fired. Even in the few cases where the clay is fired so hard as to be gritty and brittle it never becomes black. The vases vary from very delicately moulded and thin-sided forms to the roughest types of cooking utensils but the commonest shape is the same sort of wide-mouthed jar that prevails in the black ware, though it is usually more delicately moulded. The foot of this jar shows all stages intermediate between the merely flattened bottom and the fully formed base-ring. The rim is occasionally moulded to receive a lid, and a few saucer-shaped lids have been found. There is seldom any attempt to ornament the vases, but in a few cases little projecting knobs of clay are stuck on the vase or the surface is worked with the thumb into irregular ridges and hollows (Plate IV., 3 & 5).

A very fine and delicately executed example of Grey Ware is a bowl with a wide overhanging rim. Its shape would enable it to float in water and it may therefore have been used as a wine-cooler (Plate IV., 10).

Pale Ware. The clay is light and hard, varying in colour from white to cream or pink, and it is clearly distinguishable from the brick-red clay of the Red Ware. It is less easy to distinguish the vases by shape, nearly all the principal shapes of vases being common to both the Red and the Pale wares. Certain shapes, however, may be taken as being more distinctive of one ware than of the other. That which is more characteristic of the Pale Ware (though one or two examples in red clay have been found)

is the so-called mortarium or pelvis, an open vessel with large rim and spout, which was apparently used as a mortar since the inside is set with tiny pieces of flint and potsherds to give a rough surface for trituration. The rim frequently bore a potter's stamp, but in many cases the letters are undecipherable or meaningless. The following fragments with stamps have been found at Melandra:—

1. Fragments reconstructed to form a complete vessel. Stamp on rim at either side IIV. (Plate VI., 2).

2. Fragment with stamp FECIT in good letters.

3. Three fragments with doubtful stamps (Plate V., 1—3).

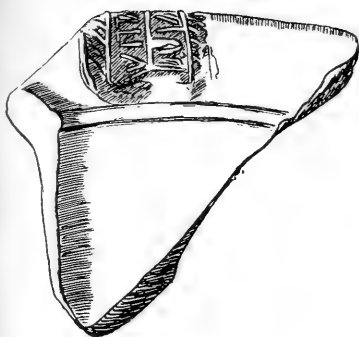
Red Ware. The clay is usually soft in texture and of a brick-red colour. The principal shapes of vessels are:—

(1) "Amphorae," large vessels chiefly used for holding wine. The bases are pointed for sticking the vase upright in the ground. Plain vertical handles on either side of the neck reach from rim to shoulder. The fragments come from vessels of very large size, the diameter of the mouth being as much as $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and the girth of the handles 6 inches. On one handle is a rough stamp SGA. Some of the large fragments may have come from open-mouthed storage jars (dolia) rather than from amphorae. Many fragments are of pale clay.

(2) Jugs or bottles, of which two chief types occur. One is that of a flat-sided lenticular flask with foot and two handles, probably rightly identified with the "ampulla" (Plate VI., 1). The other is a jug with globular body, tall neck and single handle, probably a "lagena" (Plate III., 4). These jugs occur in pale as well as red clay and show much variety in the shape of the lip, in several cases the soft clay having been pinched together across the mouth so as to form a covered spout (Plate V., 4 & 5).

A few thinly moulded fragments in red clay seem to come from square-sided bottles with pressed-in sides.

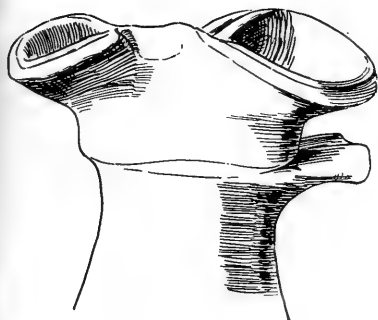
PLATE V.



1.



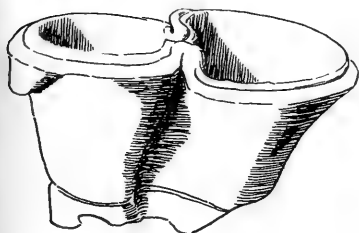
1a.



4.



2.



5.



3.

Pale Ware.

1-3 Mortaria Stamps: 4-5 Necks of Jugs.

To face p. 90





PLATE VI.



I.

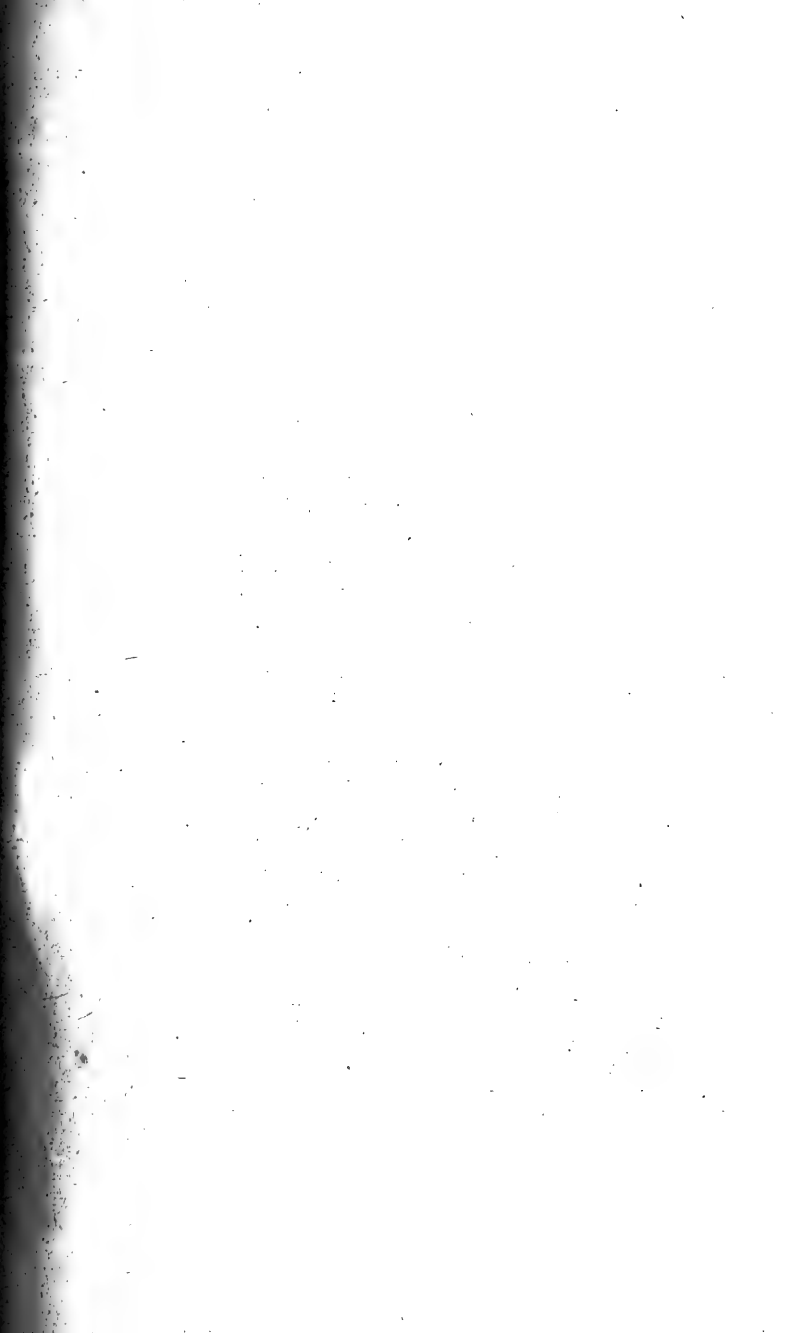


2.

1. Two-handled Flask.

2. Mortar.

To face p. 91





(3) Strainers. Three fragments are from flat disks of clay perforated with small holes, and were perhaps wine-strainers. A larger perforated vessel was perhaps for squeezing fruit. It is a bowl of pink clay having a raised boss in the centre surrounded by three concentric ridges. Each of the hollows between these ridges is drained by four drain-holes.

(4) Open vessels such as flat-bottomed bowls and wide-mouthed jars. The fragments of these are not very numerous. Some vessels were slightly ornamented, as for example with a roughly executed "engine turned" pattern or with a wavy band of clay applied round the vase. A common form of ornament is that of circular "thumb" markings, either impressed or in relief, accentuated by incised circles around them.

Of unique type is a small open bowl of hard red clay with a projecting "false rim" ornamented with curved lines and dots in light-coloured slip (Plate III., 5).

Miniature Clay Figure of a Horse. This may be mentioned here as being of the same red clay as the vases. The legs are broken and the whole figure is very much damaged. Part of the surface of the back is better preserved than the rest, having apparently been covered by some sort of saddle. A much damaged object of red clay, found near the horse, seems to be the remains of this saddle, as it fits neatly to the back of the horse. It was apparently in the shape of a pack-saddle and attached by strings. The horse may have been a child's toy, or perhaps more probably a dedicatory offering for some shrine.

[For another suggestion see p. 71, note 38. The two views are not very far removed, as a solemn dedication on behalf of some *ala* quartered in the camp might, later on, come to share the sanctity of the shrine. In that case one would guess that the trappings of the little beast once held more valuable offerings. The conjectures are especially interesting because so far not a single other trace of any possibly religious object,

save the rude and problematic "Mithras" scratches (page 29) have appeared in the camp.

It is worth while also to record the statement of Professor William Ridgeway, the author of "*The Early Age of Greece*," "*The Origin of the Thoroughbred Horse*," etc., who visited the camp in 1905, that he could recall no other extant model of an *ephippion*.—ED.]

GLASS.

Unlike the pottery, the glass at Melandra is well preserved. It therefore lacks the iridescent beauty of decaying glass and retains the colours given to it in the process of manufacture. These colours are either various shades from brown to yellow or pale translucent greens and blues. In one case a deep, almost opaque, blue is used. Like most Roman glass the fragments from Melandra contain numerous small air-bubbles, flaws which cannot be avoided in the use of small furnaces such as those found at Warrington,⁹ where it is likely that much of the local glass was made.

The different forms of glass found at Melandra are :—

(1) Window glass. This was evidently cast by pouring the molten material on a flat stone, for the under side of the sheet of glass reflects the roughness of the stone, while the upper side has a smooth and somewhat wavy surface and a naturally bevelled edge.

(2) Small button-shaped discs of glass. These too are made by pouring a small quantity of molten glass on a flat stone so that the lower side is flat and slightly roughened, whilst the upper side is rounded and smooth. Most of the discs are of either black or white opaque glass, but there is one example of clear green glass. The discs may have been used as counters in some game, or else for ornament (as they are used on mule harness in Greece at the present day).

9. Cf. *Warrington's Roman Remains* by T. May, p. 37 seq.

(3) Glass vessels. The principal fragments are necks of square or cylindrical bottles with broad reeded handle joining rim and shoulder. The attachment of this reeded handle to the shoulder shows especial care and skill in glass-working.

One fragment is of deep blue glass with "pillar" mouldings.

TILES.

A number of complete tiles and a large quantity of fragments have been found at Melandra. All are of the red clay commonly used for tile-making, though owing to differences in firing the clay varies from an orange to a purple-red. The tiles vary in shape according to the use for which they were intended.

Floor tiles are square in shape, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick, and with sides varying from $6\frac{3}{4}$ to $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Several have semi-circular lines impressed upon one side of them, either to form a key for plaster or to give a clue for their arrangement. On three tiles VV has been incised with a sharp instrument while the clay was still soft. It is a potter's mark and not an official legionary stamp, but in view of the fact that it occurs three (perhaps four) times at Melandra and that it must have been universally recognised as the monogram of the XX. Legion 'Valeria Victrix' (see p. 114) it would be hardly reasonable to give it any other significance here. Another tile still bears the footprint of some small animal that ran across it while the clay was soft. Certain fragments have holes somewhat roughly pierced through them, perhaps for drainage. They differ from a thinner oblong tile where the holes are pierced at regular intervals and seem to be intended for the passage of hot air in a hypo-

caust. One floor tile has had the edge bevelled all round after firing but for what purpose is not clear.

Roof tiles include both the large flat "tegulae" and the "imbrices" in the shape of a half cylinder. Their arrangement is shown in Fig. 2. The larger tegulae are about $18\frac{1}{4} \times 14\frac{1}{4}$ inches and 1 inch thick. They are oblong in shape, with a projecting ridge along each side which held the imbrices in place. This flange is discontinued for about 2 inches at the top of the tile so as to allow for the overlapping of an upper row of tiles. Close to the top

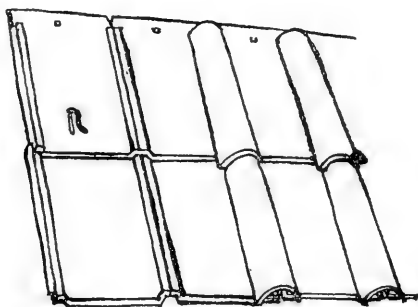


Fig. 2.—Roof Tiles.*

edge of the tile is a square hole for the nail which held the tile in position on the roof. On the under side the roof tiles are scored with diagonal incisions to form a key for plaster. The upper surface seems often to have been washed over with a slip of finer clay which takes a somewhat deeper red than the clay body. The lower edge of the tile is in several cases marked with an R roughly inscribed with the finger or some blunt instrument. On one fragment there is a V inscribed in the same way.

* To show the arrangement of the tiles I have been glad to borrow the scheme used by Mr. Ward, *Gellygaer*, p. 28.

Another has IHS or INS rudely incised with a pointed instrument. The tile is broken in front of the first letter. The lower edge of this tile being bevelled it may well have belonged to the lowest row on the roof where an inscription would be most visible.

With the abundance of good building stone available in the district, tiles would not be required for wall construction. One tile, however, is in the shape of a voussoir of an arch.

J. H. HOPKINSON.

The Roman Coins Found at Melandra.

A. Identified with certainty.

No. in Melandra collection.	Metal	Denomination.	Emperor.	Date. A. D.	Types.		Inscription.	No. in Cohen <i>Méd. Imper.</i>
					Obv.	Rev.		
1	Silver.	Denarius.	Galba.	68	Bust of Galba.	Obscured.	Obv. Imperator [Ser. Galba]. Rev. Obscured.	—
2	Silver.	Denarius.	Domitian.	95-6	Bust of Domitian.	Minerva fighting with shield and spear.	Obv. Imp. Caes. Domit. Aug. Germ. P. M. TR. P. xv. Rev. Im[p. xvii. Cos. xvii. C]ens P. P. P.	292
3	Silver.	Denarius.	Trajan.	100	Bust of Trajan.	Female figure seated.	Obv. Imp. Caes. Nerva Traianus Aug. Germ. P. M. TR. P. Cos. iii. P. P.	? 219
4	Silver.	Denarius.	Trajan.	109	Head of Trajan.	Arabia standing and stretching out a branch over a camel at left foot.	Obv.) Obscured ; Rev.) see Cohen.	89
5	Silver.	Denarius.	Severus Alexander.	231-5 (from portrait)	Bust of Severus laureate.	Hope standing.	Obv. Imp. Alexander Pius Aug. Rev. Spes Publica.	543
6	Bronze or base silver.	Base denarius (Antoninianus)	Postumus (from portrait)	259-69?	Bust of Postumus radiate.	Figure with cornu copiae.	Obv.) Obscured. Rev.)	
7	Bronze or base silver.	Base denarius (Antoninianus).	Carausius.	286-293	Bust of Carausius radiate.	Peace standing ; in field F.	Obv. Imp. Carausius P. F. Aug. Rev. Pax Aug.	Cf. Nos. 217 ff. 3
8	Bronze.	"Small bronze."	Magnus Maximus.	383-8	Bust of Magnus.	Figure of Republic.	Obv. Dn. Mag. Maximus [P. F. Aug.]. Rev. Reparatio [reip.]	

All but 5 and 6 were found in the camp. No. 5 was found at Hadfield, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Melandra on the Eastward road. No. 6 was found with Nos. 15 and 16, and the curious bronze plate (figured below in the *List of Miscellaneous Remains*) in "Pym's parlour," a hollow in the rocks above the river Etherow, about half a mile from the camp.

It is interesting that the two latest coins found on this site should be of Emperors whose claim to the throne (in both cases) rested on British support. The independent recognition accorded to Carausius by Diocletian was due to the powerful British fleet which Carausius raised and controlled¹; and Magnus Clemens Maximus was proclaimed Emperor of the Western provinces (Gaul, Britain, Spain) by the British legions.² It suggests that these coins were struck in Britain, and in fact Carausius struck coins nowhere else. There is a very interesting silver coin in the British Museum collection which Maximus struck at London—a town which he re-named *Augusta*—in the year 383 A.D.

B. *Identified with some degree of probability.*

No. in Melandra Collection.	Metal.	Probable Denomination.	Probable Epoch, A.D.
9	Bronze.	?	132-5 (see below).
10 } 11 }	Bronze.	Dupondius.	{ First century (from general appearance). Portrait possibly of Hadrian.
12	Bronze.	Dupondius.	
13	Bronze.	Sestertius.	From size, probably of Hadrian or Antoninus Pius.
14	Bronze.	Dupondius.	First or second century.
15	Bronze.	"Small bronze."	From size, and style of head, fourth century (later than Constantine).

C. *Quite Uncertain.*

16	Bronze.	Hopelessly effaced.
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On the provenance of 15 and 16 see above.

These statements as to the nature and origin of the coins are on the authority of the numismatists of the British Museum, especially Mr. G. F. Hill, whom I have to thank for their very patient kindness in the matter. I append

1. Gibbon, c. xiii. (vol. ii. p. 9).
2. Gibbon, c. xxvii. (vol. iii. p. 394).

a very interesting letter from the Keeper of the Coins concerning No. 9; and a sketch of its obverse face. Our attempts at a photograph were unsuccessful. The reverse is hopelessly obscured.

R. S. CONWAY.



Department of Coins and Medals,
British Museum, London, W.C.

May 24, 1905.

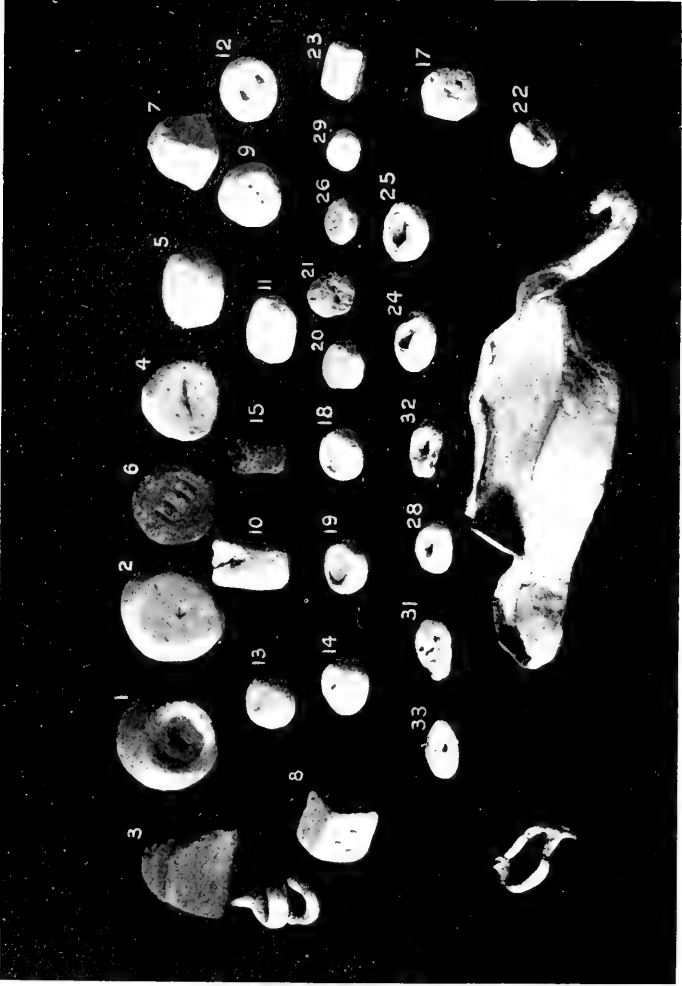
DEAR MR. CONWAY,—

The smaller of your two coins is almost certainly Jewish, as it has on one side the cup as on the later Jewish coins. The letter above seems to be ש, the initial letter of the name of Simon Bar-cohab. In this case the date of the coin would be A.D. 132—135. I can find no published Jewish coin quite like it, so the attribution must not be taken as certain.

Yours sincerely,

B. V. HEAD.





Weights, Lampholder and other Objects.

The Trade= and Coin=Weights Found at Melandra.

THE exceedingly important observation which Mr. May has made of the relation between certain of the ancient weights found at Melandra and the "Neath" or "Glastonbury" standard, and which he has explained in an article now appearing in the *Derbyshire Archæological Society's Journal*, seemed to impose on the Editor of this Report the task of taking stock of the knowledge we now possess of this curious and interesting set of objects. Since Mr. May undertook the first scientific enquiry into their nature (in his article in the same journal, 1903), ten more specimens have been added from the camp (their number now reading 30); and, although his discussion then placed beyond doubt the nature of some of the purely Roman weights which formed part of the collection, by showing their close connection with the weights of the coins used at different periods of the Empire, many of the details remained, as he frankly pointed out, in some obscurity. My object in making this addition to Mr. May's two articles was to define as precisely as may be how much knowledge we possess of the nature of the weights, and to separate as sharply as possible what was certain from what was merely probable. But the results of a systematic survey proved to be far more interesting than I had hoped. The third Table printed below shows that the collection gives us no less than seven certain denominations of the Keltic standard (hitherto known only in the unit, its double and quadruple), and thereby supplies a most welcome confirmation of the discovery of that standard itself, and of the text in an interesting passage of Cæsar (see below).

TABLE I.

WEIGHTS OF 1 BRONZE AND 32 LEADEN OBJECTS FOUND
AT MELANDRA.

No.	No. in Mr. May's List.	Shape.	Weight in Grains.	Notes.
1	19	Cheese or barrel.	4735 ('4)	
2	Not then found.	The same, but rather more angular.	3535 ('0)	
3	do. do.	Pyramid, cylindric top.	3472 ('4)	Furrow cut along the top; thick layer of carbonate on surface.
4	18	Inverted frustum of cone.	1870 ('4)	
5	17	Cheese or barrel.	1725 ('2)	Much wasted.
6	16	Flat cheese.	1709 ('3)	Found on surface, apart from the others.
7	Not then found.	Cylindric topped pyramid.	1296 ('8)	Shallow groove across the top; iron nail driven into foot.
8	15	Square prism.	1181 ('9)	
9	13	Cheese or double truncated cone.	913 ('4)	Deeply pitted.
10	14	Tall square prism, corners rounded.	905 ('6)	Sockets in top for a ring.
11	12	Half cheese.	617 ('3)	
12	Not then found.	Flat cheese.	555 ('8)	
13	11	do.	531 ('6)	
14	10	Half cheese.	428 ('6)	
15	9A	Cylinder.	402 ('8)	Bronze, with iron stud.
16	—	Coil.	365 ('0)	
17	—	Cube.	351 ('4)	Dice marks on 6 faces.
18	9	Cheese.	323 ('8)	
19	8	do.	312 ('8)	
20	7	Thick circular disc or lozenge.	297 ('5)	
21	6	do. do.	239 ('3)	Much pitted, perforated.
22	—	Flattened cube.	236 ('6)	Dice marks faintly visible.
23	5	Square disc.	215 ('9)	
24	Not then found.	Pierced cone.	208 ('9)	Spindle wheel?
25	4	Pierced disc.	188 ('9)	
26	3	Cheese (rather square).	173 ('0)	With bronze or copper centre somewhat pitted.
27	Not then found.	Pierced disc.	151 ('7)	Broken a little on one side found in the conduit, 1905.
28	2	do.	146 ('8)	
29	1	Cone (or hemisphere).	125 ('5)	Nearly pierced through ¹
30	Not then found.	Bow or D	104 ('2)	
31	do. do.	Disc.	97 ('4)	} Much wasted.
32	do. do.	Pierced cone.	96 ('8)	
33	do. do.	Disc.	76 ('4)	

In several cases, since weighing, I have cleared away the deposit of lead carbonate from the markings to render them more distinct.

Dec. 25, 1905.

CHARLES H. LEES.

1. Since Mr. May's weighing, which in general agrees very well with Dr. Lees', gave a considerably higher figure for this specimen (No. 29), I weighed it again myself (with the help of Mr. W. Makower, Dr. Lees' successor in the Laboratory), and found the figures given above entirely correct.—R.S.C.

The first thing to be done was clearly to have the present weight of the specimens determined with scientific precision, and the members of our Association are greatly indebted to Dr. C. H. Lees, F.R.S., the Assistant Director of the Physical Laboratory in the University of Manchester,¹ for his kindness in undertaking the duty, and for his careful report. This I now subjoin, modified by the insertion of the second column, identifying the weights with those in Mr. May's list in the earlier of his articles. I have also slightly amplified the details in the third column, to place the identification beyond any future doubt.

The table proceeds from the heaviest to the lightest, and includes four objects also found in the camp, which it seemed well to weigh, but of which three (Nos. 16, 17, 22) almost certainly, and one (30) possibly, should not be counted as weights at all.

We may proceed now to select from this list those specimens which certainly, or with varying degrees of probability, can be identified as Roman. Both Mr. May and myself have based our work upon the admirably lucid outline of the history of the Roman coinage in Imperial times contained in Mr. G. F. Hill's *Handbook of Greek and Roman Coins* (London, 1899). The fullness of the tables contained in his Appendix diminishes by at least one-half the labour inevitably involved in any metrological enquiry.

The need for an elaborate apparatus of weights of small denominations appears at once when we consider the perpetual changes in the coinage (see Hill, pp. 50—55) in the third and fourth centuries. Of the variations in the gold coins after Alexander Severus (222—235 A.D.) he writes (p. 55): "Then begins a period of hopeless con-

1. Professor designate of Physics in the East London College.

fusion, such that the scales must have been necessary in all transactions in which gold passed." The specimens we have belonged no doubt to the financial officer of the fort, and as these were not found all together,² but scattered over the Northern half of the camp, they had perhaps been discarded from time to time as changes in the currency they were used to measure may have dictated.

Let me first present the table of the weights, in three groups, according to the degree of certainty of their Roman character,³ and then add a few notes, which future enquiry may, I hope, enlarge, to suggest what coins they were used to measure.

I have disregarded the two dice (17 and 22) and the spiral (16), as there seems no reason for thinking that they were used as weights. (See the figure given on p. 112.)








In the sketches of the weights which follow, no attempt has been made to keep the same scale, which would have rendered the smaller sketches unintelligible. The photograph (p. 99) gives their relative size.

2. Nine of the heavier weights were found in a group at a spot marked in Mr. Bruton's plan. These were the following :—1, 4, 7, 8, 9, 18, 19, 21, 23. Fortune has made what seems an unkindly capricious selection from our two categories.

3. The precise identification of the weight of some of them is not above doubt even in Table II. A. In these cases I have added a ? to the "Presumed original weight."










II. WEIGHTS OF THE ROMAN STANDARD.

A. *Certainly Roman weights* (Unit: *Libra* of 5050 grains).

No.	Shape.	Marks on face.	Weight in grains.	Presumed multiple of			Presumed original or correct weight.	Notes.
				(a) <i>Libra</i> (= 12 <i>unciae</i>).	(b) <i>Uncia</i> (= 8 <i>drachmae</i>).	(c) <i>Drachma</i> (= 6 <i>oboli</i> , = 18 <i>siliguae</i>).		
6	Flattened cheese.		1709.3	$\frac{1}{4}$	4	32	1683.3	Well preserved; found at some distance from the rest.
7	Pyramid with summit rounded to a cylinder, with shallow groove across it.		1296.8	$\frac{1}{4}$	3	(a) 24	1262.5	An iron headed nail has been driven into the base.
9	Cheese or two truncated cones, base to base.		913.4	$\frac{1}{8}$	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	(b) 18	946.9	Deeply pitted.
11	Half cheese (truncated inverted cone).		617.3	$\frac{1}{4}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	(c) 12	631.2	
13	Cheese.	Obv.  Rev. 	531.6	$\frac{1}{8}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	? 10	? 526.0	Well preserved.
14	Half cheese (frustum of sphere).		428.6	$\frac{1}{2}$	1	8	420.8	




II. WEIGHTS OF THE ROMAN STANDARD.

A. *Certainly Roman weights* (Unit: *Libra* of 5050 grains)—*contd.*

No.	Shape.	Marks on face.	Weight in grains.	Presumed multiple of			Presumed original or correct weight.	Notes.
				(a) <i>Libra</i> (= 12 <i>unciae</i>).	(b) <i>Uncia</i> . (= 8 <i>drachmae</i>).	(c) <i>Drachma</i> (= 6 <i>oboli</i> , = 18 <i>siliquae</i>).		
18	Cheese (with hollowed top).		323·8	$\frac{1}{16}$	$\frac{1}{8}$	(d) 6	? 315·6	Well preserved.
19	As No. 18.		312·8	$\frac{1}{16}$	$\frac{1}{8}$	(d) 6	315·6	Well preserved.
23	Square disc.		215·9	$\frac{1}{32}$	$\frac{1}{16}$	4	? 210·4	
24	Shallow cone, pierced.		208·9	$\frac{1}{32}$	$\frac{1}{16}$	4	210·4	Pitted.
27	Pierced disc (bun-shaped).		151·7	$\frac{1}{32}$	$\frac{1}{16}$	(e) 3	157·8	One edge broken.
30	Bow or brooch.		104·2	$\frac{1}{32}$	$\frac{1}{16}$	2	105·2	Perhaps not a weight.
31	Disc with four perforations.		97·4	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \frac{1}{32} \\ \frac{1}{16} \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} \frac{1}{16} \\ \frac{1}{8} \end{array} \left. \begin{array}{l} \frac{1}{8} \\ \frac{1}{4} \end{array} \right\} 2$			105·2	Edge broken.
32	As No. 24.		96·8				105·2	Much broken.
33	As No. 27.		76·4	$\frac{1}{32}$	$\frac{1}{16}$	(f) $1\frac{1}{2}$	78·9	

On the last six specimens (24—33) there are no intentional marks save the perforations.

II. B. *Probably Roman Weights.*

No.	Shape.	Marks on face	Weight in grains.	Possible multiple of			Possible original weight.	Notes.
				(a) <i>Libra.</i>	(b) <i>Uncia.</i>	(c) <i>Drachma.</i>		
4	Inverted frustum of cone		1870.4	$\frac{3}{4}$	$4\frac{1}{2}$	36	1893.8	Somewhat worn
10	Cylinder or rounded prism, with deep furrow across the summit filled in at one part		905.6	$?\frac{1}{16}$	$2\frac{1}{2}$	18	?946.9	Did the furrow provide sockets for 2 ends of a ring handle?
15	Cylinder with deep furrow across the summit, and iron nail driven in		402.8	$?\frac{1}{12}$	1	8	?420.8	Bronze, deeply pitted

NOTES ON THE ROMAN WEIGHTS.

1. In Table II. A, I have marked with the letters (a) to (f) the specimens which seem to make a series both by their weight and (with the exception of (a), No. 7, which is simply $\frac{1}{4}$ lb.) shape and to be multiples of $1\frac{1}{2}$ drachmæ. This weight (No. 33) was that of the *Antoninianus* or base silver denarius of Caracalla (198—217 A.D.).

2. The drachma itself was the weight of the silver denarius of Nero (54—68 A.D.) and the silver coin of Diocletian (284—305 A.D.) to which some authorities attach the name *miliarensis* which probably implies a value of $\frac{1}{1000}$ lb. of gold.

3. The only coin I can find of which No. 31, which is punctured four times, gives four times the weight is the *quinarius* (half-denarius) of Diocletian. Its own weight, however, if we disregard the punctures which do not always (as may be seen, e.g., by comparing 9 and 13) give any numerical measure of the weight, is that of 3 gold *siliquæ* of Julian (360—363 A.D.).

4. In regard to No. 4 Mr. May in his first article, assuming that its original weight was $4\frac{1}{2}$ *uncia* (1893.8 grains)¹ and that it belonged to the same series as those I have marked (a)—(f), ingeniously calculated that it represented five *stipendia* of the age of Augustus, a *stipendium* being the pay due to a legionary soldier three times every year. If this were sound, it would afford an attractive explanation of the five dots which the weight bears on its face, and one would conjecture that it represented some regular fee of one of the senior centurions, though rather a high one. The annual pay of the legionary in the early Empire

1. In Mr. May's weighing 3 years ago, the result was 1882.08 grains; it has no doubt lost some of its carbonate coating since then, as it now weighs only 1870.4.

we know from Tacitus (Ann. 1, 17) to have been 3,600 (Augustan) *asses* = 225 *denarii* = 9 *aurei*. Hence a stipendium of that period = 3 *aurei*, which, under Julius Cæsar, would have meant $\frac{3}{40}$ of a libra of gold, or 378.7 grains; 5 times this weight would give $\frac{3}{8}$ of a libra or $4\frac{1}{2}$ uncie, the weight which Mr. May assumes as the original weight of our specimen. We might, then, not unreasonably, say that we had before us the weight of 5 *stipendia* or 15 *aurei* of Julius Cæsar. But under Augustus the weight of the *aureus* (Hill, p. 54) was reduced to $\frac{1}{42}$ of the libra or 120.37 grains (and so remained, though with a tendency to decrease till Caracalla (198—217 A.D.) under whom it became $\frac{1}{30}$ lb.). This specimen therefore would represent more nearly 16 than 15 Augustan *aurei*, and a paymaster was hardly likely to submit to a difference of some 6 per cent. to his disadvantage. It is possible that some explanation may be forthcoming (e.g. the soldier may conceivably have been entitled to the same weight of metal in spite of the reduction of the coin; as in fact he was in the case of the change of the copper *as*, see Hill p. 48 footnote), but until this can be certainly determined, Mr. May's explanation must be regarded only as an attractive conjecture. It might be worth while to attempt by a narrower enquiry than would be appropriate here whether the higher weight of the *aureus* suited any period between Augustus and Caracalla.

THE KELTIC WEIGHTS.

During the visit of the Branch of the Association to Mr. May's beautiful collection of Roman pottery from his excavation of Warrington in October, 1905, he very kindly handed to me the draft of his second article (now appearing in the current number of the *Derbyshire Archæological Journal*), which pointed out the close approximation of the heaviest specimen of the Melandra weights to the standard which Mr. Reginald Smith, of the British Museum, had shown to be represented by a bronze weight found at Neath (4,770 grains), and another (of basalt) at Mainz (4,767 grains), and by the normal weight deduced from that of a large number of iron bars¹ found in the purely British lake-village at Glastonbury and in other British sites. Some of these iron bars, so far as they have yet been examined, presumably represented double the unit, three the unit itself, and two the unit quadrupled, but as they have, of course, suffered a good deal from rust, the variation in particular specimens is

1. 4,484 grains; the difference is due to the rusting of the iron.

considerable. Mr. Smith's conclusions therefore entirely establish the soundness of the text in Cæsar B. G. 5, 12, 4 *taleis ferreis ad certum pondus examinatis pro nummo*. Details of his exceedingly important determination are given by Mr. Smith in his paper on the "Ancient British Iron Currency" (*Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, xx., 179, January 26, 1905), and in outline in the *Guide to the Antiquities of the Early Iron Age in the British Museum*, 1905, pp. 149f. Both the Neath and the Mainz specimens exhibit the same cheese or barrel shape which appears in four Melandra specimens (1, 2, 5, 12); each of the two is marked I on the face, but the Mainz specimen has a further legend which no one yet has interpreted, I \bigcirc \bigcirc , the last sign apparently a Q tilted to the left.

The peculiar importance of the collection at Melandra appears at once from the table below (III., A. and B.), which shows that we have here represented certainly seven (including the unit), and quite possibly nine, denominations of this standard, whose sub-divisions have been hitherto entirely unknown.

The nature of the sub-divisions is also interesting. Besides the duodecimal principle (in Nos. 2, 3, 8, 25, and ?21) following that of the Roman *libra* and *uncia*, to which, if I remember rightly, Mr. May's article is to call attention, I think we must recognise not less clearly the quadratic (Nos. 2, 5, 8, ?12, 20, 28 and ?21), giving us a division of the unit into 4, 8, 16, 32 and ?96 parts. Nos. 2, 3, 5, and 21 could belong to either, and 12 may just conceivably be Roman and represent $10\frac{1}{2}$ drachmæ, or 7 times the weight of an Antoninianus.

It would be of course possible to interpret all these weights as representing so many "British drachmæ" (if one may coin such a term for the sake of argument), since 96 is a common denomination for both 12 and 16;

but one seeks a reason for the creation of weights to represent 6 and 12 "British drachmæ," *i.e.*, $\frac{1}{16}$ and $\frac{1}{8}$ of the "British pound" respectively if there was no other named standard than $\frac{1}{12}$ of the unit ("British uncia") and $\frac{1}{96}$ ("British drachma"). And that there was some other such named unit weighing $\frac{1}{16}$ of this "British pound" (298.1 grains) seems at least suggested by the markings on Nos. 12 and 20, which would then be the weights of two and one such units respectively; unhappily No. 12 is nearly 8 per cent. under its proper weight, on this hypothesis. It is also clear that the markings on No. 8 vouch for the duodecimal system, as Mr. May points out. But Nos. 20 and 28 are unimpeachable witnesses for the quadratic system.








Can we conjecture from this that we have here the result of the imposition of the Roman system of 12 ounces and 96 drachms upon a Keltic system of dividing the pound into 16 parts? And that therefore the essential characteristic of our modern "Avoirdupois" measure goes back to the Early Iron Age? I must be content to leave this inference for students of metrology to develop or confute. My object is primarily to provide material for their enquiry, by a preliminary clearing of the ground. A similar case of the imposition of Roman divisions upon a local unit occurs at Pompeii; see *The Mensa Ponderaria of the Naples Museum*, App. I. to my edition of the remains of *The Italic Dialects*. And examples more important for northern lands will be found in Appendix C of Prof. Ridgeway's *Origin of Metallic Currency and Weight Standards*.

No. 3, which has been considerably cut about, and does not correspond in shape to No. 2, looks like a Roman weight cut down to the Keltic standard.

Here follow the weights which are certainly or probably Keltic; and after them two or three which I do not feel able to identify with enough probability to insert them in either category.




III. WEIGHTS OF KELTIC STANDARD.

A. *Probably Keltic* (Unit: Neath weight 4770 grains).



No.	Shape.	Weight in grains.	Presumed fraction of unit.	Presumed original or correct weight.	Marks on face.	Notes.
1	Cheese or barrel	4735.4	1	4770		Somewhat worn, but not deeply pitted.
2	Cheese or barrel	3535.0	$\frac{3}{4}$	3577.5		Much worn
5	Cheese or barrel	1725.2	$\frac{3}{8}$	1788.75		Much wasted
8	Square prism	1181.9	$\frac{1}{4}$	1192.5		Presumably a local triens, or quarter-pound
20	Thick disc or circular lozenge	297.5	$\frac{1}{16}$	298.1		Well preserved
25	Disc with large perforation	183.9	$\frac{1}{16}$	198.8		With thick layer of carbonate
28	Shallow cone pierced	146.8	$\frac{1}{16}$	149		Deeply pitted

III. WEIGHTS OF KELTIC STANDARD—(continued).

B. The following three specimens may conceivably belong to the same standard:—

3	Pyramid, with summit rounded to a cylinder with deep furrow cut in the surface	3472·4	$\frac{1}{8}$	3577·5		With thick layer of carbonate
12	Flat cheese	555·8	$\frac{1}{8}$	596·25		
21	Short cylinder or thick disc, perforated	239·3	$\frac{1}{8}$	249·5		5 local drachmae (i.e., $\frac{5}{8}$ of the local uncia)?

IV. DOUBTFUL.

No.	Shape.	Marks on face.	Weight in grains,	Possible multiple of			Presumed original or correct weight.	Notes.
				(1) <i>Libra</i> (= 12 unciae).	(2) <i>Uncia</i> (= 8 drachmae).	(3) <i>Drachma</i> (= 6 oboli, = 18 stiquate).		
			(a)	(b)	(c)			
26	Cheese, squarish with bronze centre		173·0	? $1\frac{1}{4}$	$1\frac{1}{2}$	20 obols (3½ drachmae).	? 175·3	Somewhat worn cf. 23.
29	Cone or hemisphere nearly pierced		125·5	? $1\frac{1}{2}$	$1\frac{1}{2}$	15 obols (2½ drachmae).	? 131·5	Much worn; cf. 27.

R. S. CONWAY.

NOTE.—On the eve of publication I had the advantage of a conversation with Mr. Reginald Smith, who referred me to an article by Lehmann, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xxi. (1889) p. (245) ff., entitled *Altbabylonisches Maass und Gewicht und deren Wanderung*. On p. (277) some interesting conjectures will be found as to the origin of the Avoirdupois standard, but not as to the principle of division. Indeed the writer leaves it undecided whether the pound was originally based upon the ounce or the ounce upon the pound. Mr. Smith also tells me that some weights not yet publicly described, but said to correspond to the Neath standard, have recently been found in Somersetshire, and are now in the Castle Museum, Taunton (*Curator*, H. St. G. Gray, Esq.).

LIST OF MISCELLANEOUS REMAINS IN THE CUSTODY
OF MR. R. HAMNETT, GLOSSOP.¹

BONES.

Broken and burnt bones of animals used for food—including the domestic shorthorn (*Bos longifrons*) and the sheep or goat. Also two tips of deer antler, found in a fireplace in section 136.

FLINTS.

Splinters and chips of flint and chert (from carboniferous limestone) left in walls of Neolithic age—like the rest found on similar sites in the Pennine Chain. These are of various dates, as shown by the varying states of decomposition.

One carefully chipped fragment is probably a strike-a-light used with pyrites or steel.

WHETSTONES.

Three whetstones made of "Hone stone," probably obtained from Wales or the Lake District. It does not occur in Derbyshire.

W. B. D.

QUERNS.

See p. 8 and Figures there given.

TILES.

Floor tiles }
Roof tiles } See p. 93.

BOWLS, VASES AND OTHER POTTERY.

(See p. 77.)

1. Shortly to be placed in cases provided by Lord Howard of Glossop, in the Public Library in the Victoria Hall of that town.

WEIGHTS.

(See p. 99.)

COINS.

(See p. 96.)

DICE.

(One found in the Camp, one outside the N. Gate. See p. 102.)



LEAD.

Lead lamp-holder with serpent-handle.

Lead weight to lash (*flagellum*)?

Lead weights, dice, bow and spiral (see p. 99 and above).

Fragments, some of sheet lead.

IRON.

3 spear-heads.

Fragments of knife.

Large axe wholly of iron.

Large ring found in S. gate (4 to 5 in. diam.).

Nails of various sizes, and miscellaneous fragments.

BRONZE.

1 weight (see p. 100 ff.).

Fragments, including 2 ornamental nails which were found in the Praetorium; and a broken piece of a phalera (?)

Bronze plate or mould, with incised pattern (found with Roman coins in "Pym's parlour," cf. Fig. 1, and Mr. R. A. Smith's letter here appended).



Fig. 1. Figured Bronze Plate.



Fig. 2. Sphinx Seal.



Fig. 3. Ram Seal.



DEPARTMENT OF BRITISH AND MEDIAEVAL ANTIQUITIES,
BRITISH MUSEUM,
LONDON, W.C.

1st January, 1906.

DEAR PROF. CONWAY,—

I have now been able to submit your bronze to Mr. Read, who is inclined to think it a weight, the design being merely ornamental, and not intended for moulding gold leaf. I make the weight 574 grains, but neither Mr. Read nor myself can recall anything quite similar, though its Roman origin is apparent.

I am,

Yours very truly,

REGINALD A. SMITH.

OTHER OBJECTS.

Sphinx-intaglio; Suetonius, *Aug.* c. 50, tells us that a seal of this pattern was the first used by Augustus (see Fig. 2).

Ram seal in iron ring, found in E. wall (see Fig. 3).

18 counters of fused glass (12 white, 5 black, 1 transparent green); cf. p. 92.

1 counter of stone.

Miniature horse, with model of ephippion. No other such model seems to be known (p. 91).

R. S. C.

Legio XX., Valeria Victrix.

A NUMBER of tiles discovered in the floor of a building in the Melandra fort¹ are marked V V, the initial letters of the title of the famous XXth Legion, indicating the presence of a contingent of that legion at some time when building operations were going on inside the fort. The XXth Legion is first heard of in the days of the second triumvirate, when it formed part of the army controlled by Antony. During the reign of Augustus the XXth was stationed in Illyria, where it operated against the rebel chieftain Bato, under the command of M. Valerius Messalinus, governor of Pannonia, winning a triumph for him in the year 6 A.D. Three years later occurred the disaster to the legions of Varus in Germany,² and in the following year the XXth Legion was drafted along with others to the Rhine to avenge the defeat. From 10—43 A.D. it was permanently stationed in Germany.³ In 43, by orders of the Emperor Claudius, it was called upon to join three other legions, the IIInd, IXth, and XIVth,⁴ in the invasion of Britain under the command of Aulus Plautius.

The British territory subdued by Aulus Plautius lay south of a line drawn from Bath (*Aquæ Sulis*) to London, and then N.E. to Colchester (*Camulodunum*). His successor, Ostorius Scapula, extended the Roman power

1. See p. 93.

2. Tac. Ann. i., 60—61; Dio Cassius lvi., 23.

3. Tac. Ann. i., 31, § 3; Dio lv., 23.

4. Mommsen. Rom. Prov. i., 174.

mainly towards the north and west. By hard fighting he advanced through the territory of the Silures and Ordovices in S. and N. Wales, establishing the XIVth Legion at Wroxeter⁵ (*Viroconium*); thence he pushed on against the Cangi, in Carnarvonshire, Denbigh and Flint, and it may very well be that in this campaign he first established the Roman camp at Chester (*Deva*), which either then (51 A.D.) or very soon after became the headquarters of the XXth Legion. In 59 A.D. Britain received a new governor in Suetonius Paulinus, who spent his first two years in completing the subjugation of N. Wales; when, at the end of that time, he proceeded with the XIVth Legion to the conquest of Anglesey,⁶ he seems to have left the XXth behind him in camp at Deva. Ostorius had been recalled from Wales by trouble with the Brigantes, a powerful tribe occupying Lancashire, Westmoreland, Northumberland, Durham and Yorkshire; and the position of Deva was admirably chosen to protect an army advancing into Wales from an attack in the rear by the Brigantes. Like Ostorius, Paulinus was suddenly recalled from his Welsh campaign by the news that the Iceni and other tribes in the S.E. of Britain had risen under Queen Boudicca⁷ and cut to pieces the IXth Legion at Camulodunum. Returning through Deva in great haste Suetonius reinforced his XIVth Legion with veterans of the XXth (*vexillarii vicesimani*),⁸ and these seasoned troops had the distinction of aiding in the overwhelming defeat which

5. Tac. Ann. xii., 31 (cf. Bury. Roman Empire, ch. xvi., note B) : C.I.L., vii., 155.

6. Tac. Ann. xiv., 29-30.

7. Tac. Ann. xiv., 31-37. The form Boadicea, or Boudicea, under which the name of this queen has come down to the modern world, is due to the error of an early printed edition of the *Agricola* (cf. Furneaux on Tac. Agr. ch. xvi.): the name survives in the modern Welsh "Buddug" (= Victoria).

8. Tac. Ann. xiv., 34.

he inflicted on the revolted tribes in the neighbourhood of Camulodunum.

During the next few years the XXth Legion seems to have made itself a reputation for turbulence. Long before its transference to Britain it had played a leading part in the sedition of the Germanic legions in 14 A.D.;⁹ and now its commander, Roscius Caelius, allowed it to get so out of control that it proved a "handful" (*nimia*)¹⁰ for successive governors of Britain. Roscius was superseded in 69 A.D. by the famous Agricola, a partisan of Vespasian, who by his tact won it over to faithful allegiance to the new emperor—a feat for which he claimed no credit, preferring, as Tacitus tells us, "to give the impression of having found it loyal rather than of having made it so."¹⁰ After two years in command of the legion Agricola left Britain to govern Aquitania, but returned in 78 A.D. as governor of the island, a position he occupied till 85. In his third campaign, at the head of the IXth, XIVth and XXth Legions, he extended the Roman power to the north as far as the Tyne, at the expense of the Brigantes, and in the following year drew a line of forts between the Firths of Clyde and Forth, establishing the IXth Legion in garrison at York (*Eburacum*), the Brigantian capital. Three years later (84 A.D.) the XXth Legion took part in another famous victory, the defeat of the Caledonians by Agricola at the Graupian Hill.¹¹

From this time onward contingents of the XXth seem to have been employed on garrison duty in various parts of the north of England, indications of their presence being found in almost every quarter of the Brigantian

9. Tac. Ann. i., 31.

10. Tac. Agr., vii.

11. The identification of the *Mons Graupius* (Tac. Agr., xxix.) with the modern Grampian hills is very questionable: the MS. authority for the form *Grampius* is inferior.

territory. The need of a strong permanent garrison at Deva gradually disappeared, as the natives grew more submissive to the Roman dominion; and in Hadrian's reign (117—138 A.D.) a considerable part, if not the whole, of the XXth was employed in the building and defence of the great North Wall from the Solway Firth to the mouth of the Tyne.¹² In the next reign, that of Antoninus Pius (138—161), the Legion was again—or still—in the North, building the wall from the Clyde to the Forth along the line of Agricola's Wall (circa 140—144 A.D.).¹³ There it remained apparently till some nine years later. In 153 A.D. "the soldiers of the XXth Legion" erected at Birdoswald (*Amboglanna*) an altar to the British god Cocidius.¹⁴ We may conjecture that it then returned to its old quarters at Deva; for an altar to Jupiter Tanarus¹⁵ was dedicated by an officer of the Legion at Chester in the following year (154 A.D.). This conclusion is not certain, as the legion may have been divided, different portions of it garrisoning the North Wall and Deva simultaneously, though the altar of 153 reads as though it was dedicated by the whole Legion.¹⁴ When Severus and Caracalla visited Deva (207—8), the Legion was still there, as is shown by an altar dedicated by one of its officers, Flavius Longus.¹⁶ Part, or the whole, of the Legion again accom-

12. Cf. C.I.L. vii., 623. "Legio vi. pia fidelis: vexillatio legionis xx. Val. Vic." (found at Carraw): C.I.L. vii., 749 (at Caerboran).

13. Cf. C.I.L. vii., 1133, 1137, 1139, 1141—3: the first of these is reproduced in facsimile in "An Account of the Roman Antiquities preserved in the Museum at Chesters" (published by Gilbert and Rivington), p. 33 and runs—"Imperatore Cæsare Tito Aelio Hadriano Antonino iii." (i.e. tria millia).

14. C.I.L. vii., 802. Deo Cocidio milites legionis xx. VV. votum solverunt libentes merito Apro et Rufino consulibus."

15. C.I.L., vii., 168. "Jovi Optimo Maximo T. Elupius (? Flavius?) Galeria (tribu) Praesens Guntia princeps legionis xx. VV. Commodo et Laterano consulibus votum solvit libens merito."

16. C.I.L. vii., 167. "Pro salute Dominorum nostrorum invictissimorum Augustorum Genio loci Fl. Longus, tribunus militum Legionis xx. VV. et Longinus filius ejus domo Samosata votum solverunt."

panied these emperors to Caledonia, where a "*veixillatio*" or detachment of the XXth has left a record of its presence at Netherby¹⁷ (*Castra Exploratorum*), circa 220 A.D., the latest extant dated inscription referring to the Legion. The historian Dio Cassius,¹⁸ who wrote in the early years of the third century, says that in his day the XXth was in "Upper Britain," *i.e.*, Britain south of the Mersey and Humber, and so presumably back again at Deva. For two centuries we hear nothing more of the Legion, and when we do next come across it, it has left Britain.

To determine the precise date of its departure from the island, a word or two is necessary as to the disposition of the legions in Britain during the first two centuries. The IXth Legion, which was so severely handled by the Iceni¹⁹ in 61 A.D., was reorganized by fresh levies; it appears at York²⁰ (*Eburacum*) in 109 A.D., after which it disappears from history, being replaced in Britain by the VIth Legion *Victrix*.²¹ It is a not improbable conjecture that the IXth was cut to pieces by the Brigantes early in the second century.²² The XIVth was withdrawn from Britain by Nero for service in the East;²³ Vespasian replaced it by the IInd *Adjutrix*, which was stationed at Lincoln (*Lindum*), but this Legion was again withdrawn by Domitian in 81 A.D. From early in the second century, then, the Roman army in Britain contained three legions, IInd *Augusta*, VIth *Victrix*, and XXth *Valeria Victrix*. The *Notitia Dignitatum*, an official document

17. C.I.L. vii., 964.

18. See below.

19. Tac. Ann. xiv. 32. 6.

20. C.I.L. vii., 241.

21. Orelli, 3186.

22. Borghesi, *Œuvres*, iv., 115.

23. Mommsen, *Rom. Prov.* i., 174; Tac. Hist. i. 6; ii. 11, 27 and 66.

dating from the early years of the fifth century, indicates the presence of the VIth in its old headquarters at York, and of the IIInd at Richborough, in Kent; the XXth is not mentioned as in Britain. Now, from the poet Claudian²⁴ we learn that Stilicho withdrew from Britain, for his campaign against Alaric the Goth in 403 A.D., a legion that had garrisoned the northern frontier of Britain; this can, on the evidence of the Notitia, be none other than the XXth, so that our old friends disappear from the scene in a blaze of glory, as forming part of the army which helped Stilicho to inflict a crushing defeat on Alaric at Pollentia, in Northern Italy (403 A.D.).

The initials V.V., the second title of the XXth, have been interpreted in two ways, either as *Valens Victrix* or as *Valeria Victrix*. As to *Victrix* there is no question; the form *Valens Victrix*, "the powerful and victorious," would have a parallel in the second title of the *Legio II. Augusta Pia Fidelis*, "the Loyal and True"; but there is no direct evidence in its favour; the great majority of inscriptions have simply V.V., whilst a few give Val. Vic. For *Valeria*, on the other hand, there are at least two pieces of direct evidence. The first is an inscription,²⁵ in Latin and Greek, found at Ruâd (*Aradus*), in Syria, where Lég. XX. V.V. is represented in Greek by Λεγ. Κ̄ Ουαλερίας Νεικηφόρου. The second is a passage of Dio Cassius

24. "Venit et extremis legio praetenta Britannis,
Quae Scoto dat frena truci, ferroque notatas
Perlegit exsanguis Picto moriente figuras."

(Claudian, *De Bello Getico*, 416—418.)

25. C.I.L. vii., 186. "M. Septimio Marci filio Fabio Magno Legionis iii. Galaticae iter. et Legionis iiiii. Scythicae et Legionis xx. VV. iter. et Legionis i. Minerviae et Legionis x. Fretensis ii. L. Septimius Marcellus fratri optimo."

Μαρκῶ Σεπτίμιῳ Μαρκου υἱῶ Φαβίῳ Μαγνῶ Λεγεωνοῦ Γ̄ Γαλατικῆς
το Β̄ και Λεγ. Δ̄ Σκυθικῆς και Λεγ. Κ̄ Ουαλερίας Νεικηφόρου το
Β̄ και Λεγ. Ᾱ Μινερωνίας και Λεγ. Ῑ Φρετηνσίας το Β̄ Λουκιος
Σεπτίμιος Μαρκελλος ἀδελφῶ ἀγαθῶ.

(LV. 23), written about 200 A.D., the value of which would be greater if its meaning were a little clearer. Speaking of legions which had existed from the days of Augustus to his own time, he says

“ἔτι δὲ καὶ οἱ εἰκοστοὶ οἱ καὶ Ὀυαλῆριοι καὶ Νικήτορες ὠνομασμένοι καὶ ἐν Βρεττανίᾳ τῇ ἄνω ὄντες· οὕστινας ὁ Ἀυγουστος ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν μετὰ τῶν τῆν τε τοῦ εἰκοστοῦ ἐπωνυμίαν ἐχόντων καὶ ἐν τῇ Γερμανίᾳ τῇ ἄνω χειμαζόντων, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα μὴθ' ὑφ' ἀπάντων Ὀυαλῆριοι ἐπεκλήθησαν μῆτε νῦν ἔτι τῇ προσσηγορίᾳ ταύτῃ χρῶνται, παραλαβὼν ἐτήρησε.”

“also the men of the XXth, known by the additional names of Valerii and Victores, stationed in Upper Britain; these, to my thinking, Augustus took over, and to secure their loyalty joined them to the troops called the XXth, whose winter quarters were in Upper Germany, although they were not universally known as Valerii, nor do they use this title to-day.” This reads perhaps more like Irish than English—so does the Greek! But Dio does certainly imply that one of the titles of the XXth was *Valeria*, though not universally recognised and not used in his own day; also that it was a title dating back to the reign of Augustus, and that its origin was the incorporation in the legion of some troops known as Valerii—such at least seems the most probable interpretation of the very obscure Greek. We have seen above that the XXth was commanded in 6 A.D. by Valerius Messalinus in Illyria, where it won a triumph; may not the troops have assumed the title “Valerii” on that occasion, and may not Dio Cassius have misinterpreted the transference of the XXth from Illyria to Germany as the incorporation of the “Valerii” with the XXth? The titles of the Roman legions only show one parallel—with the exception of *Augusta*, which is hardly to the point—to this derivation from a proper name, viz., *Legio XXII. Deiotariana*. The

other titles are mostly derived from (a) the name of the province with which they were associated, *e.g.*, *Macedonica*, *Cyrenaica*; (b) the scene of some signal victory, *e.g.*, *Fretensis*; (c) the standard of the Legion, *e.g.*, *Fulminata*, *Alauda*; (d) complimentary titles such as *Victrix*, *Rapax*; (e) the circumstance that two forces had been amalgamated, in which case they are known as *Gemina*, *e.g.*, Legio XIII. Gemina. But there would appear to be nothing in the nature of the case to prevent a legion being designated by a title preserving the memory of a distinguished commander.

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The Probable Date of the Roman Occupation of Melandra.

IN the absence of any literary record or of any explicit epigraphical evidence found on the spot, our strongest clue, in attempting to fix the date of the construction or occupation of a Roman fort, is to be sought in the characteristic features, if any such present themselves, of the plan and design of the fort. Two such features demand attention in the case of Melandra. The first is the position occupied by the four corner towers relatively to the line of the rampart: they are all internal,¹ as in the very similar fort of Hardknott Castle in Cumberland, not projecting beyond the line of the walls, as they do in forts of third century construction, such as Richborough and Pevensey. The second piece of evidence of the kind is the wide gateway with its double arch. In forts of later date the gateway is single and narrower. Here again, as at the corners, the towers are wholly internal, in contrast with the projecting gate-towers of the later type. Both these features mark Melandra as belonging to a type of fort which reached its perfection under Antoninus (138—161 A.D.).² The conclusion to be drawn, then, from the evidence of constructive design is that the fort is not later than the early part of the second century, possibly as early as the latter part of the first century.

The most precise evidence for the date is the centurial stone found in the camp in 1771, and here photographed,

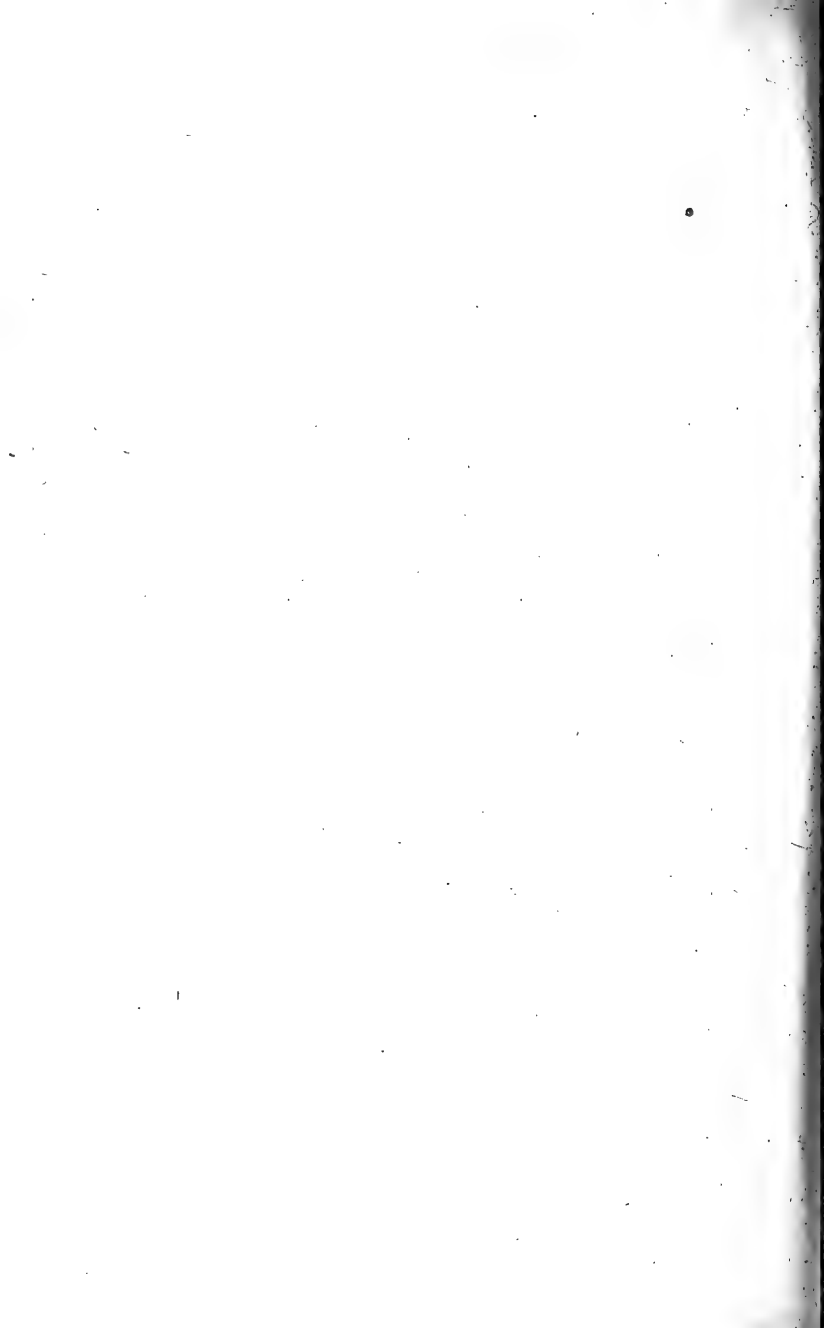
1. Cf. the plan and pp. 35 f., 53 f.

2. Garstang, "On some Features of Roman Military Defensive Works": Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, vol. iii.



The Centurial Inscription.

To face p. 122



which reads CHO. I FRISIAVO. Q. VAL VITALIS, *i.e.*, *Cohortis Primae Frisiauonum Centurio Valerius Vitalis*, "Valerius Vitalis, Centurion of the First Cohort of the Frisiavones."³ The occasion of this inscription cannot be precisely determined; a probable conjecture is that it was set up when the wall of the fort was repaired, or possibly even when it was originally built, by the First Cohort of the Frisians. A cohort, usually about 600 strong, was the normal garrison of a fort of the Melandra type. Similar centurial stones of the same cohort are found in the remains of the Roman fortress of Manchester (*Mancunium*), the occasion of one at least of which⁴ was the building of a portion of the wall of the fort. This is indicated by P. XXIII., signifying the length of wall built by the Cohort. The "Notitia Dignitatum," an imperial record of Roman officials dating probably from the earlier part of the fifth century A.D., mentions as stationed at Vindobala, on the Roman wall in N. Britain, "The Tribune of the First Cohort of the Frixagi." This has been conjecturally identified (possibly the reading is corrupt) with the First Cohort of the Frisians; but in any case, owing to its late date, it has little bearing on the occupation of Melandra. Much more to the point is the

3. [I cannot succeed in recalling the author of what seems the very plausible conjecture that these very Dutchmen may have been among the *lectissimi auxiliarium*, "the flower of the cohorts of our allies," of whom Agricola made such striking use in his invasion of Anglesey (Mona). Tacitus tells us (Agric. 18, 5) that when he saw the shore of the island on the other side of the (Menai) Strait full of warriors and Druids, he sent across these auxiliaries, "who were familiar with the task of fording and were practised swimmers in their own country, taking both their arms and their horses with them over the water to be crossed." If so, the presence of these Frisians at Mona in the year 78 will be another welcome encouragement for referring the foundation of Melandra to Agricola's time. In any case, the reason for sending a cohort from the Low Countries to both Melandra and Manchester becomes abundantly clear from Prof. Boyd Dawkins' description (*supra*. p. 2). Round Melandra the thirstiest Dutchman could swim to his heart's content. Ed.]

4. C.I.L., vii., 213; our *insc.* is given in the same section.

evidence of two "diplomata," dated 105 A.D. and 124 A.D. respectively. These diplomata are attested copies of the official records of the grant of Roman citizenship to members of auxiliary, *i.e.*, non-Roman, "alae" and cohorts who had served a stated number of years in the Roman army away from their own homes. We have four "diplomata" of the kind relating to troops serving in Britain; they belong to the years 103, 105, 124 and 146.⁵ The second and third include the First Cohort of the Frisians (*Frisiauones*), who appear neither in the earliest nor in the latest of the series. This might at first sight appear to suggest the conclusion that the Frisian Cohort came first to Britain between 103 and 105 A.D., and left the country between 124 and 146 A.D., a conclusion which would fix the occupation of Melandra, at least by the First Cohort of the Frisians, as lying somewhere between the extreme limits of 103 and 146 A.D. Unhappily, this conclusion is not warranted by the evidence. The diploma of 103 contains the names of eleven cohorts, of which only one, the First Cohort of Spaniards, appears in the diploma of 105. The diploma of 124, containing 21 cohorts in all, includes five which appear in 103, four of which are not found in the intervening diploma of 105. The diploma of 146, again, contains the Fourth Cohort of the Lingones, which appears in the diploma of 103, but not in those of 105 and 124.⁶ This evidence points to one

5. Mommsen, C.I.L., iii., pp. 902 ff.

6. It is perhaps worth while to summarize the contents of the "diplomata" for the purpose of comparison. Referring to the four chronologically as A, B, C and D, we have the following result.

Peculiar to	A	—5 cohorts out of 11.
"	"	B—6 " " " 11.
"	"	C—10 " " " 21.
"	"	D—5 " " " 11.
Common to	AB	only—none.
"	"	AC " —3 cohorts.
"	"	AD " —1 "
"	"	CB " —4 "
"	"	CD " —2 "
"	"	ACD " —1 "
"	"	BCD " —1 "
"	"	ABCD " —1 "

of two conclusions; either the cohorts did not serve continuously in one province, but were moved from province to province and back again at quite short intervals, or else—and this view, which Mommsen holds, is almost certainly correct—the diplomata do not contain complete lists of all the foreign cohorts serving in Britain during the year to which they refer. On either hypothesis our suggested conclusion as to the extreme limits of the presence in Britain of the First Cohort of the Frisians (103—146) is invalidated. That cohort might, on either supposition, have appeared in an earlier diploma than that of 103, or in a later one than that of 146. The only indisputable inference from the evidence of the diplomata is that the cohort was in Britain in 105 and again in 124, and that in these years, or immediately before them, certain members of the cohort had completed the term of service (25 years) required to qualify them for the citizenship.

There remains to be considered the evidence of pottery and coins found on the site of the camp. The former is discussed at length in Mr. J. H. Hopkinson's article (*v. supra*); it would appear to indicate the presence of the Romans as early as about 80 A.D., and again as late as the second half of the third century. Any conclusion based on the coins can only be put forward with reserve. There is nothing to indicate with any precision the age of the coin at the time it was deposited at the spot where it is discovered. It is no uncommon thing to find in circulation to-day a coin seventy or eighty years old, and it may be doubted whether the life of an ancient coin was shorter than that of a modern; indeed, it might often be longer, as in the absence of an elaborate banking system coins were more apt to be hoarded. At the same time, coins of anything like seventy or eighty years circulation would obviously

be rather the exception than the rule. The point to be borne in mind is that any individual example may happen to be the exception. With this reservation, it will suffice to recapitulate the dates of the Melandra coins. The following dates are certain:—Galba (coin struck in Spain), 68 A.D.; Domitian, 95–6; Trajan, 100 and 109; Hadrian (Jewish coin), 132–5; Alexander Severus, 231–5; Postumus, 259–269; Carausius, 286–293; and Magnus Maximus, 383–8. Besides these there are a few less definitely assignable: two “dupondii,” probably first century “from general appearance”; one “dupondius,” possibly Hadrian; one “dupondius,” first or second century; one “sestertius,” probably second century, Hadrian or Antoninus Pius; one small bronze coin, fourth century “from the size and style of the head” (post-Constantinian).⁷ The evidence of these coins, taken on its surface value, would indicate an occupation begun in the second half of the first century, probably towards its close, and continued till towards the middle of the second, and another occupation from the latter half of the third century till towards the close of the fourth.

We have seen ⁸ that Ostorius Scapula was recalled from his Welsh campaign (circa 51 A.D.) by trouble with the Brigantes. Seneca ⁹ attributes a complete conquest of this tribe to the Emperor Claudius, but this is obviously an exaggeration. The first serious campaign undertaken against them was that of Petilius Cerealis, who took up the governorship of Britain in 70 A.D. “He *attacked* (*aggressus*) the state of the Brigantes, which is reckoned

7. The dates here given are based upon an examination of the coins by the British Museum Authorities (see p. 96). [Dr. Grueber gave me orally his own rough general estimate of the average life of a Roman coin (outside hoards) as 15 years.—ED.]

8. *Supra*, p. 115.

9. Sen., *Apoloc. Claud.*, 12, 13–17; [quoted p. 138, *inf.*].

the most populous of the whole province; he fought many engagements, some of them sanguinary, and conquered, or at least overran, a great part of the Brigantes." ¹⁰ It was he who established the Legio II. *Adjutrix* at Lincoln (*Lindum*). It was not, however, till the governorship of Agricola that any thorough conquest of the Brigantes was achieved, and a permanent garrison established in their capital Eburacum (81 A.D.). Melandra, from its position, would probably be one of the earliest places occupied by an army advancing to the subjugation of Yorkshire from the south and south-west. It may possibly have been roughly fortified by Petilius Cerealis; it is at any rate more than probable that it was occupied by Agricola. From this time on till past the middle of the second century the Roman troops were almost constantly engaged against the Brigantes. We have seen ¹¹ that there is reason to conjecture that some time during the early half of the second century, probably towards the end of Trajan's reign (98—117), the IXth Legion garrisoning Eburacum was destroyed by this tribe. Writing in the succeeding reign of Hadrian, the Roman satirist Juvenal describes the typical Roman soldier's life as occupied in storming the hill-forts of the Brigantes.¹² Melandra lies within the southern boundary of the Brigantes, and is more than likely to have been garrisoned by Roman troops during these conflicts. Melandra was connected by a Roman road with the neighbouring fort of Brough (*Anawio*), where in 1903 an inscribed tablet ¹³ was discovered proving that this fort was occupied about 158 A.D. by Roman troops under the prefect Capitonius Fuscus, during the

10. Tac. Agric, 17.

11. *Supra*, p. 118.

12. Juv. Sat. xiv. 196, quoted p. 132, *inf.*

13. Cf. "Note on the Inscribed Tablet at Brough." By F. Haverfield, M.A. (*Derbyshire Archæological and Nat. Hist. Society's Journal*, 1904).

governorship of Julius Verus. A fragment of stone,¹⁴ originally the top left-hand corner of a similar tablet, was found at Melandra in 1832; it contains the first letters of an inscription—IMP. C, which convey little in themselves. But the form and position of these letters, and the triple moulding which is indicated, are an exact replica of the moulding and the initial letters of the Brough tablet, and it is hardly to be doubted that the two are closely contemporaneous. There is other evidence of widespread activity against the Brigantes during the governorship of Julius Verus. The Brough tablet was found in fragments which had been subsequently used as building material in a sunken chamber of Roman construction in the same fort, proving that Brough was occupied by Roman troops at a date still later than 158 A.D.; and if Brough, then probably the neighbouring Melandra was similarly occupied. The absence of coins of the reign of Antoninus at Melandra is far from proving, or even suggesting, that the fort was not occupied during that reign; but the gap in the numismatic remains of close on a century (135—231 A.D.) does perhaps suggest that there was an interval during which the fort remained ungarrisoned.

On a general survey of the whole evidence, we shall probably be not far wrong in concluding that Melandra was occupied certainly from very early in the second century, and probably as early as about 80 A.D., till past the middle of the second century, and was again occupied, whether after an interval of evacuation or not, from the latter part of the third century, till towards the end of the fourth.

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14. Cf. R. B. Robinson, "Longdendale," p. 52 (published at Glossop in 1863). A sketch made by him of the fragment is preserved with the Glossop collection (cf. p. 113).

Britain in the Roman Poets.

THE Roman poets saw Britain through a haze of distance and ignorance, and thought of it with a vague feeling of discomfort and fear.

The ocean was to the Romans no highway of commerce, no link between nations, but the "oceanus dissociabilis." "Oak and triple brass," says Horace, "were about the heart of him who first exposed to its fury his fragile barque, and saw unmoved the swimming monsters and the seething sea."

Nequiquam deus abscedit
Prudens Oceano dissociabili
Terras, si tamen impiae
Non tangenda rates transiliunt uada.¹

(In vain did the god in his providence sever the lands by the estranging ocean, if, in spite of this, the impious ships bound lightly over the waters, which should not have been touched.)

Beyond the ocean that marked the limit of the Roman world—an ocean unknown and stormy and unstudded by islands—were the "aequorei Brittani,"² "severed from the world."

Et penitus toto diuisos orbe Britannos.³

Britain is constantly spoken of as being situated in another world (alio . . . in orbe Britannos).⁴ It seems as

1. *Odes*, I., 3, 21.

2. *Ovid. Met.* xv., 75.

3. *Verg. Ecl.*, i., 66.

4. Claudian in *II. Cons. Stil.* iii., 148.

though there still remained in men's minds the awe and superstition felt for the "Ocean" of early antiquity, that fabulous stream which encircled the world.

It was almost sacrilege to cross it; besides the Romans were bad sailors, and the waves were not the only terror, real or imaginary, of the British seas, of the

Beluosus qui remotis
Obstrepat Oceanus Britannis.⁵

(The monster-haunted ocean which roars against the shores of distant Britain.)

A hundred years later the size of the British whale had almost passed into a proverb.

Et cuncta exsuperans patrimonia census
Quanto delphinis ballaena Britannica maior.⁶

(And estates as much larger than all other fortunes as the British whale is larger than a dolphin.)

The inhabitants were no less formidable than the storms and creatures of the ocean.

Visam Britannos hospitibus feros
Et laetum equino sanguine Concanum.⁷

(I shall visit the Britons fierce towards strangers and the Concani who delight in horses' blood.)

One wonders what kind of reception the Romans expected. When we remember Tacitus' account⁸ of the human sacrifices of the Druids, we are not surprised to see the Britons coupled with the bloodthirsty Concani. The Irish seem to have had an even worse reputation. Strabo says that the inhabitants of "Ierne" were more

5. Hor. *Odes* IV., 14, 47.

6. *Juv.* x., 14.

7. Hor. *Odes*, III., iv., 33.

8. *Annals* iv., 30, and see Lucan, *Phars* i., 44, for a description of the rites and religion of the Druids.

savage than the Britons, feeding on human flesh, and enormous eaters.⁹

The Britons dyed themselves blue¹⁰ or green¹¹ with woad. The cultured Cynthia has one thing in common with savage Britons. Propertius loquitur,

Nunc etiam infectos demens imitare Britannos,
Ludis et externo tincta nitore caput.¹²

(And now you even imitate in your folly the dyed Britons, and play the coquette with an artificial brightness on your hair.)

The Romans had good reason to remember the wild appearance and desperate resistance of the painted Britons in their painted cars.¹³ But the poets give no idea of the extraordinary skill and success with which they managed them.¹⁴ We hear nothing in Cæsar of the scythed chariots mentioned by Silius Italicus.

Caerulus haud aliter, cum dimicat, incola Thules
Agmina falcigero circumuenit arta couinno.¹⁵

(Just in the same way, when he fights, the dweller in Thule surrounds with his scythed chariot the close-thronged ranks.)

The climate of the island was terrible to the Romans. It was a chilly land of storm and mist,¹⁶ "a land of uncleared forests with a climate which was as yet unmitigated by the organised labours of mankind. . . . The fallen timber obstructed the stream, the rivers were squandered in the reedy morasses, and only the downs and the hilltops rose above the perpetual tracts of wood."¹⁷

9. Strabo, i., 4, 5.

10. "Caeruleis Britannis," Martial xi., 53.

11. "Virides Britanni," Ovid, *Amores*, II., xvi., 39.

12. Prop. III., ix., 23.

13. "Picto Britannia curru" (Prop. V., 7, 4), (II, xviiiib. 1).

14. Cæs. *B.G.* iv. 33, and v. 16.

15. Punic. 17, 416.

16. Tac, *Agr.* 12, 3.

17. Elton's *Origins of Eng. Hist.*, page 217, cf. p. 2, *supra*.

In any case the Romans hated service in the distant dependencies of the empire. It meant hard work and comparatively little plunder. And the Britons were no despicable foes. We know, for example, that the Brigantes again and again beat back the Imperial legions.¹⁸ The Imperial poets do not dwell on these incidents. Juvenal merely mentions the campaigns against the Brigantes as an example of long and misplaced toil with tardy and inadequate reward.

Dirue Maurorum attegias, castella Brigantum
Ut locupletem aquilam tibi sexagesimus annus
Adferat.¹⁹

(Pull down the huts of the Moors and the forts of the Brigantes, that your 60th year may bring you the lucrative post of Senior Centurion.)

There was dull work to be done, too, in keeping back the forces of nature, in making roads and clearing forests. While the Romans were draining and making causeways across the morasses, the Britons were content to ride gaily in their coracles over the flooded estuaries and inlets.

Primum cana salix madefacto uimine paruum
Textitur in puppim caesaque inducta iuueno,
Vectoris patiens tumidum superemicat amnem.
Sic Venetus stagnante Pado, fusoque Britannus
Nauigat Oceano.²⁰

(First the damp withes of a silver willow are woven to form a little boat, and, covered with a bullock's hide, at the will of the man in it, the boat leaps out over the swollen stream. So do the Veneti sail when the Po overflows its banks, and the Britons when the sea inundates the land.)

No wonder that such a country was looked on as a

18. Cf. p. 118 *supra*.

19. *Juv.* xiv., 196.

20. Lucan *Phars.* iv., 131.

place in which war and famine might suitably work off their energy.

Hic bellum lacrimosum, hic miseram famem
 Pestemque a populo et principe Cæsare in
 Persas atque Britannos
 Vestra motus aget prece.²¹

(He moved by your prayer will turn tearful war and wretched hunger from the people and from Cæsar their leader, against the Persians and the Britons.)

But if the muses go with him, Horace will feel safe in the most desolate realms of the world.

Utcunque mecum uos eritis libens
 Insanientem nauita Bosporum
 Tentabo et urentes arenas
 Litoris Assyrii uiator.
 Visam Britannos hospitibus feros
 Et lætum equino sanguine Concanum,
 Visam pharetratos Gelonos
 Et Scythicum iniuiolatus amnem.²²

(Whensoever you are with me, willingly will I face by sea the raging Bosphorus, and by land the burning sands of the Assyrian shore. I shall visit the Britons hostile to strangers and the Concani who rejoice in horses' blood. I shall visit the quivered Geloni and the Scythian stream unharmed.)

Ovid finds Italy without his love as unpleasant as Britain or the Caucasus.

Non ego Pælignos uideor celebrare salubres,
 Non ego natalem, rura paterna, locum,
 Sed Scythicam Cilicasque feros uiridesque Britannos
 Quaeque Prometheo saxa cruore rubent.²³

(I seem no longer to be haunting the healthy Pælignian land, and the country place where I was born and my father dwelt before me, but the lands of the Scythians and fierce Cilicians and green-stained Britons, and the rocks that are red with Prometheus' blood.)

21. Hor. *Odes* I., 21, 13.

22. Hor. *Odes* III., 4, 29—36

23. Ovid, *Am.* ii. 16, 37.

“Dira Britannorum agmina,”²⁴ “Horribile aequor ultimosque Britannos,”²⁵ “Trucis incola terrae,”²⁶ “Britannia inaccessis horrida litoribus.”²⁷ This is the refrain of Roman verse when Britain is the theme.

The material gains, even when the most ingenious methods of extortion were used, were not great enough to make up for the danger and discomfort of a stay in Britain. Besides why go to Britain when all that was really pleasant or useful could be enjoyed at Rome? First-rate oysters,²⁸ for example, and second-rate pearls,²⁹ and ornamental British chariots for fashionable use. (Propertius³⁰ begs Macaenas to stop his chariot near his tomb.) There was British basketwork for Roman ladies³¹ and hunting dogs for the men.

Diuisa Britannia mittit

Veloces, nostrique orbis uenatibus aptos.³²

(Britain from behind her barrier sends swift dogs suited to the hunting of our world.)

Pictured Britons³³ were inwoven in the curtain at the theatre, and real Britons really killed each other at the

24. Avienus, *Descr. orbis terrae*, l. 414 etc. On the questions raised by the passage in Avienus (quoted by Elton, pages 418—420) describing the *Æstrymnides insula* and the *insula Albionum*, and the alleged early tin trade between Britain and Carthage, I must refer to Elton, pp. 19 ff.

25. Catullus XI.

26. Statius *Siluae* 2, 143.

27. Burmann's *Anth. Ep.* 91.

28. Rutupinoue edita fundo ostrea. *Juv.* iv., 141.

29. See ref. in Elton, p. 221.

30. *Esseda caelatis siste Britannia iugis.* *Prop.* ii., 1, 76.

31. *Mart.* xiv., 19.

32. Nemesianus, *Cyneg.* 225. Elton quotes Claud, *Stil* iii., 301 (“Magnaque taurorum fracturae colla Britannae”) and suggests that the British dogs somewhat resembled the mediæval boorhound.

33. Verg, *Georg* iii., 24 (“Purpurea intexti tollant aulaeae Britanni”).

triumphal games of Claudius in a mock attack on an imitation Camolodunum set up in the field of Mars.³⁴

Grandeur and wildness of scenery were to most of the Romans merely untidy obstructions to comfort and conquest. Nor did they see romance and poetry in the deeds wrought in that desolate isle. There was material for poetry in the splendour, treachery and fall of Cartismandua,³⁵ the defiance of Caratacus,³⁶ and the struggle and death of Boudicca.³⁷ But it was material which the Roman poets would hardly care to mould into poetry in the shadow or glare of the Imperial throne.

The first reference to Britain in Roman poetry gives a good idea of the utter ignorance about it that prevailed just before Cæsar's invasion.

Nam quid Brittanni caelum differre putamus
Et quod in Aegypto est qua mundi claudicat axis?³⁸

(For what difference may we suppose exists between the climate of Britain and that of Egypt, where the pole of heaven slants askew? (Munro's trans.)

There is something thrilling in Julius Cæsar's dash across an unknown sea into an unknown land. No poet mentions that exploit except Lucan.

Territa quaesitis ostendit terga Britannis.³⁹

(He first sought out the Britons, then fled in terror before them.)

Lucan vainly attempts to make a heroic figure of Pompey, and so dwarfs and distorts the deeds of Cæsar.

Twenty years after the invasion of Julius, Horace can still, as far as the tangible results of the campaigns are

34. Elton, p. 298.

35. Tac. *Ann.* xii., 36 and 40.

36. Tac. *Ann.* xii., 33—37.

37. *Ann.* xiv., 31, 35, 37. [On the form see p. 115 footnote 7.]

38. Lucr. vi., 1104; see reff. in Munro's note, which show that it was thought that at Britain (as being so far North) the height of the sky from the ground was greater, and in Egypt and Ethiopia less, than in Italy.

39. Lucan *Phars.* ii., 572.

concerned, speak of the "intactus Britannus,"⁴⁰ and so Tibullus even later of the "inuictus Romano Marte Britannus."⁴¹

No doubt Augustus saw, no less clearly than Julius Cæsar, the danger that threatened Gaul from an unconquered Britain. He may have really intended to undertake the expedition on more than one occasion.⁴² He may have encouraged rumours which would unite the citizens by the thought of a common danger. Vergil and Horace prayed for his safe return. Augustus stayed at home.

Vergil, in 30 B.C., wonders whether
tibi seruiat ultima Thule.⁴³

(Is Thule, on the edge of the world, to come under thy sway?)

About five years later Horace calls on Fortune for her protection:—

Serues iturum Cæsarem in ultimos
Orbis Britannos.⁴⁴

(Keep Cæsar safe, who is about to go to Britain at the limit of the world.)

And again:—

Praesens diuos habebitur
Augustus adiectis Britannis
Imperio grauibusque Persis.⁴⁵

(Augustus will be held a god here on earth to bless us, when he has added the Britons to the Empire and the formidable Parthians.)

About ten years later Horace breaks into a pæan of praise:—

40. Hor, *Epod.*, 7, 3.

41. Tib. iv., 1, 149.

42. Dio Cassius 22, 25.

43. Verg, *Georg. I.*, 30.

44. Hor, *Odes* I., 35, 29.

45. Hor, *Odes* III., S. 2.

Te fontium qui celat origines
 Nilusque et Ister, te rapidus Tigris,
 Te beluosus qui remotis
 Obstrepit Oceanus Britannis,
 Te non pauentis funera Galliae
 Duraeque tellus audit Hiberiae.⁴⁶

(You the Nile obeys that hides its sources, and the Danube, and the rapid Tigris, and the monster haunted ocean which roars against the shores of distant Britain, and the Gaul that has no fear of death, and the land of hardy Iberia.)

As far as the reference to Britain is concerned, this is a romantic and poetical way of stating that embassies were sent by some of the British princes to Augustus, with presents and assurances of friendship,⁴⁷ and in one or two cases with a request for protection. It is unfortunate that the empire-building of Claudius, and indeed of all the Emperors, is either exaggerated by the poets in terms of servile flattery or disparaged with the malice of personal dislike.

Seneca was banished in 41 A.D., and failed, even by the most fulsome flattery, to obtain his recall. After the death of the Emperor in 54 A.D., he vented his pent-up wrath against him in a bitter satire, the *'Αποκολοκύντωσις*, a travesty in prose and verse of the supposed deification of Claudius. Seneca scoffs at his policy in enfranchising the provinces. The thought of Greeks, Gauls, Spaniards and Britons clad in the toga moves him to mirth.⁴⁸ His scornful contempt of the Britons who had suffered under his authority is no less bitter than his hatred of the Emperor.⁴⁹

Here is the description of the choral dirge sung at

46. Hor. *Odes* IV., 14, 45.

47. Strabo, 4, 5, 3.

48. Chap. 3 (cp. Tac. *Ann.* xi., 23, 25).

49. Dio Cassius XII., 2.

Claudius' funeral, heard with delight by Claudius himself on his way to the scene of deification:—

Ille Britannos ultra noti
litora ponti
et caeruleos scuta Brigantas
dare Romuleis colla catenis
iussit et ipsum noua Romanae
iura securis tremere Oceanum.⁵⁰

(Then the Britons who dwell in the land that's beyond
The shores of the sea that we know,
The Brigantes with blue-painted shields he compelled
To bear on their necks the fetters of Rome;
And the Ocean itself he commanded to fear
The *executive* power of the code of the Roman.)

Seneca intended this for an exaggerated description of the campaign. But is it so very much exaggerated? Claudius' triumphal pomp was inhuman, excessive and absurd, but the country was at least temporarily subjugated as far as the Humber.⁵¹

Claudius had conquered the ocean and a new world beyond it. The Court poets rose to the occasion. As there is not much variety of thought or expression in their effusions, we quote only a few typical lines:—

Qui finis mundo est non erat imperio.

(The limits of our empire are beyond the limits of the world.)

The free and independent Britons, whose home had been a storied island hidden in the middle of the sea, were subdued (*icta tuo, Cæsar, fulmine*).

Fabula uisa diu, medioque recondita ponto,
Liberâ uictori quam cito colla dedit.

Happy country to have come under Cæsar's sway!

50. Chap. 12. He refers in chap. 8 to the temple dedicated to Claudius in his lifetime in Britain. Cf. Tac. *Ann.* xiv., 31.

51. Mommsen, *Prov. Rom. Imp.*, chap. v.

("Felix aduersis et sorte oppressa secunda.") The sun was never again to set on the Roman Empire.

Sol citra nostrum flectitur imperium

Et iam Romano cingimur Oceano.⁵²

(The sun turns on its course on this side of the limits of our empire, . . . and now we are surrounded by a Roman ocean.)

The triumph of Claudius took place in 45 A.D. There does not seem to be any contemporary allusion in the Roman poets to the exploits of Agricola. Juvenal, who began to publish his satires in about 95 A.D., soon after Agricola's death, may refer in the following lines to his campaign or projected campaigns in the far North:—

Arma quidem ultra

Litora Iuuernae promouimus et modo captas

Orcadas, et minima contentos nocte Britannos.⁵³

(We have moved our arms forward beyond the shores of Ireland and the lately taken Orkneys, and the Britons that are contented with the shortest nights, i.e., those farthest North.)

The other satires are full enough of references to this island to have given rise to the theory that it was his place of banishment.⁵⁴ At least he may have looked up the geographical and social conditions of the island as a possible place of exile.

In 120 A.D. Hadrian had to build his wall to keep off the tribes beyond the Tyne, and even before that there was unrest in Britain. The Brigantes⁵⁵ were troublesome and aggressive, and the death (in Domitian's reign possibly) of an obscure British chieftain is a type of the kind of

52. These and other quotations are given in Burmann's *Anthology Epp.* 84—91 (Auctore incerto).

53. Juv. ii., 160.

54. Duff's edition of Juvenal, p. xix.

55. Juv. xiv., 196, quoted above, p. 132. Cf. Furneaux' note on Agric. 30, 5.

victory for which the Emperor would be glad to hold a cheap and gaudy triumph.

A fisherman brings to Domitian an enormous turbot, and Veiento reads from it omens of success:—

Omen habes, inquit, magni clarique triumphi :
Regem aliquem capies, aut de temone Britanno
Excidet Aruiragus, peregrina est belua.⁵⁶

(“You have an omen,” he says, “of a great and splendid triumph; you will take captive some chieftain, or Arviragus will fall from the pole of his chariot. It is a foreign monster.”)

There is one point to which no reference has been made—the influence of the Romans on the social condition of Britain during all these years of conquest and rule. The impression that we get from Roman poetry is merely that of a savage and worrying foe. If we had no hints from other sources, archæological and literary,⁵⁷ of the increasing culture of the Britons, we should think that such remarks as the following were entirely ironical:—

Nunc totus Graias nostrasque habet orbis Athenas
Gallia causicos docuit facunda Britannos.
De conducendo loquitur iam rhetore Thule.⁵⁸

(And now the whole world enjoys the culture of Greece and Rome. Glib Gaul has taught the Britons to be pleaders; now Thule talks of engaging a professor of rhetoric.)

Dicitur et nostros cantare Britannica uersus
Quid prodest? Nescit sacculus ista meus.⁵⁹

(It is said that even Britain recites my verses. What's the good of that? It does not affect my purse.)

Statius, whose *Silvæ* were written about 95 A.D., contrasts the simple beginnings of Roman cities in central Britain with the elaboration of life and building in his

56. *Juv.* iv., 125.

57. e.g. *Tac. Agr.* 21.

58. *Juv.* xv., 110.

59. *Martial* vi., 3, 3.

day. An old man points out the changes to the son of a former Governor:—

Cum tibi longaeuus referet trucid incola terrae :
 Hic suetus dare iura parens, hoc caespitè turmas
 Adfari uictor; speculas castellaque longè
 (Aspicis?) ille dedit cinxitque haec moenia fossa;
 Belligeris haec dona deis, haec tela dicauit
 (Cernis adhuc titulos) : hunc ipse uocantibus armis
 Induit, hunc regi rapuit thoraca Britanno.⁶⁰

(When the aged inhabitant of the savage land tells you, "Here was your father wont to lay down the law, on this mound of turf as victor to address his squadrons, he it was who set up watch-towers and distant forts (do you see them?), and who girdled these walls with a ditch. He dedicated to the gods of war these gifts and these weapons. (You can still see the inscriptions.) This corselet he put on at the call to arms, and this corselet he seized from a British king."

Let us return to the military events in the island. After Juvenal there is a long silence about Britain. During the third century A.D. the Picts and Scots and Saxons became more and more formidable by land and sea. In A.D. 368, in the reign of Valentinian, Theodosius was sent to Britain.⁶¹ His exploits are told with much exaggeration by the poet Claudian:—

Ille Caledoniis posuit qui castra pruinis
 debellatorque Britanni
 Litoris
 Maduerunt Saxone fuso
 Orcades, incaluit Pictorum sanguine Thule,
 Scotorum cumulos fleuit glacialis Ierne.⁶²

(He who pitched his camp in frosty Caledonia,
 who utterly conquered the British shore.
 The Orcades islands were wet with the slaughter of Saxons,
 Thule reeked with the blood of the Picts, icy Ierne
 Bewailed the piles of dead Scots.)

60. Stat. *Silu.* V., 2, 143.

61. Ammianus Marcellinus xxvii., xxviii.

62. *De IV. Cons. Honor.*, 26—33.

In 383 Maximus conducted a splendid and successful campaign against the Picts and Scots.⁶³ He left the island, and, with the help of the Roman and British soldiers whom he took with him, he became Emperor of the West. No doubt the withdrawal of these troops was the cause of a fresh inroad of Picts, Scots and Saxons.

In 396 A.D. they were for a time quelled by Stilicho. Britannia cries:—

Me quoque uicinis pereuntem gentibus, inquit,
Muniuit Stilicho, totam cum Scotus Iernen
Mouit, et infesto spumauit remige Tethys.
Illius effectum curis ne tela timerem
Scotica, ne Pictum tremere, ne litore toto
Prospicerem dubiis uenturum Saxona uentis.⁶⁴

(Me, too, when I was suffering ruin at the hands of neighbouring nations did Stilicho defend, when the Scot disturbed the whole of Ierne, and the sea was white with the oars of the foe. It was through his policy that I had no fear of the darts of the Scots nor of the Picts, and that as I looked out, I did not see along the whole line of shore the Saxon borne towards us by shifting winds.)

But barbarian hordes were pressing on Rome herself. In about 403 A.D. a stream of barbarians under "Alaric the Goth" poured into Italy, and Rome⁶⁵ needed all her best troops for her defence.

Probably the following lines refer to the withdrawal of the 20th legion.

Venit et extremis legio praetenta Britannis
Quae Scoto dat frena truci, ferroque notatas
Perlegit exsanguis Picto moriente figuras.⁶⁶

(There came too the legion that is our outpost in furthest Britain, the legion which curbs the savage Scot and sees, as the Pict dies, the figures branded on him fade.)

63. Elton, p. 340. (Cf. p. 97 *supra*.)

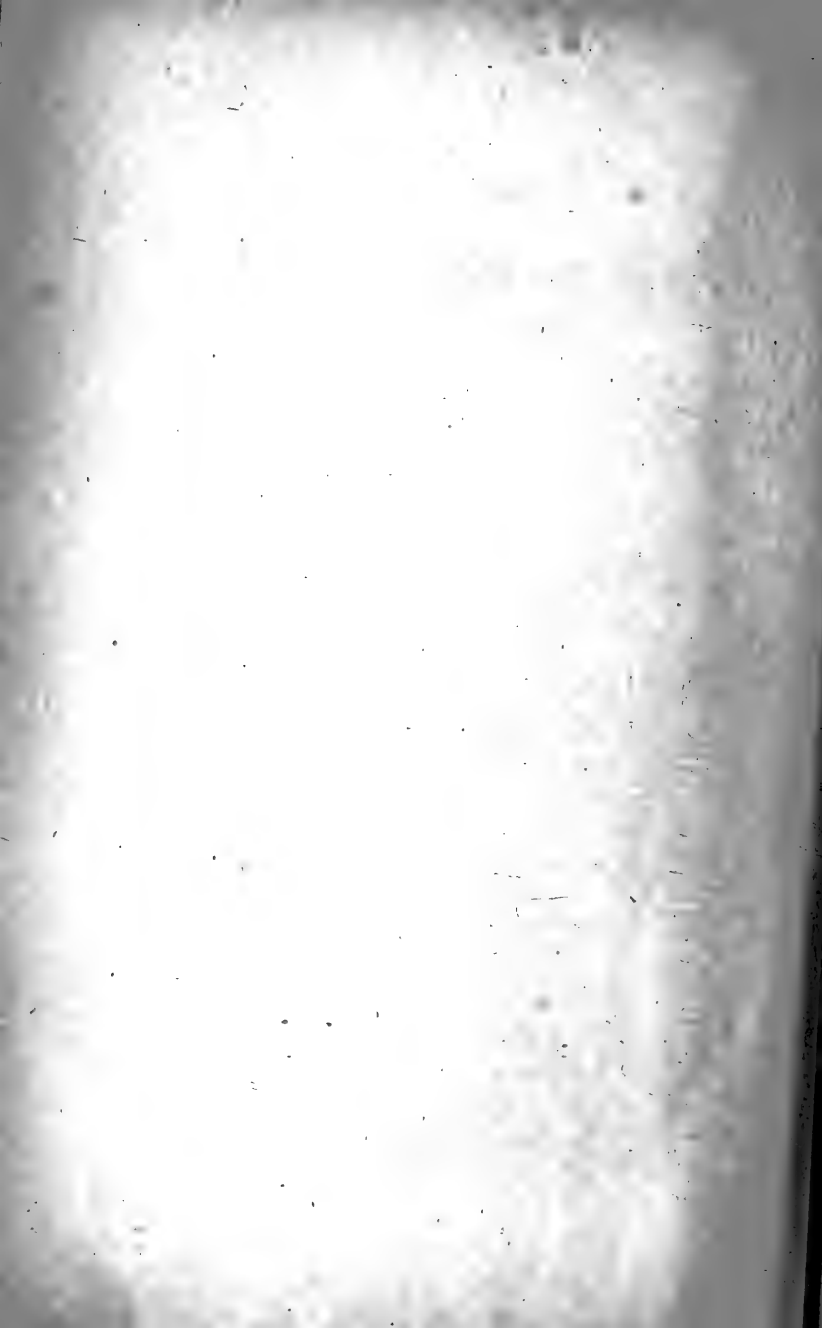
64. Claud. *I. Cons. Stil.* ii., 250. For the suggestion that Stilicho never came to Britain himself see Gibbon's *Roman Empire*, chap. 30, vol. 3, p. 376, note.

65. "Exitii iam Roma timens." Claud. *de Bell. Get.*, 416, cf. p. 119 *supra*; but see also Gibbon, *l.c.* p. 380.

66. Claud. *de IV. Cons. Hon.*, 31.

The time was drawing near when Britain, without power of government or cohesion, and drained of her best fighting men, was left to protect and govern herself. At the beginning of the fifth century A.D., in accordance with an Imperial rescript, the Roman forces were withdrawn. The references to Britain in the Roman poets cease. So do the Roman poets.

DORA LIMEBEER.



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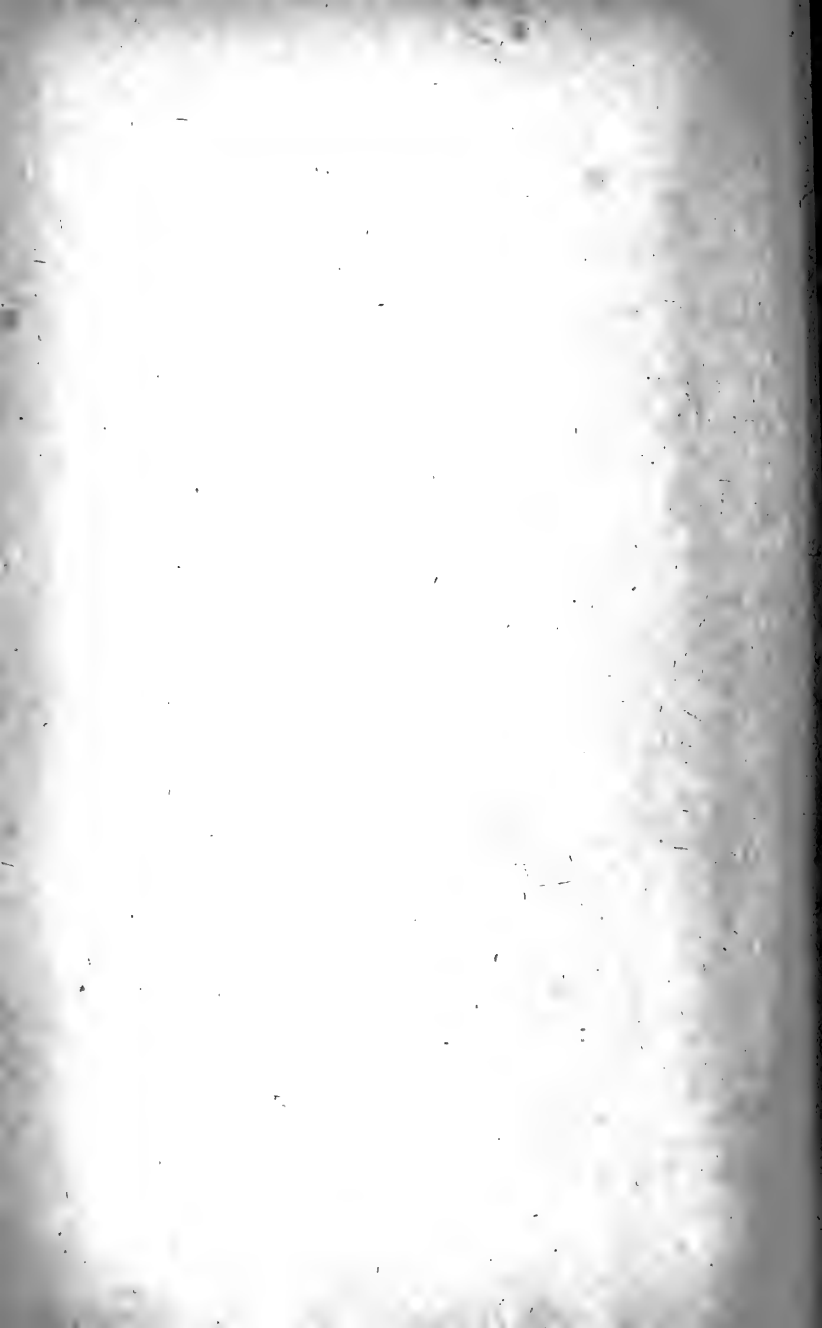
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APPENDIX.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BRANCH FROM NOVEMBER, 1904—DECEMBER, 1905.

The Branch was founded on November 18th, 1904, at a meeting held in the University of Manchester, at the invitation of the Students' Classical Society, the Vice-Chancellor of the University in the chair. After a lecture on the "Art of Translation," by Prof. R. M. Burrows, of Cardiff, the Branch was established, the following officers being elected then and subsequently:—

President :

Prof. A. S. WILKINS, LL.D., Litt.D.

Vice-Presidents :

The Right Rev. THE BISHOP OF MANCHESTER; the Right Rev. THE BISHOP OF SALFORD; Prof. W. BOYD DAWKINS, F.R.S., D.Sc.; Miss S. A. BURSTALL, M.A.; E. DONNER, Esq., B.A.; the Rev. CANON HICKS, M.A.; the Very Rev. DEAN MACLURE, D.D., Hon. LL.D.; the Rev. J. H. MOULTON, D.Lit.; J. L. PATON, Esq., M.A.; Prof. SADLER, M.A., Hon. LL.D.; Prof. J. STRACHAN, LL.D.; A. HOPKINSON, Esq., M.A., Hon. LL.D., K.C. (Vice-Chancellor of the Victoria University); the Rev. CANON WILSON, D.D.

Hon. Treasurer :

H. WILLIAMSON, Esq., M.A.

Committee :

Prof. R. S. CONWAY, Litt.D. (*Chairman*); W. B. ANDERSON, Esq., M.A.; Miss H. A. ASHWORTH, B.A.; H. GUPPY, Esq., M.A.; JOSEPH HALL, Esq., Litt.D.; Miss C. HERFORD; J. H. HOPKINSON, Esq., M.A.; H. MEREDITH, Esq. B.A.; C. E. MONTAGUE, Esq.;

C. E. G. SPENCER, Esq. ; E. SUTTON, Esq., B.A. ; Miss M. TAPLEN ; A. S. WARMAN, Esq., B.A. ; Miss D. LIMEBEER, M.A., and G. NORWOOD, Esq., B.A. (*Hon. Secretaries*).

An Excavation Committee was afterwards appointed:— Prof. R. S. CONWAY (*Chairman*); Messrs. H. WILLIAMSON (*Treasurer*) and W. B. ANDERSON; Prof. BOYD DAWKINS; Prof. JAMES TAIT; Messrs. J. H. HOPKINSON and F. A. BRUTON (*Hon. Sec.*).

December 13th, 1904. The Branch held its first regular meeting (Mr. Paton in the chair). The officers and Committee were elected, and the rules approved.

RULES.

1. The name of the Branch shall be THE MANCHESTER AND DISTRICT BRANCH OF THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF ENGLAND AND WALES (hereinafter called the Parent Association).

2. The objects of the Branch are to promote the development and maintain the well-being of classical studies in Manchester and the District, and in particular:—

- (a) To impress upon public opinion the claim of such studies to an eminent place in the national scheme of education.
- (b) To improve the practice of classical teaching by free discussion of its scope and methods.
- (c) To encourage investigation and call attention to new discoveries on all sides of classical studies, and especially to promote the excavation, study, and preservation of the remains of the Roman occupation of the district.
- (d) To create opportunities for friendly intercourse and co-operation among all lovers of classical learning in the district.

3. The Branch shall consist of a President, Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, two Secretaries, a Committee of not less than ten nor more than fifteen members, besides the Officers, of Regular members and of Associate members. The officers and the

members of the Committee shall be Regular members of the Branch, and the officers shall be *ex officio* members of the Committee.

4. Regular members of the Branch shall pay an annual subscription of seven shillings and sixpence, due on the 1st of January in each year. Of this subscription, five shillings shall be forwarded by the Treasurer as the members' subscriptions to the parent Association. The Entrance Fee to the parent Association for each such member shall be defrayed by the funds of the Branch. Regular members shall receive all publications and share all other privileges of membership of the parent Association.

5. Associate members shall pay an annual subscription of two shillings and sixpence, due on the 1st of January in each year. They shall be entitled to receive any publications of the Branch; to attend all its meetings, except such as may be held in conjunction with the parent Association; to vote upon all private business, including the election of officers and resolutions dealing with matters of local interest; but not upon any question remitted to the Branch by the parent Association. They will not be members of the parent Association, but they may at any time become so by becoming Regular members of the Branch.

6. The Committee shall be entrusted with the general administration of the affairs of the Branch, and, subject to Rule 4 and to any special direction of a meeting of the Branch, shall have control of its funds.

7. The Committee shall meet as often as it may deem necessary, upon due notice issued by the Secretaries to each member, and at every such meeting five shall form a quorum.

8. The Branch shall hold at least one meeting in the Winter and one in the Summer every year, and as many others as the Committee shall determine. The general annual meeting (at which the officers shall be elected and the accounts of the Branch submitted) shall be held in one of the first three months of the year.

9. The Officers and Committee shall be elected at the general meeting, but vacancies occurring in the course of the year may be filled up temporarily by the Committee.

10. The Officers and Committee shall be elected for one year, but shall be eligible for re-election.

11. The list of *Agenda* at any meeting of the Branch shall be prepared by the Committee, and no motion shall be made at such a meeting unless notice thereof has been given to one of the Secretaries at least a fortnight before the date of such meeting.

12. Membership of the Branch shall be open to all persons of either sex who are in sympathy with its objects; save that undergraduates of the University of Manchester shall not be eligible as Associate Members unless they are also members of the Classical Society of that University.

13. Members of the Branch shall be enrolled by the Secretaries on payment of their subscriptions.

14. Regular or Associate Members who have paid an initial subscription may compound for all future subscriptions of the same kind respectively by the payment in a single sum of eleven annual subscriptions.

15. Regular or Associate members may pay their subscriptions for four years at a time.

16. The Committee shall have power to remove by vote any member's name from the list of the Branch.

17. Alterations in the rules of the Branch shall be made only at an annual general meeting, upon notice given by the Secretaries to each member at least a week before the date of the meeting, and by a majority of two-thirds of those present and voting.

18. The Secretaries shall have power to invite Members of the Classical Society of the University of Manchester to the public meetings held by the Branch.

Prof. Conway then read a paper on "The Personality of Cicero." This was followed by a discussion.

February 11th, 1905. Meeting at the John Rylands Library, at the invitation of Mr. H. Guppy, M.A., who gave a lecture on

the Althorp Collection and the rare and early editions of the Classics in the Library. These were exhibited. The Excavation Committee afterwards submitted its preliminary report.

May 12th, 1905. Public lecture at the University by Prof. W. Ridgeway, M.A., Litt.D., on "The Origin of the Greek Drama." (The Vice-Chancellor of the University in the chair.)

May 13th, 1905. Visit to Dinting to see the excavations at Melandra and the exhibition of objects which have been found there.

October 7th, 1905. Visit to the Roman remains at Warrington and Wilderspool. Mr. T. May, F.S.A. (Scot.), conducted the party.

November 10th, 1905. Meeting at the University (Prof. Tait in the chair). Two papers were read on the teaching of Ancient History:—

Miss A. D. Greenwood, on "The Place of Ancient History in the Curriculum of a Secondary School."

Mr. A. S. Warman, B.A., on "The Teaching of Ancient History."

The papers were followed by a discussion.

The Branch laments the death, on July 26th, 1905, of its first President, Prof. Wilkins; and of Dean Maclure, one of its Vice-Presidents, on May 8th, 1905.

Canon Wilson has, on leaving Rochdale, resigned his office as Vice-President.

In the course of the year Mr. G. Norwood resigned his position of Joint Secretary, which has been filled by Mr. W. J. Goodrich, M.A.

In succession to the late Prof. Wilkins the Branch elected as its President the Rev. E. L. Hicks, M.A., Canon Residentiary of Manchester; Hon. Fellow of C.C.C., Oxon.; Corresponding Member of the German Imperial Archæological Institute; author of "A Manual of Greek Historical Inscriptions," etc.

The Branch now numbers 84 regular members and 78 associate members.

EXCAVATION FUND.

LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS FOR 1905.

	£	s.	d.
The Victoria University (Departments of Latin and Ancient History)	25	0	0
Mrs. Rylands	5	0	0
Edward Donner, Esq.	4	0	0
F. Haverfield, Esq.	3	0	0
J. R. Barlow, Esq.	2	2	0
The Classical Association	2	2	0
Alfred Haworth, Esq.	2	0	0
Mrs. Henry Simon	2	0	0
Miss H. A. Ashworth	1	1	0
Prof. W. Boyd-Dawkins	1	1	0
F. A. Bruton, Esq.	1	1	0
Prof. R. S. Conway	1	1	0
Mrs. Conway	1	1	0
R. Dehn, Esq.	1	1	0
Arthur A. Haworth, Esq.	1	1	0
Jesse Haworth, Esq.	1	1	0
Miss C. Herford	1	1	0
Mr. Vice-Chancellor Hopkinson	1	1	0
S. W. Meek, Esq.	1	1	0
Mrs. H. Nuttall	1	1	0
H. J. Ogden, Esq.	1	1	0
J. L. Paton, Esq.	1	1	0
Prof. M. E. Sadler	1	1	0
W. H. Sutcliffe, Esq.	1	1	0
Prof. J. Tait	1	1	0
T. Wood, Esq.	1	1	0
W. B. Worthington, Esq.	1	1	0
D. F. Haworth, Esq.	1	0	0
J. Grafton Milne, Esq.	1	0	0
The Very Rev. The Bishop of Salford	1	0	0
E. M. E. Welby, Esq.	1	0	0
Profits of Melandra Excursion	0	17	10
Miss A. D. Greenwood... ..	0	10	6
J. H. Hopkinson, Esq.	0	10	6
H. L. Jones, Esq.... ..	0	10	6
F. Warburton, Esq.	0	10	6

	£	s.	d.
Anonymous	0	10	6
G. A. Borrowdale, Esq.	0	10	0
A. S. Warman, Esq.	0	10	0
T. W. Whitehead, Esq.	0	10	0
Anonymous	0	10	0
Anonymous	0	7	6
Rev. C. T. Campion	0	5	0
Mrs. W. B. Capper	0	5	0
Joseph Hall, Esq.... ..	0	5	0
Rev. C. S. Macalpine	0	5	0
Miss Nall	0	5	0
A. G. Palgrave, Esq.	0	5	0
Miss J. A. Potter... ..	0	5	0
E. Edge, Esq.	0	2	6
Miss E. R. Faraday	0	2	6
J. R. Howard, Esq.	0	2	6
F. H. Jackson, Esq.	0	2	6
T. May, Esq.	0	2	6
	<hr/>		
	£77	8	4
	<hr/>		

SPECIAL EXPLORATION FUND.

	£	s.	d.
T. C. Horsfall, Esq.	2	2	0
Dr. Alderman Joseph Thompson	1	0	0
Jesse Haworth, Esq.	1	0	0
	<hr/>		
	£4	2	0
	<hr/>		

The Manchester and District Branch of the Classical Association.

BALANCE SHEET, 1905.

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.
Contributions for Preliminary Expenses (Oct.— Dec., 1904)	6	18	6
73 Full-members' Subscriptions (7/6)	27	7	6
85 Associate Members' Subscriptions (2/6)	10	12	6
Interest	0	1	11

EXPENDITURE.

	£	s.	d.
Forwarded to Treasurer of Classical Association (74 subscriptions to Parent Association at 5/-)	18	10	0
Printing:—		£	s. d.
per Thos. Sowler & Sons		4	3 6
„ “Manchester Courier”		4	3 9
„ R. Clay & Sons		0	11 6
„ Taylor, Garnett & Co.		0	7 0
„ Richard Gill		1	16 0
Stationery and Stamps	11	1	9
Expenses of Meeting at Burgon's Café (Feb. 10)	6	4	7
Lecturer's Travelling Expenses (May 17)	2	12	0
Fee to University Porter	1	16	7
Cheque Book	0	3	0
Bank Commission	0	2	6
Balance	4	8	6
	£45	0	5

Balance in hand from 1905	4	8	6
Subscriptions paid in advance	3	7	6
Balance in Bank	£7	16	0

H. WILLIAMSON, *Hon. Treas.*

Audited and found correct,
W. BOYD DAWKINS, *Auditor.*

25/1/1906.

EXCAVATION FUND.

BALANCE SHEET FOR 1905.

RECEIPTS.

Subscriptions for 1905	£	s.	d.
Interest	77	8	4
.....	0	5	5

£77 13 9

Balance from 1905	13	19	4
Subscribed in advance	20	4	0
Special Exploration Fund	4	2	0

Balance in Bank £38 5 4

EXPENDITURE.

Labour at Melandra	£	s.	d.
Travelling Expenses of Supervisors	48	10	7
Printing:	2	13	10
per Richard Gill	£	s.	d.
" Taylor, Garnett & Co.	5	19	8
"	0	16	6
Stationery and Stamps	6	16	2
Cheque Book	5	9	8
Bank Commission	0	2	6
Balance on year's working	0	1	8
.....	13	19	4

£77 13 9

H. WILLIAMSON, *Hon. Treas.*

Audited and found correct,

W. BOYD DAWKINS, *Auditor.*

25/1/1906.

LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE BRANCH, 1905.

A= Associate Member.

*= has resigned membership.

- A. Amery, Miss, 30 Upper Hulton Street, Moss Side, Manchester.
 Anderson, W. B., Esq., M.A., 23 Burlington Street, Withington, Manchester.
 Ashworth, Miss H. A., B.A., Wellington Road, Fallowfield, Manchester.
- Baines, Miss K. M., M.A., 68 Balls Road, Birkenhead.
- A. Barnes, Miss Mary C., 75 Dickenson Road, Rusholme, Manchester.
 A. Barney, Miss M.M., Moorfield, Glossop.
 A. Bentz, Mrs., Dinting.
 Behrens, George, Esq., The Acorns, Fallowfield, Manchester.
 A. Bladon, Rev. G., Higher Walton Vicarage, Preston.
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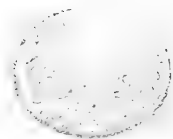
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- Llewellyn, Miss G., The University, Manchester.
- A. Oakeley, Miss H., M.A., Ashburne House, Victoria Park, Manchester.
 Robertson, Miss A., The High School, Dover Street, Manchester.
- A. Walmsley, Mrs., Northwood, Prestwich Park.



27 MAY 1935

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PLAN OF THE ROMAN FORT,
KNOWN AS
MELANDRA CASTLE,
DERBYSHIRE.

VALLEY OF THE GLOSSOP BROOK

↑
FALLING
GROUND
NORTH

FOUNDATIONS
REMAINS ABOVE

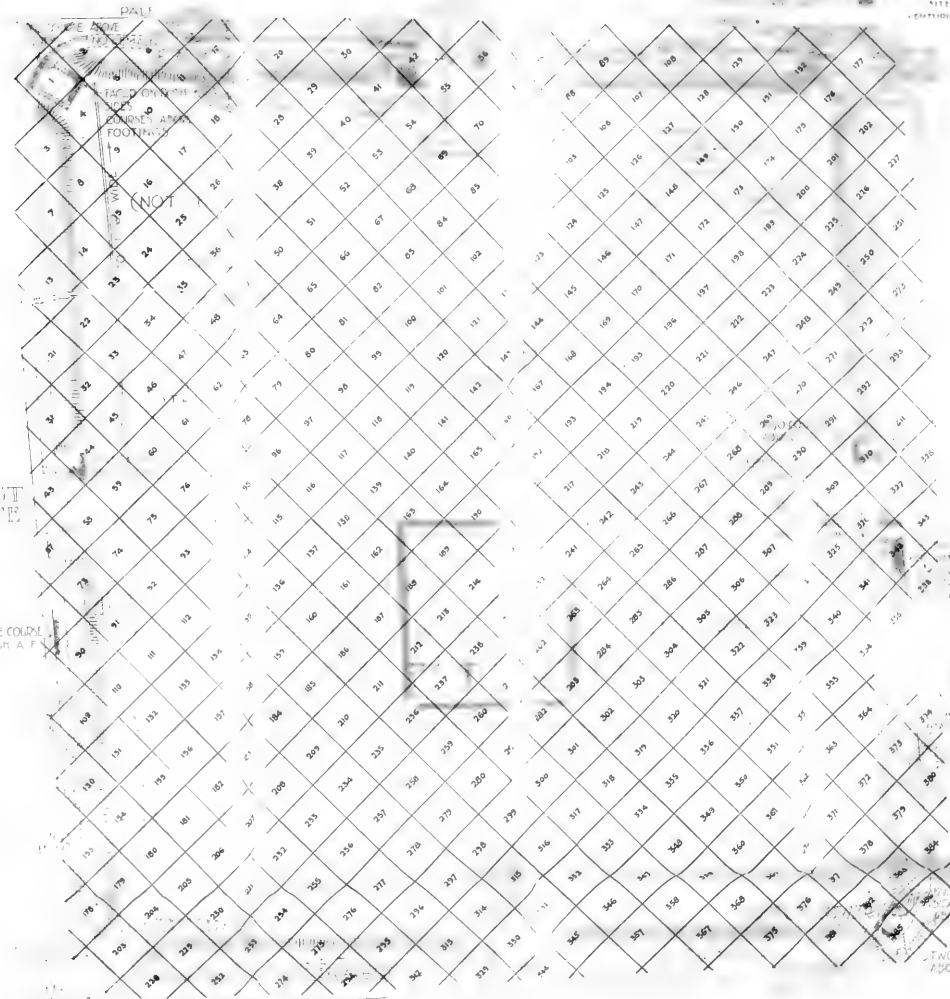
SITE OF
CAPTIONED STONE

VALLEY OF THE RIVER ETHEROW

WEST
GATE

ONE COURSE
HIGH AT

DOWNWARD INCLINATION



MEASURED BY
F. A. BRUTON, M.A.,
AND
JOHN SWABRICK, A.R.I.B.A.,
DEC. 1905.

John

TWO COURSES
FOUR FOOTINGS

TWO OR BOTH
FIVE COURSES
FOUR FOOTINGS















