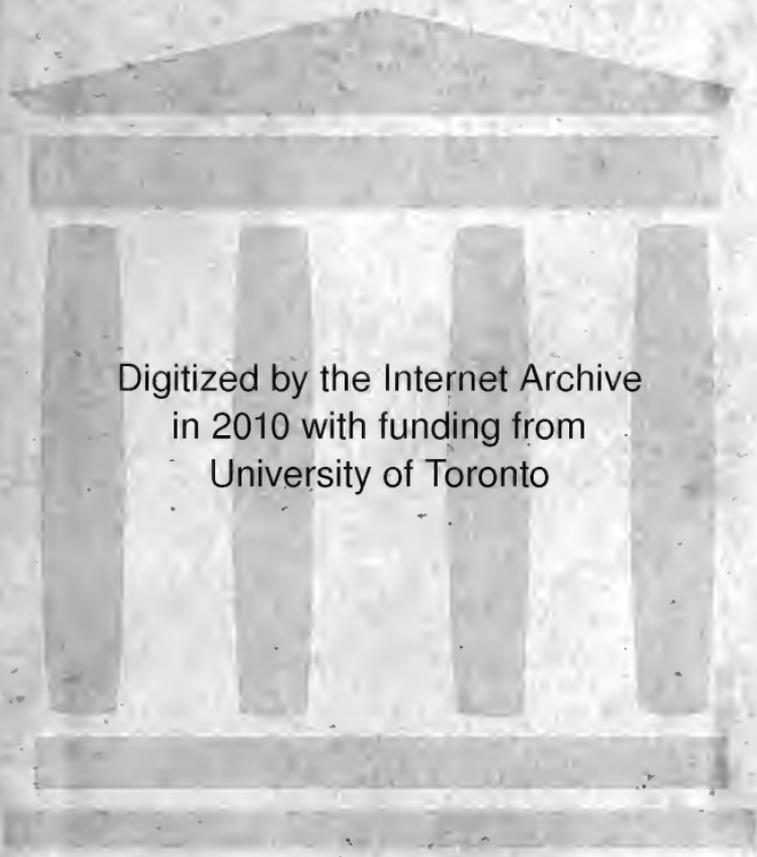


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SURREY

Archæological Collections,

RELATING TO THE

HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF THE COUNTY.

PUBLISHED BY

The Surrey Archæological Society.



VOL. I.

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[The COUNCIL of the SURREY ARCHEOLOGICAL SOCIETY desire that it should be distinctly understood that they are not responsible for any statements or opinions expressed in the "COLLECTIONS;" the Authors of the several Communications being alone answerable for the same.]

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REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

AT THE

INAUGURAL AND OTHER GENERAL MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY,
DURING THE YEARS 1854 AND 1855.

SOUTHWARK.

THE INAUGURATION of the Society took place in SOUTHWARK, on Wednesday, the 12th of May, 1854.* Two meetings were, on that day, held at the Bridge House Hotel, at both of which the Chair was taken by HENRY DRUMMOND, ESQ., M.P., F.R.S., Vice-President. The first, a Morning Meeting, was limited to Members only, its object being the formal constitution of the Society and the Election of Office-bearers. The following Report was read :—

The present being the first General Meeting of this Society, the Council take this opportunity of briefly stating the progress that has been made since its formation, and request the sanction of the Members at large to such steps as have been taken to insure its permanent welfare.

Although less than a year has elapsed since the formation of this Society, it already numbers 365 Members; and the increasing attention paid to Archæological research justifies the belief, that when its utility becomes thoroughly known, a considerable addition may be confidently expected.

With regard to the state of our finances, as the balance-sheet will not be presented until the first Annual General Meeting, the Council beg to state that—

The Capital of the Society consists of the Composition of thirty-eight Life Members ... £190 0 0

And the following Donations :—

The Earl of Lovelace	...	...	£15	0	0
Robert Gosling, Esq.	...	...	15	10	0
G. R. Smith, Esq.	...	...	5	0	0
					<hr/>
				35	10 0

Making a Total of £225 10 0

and the income of the Society derivable from the Annual Subscriptions of 327 Members, with the addition of interest on invested capital.

* It will not, perhaps, be deemed out of place to mention that the Society was originated by Mr. George Bish Webb, the present Honorary Secretary, by whom the first Circular proposing its establishment was issued in August, 1852. No great progress was made until October, 1853, when the Provisional Committee (since become the Council) commenced their periodical Meetings. The kindness of Mr. Hesketh, in allowing these Meetings to be held at his private residence, deserves special mention.

The Council have to acknowledge the liberal donations of books, drawings, and prints, a list of which will be prepared and printed in the first annual volume of the Society's Transactions.

The Rules for the regulation of the Society, which have been prepared with great care, are now submitted for sanction and confirmation.

The Council beg to resign into the hands of the Society the trust reposed in them, and to express their willingness to resume their duties if re-elected.

The Adoption of the Report was moved by

J. C. W. LEVER, ESQ., M.D., seconded by THOMAS CLARK, ESQ., and unanimously carried.

The PROPOSED RULES were then read, revised, and adopted.

The Office-bearers having been duly appointed, the Meeting adjourned to the evening.

At Seven o'clock the Members and their friends, in number nearly two hundred, again assembled; and the proceedings were commenced by the CHAIRMAN'S delivery of the following INAUGURAL ADDRESS:—

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I take it for granted that all who are now present are members of this Archæological Society, or at least are interested in archæological pursuits. This being our first meeting, it may affect our future proceedings—a great deal depends upon how we make a start. (Hear, hear.) I dare say you all remember a character in one of Foote's farces, ridiculing this kind of thing, representing the parties as trying to get a complete collection of Tyburn-turnpike tickets. (A laugh.) There might be something to learn from that. If at the outset you start with no higher object in view than picking up old coins, pieces of old iron, fragments of broken vases, and scraps of tiles, your researches will be exposed to great and deserved ridicule. If, on the other hand, your exertions be directed towards worthier and more extended objects—of which those relics may be made one of the instruments—you may be of considerable use—you may fill an important office, as I will endeavour to show. All great works of art—a great building, a great picture, or a great poem,—are made up of the grand design and the subsidiary details. Take any piece of art—say that you are painting a picture. Well, there is the great subject, the conception to be carried out, and there are the details. If you bestow your attention, as an artist, entirely upon the details, you must make a bad picture; if, on the other hand, you keep the details subsidiary to the grand plan or subject, you will make a good picture. If you, as members of this Society, are devoted to collecting pieces of broken pottery, or metal, or old coins, you will come to no good result—and you ought not to come to any good result. (Hear.) Now the first thing is one which is rather difficult to define, and that is "Antiquity." What do you mean by the state of being old? What is old? Ladies are never old, you know. (A laugh.) This reminds me that Horace relates a story.

About 2,000 years ago this same inquiry arose,—“What is Old?” A person was praising the poets of antiquity : he didn't like the modern poets at all—there wasn't one worth reading. Give him the old poets—there was something in them. “Well,” replied Horace, “what do you call old? Will a man who has been dead 100 years do for you?” “Oh! yes, a hundred years will do very well.” “What,” again inquired Horace, “if he had only died ninety-nine years ago?” “Well, I won't stick about a year,” was the reply. “Then,” said Horace, “if you concede that, I shall take it away year by year till you have no antiquity at all.” (A laugh.) It is just so with us ; we can't fix a standard of antiquity. No line can be drawn but what year after year might be conceded over it—and, in fact, everything is old that is of yesterday. You will increase the objects of this Society beyond all control, as well as beyond all practical utility, if you take in everything merely because it is old. Supposing what I hope will never happen—that the splendid fleet in the Baltic was lost in a storm—not an impossible event—and the Russians were to get out with their ships, come over, and burn London. The archæologists, a couple of years hence, would pay the site of the town a visit, and commence digging among the ruins ; but it would not be the mere finding of the relics alone that would enable them to trace out the habits and customs of the people who lived there. Merely digging among the remains of a Roman fortress and finding relics will not alone tell us of their mode of life. All these things are of value and useful to the well-instructed according to the associations with which they are connected, and the bearing which they have upon facts already known. The true purpose of such a Society as this is, to trace out, by means of a close comparison of relics with records, the habits of life, the manners, and the customs of people of a past age, illustrating and illuminating their mode of government, their form of religion, the state of their laws, and their artistic skill. In this respect such societies have an advantage which none others can present. (Cheers.) There is one thing that I must affirm, that in archæology, as in many other things, the pursuit is much more gratifying than the possession. I have been a collector of minerals, old coins, and all sorts of things, all my life, and I can assure you that the pleasure of collecting them was greater than possessing them. There is a striking illustration of this in what is called the old English sport of fox-hunting. Our sporting gentlemen go to a most enormous expense, run the hazard of breaking their necks every day, and when they have caught the object of their pursuit, it is a nasty stinking beast not worth having—(laughter),—thus showing the difference between the pleasure of pursuit and acquisition. I am sorry to say that there is no country in Europe that has taken such bad care of its historical possessions as Great Britain—as I will show very shortly. In Ireland there is no such thing, for a great number of years, as a parish register. Not a single register in proof of marriage, birth, or death is there to be found ; and in Scotland it is pretty much the same. One great reason, I believe, which is urged by the Scotch for this want is, that their public documents were taken away by the English Edward, and the

ship with these valuable records was lost coming to London. I don't believe there is one word of truth in that,—Edward III. did not care one straw for the very best and most valuable records that could be found throughout the length and breadth of the land. (A laugh.) So the Irish said, "It was the Danes that came over and took away our historical records, and afterwards the Cromwellians did the same." I don't believe a word of this. The Cromwellians have not been in existence for these 200 years, and the genealogical researches I refer to belong to a much more recent period. The fact is, you can't find any public document of the parentage of any one born in Ireland a hundred years ago. It would be something if we had the public records of Scotland since the time of Edward III., and of Ireland since Cromwell—for they would be very useful in portraying the habits and customs of the people; but we cannot get them. Archæological research was very much prevented in Scotland by the attorneys, who told the people not to let any documents be seen that were in their charter-chests, or they would lose their property; the consequence was, that the very valuable documents in the charter-chests were not available, and we could get no knowledge of the manners and customs of the people through such direct agency. It is nothing but the want of such records which renders our history so incomplete. All our histories are nothing but compilations. You may take Hume, he is nothing but a compiler, and very inaccurate. I remember Mr. Bruce, one of the very first and ablest persons in the Record Office, stating that he had shown Mr. Hume some very valuable documents in connection with the history of the country, and he, on looking at them said, "I admit they are very interesting; but if I begin to read them, I shall have to write my history over again, for I am all wrong." (A laugh.) Of all histories I have been able to look into, I must say that the most correct I have met with is that of Dr. Lingard; and the next to it is one—the "Pictorial History of England," I think they call it. In both of these they give references, and I have had occasion to search for and verify those references, and have found them correct. I am still speaking of them as compilations, which all our histories are. You, as an Archæological Society, should endeavour to remedy this state of things. The great object of antiquarian research should be, to supply the want we now feel in regard to our history. We hear a great deal of the instruction of the million, about which everybody is mad nowadays. (A laugh.) Well, they can't take any but popular works, and are obliged to rely upon them, and therefore their knowledge is very superficial. They are obliged to take upon trust what Mr. Macaulay, Mr. M'Culloch, or Mr. Anybody-else says; they have not time to ascertain if their statements be correct. They can't inquire into the matter, and therefore they imbibe a sort of passive knowledge—they must trust to the exertions of other people. (Hear.) The first persons who induced you to think on this subject, and to go to the foundation for your historical facts, were Dr. Chalmers and Mr. Riddell, a lawyer in Scotland. And in this country Sir Francis Palgrave has followed this movement up. He is a very agreeable writer, and has gone more extensively into this particular field of research

than any other. And the Scotch are well following it up. There are the Bannatyne, Spalding, and Maitland Clubs, which have published some very handsome books, and I have here a sample of their works, if you would like to inspect them. They have a few subscribers, and they select some points of historic value, publish a work upon it, and give a copy for the subscriptions. In Ireland, too, which is very rich in its antiquities and historical associations, a movement has been made. Mr. Petrie has published a work on the Round Towers of Ireland,—a subject about which some difficulty and mystery arose, but which he has settled in a very satisfactory manner. They have also taken to publish an account of some of their own antiquities. I have here a work called the “Annals of the Four Masters,”—one volume,—though there are seven or eight, I believe. It is printed in double columns; the original Gaelic is given on one side, and the English on the other. It is a journal kept by the heads of the monasteries, telling you just what passed day by day. It is not a thing to be read as a history—it is not very amusing—you may try a page or two, if you please; but I don't think a perusal will repay any one who has not an especial object in the research. It tells you from the very earliest period the exact same history. It is nothing more, from beginning to end, than some savage, called a king, murdering some other savage, called by some other great name, by treachery and fraud. There are a great many other works of importance upon these subjects. The last Duke of Buckingham had a very valuable library; a portion has gone into the British Museum, but there still remain a vast number of very valuable documents. It is very remarkable that during the French Revolution the French destroyed no public documents. They robbed all the monasteries, they robbed all the cathedrals, and robbed everybody else; but they destroyed none of these papers. They transferred them to the Prefecture,—an office resembling, perhaps, that of the sheriff's officer in this country; and one of the consequences of that was a fact which I will mention. A friend of mine, the Count de Crouy, when he went and settled in Hungary, asked to be made *indigénate*, that is, to be considered by the laws as a native. In support of his application, he produced every single document necessary to prove that he was a lineal descendant from Andrew II., King of Hungary at the time when the country round Grenoble belonged to Hungary. The reply was, “We can't grant you *indigénate*, for you have proved yourself *indigénate*.” I don't believe that that could have been done in any other country than France. (Hear.) There is also an admirable society in Normandy of this kind, who have published some works, such as the “Memorials of the Royal Society of Antiquaries in Normandy;” “The Anglo-Norman Chronicles;” and another, called, “Unedited Documents relating to the History of France;” and also the “Chronicles of the Dukes of Normandy.” The documents are interesting, as relating to the origin of the first families who came over to this country with William I. Mr. Stapleton, the brother of Lord Beaumont, has conferred considerable benefit by publishing the Pipe Rolls—or Rolls of the Exchequer in Normandy—as to the terms on which they

held their land ; and this he did solely with reference to English history. The value of every history depends upon its accuracy, and these are the sort of records on which we can rely. The documents to which I have called your attention are those which you would do well to consider and follow in your pursuits as a Society. You know nothing of the internal family manners of the people from ordinary history. I will put this one question. If a man with 2,000*l.* has four sons, he would put one in the Army, one in the Navy, another in the Law, and another in the Church ; but what do you think he would have done with them in the reign of Henry III. or Edward II. ? Now it was quite certain, unless there was a chance of becoming a bishop, or a fat prior, nobody in those days would go into the church. (A laugh.) As to the law, there was no such thing ; for they could not read or write. (Laughter.) What was the young gentleman to do, then ; for it was certain that he could not do without eating, and must have some clothes ? (A laugh.) They generally gave him a small farm, where, if he was not ambitious, he would live the life of a peasant, feed his pigs in the adjoining woods, attire himself in a smock-frock, and so spend his days. But if he had a little ambition, he would pawn his farm to a Jew, in order to enable him to buy a suit of armour,—of all dress the most expensive,—and then bind himself to some great man as a sort of warlike apprentice, by what is called a bond of man-rent. I have here one or two of these bonds, which I will read :—

“ Sir John Nevill, 1415, eldest son of Earl Nevill, was bound to the Earl of Lancashire ; one of the bonds runs thus :—Ralph, son of Ralph, Lord of Raby, was retained by Lord Percy, by indenture, to serve him in peace and war for the term of his life. The terms of this indenture were to serve him in peace and war for the term of his life. The terms of this indenture were to serve him with twenty men-at-arms against all men except the king ; whereof five are to be knights, receiving 10*l.* sterling from out of his lordships of Topcliffe and Pokelington, as also robes for himself, with these knights, and all the rest ; and in time of war, to have diet for himself, his gentlemen, and six grooms, likewise hay, oats, shoes, and nails for fifty-nine horses, and wages for fifty-three inferior servants, with harness for his own body ; and when required to come to a tournament, then to have four knights with himself, and their attendants, likewise diet in his hall for them, for five grooms, with hay, oats, shoes, and nails for thirty horses, with thirty-two servants, as also harness for his own body. If he should be required to attend him in time of Parliament or otherwise, to come himself with six gentlemen and nine horses, having diet for three men in his hall, with hay, oats, shoes, and nails for the number of horses last specified, and wages for six servants.”

Now, you observe that two suits of harness are mentioned ; and the reason is this : gentlemen of that day, like those of the present, generally got bigger round the waist as they got older ; and as you can't let out your armour, you are obliged to have a new suit, and that was the chief reason for the great expense which attended those wars.

[Mr. Drummond then read a similar document, which he translated from the French as he went on, and added :]—You will find in these old family histories a complete history of the times, as well as of the manner and customs of our ancestors. There is in the possession of the Bruce family a very interesting letter, written by the Earl of Elgin and Kincardine to his son, explaining the reasons inducing him to join the arms of Prince Charles of Scotland, in 1715. The letter apologizes to his son for the course he was about to take. The writer knew that if he failed, he should lose his title, and his estates would be forfeited ; still he felt it was due to his lawful sovereign. The letter is highly creditable to the writer, and gives us an insight into the strength of his sense of duty. (Cheers.) You are exceedingly rich in this county of Surrey in objects of archaeological research. I believe no county in England contains so many old palaces : there is Guildford, the oldest in the kingdom, I think—not excepting Winchester ; and then you have Kingston (from the stone on which the kings used to be crowned), Richmond, and Kew. You have the abbeys of Bermondsey, of Lambeth, and of Newark. I believe you could not do a greater service to history than to obtain and publish the cartularies of Bermondsey Abbey. The publication of such documents in Scotland has thrown more light on history than anything else, and I know of no one possessing a greater knowledge of them than Mr. Stapleton. I have had occasion to write to him, asking a question, and he forwarded me, next day or so, two cartularies all copied out ; and wherever he got them I have no idea. Then there is the examination of buildings, as at Esher, the palace of Cardinal Wolsey, Wimbledon, Sutton Place, and Losely—fine specimens of architecture. You are to consider what sort of a Society you will be, and having decided upon it, take care to carry out your object. Don't be deluded by pomp, and the desire to make a show, which entails great trouble and expense. (A laugh.) I can't see the utility of a grand array of names,—patron and vice-patron, president and vice-president. (A laugh.) The secretary's is the most important office, and you can do much better than merely meeting once a year and giving a flaming account of your proceedings. I have now pointed out what, in my opinion, is the way in which your industry can be properly directed, and it is now in your hands to do as you may please. (Loud cheers.)

The following Papers were read— :

1. On the Religious and Moral Bearings of Archæology upon Architecture and Art. By the Rev. John Jessopp, M.A.

2. Descriptive Notes attached to a Map of the Roman Road from Silchester to Staines, from a survey made by the Gentlemen Cadets of Sandhurst. Exhibited by permission of Colonel Prösser, Lieutenant-Governor. Memorandum on the Same, by Mr. E. J. Lance.

3. Description of the Stock of a Cross-bow found on Bosworth Field, and exhibited to the Meeting. By William Tayler, Esq.

[This interesting relic is of yew, elaborately carved, and in length 3 feet 5 inches. In the *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. liv., is an account of this

weapon, by Mr. Greene, of Lichfield, to whom it belonged. Mr. Tayler read this account to the meeting, and pointed out its inaccuracy in attributing the date of the bow to the time of Richard III., since the style of the carving clearly indicated it to be that of at least a century later.]

4. Mr. Hart, of Reigate, read the following description of Antiquities exhibited by him, and which were formerly in the collection of his relative, the late Mr. Glover, of Reigate :—

1. Two Fibulæ found at Waldingham. Engraved in Manning and Bray's "Surrey," vol. ii. page 420.
2. A Spur, found two feet below the surface, near Reigate Castle, in 1804. Engraved in Manning and Bray's "Surrey," vol. ii. page 420.
3. Iron Spear of the time of Henry VI., found near the vicarage, Reigate, in 1808, on making the turnpike road from Croydon.
4. Iron Spear found at Reigate. See Manning and Bray, vol. ii. p. 809 ; and Grose's "Military Antiquities," vol. ii. p. 258.
5. Brass Spur of the time of Henry VI., curiously engraved and pounced. Found near Reigate.
6. Perforated Stone, supposed to have been used as a missile, by means of a thong passed through it ; or like the American sling-shot. Found, it is believed, in Surrey.
7. Broken Bead, of amber-coloured glass, spotted with opaque white, probably of the early British period. Found in Surrey.
8. Massive Bronze Armlet, and two broken-looped Objects of bronze, similar to a pair in the collection of the late Dr. Mantell, found on Hollingbury Hill, near Lewes.
9. Grant, by John Earl of Warren, of land at Brockham. 28 Hen. III. 1244.
10. Grant, by Isabella Countess of Warren. 1150. Engraved in Walker's "Earls of Surrey."
11. Grant, by John Earl of Warren to his cook, of land at Flanchford, in Reigate.
12. Grant, by John Duke of Norfolk, of Flanchford, in Reigate. He died 15 Edw. IV. 1470.
13. Grant, by the Abbot of Hyde, of land in Sanderstead. 6 Hen. III. 1222.
14. Seal of Cardinal Pole to a commission issued by him to Lawrence Hussey, Doctor of Civil Law, who lived at Gatewick, in Surrey. 1557.
15. Correspondence with Fleetwood, Cromwell's General, as to the disposition of troops in Surrey ; and a Warrant for payment of money, under the hand of Cromwell.

Mr. Hart also exhibited a curious Hat, said to have been worn by Queen Elizabeth. With reference to this, the following extract from a letter by Mr. Albert Way, the distinguished antiquary, to whom the Hat had been submitted, was read by Mr. Hart :—

“ I believe I told you that Queen Elizabeth’s Hat is made of ivory ; the
“ thin slips are cut and platted with marvellous ingenuity. Some who
“ have seen it, imagined, as I did, that it was of some vegetable material,
“ perhaps some Indian rush or cane brought by one of the numerous
“ explorers of the period. But Mr. Quekett, of the College of Surgeons,
“ who solves all these questions with the microscope, ascertained that it is
“ certainly *ivory*. I see no cause to question the tradition which would
“ assign this curious Hat to the times of Elizabeth.”

The proceedings having terminated with a vote of thanks to the Chairman, the company spent some time in examining the Collection of Antiquities and Works of Art contributed for exhibition. Amongst these may be enumerated the following :—

A large number of Rubbings from the Monumental Brasses in the churches of Surrey. Exhibited by the Misses Belt, Henry Chester, Esq., C. Calvert Corner, Esq., and Edward Richardson, Esq.

Drawings of Four Mural Paintings, of a large size, discovered in Lingfield Church. Exhibited by Edward PAnson, Esq., Architect.

Sketches of similar Paintings, discovered in Beddington Church, were exhibited by the Rev. James Hamilton ; and one representing St. Thomas A’Beckett, found in Stoke D’Abernon Church, presented by the Rev. F. P. Phillips.

Facsimile Drawing of a large Panoramic View of London, Westminster, and Southwark, by Van den Wyngreerde, 1543. The original is in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

Panoramic View of London in 1647, by Hollar.

Exhibited by George Gwilt, Esq., F.S.A.

Water-colour Drawings of the Exterior and Interior of the Ancient Banqueting Hall of the Artillery Company in Southwark, erected in 1639 ; afterwards used as the workhouse of the parishes of St. Olave and St. John.

Exhibited by Messrs. Snooke, Allen, and Stock.

Drawing by Mr. H. P. Ashby, of the Old Church at Tooting, no longer existing. Remarkable as being the only church in Surrey with a *round tower*. Presented to the Society by S. H. Elyard, Esq.

Drawings of Chessington Church, recently restored by Mr. Hesketh. Bronze Mortar found in Bermondsey. By Robert Hesketh, Esq.

Map of the Roman Road from Silchester to Staines, passing through Surrey. By Colonel Prosser, Lieut.-Governor of Sandhurst.

Architectural Fragments from Bermondsey Abbey, and a Collection of Drawings and Engravings of the same. By Henry Phillips, Esq.

Antiquities found in Great Guildford-street, Southwark. By Arthur Newman, Esq.

Specimens of Roman and Early British Pottery, Coins, Beads, &c., and two Spear-heads, found at Farley Heath, near Guildford; and Commissions signed by Cromwell and Fairfax. By Martin Farquhar Tupper, Esq.

Antiquities found at or near Mitcham, comprising Spear-heads, Knives, and part of a Shield; and

A Collection of Roman and English Silver Coins. By the Rev. James Hamilton.

Photographs of Guildford Castle and Loseley House. By Henry Taylor, Esq.

Various Ancient Deeds, with Seals attached, were exhibited by Mrs. Frederick Webb, E. M. Gibbs, Esq., and C. Tooke, Esq.

The following Contributions were exhibited by George R. Corner, Esq., F.S.A. :—

A Collection of "Greybeards" or "Bellarmines," of various sizes, found in Southwark.

Terra Cotta Lamps, found in Upper Thames-street and in Southwark.

A Bronze Figure from the Thames, at London Bridge.

A Roman Key of Bronze, and a Bowl of Samian Ware, found in excavating for the foundations of Alderman Humphrey's warehouse, Tooley-street, opposite Fenning's Wharf.

An Instrument for forging Papal Bullæ, time of Pius II., who died in 1460. Found in the Thames, near London Bridge.

A German Earthenware Mug, date 1597, with Dancing Figures, and bearing the following Inscription upon the rim :—"Nicht sonder Gott" (Nothing without God).

The Book of Esther and another Hebrew Manuscript, on Rolls.

The Address presented by the Borough of Southwark to King George III. on his Marriage, with the Signatures of the principal Inhabitants, given to Mr. Corner by James Anderton, Esq.

The Rev. F. P. Phillips exhibited a beautifully carved Spanish Rosary of Box-wood, each Bead containing a Text from the Scriptures. Also a Model of the Font in Winchester Cathedral, and a Collection of Engraved Illustrations of Early Costume in France.

KINGSTON - UPON - THAMES.

THE FIRST ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING was held at KINGSTON-UPON-THAMES, on Friday, the 30th June, 1854. The use of the Town Hall was kindly granted to the Society by Frederick Gould, Esq., the Mayor, whose friendly and zealous co-operation in making the requisite arrangements for the Meeting contributed greatly to its success, and merits our grateful acknowledgments.

At one o'clock, about one hundred and fifty Members and Visitors having assembled, the Chair was taken by WILLIAM JOHN EVELYN, Esq., M.P., F.S.A., Vice-President, who addressed the Meeting as follows :—

As we have a very great deal to do, I will not delay any longer stating in a few words the purposes and objects for which we are met here to-day. This is the first annual meeting of the Surrey Archæological Society. It came into being on the 10th of May last, when it was publicly inaugurated. We are now assembled to hold the first General Meeting. By one of the Rules of the Society, we are to have one General Meeting yearly. You are aware that during the few past years several societies of this kind have been established in various parts of the kingdom ; but although the county of Surrey is so rich in the remains of antiquity, it is only recently, as I have stated, that this Society was formed ; and seeing what there is before us, it must be a matter of surprise that one of this character was not established before. (Hear, hear.) Although we have not long had an existence as an association, it is quite apparent that not only is it designed to do a great deal of good, but it is carrying out, in the most satisfactory manner, that design. (Cheers.) I need not dilate on the merits of antiquarian research, seeing that the character of this Meeting renders such a detail quite unnecessary. I apprehend that every one of us now present, with the other Members who belong to the Society, but do not happen to be present, feel a deep interest in the study of archæology, and are convinced with me that it is both a useful and laudable pursuit. (Hear, hear.) There have been imputations cast upon societies like this, and some degree of ridicule has been thrown upon the objects which they have in view. Now this arises from a mistake existing in the minds of many as to what are the objects of antiquarian research, and what are its true purposes. It is not for the mere collection of the remains of antiquity or archæological curiosities, —for this would only be an amusement, if attended with nothing else. The real merit of archæology is, that it elucidates the history of the country ; and not only of this country, but of all those which may come within the scope of its investigations. (Cheers.) In England we are in rather a singular position as regards our historical writings. I need not relate in how many points our popular histories are defective ; suffice it to say, that although we have many historical works in this country, the history of England, as such, has still to be written. (Hear, hear.) Most of the writings we now have, although given in language laying claim to some degree of eloquence and artistic style, are not only partial, but have been too little aided by those investigations and researches

which the Surrey Archæological Society, with others, is formed to promote; and therefore the details they give of the times to which they refer are incomplete and imperfect. There is one fact I may mention—which is almost a disgrace to us Englishmen,—that the best history of the reign of Charles I., a period so full of interest to us all, has been written by a Frenchman, M. Guizot. (Hear, hear.) Every one who has read that work will allow that it is the most impartial history of the period that has yet been written; and it is not reflecting much credit upon Englishmen to say that one of our best historical works is written by a foreigner. (Hear, hear.) I cannot regard those researches as useless or unimportant which have for their object the investigation and preservation of the records of our forefathers, and improving our knowledge of them. The advantage of different persons being engaged in investigating the customs and habits of men living in past ages, and comparing the results of their labours, is to me so apparent that I feel I need not dilate upon it. I only wish that every county in England had its Archæological Society. They have had a very excellent one in the neighbouring county of Sussex for some years; and it is highly creditable to the parties who have promoted it, that one is now established in this county. I think the whole county of Surrey is highly indebted to those gentlemen who have commenced the present movement; and I sincerely hope they will achieve that for this county which has been achieved for other counties by societies similar to this. (Hear.) The county of Surrey is very peculiar in some respects. While a part of it is as wild and rural as any county in England, the other portion includes two very large and important boroughs of the metropolis. Therefore we have an extensive and varied field to work upon. We have on the one hand the connected boroughs of Lambeth and Southwark, and on the other hand a very extended tract of country on which to pursue our investigations. With regard to our buildings, we have not many churches distinguished either for splendour or architectural style; but they are not to be despised on that account; for if they possess no peculiar interest in themselves, they are, generally speaking, of great antiquity, many of them being supposed to have been built before the Conquest. (Hear.) I sometimes think that all architects might, with great advantage to themselves, become the students of archæology; for by observing the character and style of the buildings they are called upon to restore, they would be better qualified to make that restoration; however, a great improvement has taken place in this respect, and many of our architects now study the antiquity of the building they are called upon to repair or restore. Although we have not many ecclesiastical edifices of much splendour, I believe there is no county more rich in historical associations than Surrey. We have the two ancient towns of Guildford and Kingston, neither of which is unknown in history; but they are both of them pregnant with interesting associations of by-gone times (hear, hear), most of which are so well known to you that I need not stay to point them out. There is another very peculiar feature of interest in antiquarian research, and that is, the number of races with which we are brought into contact. There is the ancient British, a people who afford most interesting points to study,

as having a strange mythology and very peculiar institutions. We must not completely look upon that race as barbarians, as their conquerors have taught us to do. The Romans, as great conquerors, always desired that the nations which they vanquished should become amalgamated with them, so as to become a Roman province. If there was a race who clashed with their will in this respect, and would not blend with them, they endeavoured to exterminate that race; a race more pliant and yielding they would mould according to their own way, give them their own institutions, and make them adopt Roman manners and Roman customs. But they could not subvert the habits and customs of the ancient British people, and so they called them barbarous; but the fact is, that there was some learning among them, the Druids possessing a considerable share of scientific knowledge. The Romans, when they departed, left many traces of wonderful works in this country—above all, the roads which they constructed are very remarkable, one of which runs through Surrey, connecting London with the neighbourhood of Arundel, going straight along by Ockley, and forming a conspicuous object from the top of Leith Hill. It would be a most interesting object if this Society—and I beg to recommend it to their notice—could engage in the work of tracing out the exact line of this road, as well as the Roman station of *Noviomagus*, the exact site of which has not been clearly ascertained, although supposed by many authorities to be at Croydon. It may have been left for this Society to effect that which has not yet been effected—to trace out this Roman road and station, which would be an honour to it. (Cheers.) I may mention, too, that there was a great battle fought in Surrey,—that of Ockley,—where the father of Alfred the Great defeated the Danes, who had burned the city of London, and were then going through Surrey towards the southern coast. The county history is also connected with the first invasion of *Cæsar*. When that great man came over, he passed through Surrey and crossed the Thames. Antiquaries are not agreed as to the exact spot—whether at Kingston or Coway Stakes, near Chertsey. But although where he crossed it is not known, it is certain that he went on to *St. Alban's* (*Verulamium*), where there was an action with the Britons, whom he defeated, and whom he compelled to retreat. No doubt that was felt to be a great degradation; but it is perhaps a still greater degradation to be deprived of its political existence, as *St. Alban's* has been by the Parliament (a laugh); and, no doubt, if the old British king had been alive now, he would have been more hurt at the disgrace thus thrown upon his town than he was at being vanquished by the Romans. (Cheers and laughter.) There is another interesting discovery to which I will call your attention. After all the labour which has been expended on the subject of Roman remains, and searching out the localities where that people established themselves, there have been discovered at Farley Heath, not far from Guildford, a variety of Roman coins and other relics, where no one had ever dreamed there was a Roman station—there was no record of it in history, and this discovery was the first intimation of it. The coins were spread over a period of Roman history from almost their first arrival here until they left our

shores, having been called away to defend their own country against the attacks of Gothic adventurers who were then pouring into Italy. (Cheers.) We have now a most interesting investigation before us, and that is, to examine a mound—or, as it is called, a barrow—which is in this neighbourhood, permission to explore it having been given by the proprietor. It will be rather a long business excavating it, and we must not be surprised if we find nothing—because we can't be sure that, in a place so near London as this, the barrow has not before been explored. I trust, however, we shall be enabled to discover something; and from this [holding up a relic] which has just come from there, I have little doubt we shall have some success. The barrows, as you know, were places of sepulture; and if we, the archaeologists, take upon ourselves to explore these places of the repose of the ancient dead, it is not from feelings of mere curiosity, but from a desire to increase the world's knowledge. It is told that one of the Queens of Babylon played a sort of practical joke on her descendants. She directed that when she was buried, there should be put over her grave, "Do not examine this place unless you are poor." Nobody ventured to examine the place until one of the sovereigns, being, as I suppose, "hard up"—as even kings sometimes are—(a laugh)—and thinking there were some hidden treasures, caused the sepulchre to be explored, but found nothing but a rebuke for his avarice. We shall not be accused of avarice in opening this place of burial, for it is not likely we shall find anything valuable excepting knowledge, which may prove useful as well as interesting; and perhaps some remains of a British chief. (Hear, hear.) I will not detain you longer than to say that I feel highly gratified at having been requested to take the chair at this very important Meeting, although there are others who could have more efficiently performed its duties. (No, no.) There will now be some interesting papers read, which will be more worth listening to than my remarks—(no, no)—but I may say that I feel anxious to promote the welfare of this Society, and most earnestly desire its prosperity and success. (Cheers.)

The Honorary Secretary read the Minutes of the Southwark Meeting, the Balance-sheet, and the following Report of the Council :—

The Council beg to state that having, at the Inaugural Meeting so recently held, reported on the affairs of the Society, they have now but little to add. The number of Members has been increased by an accession of nine, making a total of 374; of whom forty are life compounders. The Balance-sheet has been prepared, and is now presented.

At the Meeting referred to, the Office-bearers having been appointed, the Council recommend that they be now re-elected for the ensuing twelve months.

Several new Members were elected, and Mr. T. R. Bartrop was appointed Local Secretary for Chertsey.

The following Papers were then read :—

1. On the Kingston *Morasteen*, or Coronation Stone, with Illustrations from Stone Monuments in this country, and those of various Continental nations. By William Bell, Esq., Ph.Dr.
2. On the History and Antiquities of Kingston. By Samuel Ranyard, Esq.
3. On a curious Charter of William, second Earl of Warren and Surrey, whereby he granted lands in Southwark to the Monks of St. Andrew, Rochester, and *which he confirmed by placing his knife on the altar*. By George R. Corner, Esq., F.S.A.
4. On the Ancient Baptismal Fonts of England. By W. Petit Griffith, Esq., F.S.A.
5. On the Mediæval Court of the Crystal Palace. By the Rev. Charles Boutell, M.A.

A vote of thanks to the Chairman was moved by Mr. Corner, and carried by acclamation.

The Collection of Antiquarian Relics was then examined by the company. It comprised numerous articles of interest, amongst which may be specified the following :—

The Series of Charters granted to Kingston by King John, Henry I., Henry III., Philip and Mary, Henry VIII., and Queen Elizabeth, conferring various privileges upon the town.

A very Ancient Chest, about three feet long, with an arched top, covered with massive iron and furnished with three curious Locks, and mounted on castors.

Carved Panelling from the old Town Hall.

The Great Seal of Edward IV. and other Relics. Exhibited by the Corporation of Kingston.

An Extensive Collection of Roman and Etruscan Pottery, Egyptian Mummies, and Household Gods, with various other Interesting Objects of Antiquity. Exhibited by Henry Christy, Esq.

Missile Hatchets, Celts, Spear-heads, and Swords, found in the vicinity of Kingston. Described and illustrated in Biden's "History of Kingston" and in Brayley's "Surrey," vol. iii.

Eight Ancient Keys, found in the blue clay under the foundation-stone of old London Bridge.

A Coin of Marcia Severa, wife of the Emperor Phillipus, found in the bed of the Thames, at a great depth.

Portion of a Rapier, supposed to have belonged to one of the party of Cavaliers routed at Surbiton by Colonel Pritty. Exhibited by William Roots, Esq., M.D., F.S.A.

A Massive Gold Ring, bearing in the centre of the table the capital letter V, between the letters E D and D I; above the letter V is the letter P, of smaller dimensions, having on the *dexter side* a

Molette, or Star of six rays, and on the *sinister* a Crescent or Half-moon ; a string of small Pearls surrounding the area or table. The Inscription is presumed to signify (Sigillum) Parvum Edwardi Domini Vasconiae, or the Signet-ring of King Edward the First, as Duke of Gascony. It was discovered at Mont de Marsan, in the department of the Landes, France. Exhibited by Philip B. Ainslie, Esq., F.S.A S.

Mr. Ainslie has printed an account of this interesting relic, accompanied by an engraving, and has dedicated it to the President and Members of this Society.

Another Ancient Signet-ring, of great local interest, was exhibited by Samuel Raynard, Esq. It is believed to have belonged to Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, temp. Edward IV., who had a castle in Kingston. It was discovered in making excavations for the Assize Courts. The ring is of silver-gilt, and bears the Head of a Man, encircled by a fillet, and on the dexter side the letters W A R. It is more fully described, with an engraving, in Biden's "History of Kingston," p. 24.

A magnificently Illustrated Copy of the Memoirs and Correspondence of the celebrated John Evelyn, in four volumes quarto, was exhibited by W. J. Evelyn, Esq., M.P., F.S.A.

Two very Interesting Drawings, in water-colours, representing the Ancient Palaces formerly existing at Richmond and Oatlands. Exhibited by John Britton, Esq., Hon. Member.

The Account-books of the Churchwardens of Kingston, commencing in 1587, and containing many very curious Entries, were also exhibited.

Many interesting contributions were also made by M. F. Tupper, Esq. ; Arthur Brown, Esq. ; E. Phillips, Esq. ; W. P. Griffith, Esq., F.S.A. ; T. R. Bartrop, Esq. ; Mr. Selve ; Edward Jesse, Esq. ; W. B. Jones, Esq., and other kind friends of the Society.

After partaking of a collation provided at the Griffin Hotel, the company proceeded to view the excavations which had been in progress during the day in Sandy-lane, Teddington. A large barrow, or tumulus, situated on the land attached to Udney House, and which had long been an object of curiosity to antiquaries, was opened by the kind permission of Charles D. Mackenzie, Esq., the owner of the property, and under the able direction of J. Y. Akerman, Esq., various interesting relics were discovered. A detailed account of them is given at page 74. The operation was viewed by the members and visitors with considerable interest.

The Collection of Antiquities was thrown open to Public Exhibition on Monday, the 3rd, and Tuesday, the 4th, of July. During those days nearly 2,000 persons visited this temporary Museum ; and such was the

interest excited, that a *third day* was asked for ; but the Town Hall could not longer be spared. The cordial welcome and assistance given to the Society by the Corporation of Kingston, and by the inhabitants generally, contributed much to the success of this Meeting, and merit our warmest thanks.

CHERTSEY.

A GENERAL MEETING was held on Friday, April 27th, 1855, at the Town Hall, CHERTSEY. The Chair was taken by COLONEL C. BISSE CHALLONER, Vice-President. After the usual routine business, including the Election of several New Members, the following Papers were read :—

1. On Chertsey Abbey. By W. W. Pocock, Esq., F.R.I.B.A.
2. Upon an Anglo-Saxon Grant of Land, by Alfred the Great, to Chertsey Abbey. By George R. Corner, Esq., F.S.A.
3. Description of Ornamental Tiles discovered on the Site of Chertsey Abbey. By the Rev. Charles Boutell, M.A.

The thanks of the Meeting having been cordially returned to the Chairman and to the Gentlemen who had read Papers, the proceedings terminated.

Before separating, the company inspected the numerous Objects of Archæological Interest contributed for exhibition. Amongst the more prominent of these were :—

A large Collection of Architectural Fragments and the Encaustic Tiles recently discovered on the site of the Abbey. These tiles are of the thirteenth century, admirably executed, and presenting many spirited figures, single and in groups, exhibiting the peculiarities of Costume, Armour, and Weapons of the period ; and the ornamental borders and patterns are of very elegant and varied design. The Tiles were, with scarce an exception, in fragments ; Mr. Shurlock, one of the Society's Local Secretaries, under whose directions the excavations were carried on, had with indefatigable care prepared a series of faithful and elaborate Drawings, showing the Pavement complete. Illustrations of these remarkable and beautiful Tiles are in course of publication by Henry Shaw, Esq., F.S.A., who has dedicated the work to our Society.

A Series of Oak Carvings from Cardinal Wolsey's Palace, at Esher, representing the Armorial Bearings of the Bishops of Winchester. Exhibited by the Rev. Newton Spicer.

Model of a Greek Tomb. Colonel Challoner.

A Cabinet of Ancient Coins, Rings, Medals, and various Antiquities. Philip Barrington Ainslie, Esq.

The Gossip's, or Scold's Bridle, preserved in Walton Church, bearing the date 1633, and the following Inscription :—

“ Chester presents Walton with a bridle
To curb women's tongues that talk too idle.”

The Rev. Charles Lushington.

The Charter granted by Queen Elizabeth for holding a Market in Chertsey. Dated 8th February, 1598-9.

A small but interesting Collection of Ancient Arms and Armour was arranged in a compartment of the room ; and on the walls were, besides numerous Rubbings of Brasses, Drawings, Photographs, and Prints, the following :—

View of Walton Bridge, by Moonlight. An early specimen, by the late J. M. W. Turner, R.A.

View of St. Catherine's Chapel, Guildford. By W. Russell, R.A.

Several fine Water-colour Drawings of the Scenery about Egham and Windsor. By J. H. Le Keux, Esq.

The company then proceeded to visit COWLEY HOUSE, the residence of the Rev. J. C. Clark, who had most kindly given permission to inspect it. The ancient portion of this interesting building was the last dwelling-place of Abraham Cowley, the poet, who died here in 1667. The careful preservation of it is most honourable to the taste and good feeling of its present and late possessors.

The site of the Abbey was also visited, by the obliging permission of Mr. Grumbridge, the owner, who had kindly allowed excavations to be made, under the direction of the Society's officers. The walls of the ancient edifice were partially traced out ; and several Stone Coffins were discovered, besides the remarkable collection of Tiles, some Painted Glass, and various fragments of architectural ornament.

At five o'clock a party of 120 sat down to a cold collation, served in a room adjoining the Town-hall. Colonel Challoner took the chair, and by the very efficient and agreeable manner in which he presided, this termination of the day's proceedings was rendered most sociable and pleasant.

The temporary Museum, formed in the Town-hall, was left until the Monday following, when it was gratuitously thrown open to the inspection of the inhabitants of Chertsey, and was viewed by very nearly 1,000 persons.

To the exertions made on this occasion by the Local Committee as well as the two indefatigable Local Secretaries, Messrs. Bartrop and Shurlock, the entire success of this agreeable Meeting was mainly due, and entitles those gentlemen to our best thanks.

GUILDFORD.

THE SECOND ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING was held at GUILDFORD, on Thursday, the 28th June, 1855. The proceedings took place in the *Public Hall*, which had been engaged for the purpose. At twelve o'clock the Chair was taken by W. J. EVELYN, Esq., M.P., F.S.A., Vice-President.

The CHAIRMAN, after recapitulating the previous Meetings of the Society, said that "it would appear presumptuous were he to attempt to address any lengthened details concerning the topography and antiquities of Guildford to a Meeting chiefly composed of the inhabitants of the town. Nevertheless," he continued, "I should be entirely unworthy of inhabiting Surrey if I were not aware of the general facts relating to this most eminent and interesting borough. (Applause.) We know that it is one of the most ancient in this country, and I think it can be proved to have been incorporated for a thousand years. We know the Anglo-Saxon tragedy which rendered it memorable in early times, previous to the Conquest. I will not go into the details of that tragedy, which you, doubtless, have read. Guildford has ancient charters, it has been incorporated for more than a thousand years, perhaps for 600 years it has been the county town, and I think it most fitting that a Meeting of the Surrey Archæological Society should be held in the county town. (Applause.) I think it will be impossible for us to exhaust Guildford on this occasion, and am of opinion that we may hold future Meetings here with great profit to ourselves. (Applause.) Guildford is a town with an ancient castle memorable in history, with ancient churches, and local institutions that have lasted for centuries. Now it is objected to archæology that it tends to cramp the mind, and check rather than develop the understanding. I cannot but think that this imputation is wrong, but I think it is founded, like most of these assertions, on some truth. (Hear, hear.) I think, perhaps, we are too apt to confine ourselves to mere material objects, and forget that the sole advantage accruing to research is the development of the life and manners of our ancestors. (Applause.) It is to no purpose to go about excavating unless we endeavour to realize to ourselves the state of society of which those objects ought to lead us to form a clearer idea. I am one of those who advocate what may be called extreme views as to the rights and privileges of the English people, and value all our ancient institutions of local self-government; and holding these opinions, and believing in our adherence to those principles laid down in the Common Law of England, and which I think have been some times encroached upon, I think we shall be giving a practical value to our studies, and often enlighten ourselves as to the present times, and that many questions which have perplexed the politician and essayist may be solved by a consideration of the original meaning and purpose of an institution, and that more is often done by curbing the corruptions that have crept in, and restoring them to the original object, than by erecting a totally new system in their stead. (Applause.)

He concluded by calling upon the HONORARY SECRETARY, who read the following REPORT OF THE COUNCIL :—

THE COUNCIL, in presenting their Annual Report, have much pleasure in stating the progress that has been made by the Society since the formation in May, 1854. Three General Meetings have been held at the following places, namely, at Southwark, Kingston-upon-Thames last year, and at Chertsey in the present ; upon which occasions Papers on various subjects of Local and General Antiquarian Interest, eleven in number, have been read, and a large number of Antiquities and Works of Art, chiefly connected with Surrey, have been exhibited, and opportunities of viewing them gratuitously afforded to upwards of 4,000 persons. Excavations, also, have been undertaken in the neighbourhood of Kingston, and at Chertsey, when discoveries of considerable interest were made.

The Council have to congratulate the Members upon the liberal donations received towards the formation of a Library and Museum. The former now consists of 63 volumes, many of the most valuable of which have been contributed by Dr. Roots, of Kingston ; in addition to which the Society now possess various manuscripts, 48 pamphlets, besides printed papers. We have also numerous drawings, topographical and other prints, rubbings of brasses, many of which have been presented by Thomas R. Bartrop, our Local Secretary at Chertsey. To Captain Oakes and Mr. Laing (Members) the Society is indebted for several valuable photographs.

The Museum has received some important additions from the Committee of the late Chertsey Literary and Scientific Institution, and other contributors. Mr. Joshua W. Butterworth, F.S.A., has just presented a most valuable collection of Roman and early English antiquities, consisting of glass, pottery, fibulæ, and other bronzes, fragments of tessellated pavements and fresco painting, all of which are of extreme local interest, having been discovered in London and Southwark.

The Council also received, some time since, an offer from Mr. Phillips, of Bermondsey, to present to the Society various fragments of the ancient abbey formerly existing there, collected by his late father and himself ; but were compelled to postpone their acceptance of this proffered liberality owing to want of space for their reception.

The Council having received a proposition to the effect that the operations of the Society may be advantageously extended to the county of Middlesex, in order to comprise within the sphere of a single institution the entire metropolis, and also to obtain a complete and careful investigation of the archæology of the principal metropolitan county, so fertile in objects of antiquity of every period from the Roman invasion, they have no hesitation in submitting the proposal to this Meeting, and of expressing their cordial approval of the suggestion.

On the 30th of June, 1854, when the first Annual Meeting of the Society was held at Kingston-upon-Thames, the total number of Members was 374, of whom 40 were Life Members ; while at the present time the number is 415 (56 being Life Members), showing, notwith-

standing a loss of 28 Members by decease and retirement, owing to the war and other causes, the satisfactory increase of 16 Life and 25 Annual Members ; making a total gain of 41.

The Council regret that so many Subscriptions remaining unpaid has prevented their commencing the publication of Transactions. It must be manifest that with so small a Subscription, it not only is essential for effecting the objects we have in view that a large number of Members be enrolled, but also that the Rule which provides for the payment in advance of Subscriptions should be adhered to ; whereas many of our Members continue in arrear, notwithstanding repeated applications, which entail a large amount of useless trouble and expense, and tend greatly to obstruct the progress of the Society.

The Council have much gratification in stating that friendly relations have been established with thirteen kindred Societies, and that in nearly every case the Committees, without waiting until the interchange of publications agreed upon could be effected, have promptly and liberally forwarded to us copies of their Transactions.

On the motion of the Chairman, the Report was unanimously adopted. The Balance-sheet was also read, and, with the Report, ordered to be printed for circulation amongst the Members, which has been done.

The Rev. CHARLES BOUTELL then brought forward a proposition to the effect that the operation of the Society should be extended to the county of Middlesex. In a discussion which ensued, the motion was opposed by the Earl of Lovelace, Rev. J. Chandler, Mr. Godwin-Austen, Mr. H. L. Long, and supported by other Members. The adjournment of the question for a year was ultimately agreed to.

Several new Members were elected, and the Office-bearers for the ensuing year appointed.

A Paper, on the "Monumental Brasses of Surrey," was read by the Rev. Charles Boutell, M.A.

The CHAIRMAN then called on Mr. Godwin-Austen to read his promised Paper on "The Castle," but Mr. Austen suggested, that as the day was beautiful, and the foliage in the castle grounds would afford shade from the sun, it would be more desirable to repair thither.

It being arranged that this proposal should be acted on,

The EARL OF LOVELACE said—I rise to propose a vote of thanks to Mr. Evelyn, who has so readily come from a distance to preside over this Meeting. That he should evince his usual courtesy and ability in doing so was perhaps to be expected, but on this occasion the Meeting has especial cause to feel beholden to him for the address and tact which he has displayed in disposing of a difficult question, and preventing us from coming to a precipitate, and therefore indiscreet, vote on a subject whereon we were unprepared, and adopting a decision which must be fatal to the independence and prosperity of the Society. (Applause.) As I have not previously had an opportunity of attending the Meetings of this Society, I was anxious to avail myself of the present one

to express my gratification at the progress it has made, and my conviction of its utility. (Applause.) It is not merely for the notice and preservation of things that are merely old, nor even for inculcating their close imitation in the works of art in use at the present day, but in order that by studying and analyzing them we may impregnate ourselves with some of the principles that operated in the minds of the original artisans and designers of the various remains of antiquity, and thus improve our taste, that societies of this kind are valuable. (Applause.) The artists, sculptors, architects, and painters of ancient times put their mind into their works, and made them, so to speak, tell a certain story. The execution is often rude, but the feeling and interest are obvious. I believe that this was the condition of the fine arts, that their first commencements, though timid and imperfect, were full of expression and sentiment; that after a time they attained a greater perfection, in which the execution equalled conception, which was followed in most cases by a decline, in which the artistical feeling was superseded by the mechanical excellence of workmanship; and our buildings, our statues, our paintings at last lost distinguishing and purpose-like expression, however successful they might be in copying and imitating. (Applause.) It is because I believe societies of this description, by setting us thinking and reasoning on these matters, will lead to the improvement of taste, that I conceive they are entitled to the support of the public. (Applause.) In conclusion, I think the Meeting ought to agree to a cordial vote of thanks to Mr. Evelyn for his conduct this day in the Chair. (Loud applause.)

The CHAIRMAN having returned thanks for the compliment, the Meeting separated.

The Castle was then visited by the kind permission of W. Madox Blackwood, Esq., of Castle House, who had hospitably provided luncheon for the numerous party.

Mr. R. GODWIN-AUSTEN delivered an able discourse upon the history of this ancient feudal edifice, and pointed out its various architectural features.

The very interesting Church of St. Mary was next visited under the guidance of the Rev. Charles Boutell, who favoured the company with much valuable information upon its architecture and its peculiarities of construction.

At five o'clock a party of about 120 ladies and gentlemen sat down to a cold collation, provided at the White Hart Hotel. MR. EVELYN presided, and in proposing "The Health of her Majesty the Queen," alluded to the loyalty of Guildford, observing,—I cannot but recall, in connection with the subject of our present Meeting, some passages in the history of this borough. I remember reading, that during the imprisonment of one of our Kings, who was afterwards executed, the inhabitants of Surrey met at Guildford, in public Meeting, and resolved to present a petition to the Legislature, praying that the King might be saved, and that peace might be restored to the country. I regret to

say that the body to which I belong refused to receive it ; but nothing daunted by the dangers which menaced them, the petitioners proceeded to Westminster to present it, and some of them were even massacred in their endeavours to do so. And I was sorry to read that on the restoration of the Stuarts their loyalty was but ill repaid, for the town of Guildford was compelled to surrender its Charter, and was not exempt from the fate which met other boroughs. We are happy in living at a period when such measures are impossible, and under a Sovereign we all respect, and whose health Englishmen are always happy to drink. (Applause.)

Upon "The Health of the Earl of Lovelace, Lord-Lieutenant of the County," being proposed, his Lordship, after congratulating the Society on the progress it had made, and the welcome with which it had been received in Guildford, observed that—"Formerly a certain amount of ridicule was cast upon the lovers of antiquity, because their admiration of the memorials and relics of former times was indiscriminate and unreasoning ; but it is not so now. There is an advantage in people being set thinking, in their asking the reason why such forms are adopted, such contrivances resorted to as appear in the works of our forefathers. (Hear, hear.) The more those are studied, the more it will appear that the designers acted with purpose and feeling, and therefore gave expression to that which proceeded from their hands. We have no right, then, to despise the old, for the moderns in matters of taste do not equal them. If this is not so ; if the artistic conceptions of the present day in any of the textile or hardware manufactures now produced be satisfactory, why should there be this morbid appetite for new patterns and fashions in almost every branch of our manufactures, unless it be tacitly but universally acknowledged that they fail to be agreeable to the eye, or to satisfy the mind ? We did not experience this deficiency in the memorials by which we were surrounded in the morning ; and however uncouth some of the dresses and armour may have appeared, from our want of familiarity with them, assuredly both the favours and the ornaments by which they were distinguished were more refined than the habiliments of the present generation."

Mr. H. LAWES LONG proposed "The Health of Mr. John Britton," who had favoured the Society with his presence, and who might justly be regarded as the Father of British Archæology.

Mr. BRITTON, in a speech of much vivacity and energy, acknowledged the compliment, concluding by expressing the hope that the younger Members around him might attain the ripe old age to which he had attained, and might, at the age of 84, be as happy as he then was.

Before leaving the town, many of the visitors proceeded to view Abbot's Hospital,—over which they were conducted by Mr. George Russel, the Master,—and the Town Hall ; also the remarkable Crypt under the Angel Inn.

In the evening a CONVERSAZIONE was held in the Public Hall. The attendance was very numerous, and a better opportunity was afforded

for examining the temporary Museum than had been possible in the morning. The Collection comprised—

An extensive series of Rubbings of Monumental Brasses, illustrating Mr. Boutell's Paper on the subject.

The Drawings of the Chertsey Tile Pavement, before referred to.

Mr. Shurlock kindly added, on this occasion, a Model, showing the Abbey Walls and the Stone Coffins.

In the absence of Mr. Shurlock, these Discoveries were briefly described by the Rev. C. Boutell.

The Mayor and Corporation of Guildford exhibited the various Charters of the Town; also, their Ancient Maces, Cups, and other Municipal appurtenances.

Mr. J. More Molyneux, F.S.A., exhibited the far-famed Loseley Manuscripts, in ten volumes, Folio, and other curious Documents, amongst which was an Advertisement of "A very rich lotterie generall without any blanckes, empynted at London, in Pater "Noster Rowe, by Henry Bynneman, anno 1567."

Mr. Godwin-Austen exhibited a Collection of Ancient Arms and Armour, old Books and Documents; and a very singular Iron Box, with elaborate and curious Lock.

A Letter from the Czar of Muscovy to Charles II., with Seal attached, dated 1662. By W. J. Evelyn, Esq., M.P.

The following curious Document was exhibited by R. Eager, Esq., and is recorded here as illustrative of the singular superstition to which it refers :—

We whose names are subscribed Parishioners of y^e Parish of Bramly in y^e County of Surrey do hereby certify all whom it may concern that Richard Field Inhabitant of y^e aforesaid Parish hath of late been very much troubled with several swellings about him, and recourse hath been had to Physicians for y^e Cure of y^e same but he can receive no benefit thereby; and his distemper is judged by Doctors to be y^e Evill and therefore we doe hereby recommend y^e said Richard Field as a fitt person to be touched by the Kings Ma^{tie} for the same disease :

And we do further certify that ^{the} said person was never touched by his Ma^{tie} before for the said Distemper: In witness whereof we have hereunto sett our hands the Twentieth day of March 1676 and in the Nine and Twentieth year of ^{his} Ma^{ties} Reign.

John Reynoldson
Vicar

Roger Shenford }
Nathaniell Morland } Churchwardens.

Lady Jervis exhibited two small Miniature Portraits of King Charles I. and his Queen Henrietta; by a remarkable mechanical contrivance the Head-dresses and other Attire of the Royal Pair may be altered.

A Massive Antique Key, formerly belonging to Old Trinity Church.
By Mrs. Beloe.

Roman Sepulchral Urn, Vase, Lamps, and Bottle, Earthen Stamp for wax,
Bronze Celts, Leaves of the Papyrus, &c. By C. R. Cayley, Esq.

Ancient Coins, Seals, Tiles, Keys, &c., and two Singular Cannon-balls
discovered in excavating for the Railway, near Guildford.
By Mr. John Nealds.

A number of Ancient Coins, found principally in Fields adjacent to
Guildford, were exhibited by the Misses Duncomb, Samuel Sharp,
Esq., and R. Stedman, Esq.

Mr. Webb, Hon. Sec., exhibited a Collection of Autographs of British
Military and Naval Commanders, commencing with Howard, Earl
of Nottingham, who defeated the Spanish Armada ; and comprising
Letters and Documents of Sir John Hawkins, Monk, Duke of Al-
bemarle, Lord Fairfax, Edward Russell, Earl of Orford, &c.

The proceedings of the evening were much enlivened by the perform-
ances of the fine band of the 2nd Royal Surrey Militia, which, by the
kind permission of Colonel the Earl of Lovelace, attended both at the
Dinner and the Conversazione.

On Friday the 29th, Excursions were made to Sutton Place, Newark
Abbey, and to that fine old mansion Loseley House, and the interesting
Church at Compton.

During the succeeding day, the Collection of Antiquities and Works
of Art was thrown open gratuitously to the public. Several hundreds
of persons, chiefly inhabitants of the town, availed themselves of the
privilege. The Rev. C. Boutell attended in the evening, and repeated
his remarks upon the Chertsey Tiles and the Surrey Brasses, adding
notices of the other objects of curiosity in the Exhibition. The band of
the Militia was again in attendance.

In concluding this Report, it becomes a bounden duty to bear grate-
ful testimony to the kind and hearty welcome with which the Society
was received in Guildford, and to record the excellent services rendered
by the Local Committee, as well as by our zealous and very active Local
Secretary, Henry F. Napper, Esq.

SOUTHWARK.

A SPECIAL GENERAL MEETING was held in SOUTHWARK on the 30th
of October, 1855. The use of the Branch School-room of St. Olave, in
Magdalene-street, Tooley-street, was kindly granted on this occasion
by the Warden of the School, John Ledger, Esq. The Chair was occu-
pied by WILLIAM PRITCHARD, Esq., High Bailiff of Southwark, and
Vice-President of the Society.*

* During the commencement of the proceedings, Mr. Pritchard not having arrived,
the Chair was occupied by Robert Hesketh, Esq., Member of the Council.

The object for which the Meeting had been convened, in accordance with the Rules, was the consideration of a proposal to withdraw a portion (£75) of the invested capital, for the purpose of defraying the expense of publishing the first portion of the Transactions. It was explained that this step was rendered necessary by the neglect by many Members of the repeated applications for their Subscriptions. After a brief discussion, the proposition was put and carried, with one dissident.

The following Paper was read :—

Notices of Horseley Down. By George R. Corner, Esq., F.S.A.

In illustration of this Paper, Mr. Corner exhibited a curious Drawing, representing a Fair held on Horsley Down, in 1599; it is copied from a painting in the collection of the Marquis of Salisbury, at Hatfield, presumed to be the production of George Hofnagle, a Flemish artist, in Queen Elizabeth's time. Also, a Map of Horsley Down, made in 1546.

A Small Brass Figure, representing a Warrior in Roman Costume, found some years since in Guildford Castle, was exhibited by Colonel the Hon. M. E. Onslow, Vice-President.

Thanks having been voted to Mr. Corner and to Mr. Ledger, the proceedings terminated. Previous to leaving the building, Mr. Corner called attention to the newly erected Grammar School of St. Olave, designed by Messrs. Snooke, Allen, and Stock, and which, although modern, he considered well worthy of inspection. Accordingly, the Members proceeded to the building, over which they were conducted by Mr. Stock, to whom the chief credit of this very fine structure is due.

At two o'clock a visit was paid to the ancient Church of St. Saviour. A Paper, by George Gwilt, Esq., F.S.A., descriptive of the architecture of the edifice, was read in the Vestry, by the Honorary Secretary. The Rev. Charles Boutell, Hon. Member, also gave an Historical Sketch of the Church; and afterwards, in conjunction with Mr. Gwilt, pointed out to the party the more prominent and peculiar features of the building, as well as the interesting Monuments it contains.

Mr. Corner subsequently read, in the Vestry, some curious Wills of former inhabitants of Southwark, communicated by Miss Julia Bockett, of Reading. The thanks of the Meeting were voted to that Lady, and to the High Bailiff, for his courteous and efficient performance of the duties of President, when the proceedings concluded.

GEORGE BISH WEBB,

Honorary Secretary.

COUNCIL ROOM,

6, Southampton Street, Covent Garden,

16th April, 1856.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE LIBRARY AND MUSEUM.

Library.

- Aubrey's History of Surrey. 5 vols. 8vo. London, 1719.
- Allen's History of Surrey. 2 vols. 8vo. Large paper. London, 1831.
- Biden's History of Kingston. 8vo. Kingston, 1852.
- Antiquarian Researches. By the Donor. 4to. 1848.
- Steinman's History of Croydon. 1 vol. 8vo. London, 1833.
- Sammes' Britannia Antiqua Illustrata. 1 vol. Folio. 1676.
- Transactions of the Palaeontographical Society. 9 vols. 4to. London, 1848-1855.
Presented by William Roots, Esq., M.D., F.S.A.
- Brayley and Britton's History of Surrey. 5 vols. 4to. Large paper. London, 1850.
Presented by the Subscriptions of Dr. Roots, Sudlow Roots, Esq., William Wilson, Esq., C. Bridger, Esq., and the Hon. Secretary.
- The Monumental Brasses of England. By the Rev. Charles Boutell, M.A. Large paper. London, 1849. *Presented by the Author.*
- The Authorship of the Letters of Junius Elucidated. By John Britton, F.S.A. 8vo. London, 1848.
- Appendix to Britton's Autobiography. 8vo. London, 1850.
- Memoirs of Brayley, Bartlett, and Willson. By John Britton, Esq. 12mo. 1855.
Presented by the Author.
- Collection of Acts of Parliament relating to Ewell and Epsom Turnpike Roads. 8vo. 1824. *Presented by R. Hesketh, Esq.*
- Catalogue of the Museum of London Antiquities, collected by Charles Roach Smith. Printed for Subscribers only. 8vo. London, 1854.
- Collation of Topographical Works relating to the County of Surrey.
- The History of Parish Registers in England. By J. S. Burn. 8vo. London, 1829.
- Collections of the Sussex Archaeological Society. Vol. II.
- Reports of the Northampton, York, and Lincoln Architectural Societies. Vol. III.
- Copse-Grove Hill. By the Rev. B. Broughton. 4to. London. 1829.
- Robinson's Mickleham Church. Folio. Plates. 1834.
Presented by Charles Bridger, Esq.
- Russell's History of Guildford. 8vo. Guildford, 1801.
- Account of Richmond Palace. Folio. *Presented by Mr. John Gardner.*

- The Charters of Kingston-upon-Thames. By George Roots, of Lincoln's Inn. 8vo. London, 1797.
- The Etymology of Southwark. By Ralph Lindsay, Esq., F.S.A. 8vo. London, 1839. *Presented by George Roots, Esq., F.S.A.*
- A Glance at the County of Surrey, and a Record of Farley Heath. By Martin Farquhar Tupper, Esq. 2 vols. 12mo. Guildford, 1849-1850. *Presented by the Author.*
- Strange and Wonderful News, being a True Account of the Great Harms done by the Violence of the late Thunder at Ashhurst in Kent, Bleachingley in Surrey, and at Kennington in the same County, &c. Small 4to. London, 1674. *Presented by Frederick Hendricks, Esq.*
- Rocque's Map of Surrey. 1762. Large folio.
- Strada's History of the Low-Country Warres, Englished by Sir R. Stapylton. London, 1667.
- Travels in Muscovy, Persia, and the East Indies. By M. Cornelius Le Bruyn. 2 vols. Folio. London, 1737.
- Parthenissa, that most fam'd Romance. Composed by the Lord Broghill. 1 vol. Folio. London, 1676.
- Travels in France, Italy, &c., in the Years 1720, 21, and 22. By Edward Wright, Esq. 1 vol. Quarto. London, 1730.
- Dugdale's New British Traveller. 1 vol. 4to. *Presented by the Committee of the late Chertsey Literary and Scientific Society.*
- Notes on some of the Antiquities of France, made in 1854. By Charles Roach Smith. 8vo. London, 1855. *Presented by the Author.*
- Observations upon certain Roman Roads and Towns in the South of Britain. By H. Lawes Long, Esq. 8vo. Farnham, 1836. *Presented by the Author.*
- History of the Art of Pottery in Liverpool. By Joseph Mayer, F.S.A. 8vo. Liverpool, 1855.
- Catalogue of Works of Art illustrative of the Buonaparte Family, in the Collection of John Mather, Esq. By Joseph Mayer, F.S.A. 8vo. Liverpool, 1855. *Presented by the Author.*
- Suggestions for a more Perfect and Beautiful Period of Gothic Architecture, than any preceding. By W. Petit Griffith, F.S.A. 8vo. London, 1855. *Presented by the Author.*
- Account of a Gold Ring, acquired at Monte de Marsan by Lieut.-General Ainslie, &c. By Philip B. Ainslie, Esq. Dedicated to the Surrey Archæological Society. *Presented by the Author.*
- Remarks on the suggested Establishment of a National Order of Merit. By Robert Bigsby, LL.D. London, 1855. *Presented by the Author.*
- View of the British Authorities on English History. By William Bell, Ph.Dr. *Presented by the Author.*
- By-Laws of the Borough of Kingston-upon-Thames. *Presented by Frederick Gould, Esq., Mayor.*

- A Short Account of the Free Grammar School of Saint Olave's and Saint John's, Southwark. By G. R. Corner, Esq., F.S.A. 4to. London, 1851.
- On the Custom of Borough English, as existing in the County of Sussex. By George R. Corner, Esq., F.S.A. 8vo. London, 1853. *Presented by the Author.*
- Notes of Antiquarian Researches in the Summer and Autumn of 1854. By John Yonge Akerman, Esq., Fellow and Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries. 4to. London, 1855. *Presented by the Author.*
- History and Antiquities of the Parochial Church of St. Saviour, Southwark. By the Rev. J. Nightingale. 4to. London, 1818.
- Antiquities of Surrey. By N. Salmon, LL.B. 8vo. London, 1736.
- Chertsey and its Neighbourhood. By Mrs. S. C. Hall. 8vo. 1854.
- History and Antiquities of St. Saviour, Southwark. By J. Concannen, Jun., and A. Morgan. 8vo. London, 1795.
- Memoirs of Edward Alleyn, Founder of Dulwich College. By J. Payne Collier, Esq., F.S.A. 8vo. London, 1841.
- Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels at Court in the Reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James I. By Peter Cunningham. 8vo. London, 1842.
- Excursions in the County of Surrey. 8vo. London, 1821. *Presented by the Honorary Secretary.*
- Letters of Rusticus on the Natural History of Godalming. 8vo. London, 1849. *Presented by Mrs. Henry Ely.*
- Transactions of the Cambridge Camden Society. A Selection from the Papers read at the Ordinary Meetings in 1839-1841. 4to. Cambridge, 1841.
- Eight Annual Reports of the Ecclesiological (late Cambridge Camden) Society, and Eight Numbers of the Ecclesiologist (from Feb. 1855 to April 1856). *Presented by the Ecclesiological Society.*
- Transactions of the Ossianic Society for the Years 1853 and 1854. 2 vols. 8vo. Dublin, 1854-5. *Presented by the Society.*
- Sussex Archæological Collections. Vol. VI. 8vo. London, 1853. *Presented by the Sussex Archæological Society.*
- Transactions of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archæological Society for 1852. Vol. II. Part 1. And three parts of "Proceedings and Transactions," for January, March, and May, 1855. *Presented by the Society.*
- Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archæology. Vol. II. Nos. 1, 3, and 4. *Presented by the Institute.*
- Records of Buckinghamshire. Nos. 1 and 3. *Presented by the Bucks Archæological Society.*
- Reports and Papers of the Architectural Societies of Northampton, York, Lincoln, and Worcester; and of the Architectural and Archæological Society of Bedford, during the Year 1854. 8vo. London, 1855. *Presented by the Northampton Architectural Society.*
- Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archæological Society during the Year 1853. 8vo. Taunton, 1854. *Presented by the Society.*

- Proceedings of the Liverpool Architectural and Archæological Society. Vol. I. 1848 to 1850; and Vol. II. Part 1. 4to. Liverpool, 1852 and 1855.
Presented by the Society.
- Annual Reports of the Warwickshire Archæological Society for 1855 and 1856.
Presented by the Society.
- Catalogue of the Architectural Museum in Canon Row, Westminster. 4to. London, 1855.
Presented by the Council.
- Bricks and Brick Buildings. By the Rev. Richard Gee, M.A.
Presented by the St. Alban's Architectural and Archæological Society.
- The Proceedings of the Essex Archæological Society for the Years 1852, 1853, and 1854. Part 1. Vol. I. 8vo. 1855.
Presented by the Society.
- A Plea for the Antiquity of Heraldry. By W. Smith Ellis, Esq. 8vo. London, 1853.
Presented by the Author.
- An Account of the present deplorable state of the Ecclesiastical Courts of Record. By W. Downing Bruce, Esq., F.S.A. 8vo. London, 1854.
Presented by the Author.
- A Letter on the Present Condition and Future Prospects of the Society of Antiquaries of London. Addressed to the Earl Stanhope, President. By the Rev. Henry Christmas, M.A., F.R.S. 8vo. London, 1855. *Presented by the Author.*
- Dulwich College, or a Model for Free Grammar School Reformation, in a letter to Lord Palmerston. 8vo. 1855.
Presented by S. Bannister, Esq.
- Journal de l'Imprimerie et de la Librairie en Belgique. Nos. 1 to 9. 8vo. Brussels, 1855.
Presented by Messrs. Meline, Cans, and Co.
- Inventorium Sepulchrale: an Account of some Antiquities dug up in the County of Kent. By the Rev. Bryan Faussett. Edited by Charles Roach Smith. Coloured Plates and numerous Woodcuts. 4to. London, 1856. Printed for Subscribers only.

MANUSCRIPTS.

- A List of the Justices of the Peace in the County of Surrey, 1760. By Sir Peter Thompson. 4to.
- Papers relating to Dulwich College. Folio.
- Document relating to the expense of maintaining Richmond Lodge for the quarter ending Christmas, 1750.
Presented by Charles Bridger, Esq.
- Copy of a Deed relating to the Grammar School at Chertsey. Extracts from the Patent Rolls of Edward the Fourth, relating to Chertsey.
Presented by the Committee of the late Chertsey Literary and Scientific Society.
- An Autograph Letter of William Bray, Esq., addressed to the late R. Corner, Esq., and dated May, 1813.
George R. Corner, Esq., F.S.A.

Drawings, Photographs, Engravings, Rubbings.

DRAWINGS.

- The Old Church, Tooting. By H. P. Ashby, Esq., Member.
Presented by S. Herbert Elyard, Esq.
- Archbishop Abbot's Monument, Guildford. *Presented by Mr. John Gardner.*
- Old Houses at Dorking. *Presented by Mr. John Cleghorn.*
- Ancient Fireplace at Croydon. *Presented by Mr. G. F. Masterman.*
- Pen-and-Ink Sketch of Wall Painting, representing St. Thomas à Becket, discovered at Stoke d'Abernon Church. *Presented by Rev. F. P. Phillips.*
- Pencil Drawings by Miss Whitbourn, representing—1. A Sacramental Flagon of the 16th Century, found near Godalming; 2. An Ancient Spoon found in the same locality; 3. Ancient British Coins found in various parts of Surrey. (*Engraved and described at page 69.*) *Presented by R. Whitbourn, Jun., Esq., F.S.A.*
- Pen-and-Ink Sketches of the Old Church, Chertsey, taken down in 1806, and of the Inscription upon the Curfew Bell. *Drawn and presented by Miss Bartrop.*
- Map of that portion of the Roman Road from Silchester to Staines which passes through Surrey; reduced from the General Map.
Drawn and presented by Colonel M'Dougall.

PHOTOGRAPHS.

- Views of the Castle and of St. Catherine's Chapel, Guildford; three Views of Ludlow Castle, and one of the Feathers Inn, Ludlow.
Executed and presented by Thomas J. Laing, Esq.
- Two Views of the Excavations made on the Site of Chertsey Abbey, showing the stone coffins discovered there.
- Two Views of Guildford Castle, and one of St. Catherine's Chapel.
Executed and presented by Captain Oakes.
- Representation of an Earthenware Vase discovered at Coldharbour, Blechingly.
Presented by E. G. Pennington, Esq.
- View of the Coronation Stone, Kingston-on-Thames.
Executed and presented by George Guyon, Esq.

ENGRAVINGS.

- A Collection of upwards of four hundred Views, Portraits, Maps, &c., illustrative of the County of Surrey. In a Portfolio. *Presented by Charles Bridger, Esq.*
- View of the interior of the Ancient Church of St. Saviour, Southwark. From a drawing by Miss Charlotte Weslake.
Presented by Miss Weslake.

Portrait of William Bray, Esq., F.S.A., the Surrey Historian. Painted and engraved by John Linnell.

View of Guildford in 1759, and a Large Map of ditto, 1739.

Views of the Crypt of Hythe Church, Kent, and of Greenstead Church, Essex.

Presented by Mr. John Gardner.

Five Views of Guildford.

Presented by Mr. John Nealds.

Portrait of Richard Clark, Esq., Chamberlain of London.

Presented by the Committee of Chertsey Literary and Scientific Society.

Five Lithographs of Woodwork in St. Mary's Church, Leicester; Font and Cover in St. Edward's Church, Cambridge; and Interior and Exterior Views of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Cambridge.

Presented by the Ecclesiological Society.

RUBBINGS OF BRASSES.

Thirty-four, mounted on linen: twenty-eight being from Churches in Surrey, four from London, one from Middlesex, and one from Lincolnshire.

Presented by Thomas R. Bartrop, Esq.

A Collection from various parts of England.

Presented by C. Bridger, Esq.

Two from Guildford.

Presented by Mr. John Nealds.

One from Isleworth.

Presented by the Rev. R. B. Byam.

Twenty Rubbings of Surrey Brasses. By Mr. Larby, of Godalming.

MUSEUM.

The following is a List of the valuable Antiquities presented to the Society by JOSHUA W. BUTTERWORTH, Esq., F.S.A.; and which constitute the chief portion of our Collection:—

Three Light-coloured Lagenæ, with narrow necks and handles.

Two Roman Ampullæ and an Urn, found in Bermondsey.

Large Earthenware Amphora with two handles, the upper part covered with a bright-green glaze.

Four Small Pitcher-shaped Vessels, with narrow necks and handles.

Three Elegant Vessels with handles, and a Vase of Red Earth. Found in Queen Street, Cheapside.

Two Drinking-cups, with wide mouths and narrow feet, 6 inches high.

A Straight-sided Cup, fluted, and another of red clay.

Six Curious Drinking-cups, with handles at the feet, very narrow at the top and bottom.

A Mortarium (bearing the name of the maker, VIALLA), 13 inches in diameter: imperfect. Found in Trinity Lane.

- Two Pipes, fitting into each other by a socket, for conveying water. Found in Blackfriars.
- A Hollow Flue-tile, 15 inches long, with scored pattern on two sides, for conveying heated air from the hypocaust to remote parts of a building.
- Two Hollow Bricks, 7 inches long, square at one end, and round at the other, with a hole, used for heating buildings. Found in Duck's-foot Lane and London Wall.
- Three Roman Bonding-tiles from Houses in London.
- A Monile, or Necklace of 120 beads, used probably as an ornament for the neck of a horse. They are of opalized glass, and pentagonal.
- Twelve Black and White Beads.
- Fragments of Glass Vessels, Roman and Early English. Found in London.
- Eight Bronze Lares, of Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, Cupids, and other Household Gods.
- Fourteen Fibulæ; some of rare form.
- Six Specimens of Tessellated Pavements of Red Tesseræ, an inch square, which usually form the border of the finer and more ornamental floors. Found in Huggin Lane and Foster Lane, London.
- Six Specimens of Fresco Painting. From Roman buildings discovered in Old Fish-street Hill, and the site of the Royal Exchange, London.
- Eight Bellarmines of different sizes, one having the arms of Amsterdam.
- A curious Wooden Jug or Mether, cut out of a solid piece.
- Three Earthenware Pitchers.
- Three Earthenware Jugs of the 16th Century.
- Four fine Horns of the Indian Antelope, and Nine Stag-horns. Found in London.
- A quantity of Leaden Cloth-marks, bearing the various devices of Merchants in London.
- Five finely Iridescent Bottles of Various Forms. From St. Swithin's Lane, &c.
- A small Silver Chain and Cross, enamelled, set with minute diamonds.
- Two Bronze Heads from a Vase.
- A Small Mask.
- A Piece of Stamped Leather, bearing the word AMOR.

Impression in wax of the Seal of Abbot's Hospital, Guildford.

From Mr. George Russell, Master.

Impression in wax of the Seals of the Mayor and Corporation of Guildford.

Presented by F. H. Napper, Esq.

Urn of Grey Pottery, discovered in a bed of gravel several feet from the surface, in excavating for the Chelsea Waterworks, near Kingston.

A Bronze Brooch, circular in form, and bearing the following inscriptions: on one side, AVE MARIA GRACIA (PLENA); and on the other, IESUS NAZARENUS. Probably of 15th Century. Found at the same time and in the same locality as the Urn.

Presented by James Simpson, Jun., Esq.

Fragment of Timber from the Old Church of St. Mary's, Lambeth.

Presented by R. Raynham, Esq.

A Shilling and a Sixpence of Queen Elizabeth's Reign. Found near Godalming.

Presented by R. Whitbourn, Jun., Esq.

- Two Vessels in Grey Pottery, supposed to have been used as wine-measures. Found in excavating ground adjoining the West side of the Angel Inn, High Street, Guildford. *Presented by J. R. Stedman, Esq.*
- The early Kings of England, after they became Earls of Anjou, had wine-stores in this town. Precepts to the Sheriffs of Surrey are still extant, directing that no wine should be sold within the Bailiwick of Surrey except from the King's Stores.
- A Series of Eighty Facsimiles of Corporate, Abbatial, and other Seals relating to the County, including those of the Earls of Surrey.
- Impression in wax of the Seal of Sir Thomas Bysshe, Knight, Lord of the Manor of Burstowe, Surrey, 1382, temp. Richard II. *Presented by the Honorary Secretary.*
- Nuremburg Counter. Found at Bagshot. *Presented by C. R. Cayley, Esq.*
- Stone Celt. Found at Coombe Hill, near Kingston. *Presented by Arthur Brown, Esq.*
- Terra-Cotta Ring. Found, with others, in Richmond Park. *Presented by Edward Jesse, Esq.*
- Seventeen Ancient English Coins. Found at various times between 1840 and 1852, on the site of the Archiepiscopal Palace, at Croydon. *Presented by S. Lee Rymer, Esq.*
- A Roman Brick from the Gaer, Brecknockshire.
- Four Specimens of Fossils.
- Key of Chertsey Abbey.
- Stirrup and Horse-shoe worn by Marlborough's Cavalry, 1708. •
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- A Shepherd's Leathern Bottle.
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- A Piece of "The Royal George" in the form of a Book.
- A Stuffed Alligator. *Presented by the Committee of the late Chertsey Literary and Scientific Society.*
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- Two Bronze Medals. Commemorative of William Roscoe, and of the opening of St. George's Hall, Liverpool. *Presented by Joseph Mayer, Esq., F.S.A.*
- A New Zealand Spear and a Malay Spear. *Presented by Mrs. Richard Webb.*
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THE ESSEX ARCHEOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

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THE ARCHITECTURAL SOCIETY OF THE ARCHDEACONRY OF NORTHAMPTON.

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THE LONDON AND MIDDLESEX ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

THE CAMBRIAN INSTITUTE.

Rules.

I.—The Society shall be called THE SURREY ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

II.—The objects of this Society shall be—

1. To collect and publish the best information on the Ancient Arts and Monuments of the County; including Primeval Antiquities; Architecture, Civil, Ecclesiastical, and Military; Sculpture; Paintings on Walls, Wood, or Glass; Civil History and Antiquities, comprising Manors, Manorial Rights, Privileges and Customs; Heraldry and Genealogy; Costume, Numismatics; Ecclesiastical History and Endowments, and Charitable Foundations, Records, &c., and all other matters usually comprised under the head of Archæology.

2. To procure careful observation and preservation of antiquities discovered in the progress of works, such as Railways, Foundations of Buildings, &c.

RULES.

3. To encourage individuals or public bodies in making researches and excavations, and afford them suggestions and co-operation.

4. To oppose and prevent, as far as may be practicable, any injuries with which Monuments of every description may, from time to time, be threatened; and to collect accurate drawings, plans, and descriptions thereof.

III.—The subjects of all communications received, together with the names of the authors, shall be registered in a book kept for the purpose by the Honorary Secretary, which book shall be open to the inspection of the Members of the Society.

IV.—The Society shall consist of Members and Honorary Members.

V.—Each Member shall pay an Annual Subscription of Ten Shillings, to be due on the 1st of January in each Year, in advance, or £5 in lieu thereof, as a Composition for Life; and on and after the 1st of January, 1854, an entrance fee of Ten Shillings shall be paid by each New Member, whether Annual or Life Subscriber.

VI.—All payments to be made to the Treasurer, to the account of the Society, at such Banking-house in the Metropolis as the Society may direct; and no cheque shall be drawn except by order of the Council; and every cheque shall be signed by two Members thereof, and the Honorary Secretary.

VII.—The Subscriptions of Members shall entitle them to one copy of all publications issued by direction of the Council during their Membership; and no publication shall be issued to Members whose Subscriptions are in arrear.

VIII.—Every person desirous of being admitted a Member, must be proposed agreeably to the form annexed to these Rules;* and this form must be subscribed by him and by a Member of the Society, and addressed to the Honorary Secretary, to be submitted to the Council, who will ballot for his election,—one black ball in five to exclude.

IX.—Ladies desirous of becoming Members will be expected to conform to Rule 8, so far as relates to their nomination, but will be admitted without ballot.

X.—Persons eminent for their works or scientific acquirements shall be eligible to be associated to the Society as Honorary Members, and be elected at a General Meeting; and no person shall be nominated to this class without the sanction of the Council.

XI.—The Lord-Lieutenant of the County, all Members of the House of Peers residing in, or who are Landed Proprietors in the County; also all Members of the House of Commons representing the County or its Boroughs; the High Sheriff of the County for the time being, and such other persons as the Council may determine, shall be invited to become Vice-Presidents, if Members of the Society.

XII.—The affairs of the Society shall be conducted by a Council of Management, to consist of a President, Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, an Honorary Secretary, and Twenty-four Members, eight of whom shall go

* Copies of the form may be had from the Secretaries.

RULES.

out annually, by rotation, but be eligible for re-election. Three Members of the Council (exclusive of Honorary Secretary) shall form a quorum.

XIII.—An Annual General Meeting shall be held in the month of June, at such time and place as the Council shall appoint, to receive and consider the Report of the Council on the state of the Society, and to elect the Officers for the ensuing twelve months.

XIV.—There shall be also such other General Meetings in each year for the reading of papers and other business, to be held at such times and places as the Council may direct.

XV.—The Council may at any time call a Special General Meeting, and they shall at all times be bound to do so on the written requisition of Ten Members, specifying the nature of the business to be transacted. Notice of the time and place of such Meeting shall be sent to the Members at least fourteen days previously, mentioning the subject to be brought forward; and no other subject shall be discussed at such Meeting.

XVI.—The Council shall meet for the transaction of business connected with the management of the Society on the first Thursday in each Month.

XVII.—At every Meeting of the Society, or of the Council, the resolutions of the majority present shall be binding, and at such Meetings the Chairman shall have a casting vote, independently of his vote as a Member of the Society or of the Council, as the case may be.

XVIII.—The Council shall be empowered to appoint Local Secretaries in such places in the County as may appear desirable.

XIX.—Honorary Members and Local Secretaries shall have all the privileges of Members except that of voting.

XX.—The whole effects and property of the Society shall be under the control and management of the Council, who shall be at liberty to purchase books, casts, or other articles, or to exchange or dispose of duplicates thereof.

XXI.—The Council shall have the power of publishing such papers and engravings as may be deemed worthy of being printed, together with a Report of the proceedings of the Society, to be issued in the form of an Annual Volume.

XXII.—The composition of each Life Member, less his entrance-fee, and so much of the surplus of the income as the Council may direct (after providing for the current expenses, printing the Annual Volume, &c.), shall be invested in Government Securities, as the Council may deem most expedient; the interest only to be available for the current disbursements; and no portion shall be withdrawn without the sanction of a General Meeting.

XXIII.—Two Members shall be annually appointed to audit the accounts of the Society, and to report thereon at the General Annual Meeting.

XXIV.—No religious or political discussions shall be permitted at Meetings of the Society, nor topics of a similar nature admitted in the Society's publications.

XXV.—No change shall be made in the Rules of the Society except at a Special General Meeting.

Surrey Collections.

THE
ARCHÆOLOGY OF THE COUNTY OF SURREY.

BY THE REV. OCTAVIUS FREIRE OWEN, M.A., F.S.A.

THE observations of Dr. Johnson “that all that is really known of the ancient state of Britain is contained in a few pages,” and “that we

1. Apathy of previous times upon Archæology. can know no more than what the old writers have told us,” proceeded from the

apathy of his time, engendering dearth of archæological information, and which it is the object of the present antiquarian spirit to supply. Indeed, its activity in this particular has come to be so generally recognised as to leave no ground for fear that any topic of historical research will be in future uninvestigated by the most searching scrutiny; and although every antiquarian, if indulging in the Monkbarns spirit, as a gatherer of unconsidered trifles, may be subjected to the sneer of the pseudo-practical philosopher, yet daily discovery of the wealth of past record has elevated archæology from a romantic theory to the dignity of an historical arbi-

2. True value of Archæology. trator. Nor is it unworthy of this distinction when regarded in its legitimate

point of view, and when its great objects are considered, to enlighten the mind as to the human future, by a

comparison of the present with the past. The footsteps of civilization, from their earliest faint trace upon the rugged and yet impressionable soil of the savage state to their perfected development in the polished empire, are to be ascertained, not from the confused medley of blended history, but, as individuals constitute the mass, from the archæological analysis of personal domestic life. It is the habit of the house which attunes the temper of the nation, and the portraiture of its common daily existence gives us the truest index to the political changes of a people. If archæology therefore be frittered away upon trivialities, it is to the oblivion of its high import as the enunciator of historical record; but its value can no more be impugned by its abuse, than sound scholarship be invalidated because of the prevalence of pedantry. Commercial wealth, its progress through refinement, luxury, and effeminacy, to the final extinction of national greatness; the improvement in arts and arms, the defence of the homestead against the fortress; the recognition of plebeian liberty, the circumscription of feudal oppression, are cognizable from individual acumen exercised upon the sculptured urn and record of the dead; so that the true patriot becomes of necessity the antiquarian, and if history be looked to as the summary of ancient facts, she must rely for evidence upon the corroboration of archæology.

No slight efficacy, however, is given to these pursuits by the circumstance of antiquarian societies

3. Modern So- resulting from individual taste, and not
cieties. from legal enforcement. Whatever good
(it is very little) human nature is inclined to do spontaneously, it will probably do best. Antiquarian research has been ever but slenderly patronized by Government, but gratifies its promoters by emanating

from their own volition. And inasmuch as "tot homines quot sententiæ," so where men combine for archæological discovery, each, like a bee, selects his own flower, and not only thus is no spot unransacked in Time's garden, but accumulated wealth brought to the common store. To this healthful mental exercise, to this gratifying spontaneous combination, we attribute, as well as to a growing appreciation of their value, the rapid increase of archæological societies in the kingdom, and the vast additional light poured, since their establishment, upon the national history. After the more distant limbs of the kingdom have grown into new life, by a somewhat strange but gratifying anomaly the heart of the empire receives the arterial influence it should have primarily dispensed, and we are now assured of the popular establishment of an antiquarian association for London, to which our own society of Surrey stood the proud and willing sponsor. It is impossible to over-

4. The London and Middlesex. rate the value of the as yet undeveloped annals contained in the metropolis alone.

If Johnson's time was so barren of such record of common life, as that he was fain to commend Henry's history as the best civil, military, and religious narrative extant of Britain, how would he have exulted in the projected labours of a society which promises not to leave even London Stone "unturned," nor unmolested every cupboard in his own scene of motley association, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.

Having then somewhat rescued Archæology from the hitherto prevalent charges against it, we propose to

5. Purport of the present paper. set forth as a proper prefix to this first account of our proceedings as a society,

the historical position of the county of Surrey, with some brief notices of an antiquarian character, intendi-

to give a general chart, whereby each inquirer may shape his course, and develope such element of antiquity as he best may propose for general benefit. Our end will be attained if we impress any mind with the value of Surrey records in their bearing upon the history of the English people, of the vast treasury of ancient lore which this county especially contains. Our business is, in this respect, one of compilation; the profit will result in the analysis by himself of the material submitted to each reader's mind; but not only is this portion of our labour important, but it appeared to us inconsistent to publish the account of a society's proceedings, without describing the scene of its labours, and some appropriate subjects of their exhibition.

According to Ptolemy, who, probably, is the most reliable authority, Surrey was inhabited by the Regni, who occupied the portion of Britain south of the Atrebatii and Cantii. These Regni had joined the Belgæ, who dispossessed the aboriginal Britons long before Julius Cæsar; besides Surrey, they held also Sussex, and probably the greater part of Hampshire. During the 400 years of Roman occupation, four large cities were founded in the Regnian provinces, one of which called

6. Early history
of Surrey. The
Regni.

7. Noviomagus. Noviomagus, generally supposed to have been built in Surrey, has afforded fertile topic of antiquarian investigation. Like Homer's birth-place, various towns compete for its site—old Croydon, Wallington, Guildford—until it has been carried out of the county altogether, and deposited at Holwood Hill, in Kent. Woodcote, Carshalton, Beddington, Whaddon, all places abounding in Roman records, have severally claimed the original Noviomagus under the advocacy of Camden, Aubrey, Salmon, and others. As a slight

specimen of the antiquarian supplies in the county,
 8. Roman Sta- we annex a short list of places regarded as
 tions, &c. Roman sites, and where coins and relics,
 of Roman and other periods, have been discovered.

- Albury.—The foundations of a Roman temple : figure in ivory.
 Austerbury.—A camp near the Roman road, called “Stane-Street.”
 Bagden, near Westhumble.—Coins.
 Bagshot.—Roman pottery.
 Beddington.—Mural paintings, tracings.
 Bermondsey.—Roman vases, coins, &c., found Sept. 1845.
 Brockham.—A small Merovingian gold coin.
 Chertsey.—Bronze Runic basin, pavement tiles.
 Chobham.—Roman coins.
 Coulsdon.—Ancient embankments.
 Coway Stakes.—Fine bronze sword.
 Croydon.—Frescoes lately discovered in the church.
 Egham.—Probably the Roman Bilrox.
 Farley Heath.—Roman relics.
 Farnham.—Perhaps the Vindomis of Antonine.
 Frimley.—Roman urn and coins.
 Gatton.—Various.
 Guildford.—Crypt, painted glass, crucifixes, ornaments.
 Hascomb.—A Roman camp.
 Hilbury.—Various.
 Holmwood Hill.—Various.
 Kingston-upon-Thames.—Probably the Thames, urns, Roman walls
 and coins, tiles, pottery, and weapons, ring with 11 bosses.
 Lambeth.—Keys, nutcrackers, &c.
 Lingfield.—Effigies in glazed tiles.
 Newark Priory.—Armorial escutcheons of Limoges enamel.
 Nutfield.—Roman coins.
 Peckham.—A Roman glass urn, &c.
 Pendhill.—A Roman hypocaust.
 Puttenham.—Pottery.
 Reigate.—Polycrome altar-piece, antique intaglio, Roman flue tile,
 stone celt, Gaulish gold coin.
 Send.—Roman coins.
 Southwark.—A tessellated pavement, coins, urn, &c.
 Surrey side, Thames.—A pomander of massive gold.
 Titsey.—Rings.

Wallington.—

Walton-on-the-Hill.—Tiles, buildings, a brass Æsculapius.

Walton-on-the-Thames.—Probably where the Britains opposed the Romans across the bed of the river at the posts called Coway Stakes.

Wandsworth.—Bronze sword, spearhead, curved pin, bronze celt, ornaments for shields.

Warlingham.—A Roman camp.

Woodcote.—Old buildings, coins, urns, bricks, &c.

Woodmansterne.—Glass painting.

During the Saxon Heptarchy, Holinshed informs us that “the first battell fought between the Saxons one against another within this land, after their (the Saxons) first coming to the same,” was that which took place at Wimbledon or Wibbandune, in Surrey, between Cealwin, king of the West Saxons, and Ethelbert, king of Kent, for the dignity of Bretwalda, or emperor of Britain. Subsequently, in the year 666, this part of England was ruled by Wulfere, king of Mercia; and Frithwald, founder of the Benedictine abbey, at Chertsey, was described as his *subregulus* of Surrey. In 851, we find Ethelwulf and his son Ethelbald defending the kingdom against the Danes, whom they defeated at Ockley with immense slaughter; but in 853, Wada, or Huda, caldorman of Surrey, together with Ealhere, earl of Kent, was routed by these barbarous marauders. Frithwald and Wada are alone recorded as exclusive governors of Surrey.

The kings of Wessex were crowned at Kingston, and we learn that the first coronation there was that of Edward I. or Elder, A.D. 900, the solemn ceremony being performed by Phlegmund, Archbishop of Canterbury. Previous to the Norman

9. The Saxon Heptarchy. Battle of Wimbledon.

10. Wulfere.

11. Battle of Ockley, A.D. 851.

12. Frithwald and Wada.

13. Coronation of Wessex kings.

invasion, the only other historical events connected with the county, are those which served as a pretext to William the Conqueror for a descent upon England, namely, the seizure and murder (after the death of ^{14. Hardicanute,} Hardicanute, the last Danish sovereign of ^{A.D. 1041.} England) of Prince Alfred, by Godwin, earl of Kent, to avenge which violence, William the Conqueror declared he would proceed against the English shores. The peculiar history of the county at this epoch merges in that of the state and kingdom.

As to topical division, Alfred is supposed, by Ingulphus and William of Malmesbury, to have first ^{15. Counties and} parcelled out England in counties, and ^{Hundreds.} these latter into hundreds and tithings; yet, during the Heptarchy, several counties were known by names correspondent with those they now bear; thus, Surrey was Suth-regiona, or Sudergiona. The hundreds of Surrey are thus given in Domesday Book.

The lands of the Bishop of Winchester, now Farnham.				
Godelming	...	...	...	Godalming.
Blackheat Field	...	...	...	Blackheath.
Wochinges	...	...	...	Woking.
Godlei	...	...	...	Chertsey.
Amele Bridge	...	...	...	Emley Bridge.
Copedorne, Fingeham	...	...	...	Copthorn.
Wodeton	...	...	...	Dorking.
Churchfelde	...	...	...	Reigate.
Tenrige	...	...	...	Tandridge.
Waleton	...	...	...	Croydon.
Chingestun	...	...	...	Kingston.
Brixistun	...	...	...	Brixton.

16. Manors. Of the Surrey manors, the Conqueror held fourteen himself in demesne.

Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury	...	...	6
Odo, Bishop of Baieux	...	...	25

The Abbey of Chertsey	23
Richard de Tonbridge (<i>alias</i> Fitzgilbert) ...	49
William Fitzansulf	7
St. Peter's Church, Westminster	5
Walter Fitzother	5

Of others recorded, two held four manors each; three, three each; eight, two each; and twenty, one each.

From its proximity to the metropolis, Surrey, as might be conceived, was the frequent scene of civil discord or political strife; and age after age has left upon its soil the impression of national disturbance, or has associated its towns, villages, and castles, with striking passages in English history. The signing of Magna Charta by the wavering King John, at Runnimede, near Staines, was preceded, it is said, by long councils amongst the insurgent barons, at Reigate Castle, belonging to William, earl of Warren and Surrey. A cavern under the castle court, is called the Barons' Cave, and we find that this same castle of Reigate, with those of Guildford and Farnham, fell into the hands of Prince Lewis of France, who, in 1216, landed to assist the barons against the king. In 1217, they were surrendered to the Protector Pembroke; but, in 1264, the fortress of Kingston, with others, occupy prominent positions during the insurgency of Simon de Montfort. Southwark, itself a mine of history, is rife with the especial ravages of Wat Tyler, in the reign of Richard II., in that of Edward IV., and during the insurrection of Sir Thomas Wyatt, at the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, 1554. In the Loseley papers, it is recorded that twenty-six men and

17. Historical Incidents.

18. Runnimede, June 15, 1215.

19. Reigate Castle.

20. Other fortresses.

21. Southwark.

four women, of the counties of Surrey and Sussex, suffered for their adherence to the faith during the Marian persecution.

In the civil wars, Kingston was repeatedly visited by both armies; in October 1642, the earl of Essex occupied it with 3,000 men, and after the battle of Edgehill, and an abortive attempt on Windsor, Prince Rupert experienced a sharp skirmish in this neighbourhood. The spirit of the Surrey men also was conspicuous, in being the first to demand the restoration of the king; and the insurrection of Lord Villiers, at Kingston, was not put down without great effort. Though, since that period until the present, little of historical note is connected with the county, yet the above summary, brief as it is, will suffice to prove Surrey rich in materials for archæological display.

Some curious details relative to population in Surrey, arise from examination of the Patent Rolls. Thus, in Edward II. (1322), 500 foot armed with haketons (jackets), basinets (skull-caps), gauntlets, &c., were levied upon Surrey and Sussex, exclusive of Chichester. In Henry VIII. (the thirty-sixth year of his reign), 80 archers and 320 bill-men were levied in Surrey alone; and when Elizabeth's life was threatened by popish malevolents, 180 principal gentry united themselves in a voluntary association to defend her. In 1574-5, the musters were 6,000 able men, 1,800 armed men, and 96 demi-lances. The excessive charges in this county for horses, in the time of Elizabeth, caused a strong remonstrance; the subsequent levies on the county are full of interesting evidence of its growing importance, as peculiarly the residence of the great metropolitan nobles. The

extent of Surrey from east to west is about $39\frac{1}{2}$ miles, and its breadth $25\frac{1}{2}$ miles, the area being 759 square miles or 485,760 acres; its population, at the last census, was 683,082; and it has been well observed that, for its size, perhaps no other English county possesses so many seats of influential men.

24. Extent.

Very remarkable statistics are presented also in connection with its agricultural and commercial interests formerly. It appears to have been the

25. Manufactures.

first English district wherein clover was cultivated, which had been introduced by Sir Richard Weston, from Flanders, in 1645: more physical plants are grown in it than in any other county, and the abundance of its timber has given rise to remarkable government enactments relative to the forest and "bailiwick" of Surrey (temp. Hen. II.). Irrigation was practised here before the middle of the seventeenth century, and the convenience of its streams tended to the frequent establishment of mills. Iron-ore also being discovered, several foundries existed here, as well as in the adjoining county, but have fallen into neglect; fuller's-earth is in great quantities, and the stone from Godstone, Merstham, Reigate, and Bletchingley, possesses invaluable qualities for the manufacture of glass. Aubrey gives a curious account of the discovery of coal, and in Camden's time, pits of jet were discovered; the sand near Tandridge and Reigate is unrivalled for purity and colour. In former times the

26. Mineral Springs.

springs at Epsom, Streatham, Kingston, Dorking, and other places in the county, obtained great note, but have fallen into disuse and out of fashion, from that cause which invariably ruins all medicinal repute, namely, facility of access.

The lover of ecclesiastical architecture will, equally as the investigator of ancient customs, manorial residences, or castellated fortresses, find in Surrey ample scope for his observation. Some of its conventual and sacred edifices vie with any in the kingdom for beauty and renown:—The Church of St. Mary Overie, rich in its lingering Norman relics, and in

— “ names,

Which unto time bequeath a name,”—

the resting place of the poets Gower, Fletcher, Massinger,—with the fading page of its early priory, and singular crypt,—placed in a neighbourhood, wherein

28. Croydon.

each step we take is on past honoured dust; Croydon, “ the mitred,” as I may

call it, irradiated not by the titles only, but by the charitable deeds and pious munificence of Chicheley,

29. Guildford.

Grindall, Shelden, and Whitgift; Guildford, whose church, caverns, castle, hospital, demand each a separate narrative replete with

archival interest: palaces, abbeys, and

30. Palaces and Manorial houses.

manorial residences, crowd upon our

survey, until

—“ our hearts run o'er

“ With silent worship of the great of old.”

A host of associations awake at the mere enumeration of such residences as Beddington, Nonsuch, Lambeth, Loseley, Sutton, Sheen, fraught with the memory of the

“ Dead, but sceptred sovereigns, who rule

Our spirits from their urns !”

Inexhaustible materials lie before the judicious observation of a society, whose zeal has already enabled it to welcome among its members many who stand pre-

eminent in the fame of sound archæological research. So full is the county of interesting record, that a little systematic organization of local committees in connection with the main Society, cannot fail materially to enrich our national annals by allowing individual taste to contribute to common knowledge. The history of ancient progresses, the Southwark mummings at the "Tabard," the hardly obsolete classic ceremony relative to betrothal at Ockley, the elucidation of Roman relics and Saxon manufactures, the collection and collation of MSS., the examination of pictorial relics, sacred emblems, genealogical archives; these, and a myriad other sources of national investigation, may be individually followed up by the properly organized combination of local committees.

Surrey is the largest artery emanating from the great metropolitan heart, and may well be regarded as receiving the earliest pulsations, in all ages, of the influences which stirred the people. The study, therefore, of such subjects as its topographical history presents cannot fail to instruct whilst it entertains, and to contribute to moral as well as to intellectual excellence. For the past is a torch to the present; biography is but the mirror of self-knowledge, and antiquity only our own footsteps in other shoes. All we have to do is to select our materials with judgment, and to pursue them with caution, gathering up the ravelled skein with care, and weaving with dexterity and sound knowledge a consistent tissue out of the torn and twisted fragments of old times; since, to apply the striking words of the greatest contemporary poet,* though

" Vanished is the ancient splendour, and before our dreamy eye
Wave these mingling shapes and figures, like a faded tapestry ;"

* Longfellow.

Yet,—

“ Gathering from the pavement’s crevice, as a floweret of the soil,
The nobility of labour—the long pedigree of toil,
Everywhere we see around us rise the wondrous world of art,—
Fountains wrought with richest sculpture standing in the common
 mart,
And above cathedral doorways, saints and bishops carved in stone,
By a former age commissioned,” stand “ apostles to our own !”

II.

THE RELIGIOUS BEARING OF ARCHÆOLOGY
UPON ARCHITECTURE AND ART.

A PAPER READ BEFORE THE INAUGURAL MEETING OF THE SURREY ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY, AT THE BRIDGE-HOUSE HOTEL, SOUTHWARK, MAY 10, 1854.

BY THE REV. JOHN JESSOPP.

WHEN, some years ago, I was a student of the Middle Temple, and was picking up such an acquaintance with law as “eating terms” with that ancient and honourable society will impart, I recollect that it was among the traditions of the practice of the Bar, that, on all occasions, when a compliment or an honour was bestowed on the members of a particular circuit, it was the junior member of their mess who was required to acknowledge the one, or do homage for the other. The motive that influences that learned body herein, I take to be this,—that they are anxious to testify to an admiring world that in all things relating to the dignity and credit of their order, they can commit themselves as confidently to the zeal and ability of the youngest and most inexperienced amongst them, as they could to the learning and discretion of the oldest and most practised of their leaders. I presume that a similar conviction has influenced the Council of the Surrey Archæological Society in having required me, the least qualified, and probably the most ignorant of their members, to deliver an address before you this night, upon subjects concerning which I have everything to learn, and nothing to impart.

I feel, however, that the subject will suffer no disparagement, among such partial judges as yourselves, in consequence of the inability of the essayist to do full justice to its merits; but that you will accord full indulgence to the crudities of one who admits that he does not appear among you in the attitude of a teacher speaking with authority, but rather in that of an anxious inquirer after truth sitting at the feet of a learned and eloquent Gamaliel.

Now, although archæology is by no means confined to the architecture and antiquities which faith has raised and sanctified, and impiety profaned and scattered, though the rough hewn sarcophagus of our Saxon ancestors is as dear to the antiquary's heart as the most elaborately-chiselled tomb of the pseudo-martyr of the middle age; yet, as the study has of late years been gradually, but surely, raising itself to the dignity of a science having no insignificant influence upon practical results, I may be permitted to glance at one of these, which is the most important, and seek to show the Religious Bearing of Archæology upon Architecture and Art.

Now, I am sure you will all allow that, next to the works of God, nothing is so worthy of admiration in the world as those creations of man which have been suggested and inspired by the religious sentiment. Partaking of the grandeur of their object—stamped, so to speak, with the imprint of the Deity to whom they have been consecrated—they bear about them a certain character of sublime elevation which recommends them to universal admiration.

It is as impossible to remain insensible before a magnificent cathedral, or a picture by Raffaele, or a fresco by Michael Angelo, as it is when we are contemplating,

in the calm twilight, some glorious and wide-spread scene of nature. In the latter case we recognise the creative and omnipotent hand of God; in the former, that of man, struggling to emancipate himself from the thralldom of his own weakness, and seeking to compensate by ideality for the mighty distance which separates his own from his Maker's works! This constant tendency to bring ourselves nearer to the Deity by our works, to perpetuate this contest between mind and matter, constitutes man's whole existence; it is the drama of his life, his passion; it is, in one single word, Art. For what, in fact, is art, but action spiritualized—action which calls into exercise all those higher faculties which harmonize, combine, and blend with the passive strength of nature?

Now, if considered in its highest point of view, Art may be said to partake of somewhat of the Divine nature; is not this especially the case when its efforts are consecrated to the works of God? And this principle, when applied particularly to ecclesiastical architecture, is justified by the most abundant evidence. Nothing, indeed, is so grand as the monuments it has raised; none of the other efforts of art have ever succeeded in producing that wonderful combination of the ponderous with the graceful, the massive with the light, which, like everything that partakes of the sublime, astonishes, amazes, and yet delights. By the union of material and ideal beauty, of which it is the type, it satisfies the double craving of our twofold nature; it impresses our senses, at the same time that it elevates the mind.

It is in this last exclusively moral influence that we recognise the characteristic feature of religious architecture. Being the faithful expression of a feeling of

love and gratitude to the Divinity, it seeks, simultaneously, to reflect and to inspire the sentiment to which it owes its origin. That spontaneous testimony, rendered by man to the Author of all things, was originally manifested by psalms and hymns; but soon the song alone began to be insufficient—words demanded a substantial representative—the hymn assumed a shape of stone—the altar was erected on the summit of the mountain, on the margin of the river, or in the solitude of the forests; the incense smoked beneath richly-sculptured roofs; God at length had His temple, and religious architecture was erected!

It is not, however, to ecclesiology alone that the objects of this Society are directed, and if I appear to have given an undue prominence to this department of archæological science, it is because it is the mother and the nurse of all the rest, and I conceive that it comes eminently within the scope of the operations of a body like ourselves to remark, amid the characteristic of grandeur which is peculiar to it, how completely religious architecture has yielded to the influence of the times, places, and worships of which it was the outward manifestation. Morose and mysterious in India, it concealed, amid the caves of its subterranean temples, the arena of its incomprehensible pantheism. Gigantic, and no less enamoured of mystery, in Egypt, it seems anxious, by its pyramids, its obelisks, and its sphinxes, to defy alike the researches of science and the ravages of time.

We see it beneath the blue sky of Greece, blossoming in all the graceful elegance of the smiling Hellenic mythology, and displaying its beauties to the day, crowning every promontory with its flowered capitals, from the colonnades of Neptune's temple, on Mount Parnassus, to

those of Minerva, beneath the verge of the Acropolis. And then, if, from the East, we pass homeward to the West, we shall discover that, although with ourselves, even Christian architecture possesses a type and character essentially original and distinct; yet, still, that beneath this, too, are reproduced the features we have recognised elsewhere.

Thus, in the light spire we perceive the obelisk of Egypt; the cave-temples of India, like the pyramids themselves, are reproduced in one gloomy crypt, those catacombs wherein repose in peace the bones of our ancestors, and the ashes of our martyred saints. Sculpture half destroyed, statues mutilated by the hand of man, or yielding to the decay of time, fantastic figures in every form of poetical grotesqueness, inscriptions scarcely legible, or of which the very allusion cannot be traced;—all these present a vague and mysterious analogy to those hieroglyphics of the elder world, of which the eye curiously follows the sharp outlines without the mind being able to comprehend or guess at the hidden meaning. And it is one of the objects which archæology promotes, to follow up these researches, to trace these resemblances, to deduce these analogies, and thereby to reconstruct, from the minutest and most unpromising fragments, faithful records of all that is grandest and loveliest and noblest in art. For it is with archæology as with its kindred science geology; the triumphs of each are acquired by means of the analytic element carried to the highest point. And in alluding to geology, I speak also of that science which is not indeed the same, but yet which is seldom separated from it in study. I mean the study in which Cuvier attained such mastery and skill—the study of the remains of extinct races of animals, and the reconstruction of their scat-

tered bones, so as to afford, by analogy, no small probability of an accurate estimate as to their structure, their size, and even their habits of life. And this recalls to my recollection a most striking discovery of a disciple of Cuvier with reference to one of those animals, which, so far as we know, human eye had never seen, and of which, in this instance, it happens that no vestige of the substance remains; not one fragment of its bones, not a shred of its skin.

Ask yourselves, then, for one moment, how was it possible to acquire any knowledge respecting it? Does not this, at first sight, appear an almost impossible task? Do not the difficulties in the way appear insuperable? Yet these difficulties were overcome by the school of Cuvier; and how? Why, by the footsteps which this animal, in his lifetime, had impressed upon the sand of the sea-shore. Those footsteps had become petrified in the course of years; and from the examination of these, a follower of Cuvier was enabled to deduce—first, from the intervals between them, a calculation as to the size of the animal; then, from the configuration of the steps, a calculation as to the order of animals to which it might have belonged, comparisons with other animals whose footsteps are the same, or similar; and thus, with no other positive vestige remaining than these petrified footsteps on the shore, the pupil of Cuvier was enabled to construct—not as a vague theory, not as a mere guess, unsupported by experiment, but as the result of analytical reasoning, and of analogies in similar cases—a most probable system as to the size, the structure, nay, even the habits of the animal!

I say then that it is by the application of a similar process, by this careful exercise of the deductive faculties that the archæologist arrives at similar results.

Show him but the fragment of some shattered arch, or conduct him to some secluded spot on the river's bank, where one gaunt buttress, and a few scattered stones are all that are left to testify to the omnipotence of ruin; and from these scant materials alone he will conclude, with certainty, the age, the form, and the purposes of the fabric whose traces thus remain; and as the grey moss lifts its hoary frond, and the fading inscription unveils its mysterious hieroglyphics, gradually every stone, every inscription, and every statue, exhibit to him their outline, and appealing to his heart with all the powerful associations of an immortal interest, become the objects of a new and most harmless idolatry! It is enough for him that they have left but their petrified foot-prints on the sand!

I imagine there are few who would doubt that studies and pursuits of this kind must be a great source of improvement and of delight; but I should wish to convince you of a fact no less certain, though I think less commonly acknowledged, that an acquaintance with this science may advantageously mingle with many details of our common life; that it may lend zest to every enjoyment, and enable those who possess it to taste pleasure which those who are destitute of it can never know. Let me take so common and trivial an occurrence as a summer's holiday; let me suppose a time when many amongst you, released for a time from your more active occupations, are able to enjoy a few weeks' or days' excursion; and let us see whether, in this case, some taste for archæological pursuits may not add greatly to the pleasure you would experience.

The traveller passing rapidly, with all the speed that railroads now supply, through the plains of Lancashire, may stop short when he arrives at Penrith or at Car-

lisle, being anxious during his leisure to explore the lakes of Cumberland on the one side, or the range of the Cheviots on the other. If, then, he turns to the left, and winds his way to the lakes of Cumberland, and ascends the last hill above the lake of Derwentwater, and sees that fair prospect opened before him, he will, on the summit of that hill, find himself amongst the circle of Druids' stones. Now, to those who have not attended to any of the details of the Druids, as Cæsar and Tacitus record them, and as so many modern writers may, if you will, make familiar to you—to those who therefore felt no interest in the Druids, the circle of those stones would seem nothing but a ring of moss-grown fragments of rock, and would be dismissed without a parting thought.

But what pleasure would their contemplation afford to him who had imbued his mind, in some measure, with some of the strange traditions that relate to the rude faith of our forefathers; and how much interest would he feel among those very stones in recalling some traces of their bloody rites or fantastic superstitions! Can you doubt for a moment, which traveller, in this case, would enjoy the greater pleasure?

Or, on the other hand, had the traveller gone to the right, along the foot of the Cheviots, he would at nearly every step encounter the remains of the majestic Roman wall. There again, to any one who was indifferent to archæological pursuits, these remains would seem only so many tufts of matted ivy, and so many heaps of cemented bricks. But he who knew something already, and might wish to know more, of the traces of that wonderful people who fortified an island as we would a town—who constructed works whose magnificence in ruin even now astonishes us—such a traveller would

find ever fresh delight in every trace and vestige of antiquity which presented itself; and while enjoying not less than his companion the other delights of the excursion, the fresh spring air, or the distant view, or the various objects on his way, he would have this great additional source of interest, which the person destitute of that information would be compelled to forego.

Or let us descend to a lower sphere: let us not wander out of the circle of this very borough wherein we are now assembled, and it will be equally easy to show that archæology is not a mere holiday-thing, to be assumed on some special occasion, but that it may mix and blend with the affairs of every-day life, with our hours of business and our moments of leisure—not only without interfering with our occupations, but also diminishing the monotony of our toil. Which, think you, will pursue his avocations with the more elastic spirit: he who passes through the streets of Southwark with no other emotions than those of gain, or he who, as he glances at the stately tower and crumbling glories of the neighbouring church, can recall the legend of the Ferryman Overs, and his daughter Mary, who founded a house of sisters in the place where the last part of that very Church St. Mary Overie now stands; who, as he hastens through the defilement of Kent-street, can call to mind the fact that he is treading upon the very Roman road itself, whereby, 1,800 years ago, Cæsar's legions marched into the metropolis; who, as he passes the Talbot Inn, about midway between these two extremes, can recollect that this is the very identical "Tabard," that hostelrie where Chaucer tells us, in verses still fresh after near 500 years have passed, he lay,

" Redy to wenden on my pilgrimage
To Canterbury, with devout courage ;"

who, if required to extend his walk a few yards further still, can forget the squalor of the notorious Lock's-fields, and the degeneracy of Walworth, in the memory of those merry days when the stalwart youth of London, the sturdy bowmen of those romantic times, met together on those then verdant and shady spots to test their prowess at the Butts of Newington! Surely, then, to be able to derive such pleasure from such sources, is one of the triumphs of the human mind; and surely, even in its first elements and stages, the study of a science which produces these effects needs no apology, no justification, and no defence.

Unimaginative minds may consider this love of the things of the past an exaggerated sentiment; if, however, it be a passion, it is at least an innocent one; and without injuring one human being, it has done, and is still calculated to do, much good. Thanks to it, modern Vandalism has been compelled to suspend its ravages, and false taste its melancholy efforts at embellishment scarcely less disastrous.

Better versed than heretofore in archæological lore, the people of England comprehend that it is their mission to preserve the edifices as well as the faith of their forefathers; and thus they cheerfully second the efforts of authority, and the representations of science, to preserve or to restore all ancient time-honoured monuments. In this love of ancient things, whatever is mere fashion and caprice will pass away and be forgotten; but the substantial results, those master-pieces of art preserved from destruction, and those relics of other ages, which possess a priceless value, rescued from oblivion, will remain. Unlike men's virtues and their vices, the archæologist's good deeds will live on brass; his weaknesses be inscribed on water.

While, however, the altar which archæology has reared has received many worshippers, there have likewise sprung up around this new religion many sceptics. These latter, who seek in all things for the positive and the useful, will coldly ask of what importance is a moss-covered stone, a shattered column, or a headless statue. In their estimation, a bale of merchandise is preferable to a flowered capital; and all the obelisks that lie scattered on the sands of Egypt are, in their eyes, less valuable than the marble chimney-pieces which adorn their rooms.

This preference is excusable in those, indeed, who make industry their sole religion, but it will not hinder the ardent worshippers of art from preserving the purity of their faith. In the midst of those despised ruins, the imposing memorials of a bygone age, there is more than one lesson to be gathered. The philosopher submits his reason to the teaching of the past; the poet nourishes his imagination by his recollections; the artist studies the models which its earlier and purer traditions had created; the historian verifies the speculations he conceives by the records it has left; and the religionist derives from its silent and impressive teaching an ever-recurring testimony to the vanity of all earthly things, which leads him to look up alone to Him, by Whom all things "were and are created."

Let no one, then, exclaim against the inutility and folly of that which tends so greatly to elevate man's heart and soul! No; the sacred dust, the venerable ruin, the shattered urn, are not dumb to those who know how to inspire them with feeling and with speech. An eloquent voice speaks to them from those ruins, and upon walls, blackened by time, they recog-

nise, in living characters, the history of those who now repose beneath their shelter ; through the dark shadow of the night, that imparts a deeper blackness to the shattered heap, or roofless abbey, they can recognise the hero or the priest haunting the spots where his deeds of valour were performed, or his crown of martyrdom endured.

This, then, is the art which we are met together now, to foster and promote ; we would simply desire that posterity may long admire those noble remnants of antiquity which yet survive, the monuments of those who have written a poem upon stone, without having inscribed their names. All these men of genius, however much, apparently, strangers to the traditions of antiquity, have no less preserved sacred the worship of art, and have thereby linked ancient to modern times. Like those mortals of whom the poet Lucretius speaks, who, running in a ring, pass one to the other the torch of life, so have these great artists passed from hand to hand (and that, too, often without being themselves aware of it) the torch which was to illuminate age after age. By the rays which it yet projects we will contemplate their works. Studying the history of the past is no unprofitable way of occupying the present, and awaiting the future. And thus, while the voluntary toils of associated study shall nourish among us friendships, not like the slight alliances of idle pleasure, to vanish with the hour they gladdened, but to endure through life with the pursuit that fed them ; while the peaceful pride of such an institution as ours shall illumine the most troubled rapid of busy life with those consecrating gleams, which shall disclose, in every small mirror of smooth water which its eddies may circle, a steady reflection of some fair and peaceful image, preserving, amidst the im-

pulses of earth, traces of the serenity of heaven; we may exult as the chariot of humanity flies onward, with safety in its speed; for we shall discover, like Ezekiel of old, in prophetic vision, the spirit in its wheels!

III.

THE KINGSTON MORASTEEN.

A PAPER READ BEFORE THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SURREY ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY, HELD AT KINGSTON, JUNE 30, 1854; WITH ADDITIONAL NOTES.

BY WILLIAM BELL, PHIL. DR. AND HONORARY MEMBER.

THE inauguration of the Royal Coronation Stone at Kingston, by which the inhabitants and contributors have done themselves so much honour, and our early history good service, induces me to offer a few remarks on its significance and early use, deduced from corresponding memorials in various and widely-distant countries, and from the observances concerning those at very remote intervals, some of which survived till within a comparatively recent period.

That stones must necessarily, in the earliest ages of society, have served as seats; that some of a particular form, or in a peculiar situation, were gradually elected from the mass as the royal throne of princes and kings, whence, when the pontiff and kingly character were united, they were deemed holy, and afterwards shed the halo of their sanctity on everything around, or in contact with them, is but the natural and gradual march of the human intellect from things common to select—from select to sacred and divine. The meteor-stones that had been observed to fall from heaven—the Bethulia¹—had an additional, perhaps to the savage mind an inevitable, cause of reverence, which in many cases, as in the Caaba² of Mecca, or the misshapen fragment worshipped as a

deity at Edessa,³ and transferred by Heliogabalus to Rome with unbounded reverence and unlimited expense, received honours more than human—they became themselves the deities : and when Sanconiathon teaches that the worship of these Bethulia was invented by Cœlus, he but personifies the visible heavens, and ascribes to the voluntary act of giving, a necessary operation of nature. So rooted did this practice become in the East, that the two ideas of stones and worship, or divinity, became almost identical. The Hebrews frequently used the terms as synonymous, when we find them giving the name of stone or rock to kings and princes—even to God himself, as the Rock of Israel, where the stone metaphor was intended to convey as much of sanctity as of security or endurance. But in Jacob's prophetic death-voice on the fates of his sons, the progenitors of the twelve tribes (Genesis xlix. 24), Joseph is called "the Shepherd and the Stone of Israel," in more direct and unmistakable allusion.

Dating the practice from these Bethulia, on which it would have been impious to alter a line, or detach a particle from the surface, the greater sanctity of stones rude, and in their natural forms, before those tooled and fashioned by hands, most probably took its rise; and in pity to the weakness and prejudices of human nature, Jehovah himself was expressly particular and authoritative in denouncing the use of squared or sculptured stones for the pure altars of his worship (Deut. xxvii. 5): "And thou shalt build the altar of the Lord thy God of whole stones: thou shalt not lift up iron upon them;" or, according to the received version, "Thou shalt not lift up any iron tool upon them." And, concurrently (Exodus xx. 25), "And if thou wilt make me an altar of stone, thou shalt not build it of

hewn stone; for if thou lift up thy tool upon it, thou hast polluted it." And, certainly, the earliest practice of that nation was with deference to the precept (Joshua viii. 30—32): "Then Joshua built an altar unto the Lord God of Israel in Mount Ebal, as Moses, the servant of the Lord, commanded the children of Israel, as it is written in the book of the law of Moses: an altar of whole stones, over which no man hath lift up any iron." The law of the twelve tables at Rome had an injunction remarkably similar—*Rogum ascia ne polito*; where the injunction, though only mentioning the funeral-pile, included all the component parts, of which the altars to the Lares and funereal gods were the principal; and as these customs or laws were a bequest from the primeval Etruscans, it may be questioned whether the precept was older in Palestine or in Italy.

That the original intention of placing stones was by designing them as objects to consecrate the place and make it holy, the earliest mention of them may prove. In Genesis xxviii., after Jacob had seen the glorious vision of the ladder, he exclaims, on awaking (v. 16, *seq.*), "Surely the Lord is in this place, and I knew it not; and he was afraid, and said: How dreadful is this place: this is none other but the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven. And Jacob rose up early in the morning, and took the stone that he had put for his pillows, and set it up for an altar, and poured oil upon the top of it. And Jacob vowed a vow, saying, If God will be with me, and will keep me in this way that I go, and will give me bread to eat and raiment to put on, so that I come again to my father's house in peace, then shall the Lord be my God; and this stone which I have set for a pillar shall be God's house."⁴

The transition was easy and natural from consecration

to the Deity to an inherent sanctity and sacredness which was intended to be reflected from these commemorative stones to the fictions or facts of which they had become the witnesses and the testimony; and therefore circles or heaps of stones were put up in favourable localities wherever it was judged advisable to perpetuate the remembrance of deeds worthy of such record. The Scriptures, which are inestimable, even if only as the special records of the earliest history, detail these compacts and their evidences, in their account of the covenant entered into between Jacob and Laban (Genesis xxxi. 44): "Now therefore come thou, let us make a covenant, I and thou; and let it be for a witness between me and thee. And Jacob took a stone, and set it up for a pillar. And Jacob said unto his brethren, Gather stones; and they took stones, and made an heap: and they did eat there upon the heap." Now, the placing the stones in a circle does not appear clear from this description; yet the next instance cited almost necessarily involves the stones being placed, if not round a common centre, at least in a symmetrical order: "And it came to pass, when all the people were clean passed over Jordan, that the Lord spake unto Joshua, saying, Take ye twelve men out of the people, out of every tribe a man; and command ye them, saying, Take ye hence out of the place where the priests' feet stood firm, twelve stones; and ye shall carry them over with you, and leave them in the lodging-place where ye shall lodge this night: that this may be a sign among you, that when your children ask their fathers in time to come, saying, What mean ye by these stones? then shall ye answer them, That the waters of Jordan were cut off before the Ark of the Covenant of the Lord when it passed over Jordan. The waters of Jordan were cut off, and these stones shall

be for a memorial unto the children of Israel for ever." Cairns, or monuments of the dead, were raised by piles of stones, loosely thrown over the body of the deceased, and increased by each passer-by adding another to the heap. Such a cairn is mentioned over the burial-place of the king of Ai, whom Joshua, when he sacked and burnt the city, "hanged upon a tree until eventide;" and the practice has continued in the Alpine countries, where stones are plentiful, from these older periods to the present; or where a cross upon a mound has Christianized, and marks the spot on which, to banditti, an avalanche, or other misfortune, a human being has fallen a victim. It is not solely in Holy Writ, nor on the plains and heights of Palestine, that evidences of similar practices are to be found. All Europe is full of them; and on the authority of the American journals, examples of rude stone circles, which in Europe would be called decidedly Druidical, are not wanting to increase the enigmatical conformities between the eastern and western hemispheres. The obelisks set up by the Incas in Peru (*vide* Aglio's plates), like the Devil's Arrows at Boroughbridge (*vide* Drake's "Eboracum"), or the French *Chaise à Diable* ("Bulletin Monumental," vol. x. p. 462), can but resemble Jacob's pillar of stone in material and purpose; and round circles of stones can be matched in every quarter of the globe.

As, however, it is a stone more immediately at home that I purpose to illustrate, I shall at present restrict myself, in its elucidation, to conformities and examples drawn from existing or described monuments in our western hemisphere, which may tend to give a better idea of the Kingstone, the reasons for its use, and the solemnities of which it was the frequent witness. For India, Sir R. Colt Hoare, in his "History of Modern

South Wilts," vol. ii. p. 57, has figured examples, in three groups, of the Umbrella stones, exhibiting the forms of full cromlechs, or rather of trigliths, with converging jambs; and Chardin, in his "Persian Travels," p. 371, mentions a remarkable one in that country. "Upon the left-hand side of the road are to be seen large circles of hewn stone" (I suppose he here means only hewn or dug from the quarry, not squared), "which the Persians affirm to be a great sign that the Chaous, making war in India, held a council in that place; it being the custom of these people that every officer that comes to the council brought with him a stone, to serve him as a chair. These Chaous were a sort of giant. What is most to be admired is, that the stones were so big that eight men can hardly move one; and yet there is no place from whence they can be imagined to have been fetched, but from the nearest mountain, six leagues off." Passing on towards Europe, we have in Strahlenberg's "Travels," p. 367, the pyramidal mausoleum of the Tartarian kings at Abakan, with four stones at its corners; and the obelisk near Tombskoi (plate 5 A), to the best of Strahlenberg's recollection, about a foot thick, two feet broad, and sixteen feet high. Still nearer Europe, in Bell's "Travels in Circassia" (London, 1840), is the view of an ancient tomb in the valley of Ishat. In all this line, from beyond the Indus to the Don, we are only tracing the steps which Odin (perhaps merely a personification of civilization or humanity) is said to have taken in his migration from east to west. Snorro Sturleson, in his "Heimskringla und Ynglinga Saga," describes this journey, particularly from Asoph, more minutely than I will here transcribe; but this traditional leading of the people by Odin will give one, and perhaps the strongest

conformity, which induced Cæsar, from agreement in attributes with the Roman Mercury, to give him the name of that deity, so as to be more readily intelligible to his countrymen, in the famous passage, “De Bello Gallico,” lib. 2, chap. 15 :—“*Deum maxime Mercurium colunt ; hujus sunt plurima simulacra ; hunc omnium inventorem artium ferunt ; hunc viarum atque itinerum ducem.*” The end, however, of this long migration, is universally fixed in Sweden, as, indeed, also the end of the then known world ; and it is there we find the best examples of these stone circles, and their use and customs preserved to comparatively modern dates, as well as chronicled with a minuteness which makes us cognizant, when aided with the auxiliary traditions above, and the correspondence of existing monuments elsewhere, of their primary destination. The principal Swedish circle is called the Morasteen, a name which I have applied as generic to your Kingston stone under consideration, for reasons subsequently stated. This Morasteen is situate about half a league from Old Obsola (*hodie Upsala*), and it is first described by Sturleson, in the passage of the “Heimskringla,” as follows :—“Odin selected his residence near the Môlar Lake, on the Ast, where it is called the Old Sigtuna (for us, Sigtunor), and erected there a huge temple and altars of sacrifice, according to the custom of the Asi ; and to each of the twelve temple-overseers he gave a dwelling ; and thus, as in Asia, so here in Upsala, sacrifices were offered to Odin and his twelve primates : they were called gods, and worshipped as such.” For a description so old, its particularity is remarkable ; but the following, condensed principally from Geijer’s “History of Sweden,” and Pontanus, will carry down the account to the latest period, and supply many omissions of the earliest author.

“The Morasteen lies about one Swedish mile south-east of Upsala; and it is remarkable that here, in former times, the election of the Swedish kings took place. We have the first clear account of such an election in the case of Erick IX., or the Holy, which took place in 1397. The judges of the land met here,—twelve discreet and prudent men were elected by the consent of all present,—and their voice, and that of the judges, was considered that of the country.” Such an assembly was called Mora-ting; and in reference to the meaning of Ting, as court or place of judgment, we have only to refer to the modern names of Stor-thing and Odel-thing, for the upper and lower house of the Norwegian Parliament, or Ding-Gericht and Vehm-Geding, in Germany; the two latter representing those dark and visionary tribunals which are regarded in England with unnecessary and exaggerated horrors,—as the Holy Vehme: these prove the continuance of the word in the Teutonic dialects, to which even that of Britain is not quite strange, as the supreme tribunal; or, perhaps its mound of the Isle of Man is still called the Tingwald;⁵ and the Ri-dings of Yorkshire thence derive their most probable meanings. The description continues: “When the choice was agreed upon, the king swore upon the Holy Book and reliques (when the religion had become Christian) the oath prescribed; and so also swore the judges and the delegates; that is, they swore at or upon the Mora; and, as an old ordinance testifies, the king was immediately placed on it. For each new king they placed a stone close to it, with the date of his election graven upon it.” The Morasteen itself was a large round stone, which was raised a little from the soil: around it were twelve smaller stones, as in the ancient circles of doom (Domare ringuar). Some small stones, whose inscriptions are nearly oblite-

rated, are all that now remain on the spot; the large Morasteen not having been able to be found since the time of the first Gustaf, about 1620. The later authority I have cited with Geijer varies in so far as he states that the royal names were carved on the Morastone itself:—

“*Mos fuit antiquitùs, ut, peracta regum Sueciæ designatione, annus et dies inaugurationis nomenque regis lapide qui Morasteen vulgò dictus, extra civitatem Ubsalensem ad unum milliare, in plano campo situs, incidetur, ad perennem rei memoriam. In quo et super quem reges Sueciæ de novo electi statim post eorum electionem etiam consueverint ab antiquissimis temporibus sublunari et inthronesari; ut loquitur notarii publici instrumentum, quod produxit Joh. Messenius Suecus in paraphrasi theatri nobilitatis Suecanæ.*”

Whether the cherished stone suffered the fate of the corresponding Scottish one at Scone,⁶ the palladium of the kingdom, which Edward brought to England, and which is now embedded in the coronation-chair of his successors, at Westminster, we can at present only imagine. The Calmar Union, under Margaret, the Semiramis of the North, formed a fusion of all three Scandinavian kingdoms; and as the seat of empire was fixed at Copenhagen, we may conjecture that the outward symbols of the three monarchies would have all been united at the place chosen for her residence: transferred thither, with no ancient prestige to guard or perpetuate its recollections, it may easily have been overlooked, and lost, or removed, without attaining to the dignity of its Pictish brother. In the above method of election, we have many points in common with the proceedings on the choice, or supposed choice, of a prince in almost the most southern parts of Germany, with some additional particulars which bring new features into the picture. In Kärnthen (Carinthia), as long as it had its

independent dukes, and as long as even the fiction of an election was continued under the Austrian rule, an analogous ceremony was continued on the Zolfeld, a meadow not far from Clagenfurt, the capital, which has for the noblest ornament of its market-place, the large marble tazza, possibly constructed out of the Morastone there, as the still larger one now the principal ornament of the Schloss Garten before the museum at Berlin, was formed out of a Druidical stone, which, though at present 22 feet in diameter, was one-third larger before the manipulation. The name of the Zolfeld would undoubtedly be more correctly written Solfeld (*campus solis*), analogous to the Campus Maii or Martis (Champ de Mars) of the Gauls, revived and burlesqued by Napoleon during the Hundred Days. The ceremony was as follows:—The ducal stool was an erection of stone, like the imperial chair at Rhense (of which more immediately). On this simple throne was seated a plain countryman, before whom the newly-elected prince was introduced, clothed in the peculiar peasant costume of the province, betwixt a lean and sorry ox and horse, followed by his nobles. In this attire he swore to observe the country's laws and privileges; and then, and not before, could he put himself in the peasant's place, on the regal seat, and receive the homage of his subjects: this mockery of freedom was last played in 1551. The usages at the coronation of the emperors of Germany as kings of Hungary bring the matter nearer to some of the observances at the same solemnity in Westminster Abbey. There, near the town of Presburg, and adjoining the Danube, is a field called the King's Field, and in it an artificial hill, with four entrances, and roads up to the summit, answering to the four cardinal points. Immediately after the coronation, the chosen king rides unattended up one of the ascents,

and brandishes the sword, traditionally called that of St. Stephen, to the four quarters of the winds, to be shown to his subjects on every side, and to declare to them that he is willing to meet assailants against his country, from every quarter. The only part of the Anglican ritual in which this observance, and the analogous ones, of being placed on the stones and thrones in the other countries, is dimly shadowed out, consists in the direction in the Rubric. "The archbishop having placed the diadem of St. Edward on the royal brow, and given the orb and sceptre into his hands, is directed to show the monarch to the assembly, which here represents the entire nation." (See the Oath of Allegiance, and the touching the crown by the senior peer of each rank.)

It is to be lamented that Chardin, in his account above quoted, is not more particular in his description, particularly as to the number of stones in the circles he saw. They were, however, duodecimal, which, from the easy manner in which it was produced by the reiteration of the earliest mystical number four times, or the double of the first perfect number ($2+2=4$) three times, was in all religions the favoured complement of priests, and thence of rulers. The twelve tribes of Israel may have been a fortuitous and happy agreement; and the twelve Amschapands of Zoroaster are repeated in the twelve Cabiri of Greece. The most ancient liturgy of Italy, the Etrurian, was administered by twelve Lucomani; and no doubt of an equally primeval origin was the institution of Odin's twelve Diars (angels), or Drottnas (lords), as they are called by Sturleson, in the passage already cited for the twelve seats which surrounded the Upsala Morasteen. The fixing this rule of numbers had great influence on the legislation of our Saxon ancestors,

or brethren. In the Code of the Ripuarians, the duodecimal noun, and its multiples and divisions, form a principal feature; for a contested matter of from 3 to 100 sous, six jurors were necessary; for one from 100 to 200, twelve; for 300, thirty-six; and for the large amount of 600 sous, nothing less than 72 deciders was thought satisfactory. This number entered largely into the calculations of romance; the twelve Paladins of Charlemagne, the twelve sons of Aymon; and in our country, the twelve Knights of Arthur's Round Table, are but a few specimens, where even the ingenuity and finesse of fiction conformed itself to the popular numeration. If I did not feel that this part of my subject was running into exuberance, I might here, after Grimm and Lappenberg, show how this duodecimal numeration, in its divisions and multiples, had a remarkable influence in governing the Saxon annalists in fixing the dates of the Saxon events. That these uniformly occur in the reiteration of the multiples of four, must tend to cast serious doubt upon their general authenticity; for nature, and the natural course of events, are too various and free to be confined by such artificial rules; but fiction is continually reproducing itself. If the reader take in hand the Anglo-Saxon annals, he will find the following remarkable coincidences, among many, to bear out the assertion. In the eighth year (4×2) after the arrival of the Germans, the Britons led four large armies, under four leaders, to Crawford, in Kent, against Hengist and Osc, his son. Eight years later, in 465, Hengist and Osc collected an unconquerable army, which was drawn up in twelve (3×4) noble lines, against the whole force of Britain. After eight years more, Hengist and Osc achieved a new victory over the Britons. On the fortieth (10×4) year after his arrival, and the sixteenth (4×4)

after this battle, Hengist dies, and afterward Osc ruled twenty-four years (6×4), to the end of a cycle of eight times eight years from the first arrival of the Saxons in Britain. In the year 568 (71×8) Ethelbert is mentioned, as well as two immediate successors, who each ruled twenty-four (6×4) years. These are sufficient to prove the frequent introduction of the favourite unit, and to throw doubts on our earliest annals, for analogous reasons to those by which Sir Isaac Newton was first induced to suspect the authenticity of the first books of Livy and the oldest periods of Roman history; an idea afterwards so satisfactorily followed up by Niebuhr. That, however, the first impulse of the inquiry did not originate with Sir Isaac Newton, or with Niebuhr, seems apparent from the following extract from Spence's *Anecdotes*, published by J. W. Singer, London, 1820, p. 109:—"The first four hundred years of the Roman history are supposed to have been fabulous, by Senator Buonaroti; and he gives several good reasons for his opinion. He suspects that Rome in particular was built by the Greeks; as Tarentum, Naples, and several other cities in Italy were." These instances are introduced in this place, to prove in our kingdom the prevalence of the duodecimal system; and it will now remain to apply it to the aggregation of the stone circles remaining in Britain, as far as their imperfect preservation will permit.

It seems, in the first place, most reasonable to admit that the great palladium of our laws and constitution—the trial by twelve jurors⁷—was the most enduring and important continuance in this ancient reverence of the duodecimal number of rulers and usages. The most perfect Druidical circle at present in Britain, and perhaps at the same time (possibly from this very circumstance),

also unique, is in Cumberland, near Keswick; and its peculiarity consists in having, within a circle of fifty unhewn stones, at its eastern end, an inclosure or sanctum, in the form of a parallelogram, formed by twelve stones, four at the west end, and four north and south, with one larger than the rest in the centre towards the east, which may fairly be considered to be the Mora-stone, with the twelve subordinate seats, as at Upsala, and the large circuit for the surrounding general assembly. Opportunities have not yet been afforded me for examining the other stone circles of the kingdom with this view. But in his account of the Morasteen in Sweden, Camden mentions a similar one at St. Burien, in Cornwall; and another also may be found in Borlase's description of that county; and as these sacella, or such sanctum sanctorum, are the normal form in the remaining Druidical circles in Mecklenburg, and the marks of Brandenburg, we may infer that if our own were more perfect at Rollrich, in Oxfordshire; at Stanton Drew, in Somersetshire; at Averbury; perhaps even if Stonehenge itself were intact; that this was the general ground-plan of all such places of Druidical assemblage and worship. This supposition granted, our Kingstone stone would be only one of a smaller circle of thirteen, surrounded by a larger outer girth of somewhat indefinite but frequent multiple of four. The Rollrich stones were originally 60 (4 by 15), and the Keswick ones, if rightly counted, and not including the two required to complete the sacellum, are 48 (4 by 12). In Ireland, tradition at least has preserved a perfect image of a Morasteen in superlative grandeur. I am not aware whether the existing remains are confirmatory. The principal circle of stones in the land of Erin was the Crum-Cruach, on a hill in Breferi, a district of the county of Cavan. Here was an obelisk,

wholly covered with gold and silver, in the midst of a circle of twelve stones, which were only covered with brass, on which were carved figures. The old Irish, we are told, on the election of their Tanaists, used to deliver a wand to him whom they intended to raise to that dignity, he having previously ascended a high stone; and as soon as he had received the wand, he descended, and turned himself round thrice forward and thrice backward. The inferior stones surrounding your own Mora-stone seem to have all vanished before the requirements of an increasing population, and the improvements in the construction of our dwellings. But a reverence deeply seated in the minds of the people must have kept the principal and kingly stone from profanation or destruction; and the sacred purposes to which it was appropriated seem attested by tradition and history,⁸ as it is thus amply confirmed by the reasons we can adduce from past ages, and by farther comparison with similar existing monuments near at hand. As these, as well as their immediate neighbourhood, are curious and continually illustrative, their explanation will be here not misplaced.

The first of them which I adduce, is the famed London stone, the last fragment of which is now preserved within a stone pedestal, walled into the south side of St. Swithin's Church, in Cannon-street. This stone has undergone many changes of situation, as I learn from a note in Thom's edition of "Stowe's Chronicles," Lond. 1842, 8vo. p. 84. It formerly stood on the opposite or south side of the street; was in 1742 removed to the edge of the kerbstone on the north side; and in 1798, incased, at the instance of Mr. Thomas Marden, printer, of Sherburn-lane, by the parish officers, as it is now seen. Its fortune seems as various nearly as these migrations; but the weight of Camden's opinion seems to have united all

suffrages in looking upon it as a central milliarium, whence all the Roman itineraries were measured, as from a common starting-point. Without stopping at present to discuss various objections to such an assumption, and taking such a destination as admitted, there would be nothing incompatible with such purpose in supposing this stone, or at all events one on its place, to have been a primeval object of veneration to the people whom the Romans found in the island at their first invasion under Cæsar. That the trunk-walled Burg of Cassivelaunus, and his Trinobantes proper,—*firmissina earum regionum civitas* (“Cæsar de Bello Gall.” lib. v. c. 16),—should have been without such place of assemblage, required by their customs, social and political, and hallowed by its ancient prestige of sanctity, is inconsistent with history, particularly when we here meet with a stone whose memory has been kept alive in an under-current of tradition and veneration amongst the people till a very recent period. The tenacity with which the earliest impressions of religious deference live in all ages, and all people, might assure us of the probability; and an undoubted proof of its surviving to the age of our immortal dramatist, seems to me to be unequivocally found in his works, and will be carried down, if rightly understood now, to the latest posterity. Based, perhaps, upon a tradition or chronicle older than Holinshed, in the Second Part of “King Henry VI.,” act iv., we have as scene 2, the following:—“London: Cannon-street. Enter Jack Cade and his followers.—He strikes his staff on London Stone—Now is Mortimer lord of this city, and here, *sitting upon this stone*, I charge and command that, of the city’s cost, the pissing conduit run nothing but claret-wine the first year of our reign. And now henceforward it shall be treason for any that call

me other than Lord Mortimer." Short as this speech is, coupled with the stage direction now, of striking the stone, it gives us all the usages we have heard of as to other Morasteens, and all the various indispensable requisites of a coronation. The sanctity of the place, the striking the stone, a burlesque of the regal defiances at Presburg, and still practised by the sovereign at the ceremony of dubbing a knight—which, as Pennant remarks, had been a customary way of taking possession—the being placed on the stone upon which his recognition as a prince and sovereign is to follow; all are ample testimonies of the intention. Stowe, in his *Annals*, produces many instances where this stone is mentioned in documents as early as Athelstan, as a kind of landmark, and for "the payment, tendering, and making of debtors to their creditors at their appointed days and times, till of later times payments were more usually made at the font in Paul's Church, and now most commonly at the Royal Exchange." These would assure us of its sanctity, as temples were used by the Romans for many pecuniary transactions; and as we here find them transferred to the interior of a Christian church, until the greater convenience of the continental bourse, introduced into Great Britain by Sir Thomas Gresham, carried them more appropriately to the secular edifices, as at Bristol, where old brass font-like tables still exist for the obsolete purpose of money-changing, in front of their new exchange, the very intent of which is indicated by its name. But we have direct evidence that the title of supreme magistrate of the City was taken from this stone. In the *Rotuli Curie Regie*, edited by Sir F. Palgrave (1835, vol. i. p. 12), some conspirators are made to say, "Come what will, in London we will never have another king except our mayor, Henry

Fitzailwin, of London Stone." This would more satisfactorily account for one of Stowe's attempts at giving the origin of the monument, according to some opinions. His words are: "Some, again, have imagined the same to be set up by one John or Thomas Londonstone;" but the honest and acute chronicler very justly adds, "but more likely it is that such men have mistaken the name of the stone, than the stone of them;" so that though very near the truth, he has not exactly ascertained it. He brings the facts of no person actually so named. The reasons he mentions are purely conjectures; he has mistaken evidently a consequence for a cause.

Another London stone cannot here be passed over in silence, because its history and locality afford corroborative and illustrative proofs of the usages vindicated for the preceding one: I allude to the memorable relic at Staines, close to the Shire Ditch, where the counties of Middlesex and Buckingham meet, near Runnymede—the latter glorious in the annals of our constitutional liberties as the table and spot on which, in 1215, King John affixed his seal and signature to the Magna Charta, in the presence of his assembled prelates and nobles: a glorious revival of the Saxon Wittenagemote, no doubt on a locality originally dedicated to their meeting. The identical stone on which the precious parchment rested at the moment of superscription was itself suggestive of ancient freedom and pristine liberties, and may have been an ultimate cause of this early agitation for lost privileges. The very name of Staines reverts to us the ancient stone-circled space of primeval assemblies; and that Runnymede would serve to interpret a stone of assembly, we may learn from the meeting-stone for the imperial electors of Germany at Rhense,⁹ or Runnymede,

of which we shall have occasion to speak shortly. The locality of the London stone, at the boundaries of two or more counties, is what frequently occurs in similar monuments. The Rollrich stones are pitched where the counties of Oxford, Warwick, and Gloucester meet, as was the curious septagonal edifice of John O'Groat's house;¹⁰—an heptagon, built when Scotland, the Orkneys, and Norway were under the same collective rule, and where the seven electors of Scotland, whom Sir F. Palgrave's industry has discovered, used to meet on any vacancy of the crown. Just so, the above-named heptagon at Rhense was situate on the boundaries of the three ecclesiastical electorates of Mainz, Köln, and Trier, where the seven German electors, upon similar occasions, met to discuss the affairs of the empire, and to give their votes at each successive choice of an emperor.

I do not think that the near neighbourhood of Staines to Kingston would, by their proximity, offer any argument against the antiquity of either. Each petty prince or state had, no doubt, a peculiar sanctified locality, which, like our parish churches or cathedrals, might frequently happen to be pitched at no corresponding nor uniform distance from its neighbour; but it would not, perhaps, be too daring a guess to suppose that, as in the case of the Scone stone being brought to Windsor, the Morasteen of Upsala to Denmark, so, perhaps for some political or ecclesiastical reason, the Kingstone may have been removed from the original site on the Runnimele to the place to which it subsequently gave its name. Such appellations as Kingston,¹¹ and "ston" in general, should be carefully observed throughout the land, as they might be found connected with local traditions or customs, explanatory of their purpose, and corroborative of this and other monuments; but care should be taken

to distinguish them from the various Kingstowns, though similarly pronounced: thus, Hull is rightly Kingstown-upon-Hull; but the name dates no earlier than Edward I., the great founder of its present importance, who, when he imparted the name to the town, also gave the corporation his own arms of three crowns, argent, on a field azure. But in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (September 1, 1850, p. 380), is the mention of another Kingston in Berkshire, surnamed Bagpuze, which is evidently different from John of Brompton's Kingston, *juxta Londinum*, and which by this very addition of Bagpuze, almost unquestionably indicates a locality of similar purpose. I cannot at present go into the remarkable coincidence of this second name with the earliest and widest mythologies of northern Germany, for their complete discussion would lead me too far, and a slight mention would not be satisfactory; there is, beside, sufficient evidence from the neighbouring localities. At the time of Doomsday Book, Kingston Bagpuze was a town of some importance, more particularly in the reign of Athelstan,¹² chosen king by the Mercians in 925, who died at "Fearndun," amongst the Mercians, probably in "Berkshire;" also from the circumstance of King Alfred having had a town or fortress (beort) there; and secondly, the finding there numerous Saxon coins, and an immense quantity of metal belts. This latter circumstance is positive proof of an antiquity prior to that generally received at the beginning of the Anglo-Saxon era. The neighbourhood is also there of high antiquity. Wittenagemots were held at Haney and Shefford, which adjoin Kingston Bagpuze, and at Abingdon and Witney (Witan-ige), not far distant. To this may be added, in Berkshire also, and this neighbourhood: Poughley, the name of a monas-

tery in ruins; the Padwick Lanes and Paddington, or Potton, which a short search has enabled me to discover, and a list redolent of the most ancient mythology, and which no doubt a stricter search awakened to the subject, would materially enlarge for every county in our island. The names all centre in Shakspeare's Puck, of whose mythology I have endeavoured to give an account in the first volume of a work I have published.¹³

This may at present suffice for determining the oldest rites and purpose of the Kingstone in Surrey; and as the architect is often forced to collect from scattered relics of a building the form and outline of its various parts when perfect, so here, in ascertaining the ancient rites and ceremonies with which our fragment was connected, it was necessary to compare it, and the legends or memorials concerning it, with those of other countries and distant ages; and it does not seem too bold an assumption, that it was originally a sacred Morasteen, placed beside twelve others in a larger surrounding circle of various multiples of twelve; that it was peculiarly consecrated, and served as the inauguration-stone, or throne, at the election of a chief, perhaps an arch-Druid, or pontiff king, on which he was seated to receive the homage and acclamations of the multitude, at a period long previous to the invasion of Britain by the Roman arms, and which imagination may stretch to an era equivalent with the oldest of the Etruscan polities, perhaps as early as the very first immigrations of the aborigines who set their foot on the verdant isles of the West, migrating from the cradle of mankind, the plains of Shinaar, in the far East. The latest and most circumstantial account of this Morasteen is contained in Mr. W. Chambers's "Tracings of the North of Europe," contained in his own *Edinburgh*

Journal, Feb. 6, 1850, p. 100. He says: "I left it [Upsala] on the ensuing morning (Sept. 7), and at an early hour drove to a spot noted in the history of Sweden. In this country, it must be observed, the elective principle has always been, to some extent, maintained in connection with the monarchy. During the ages preceding Gustavus Vasa, kings and administrators were frequently appointed by popular assemblies. These assemblies usually took place at a certain spot a few miles from Upsala. There the king, or administrator, standing on a stone, swore to observe the law of his kingdom towards his people. In the course of time these stones, inscribed with their respective histories, accumulated to a considerable number; and at length, in 1770, Gustavus the Third built a small pavilion over them for their protection. To this pavilion, which bears the name of 'The Morastenaar,' I was driven in less than an hour. It stands on the wayside, under a hill, in a country otherwise undistinguished. I found the stones, all of them much worn, ranged along the floor, while an inscription round the ceiling detailed the names of the personages elected, with the dates of their elections, from Steen Kit, in the year 1060, to Steen Sture, in 1512. It is curious, that both the kings of Scotland and the Lords of the Islands were, in ancient times, invested with sovereignty seated or standing upon a stone." The best view of them is an engraving in Dahlberg's "*Suecia antiqua et hodierna*," vol. i.—"*Delineatio loci amœni et antiquitatis venerabilis, ubi veteres Sueci et Gothi reges suos eligebant, et in facti memoriam lapides incisos relinquebant, vulgo dicti Morasteen.*"

NOTES REFERRED TO.

¹ *Bethulia*, Βαιτυλία.—This word is not found either in the classic Grecian or Latin authors, and yet its use may be traced in the quotation of Damascius in Photius's Library, and in Hesychius, who deduces it from βαιτη, *pellis*, because he thinks it took the name from the stone which Saturn devoured instead of Jupiter being enveloped in a skin. A more simple and probable derivation is from the Hebrew בית *a house*, and לַיְיָ *the Lord*, the literal interpretation of Jacob's stone pillow. In this Bochart, Scaliger, Selden, and Bompert concur; and it is not, therefore, to be wondered at that nations who boast the possession of such stones, claim them as the identical block which Jacob sanctified by pouring oil upon it, and giving its locality this designation. The Mahommedans, as one cause of their reverence of the Caaba, trace it back to this origin; and so do the Irish and Scotch, for the stone now under the coronation-chair in Westminster Abbey, it being brought by some of the regal family of Jerusalem, after the first destruction of that city, and lodged within Tara's princely halls, whence it migrated with the Scoti, who took possession of Scotland, to Scone, till it was taken as a trophy by Edward the First to his own capital.

Some of these meteoric stones are met with of immense and almost incredible size. In the British Museum is a portion of one which fell at Otumbo, in Central America, estimated to have weighed fifteen tons, as described by Don Rubico de Cilis. This fragment weighs fourteen hundred pounds: but according to Southey, one fell at Durango which far surpassed even this enormous mass, as described by Gaspar de Villagra, in *Historia de la Nueva Mejico*. The common resource of ignorance and fear, to deem everything uncommon, supernatural, is found equally active in undiscovered America as in the East. The Aztec tradition fabled that a demon appeared to two brothers who were leading a horde of ancient Mexicans in search of a new country: she told them to separate, and threw down the block of iron which she carried on her head, to be a boundary betwixt them.

It is true, Humboldt's observations reduce this weight very considerably; but even his authentic data of nineteen hundred myriogrammes leave sufficient room for the wonder and worship of an ignorant people. The soldiers of Cortez found on the Pyramid of Cholula a meteorite divinely worshipped as an immediate gift of the Sun, much the same as Sanconiathon tells us in the passage of the text, the Βαιτυλία· λιθους· εμψυχους επενοησε Θεος Ουρανος.

² *Caaba*.—In Sale's Translation of the twenty-second chapter of the Koran (4to, London, 1734, p. 276) we find this expression:—"Call to

mind when we gave the site of the house of the Kaaba for an abode to Abraham, saying, Do not associate anything with me, and cleanse my house from those who compass it, and who stand up and who bow down." The translator in a note seems to intimate that the future structure was shown to Abraham in a vision, though wilder legends make it a structure of Paradise taken up against the Deluge into heaven, and again let down in favour of the confiding patriarch.

Its principal sanctity would, however, be undoubtedly derived from the stone, whose blackness indicates its meteoric origin, though Moslem tradition ascribed its colour to a cause that would eminently contribute to the perverseness of the faithful, and the necessity of pilgrimage.—*Ibid.* p. 117.

"The celebrated black stone which is set in silver and fixed in the south-east corner of the Caaba, being that which looks towards Bafra, about $2\frac{1}{3}$ cubits from the ground.—This stone is exceedingly respected by the Mahomedans, and is kissed by the pilgrims with great devotion. They fable that it is one of the precious stones of Paradise, and fell down to earth with Adam, and being taken up again, or otherwise preserved at the Deluge, the angel Gabriel brought it back to Abraham. It was at first whiter than milk, but grew black long since by the touches of so many wicked mortals; as the superficies only is black."

It is doubtful, however, whether this latter assertion rests upon any critical examination; and the conformity of legend betwixt the Caaba as a building, and the stone, leaves little doubt as to their identity, or an early veneration of the stone by the Sabeian votaries of Arabia prior to Mahommed. This it was prudent to conceal under the authority and sanctity of Abraham; and the mighty Hobal (*vide* Sale's Koran, cap. 22, p. 276) was the presiding deity of the Pagan sanctuary, and the guardian of its worship.

This conjecture, that the stone, rather than the building, was the more especial object of sanctity, is proved by the testimony of Codinus (edit. Lambec., Paris, p. 29):—

"Thesaurum Deum Arabes maxime colunt cujus simulacrum est lapis quadrangulus non figuratus, quatuor pedum altitudinem, duarum latitudinem, et unum profunditatem habens. Collocatum vero est supra basim inauratam. Huic sacrificiunt, sanguinemque victimæ profundunt: hoc enim illis prolibamento est. Tota ædes ejusque parietes ex auro sunt, et plurima illic offeruntur donaria. Habet ejus simulacrum colitque Petræ Arabiæ civitas."

It is remarkable that in "Kosmos," Humboldt, whilst treating on meteoric stones, does not mention the Caaba.

³ *Heliogabalus*.—See Gibbon, cap. vi.—"The Sun was worshipped at

Emesa under the name of Elagabalus, and under the form of a *black conical stone, which it was universally believed had fallen from heaven on that sacred place*. In a solemn procession through the streets of Rome, the way was strewed with gold dust; the black stone, set in precious gems, was placed on a chariot drawn by six milk-white horses richly caparisoned. The pious emperor held the reins, and, supported by his ministers, moved slowly backwards, that he might perpetually enjoy the felicity of the divine presence. In a magnificent temple raised on the Palatine mount, the sacrifices of the god Elagabalus were celebrated with every circumstance of cost and solemnity. The richest wines, the most extraordinary victims, and the rarest aromatics, were profusely consumed on his altar. Around the altar a chorus of Syrian damsels performed their lascivious dances to the sound of barbarian music, whilst the gravest personages of the state and army, clothed in long Phœnician tunics, officiated in the meanest functions with affected zeal, and secret indignation.

“To the temple, as to the common centre of religious worship, the imperial fanatic attempted to remove the Ancilia, the Palladium, and all the sacred pledges of the faith of Numa. A crowd of inferior deities attended in various stations the majesty of the god of Emesa; but his court was imperfect till a female of distinguished rank was admitted to his bed. Pallas had been first chosen for his consort; but as it was dreaded her warlike terrors might affright the soft delicacy of the Syrian deity, the Moon, adored by the Africans under the name of Astarte, was deemed a more suitable companion for the Sun. Her image, with the rich offerings of her temple as a marriage-portion, was transported with solemn pomp from Carthage to Rome; and the day of these mystic nuptials was a general festival in the capital and throughout the empire.”

⁴ *This stone which I have set up for a pillar.*—It must have been a very common practice amongst the Israelites to inaugurate their rulers at such stones. Their scanty annals give us some remarkable instances. Thus when Abimelech was made king (Judges ix. 6), it was “*by the pillar which was in Sechem* ;” and of Josiah it is said (2 Kings xxiii. 3), “*And the king stood by a pillar, and made a covenant before the Lord* ;” and of Joash, when proclaimed king by Jehoida (2 Chronicles xxiii. 11), “*And Jehoida and his sons anointed him, and said, God save the king*. Now when Athaliah heard the noise of the people running and praising the king, she came to the people into the house of the Lord, and she looked, and behold *the king stood at his pillar* at the entering in, and the princes and the trumpets by the king, and all the people of the land rejoiced.”

It was a felicitous idea of Mr. J. H. Parker, F.A.S., of Oxford, in a paper read to the Architectural Society of that city in 1852, that Gilgal, Bethel, and Mizpeh were circles of stones for assembling the people at the regular circuits of the judges, similar to our assize-towns. He says the Hebrew word Gilgal (גלגל) signifies literally a round stone, but in the opinion of Hebrew scholars may very well signify a circle of stones, and consequently be but the prototypes of Stonehenge, and the circle near Keswick, &c. The late periods to which assemblages were made within them in Britain and Brittany is also alluded to by Mr. Parker, referring to what Mr. Logan says of Crookem Tor, *alias* Parliament Arch, on Dartmoor, which has been used from time immemorial as a court of justice until quite recently; and seats are cut in the rock of the Tor for the judge and jury. At Pue Tor, near the village of Stamford Spunney, is a large square apartment hewn out of the rock, which seems to have been used for a similar purpose. Cambden, in mentioning the Swedish Morastone, says there is one at St. Buriens, in Cornwall, exactly similar.

In Ireland, stone-pillar worship was widely extended, and continued to a very recent date, on which Sir J. Emmerson Tennent has an express treatise; this I lament has not come under my notice. A very fine one, eight feet high, is called Olan's tomb, at Aghabullogue near Cork, and depicted in the "Dublin Penny Magazine" (vol. iii. p. 384), much venerated by the peasantry, but principally remarkable for an Ogham inscription at the junction of two sides, the angle serving as the branch line. This, if decipherable, might lead to important results. Others are mentioned in "Notes and Queries" (vol. viii. p. 413).—For England, the Devil's Arrows, at Boroughbridge, are well known; less is one in Holderness, nearly overtopping the church close to which it stands: it has given its name of Rudstone to a village in Holderness. One of the most curious will figure as a headpiece to a chapter of Mr. Hillier's valuable History of the Isle of Wight now in progress;—it is called the Long Stone Chest. The village of Mottistone, close to which it stands, proves its purposes and the antiquity of our ancient moot-halls, and of our language; evidently the centre of a præ-Romanic Wittenagemote.

⁵ *Ting-wald*.—The most circumstantial account of this place, and the ceremonies connected with its judicature, is found in the Appendix to Douglas, *Nenia Britannica*, p. 172.

⁶ *Scottish stone at Scone*.—The legends connected with this famous stone are too numerous and contradictory to be either related or reconciled. It is certainly known to have been the stone on which the Scottish kings were inaugurated at Scone, near Perth,

like the Palladium of Rome, of which Ovid (*Fasti*, lib. vi. 382) writes,—

“Imperium secum transferret illa loci;”

and it was therefore but a measure of policy which induced Edward I. to transfer it to his own capital, when he fancied he had reduced Scotland to a province of his English kingdom. Richard III. used it at his coronation, as it is no doubt meant in the extract which Mr. J. G. Nichols gives in his *Life of Edward V.* (*Gent. Mag.*, March, 1855, p. 256). “Nor was Richard unsupported by others of the principal nobility. His brother-in-law, the Duke of Suffolk, supported his claim; and *when he assumed the throne, by taking his seat upon the marble chair in Westminster*,—a remarkable incident, recorded by the continuator of the *Chronicle of Croyland*,—he was supported by the Duke of Suffolk, as well as by the new Duke of Norfolk,—one on either hand.” Here the being seated on this stone seems a necessary, possibly the most important, portion of the ceremony, as in Jack Cade’s proceeding, noted in the text, and equivalent to what was generally considered in mediæval ages to attach to the possession of the regalia of each kingdom, or to the crown and mantle of St. Stephen in Hungary. Less fortuitous contingencies than this, on the accession of a Scottish prince to the English throne, have frequently had considerable effect on the temper of a people; and James I. may have owed much of his undisturbed succession after Elizabeth to this common belief. But whether the following verses existed in Scotland previously to his accession, or whether but a subsequent adaptation to the event, I have not been able to discover: they are—

“Ni fallat Fatum, Scoti hunc quocunque locatum,
Invenient lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem.”

If Fates go right, where’er this stone is found,
The Scots shall monarchs of that realm be crown’d.

As her present most gracious Majesty can never divest herself, or her posterity, of her Scottish lineage through female descent, there can be therefore no doubt that the prophécý will never fail being accomplished.

⁷ *The trial by twelve jurymen.*—Nicholson, Preface to Wilkins’s *A.S. Laws*, p. 10 :—“D. H. Spelman ex adverso, duodecim virale iudicium apud A.S. obtinuisse sat clarum putat; idque ex lege R. Ethelredi apud *Venkingum* lata; ut duodecim seniores Thani cum præposito, prodeuntes supra sacra quæ ipsis in manus traduntur, jurabant se neminem innocentem accusaturos, sontem excusaturos.”

⁸ *Attested by tradition and history.*—The historical documents which fix the locality for the crowning the Anglo-Saxon kings at Kingston, in

Surrey, in preference to other places of the same name, are copious and convincing. In the Saxon Charters, edited by Mr. J. M. Kemble, it is mentioned, that in 838 a great council was held in the famous town of Kingston, in Surrey (No. 240). On a charter of King Edred (946) Kingstown is mentioned as *the royal town where consecration is accustomed to be performed* (No. 44); whilst a third charter, dated from "the royal town of Kingston," conveys numerous lands in Surrey (No. 363).

The number of kings crowned here, as recorded by Speed, is nine; two of which, however, are doubtful; and the committee, therefore, in the railing which surrounds the stone, have laudably restricted its claims to the seven royal personages who indisputably received their inauguration on it. They are—

924. Athelstan, by Archbishop Aldhelm.

940. Edmund, }
946. Edred, } by Archbishop Otto.

All three sons of Edward the Elder.

959. Edgar.

975. Edward the Martyr, his brother.

978. Ethelred II., brother of Edward.

1016. Edmund II.

The two monarchs less certain are—

900. Edward the Elder, son of Alfred; and

955. Edwy, the son of Edmund.

But I see from a paragraph in the *Surrey Standard*, at the time the stone was placed in its present position, that this modest number was not generally satisfactory:—"We cannot but wish, as some historians mention nine kings as being crowned in this town, that the greater number had been adopted, particularly as no mention is made by any historian of the spot where the two discarded kings were crowned. But although their names do not appear on the block of stone, a monument will be erected to the memory of those two ill-treated monarchs by an old inhabitant of the town, who has espoused the cause of the old kings most warmly." The intention seems never to have been carried into effect.

⁹ *Rhense* means Ren- or Run-au, a perfect translation of Run-mead or meadow: *au* signifying in German any moist pasture or ground.

¹⁰ *John O'Groats House*.—No view of this curious building exists. The only account I have been able to collect on it is a ridiculous legend in the "Beauties of Scotland," vol. v. p. 83. The following notice of Rhense may, therefore, be more acceptable, as no doubt very similar in purpose, if not in appearance:—

The *Königs Stuhl* (King's chair, *Thronus imperialis*) was a stone

building, about four English miles from Coblenz, close to the Rhine and the small town of Rhense, at which formerly the kings and emperors were proclaimed on their election. They next took the prescribed oath, and could then take their appointed seat, and confirm the privileges of the several states; and they exercised their new sovereignty in dubbing some favourites as knights. The building was surrounded and shadowed by thick walnut-trees, and erected of squared stone in a heptagon, with seven arches, and is supported on nine pillars, one of which upholds the centre. These seven arches form openings, by which the interior may be entirely inspected, and support a vaulted roof, and are raised sixteen steps above the level of the ground: two towers on each side are either for defence or molestation; and the entire circumference is about forty ells, its diameter about thirteen, and its height nine and a half. Within are seven stone seats, for the then seven electors; the situation being chosen for its contiguity to the territories and residences of the three spiritual and the Palatine elector. The municipality of Rhense had some privileges, renewed in 1521, for keeping the building in repair. Three emperors—Henry VII., 1308; Charles VI., 1340; Ruprecht von der Pfalz, 1400—owe their elevation, and the throne of Charlemagne, to an election on this spot; and here also Wenceslaus was, at the general cry of indignation and abhorrence through the country, solemnly and justly deposed. Its open walls have echoed to many a hot debate amongst the princely voters: the important *Chur-Verein* was here discussed and decreed; and of still greater progress in the cause of social security was it when here was put an end to all the intestine wars and feudal broils throughout Germany, by the *Landfrieden*. So late as the latest decennium of the fifteenth century, Maximilian I. was induced to respect and keep up the charter by dubbing a knight within the building after his election at Frankfort, on the road to his coronation at Aachen. But the transference of the former ceremony to that free city lost Rhense its respect and the maintenance due from the neighbouring towns; it had crumbled almost to a ruin when the armies of revolutionary France approached the Rhine: their enmity of everything regal caused them to root up even the foundations, and, as much as in them lay, to destroy every trace of its previous history and recollections. Luckily, representations and plans of the original building existed, with sufficient patriotism in the archaeological body of a neighbouring town to collect funds to rebuild it in 1848, exactly according to the original plan; and it was thought a fortunate conjuncture at the period, that the erection was ready for inauguration on the 18th May, 1848, the day of the opening of what was then hailed as the first great Parliament "*für ein freies vereinigt Deutschland.*"

The augury seems to have been bad, as thence date a more confirmed rule of autocracy, and a greater opposition of the different states than ever.

It is not generally known, however, even in Germany, that this site of the King's Chair is not the original one. In *Annalen für nassauische Alterthumskunde* (zweiter Band, 11tes Heft, p. 89), a previous locality is claimed for Erbenheim, near Wiesbaden, and Bodman's *Rheingauische Alterthümer*, p. 95, are quoted; that it stood there in the open field in a very pertinently named King's hundred (*Kuniges undra*); and on and near it a celebrated diet of the empire was held in 1235. Rhense was built in the twelfth century, and after that the older locality fell into decay and was demolished, and the stones used to build a watch-house.

¹¹ Besides Kingston Bagpuze, the following English "Kingstons" deserve the study of the antiquary.

Kingston Blount, a liberty within four miles of Tetsworth.

Kingston Deverill, in the hundred of Mere.

Kingston Leste, hundred of Shoreham, Berks.

Kingston Seymour.

Kingston Wenterbourne, Dorset, and six villages of the same name.

Kingstone parish, seven miles W.S.W. of Hereford.

Kingstone, in the also suggestive hundred of Kingshamford, Kent.

Kingbury, formerly a royal mansion at Dunstable.

At Wilton, in Wilts, it is said, in a description of the place as the chief seat of the British prince Caer Culon, we find that the spot where the electors chose him is still marked by a large stone in the warren.

¹² *Athelstan*.—It may be incidentally mentioned, that this perhaps common princely name amongst the Anglo-Saxons is itself highly suggestive of the holy stone on which they were inaugurated.

¹³ *Vide* "Shakespeare's Puck and his Folk'slore, illustrated from the Superstitions of all Nations, but more especially from the earliest Religion and Rites of Northern Europe and the Wends," printed for the Author.

* IV.

THE WARHAM MONUMENT IN CROYDON
CHURCH.

BY GEORGE STEINMAN STEINMAN, Esq., F.S.A.

AGAINST the south wall of the Chantry of St. Nicholas, in Croydon Church, is a Monument erected to the memory—as the arms upon it testify—of a member of the Warham family.

On 3rd September, 1478, one Thomas Warham, citizen and carpenter, of London, whose residence was at Croydon, dated his will, and in it directed his body to be buried in the parish church of St. John the Baptist, at Croydon, in the Chapel of St. Nicholas, “before the ymage of our Lady of Pitie;” and as the monument in question is without inscription, it has not unnaturally been assigned to him.

His epitaph, as copied and carried down to us in one of the Ashmolean MSS. ran as follows:—“*Hic jacet Thomas Warham, civis et carpentarius London, et Margareta Uxor ejus, qui quidem Thomas obiit 3 Augusti, 1481.*” But the name of the wife appears from the citizen’s will to have been Ellen.

The Monument, however, was certainly not placed to the memory of this person,—who, it is important to observe, died without issue,—or to one of his humble station. It commemorates Hugh Warham, Esq., of Melsanger, in the parish of Church Oakley, county Hants, and of Haling, in Croydon, as we are now about to prove, by the identity of the arms, and by the appro-

priation of the indents of the figures, removed, by sacrilegious hands, from it.

That William Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, and his brothers, Nicholas and Hugh, were the first of their family who bore arms, is, we believe, without much doubt. There is no evidence of the invention of the coat used by the archbishop; before his time it is of the heraldic fancy of his age, and moreover the monument of his father and mother, at Church Oakley, is, and always has been, devoid of armorial ensigns.

The arms of the archbishop are gules a fesse or, between a goat's head coupéd argent, attired of the second in chief, and three esclop shells, two and one of the third in base.

The arms of Nicholas Warham, esq., of Malsanger, the same within a bordure engrailed or, the fesse differenced with a crescent azure.

The arms of Hugh Warham, the same within a bordure argent, the fesse differenced with a mullet sable.

The crest of the archbishop is unknown: that of Nicholas, on a wreath argent and purple, a dexter arm coupéd at the shoulder, the elbow flexed upwards, vested quarterly argent and azure, the hand grasping a sword point downwards, the hilt or, the scabbard sable, charged with three plates, each bearing a cross gules. The crest of Hugh, from what remains of it on his tomb, seems to have been the head of some animal, coloured brown,—very probably that of a goat.

With respect to the monument in question. Inserted in the wall above it is a square stone, bearing in high relief and colour a shield, quarterly one and four, the arms of Hugh Warham, as above described; two and three argent two bars gules; helmet, full-faced and closed, argent adorned or surmounted by a wreath argent and gules, and the fragment of a crest. The colour of

the mantling is undistinguishable. The front of the tomb is divided into three quatrefoil panels, each containing a shield of arms; centre, quarterly, as above; dexter, Warham; sinister, two bars. Over the tomb is an obtusely-pointed arch, surmounted by an elaborately-carved cornice; and this is flanked by the shields of Warham and that of the two bars. The soffit of the arch is ornamented with tracery; and at either side, and in the centre of the back of the recess, are niches, separated from each other by two square-headed panels. In the dexter of these are to be found the indents of a brass figure of a man, kneeling, with a label issuing from his mouth, and another from his hands. Above this indent are those of two kneeling figures, and between them, before one and behind the other, the indent of a faldstool. In the sinister panel is the indent of a kneeling female, with a label proceeding from her mouth; and over her the indent of another female, in the same attitude. A brass fillet, containing the inscription, has been taken from the edge of the slab.

The pedigree of Warham, recorded in the Herald's Visitation of Surrey, 1530, shows that Hugh Warham had, by Marian, daughter of Geoffrey Collis, his wife, two sons, Sir William, Richard, D.C.L., successively rector of Clapham (Sussex), Cheam (Surrey), and Tring (Herts); and one daughter, Agnes, the wife of Sir Anthony St. Leger, K.G., Lord Deputy of Ireland—the number of children called for by the brasses on the monument. He was living 1st March, 1536-7, when with William, his son and heir apparent, and describing himself of Malsanger, he conveyed the manor of Haling to the king; and as his name does not appear among the burial entries in the church register of Croydon, dead before 2nd December, 1538.

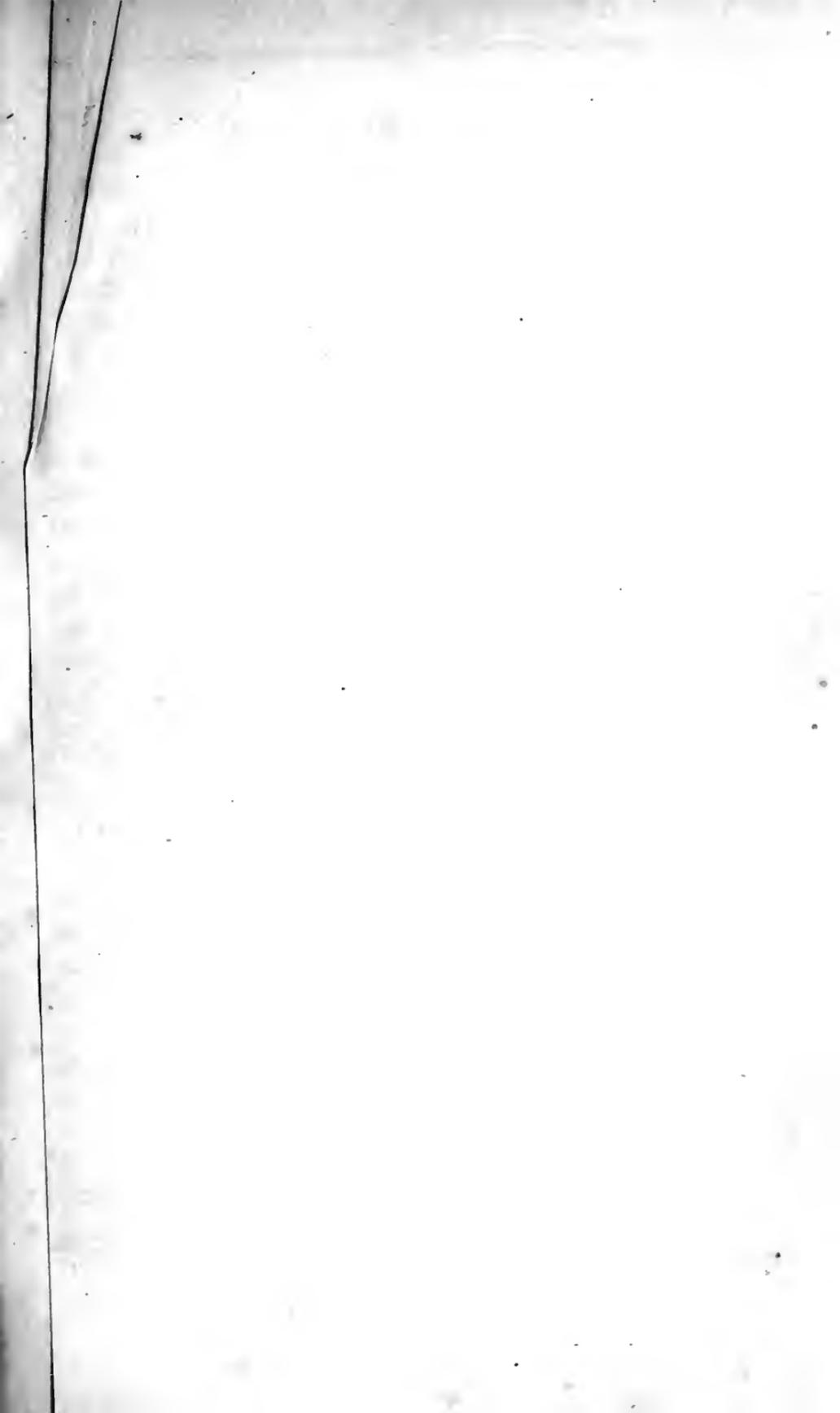
From the quartered shield, which we have already given a full description of, it would seem that the mother of Hugh was an heiress entitled to bear arms, and we cannot but express a feeling of regret that they should be of that simple character which must render any attempt to affiliate her, by their assistance, if not wholly useless, very nearly so. Was she from Cheshire, and a Mainwaring?

The monument of Robert Warham, father of Hugh, is against the wall of the Malsanger aisle of Church Oakley church, and is composed of an altar-slab within an arched recess. On the slab are the brass effigies of a man in a gown, and a woman. Under the man, are the effigies of four sons; and under the woman, are the indents of two daughters. The inscription is as under:—

“Orate p̄ aiabs Roberti Warham, q̄ obijt pmo die m̄e Octobris,
Anno Dñi M^oCCCLXXXIJ^o, et Elizabeth uxor ei^o, que etiã obijt
eodē anno Dñi, xv^o die Septēbris, qui aiabus ppiciet De^o. Amen.”

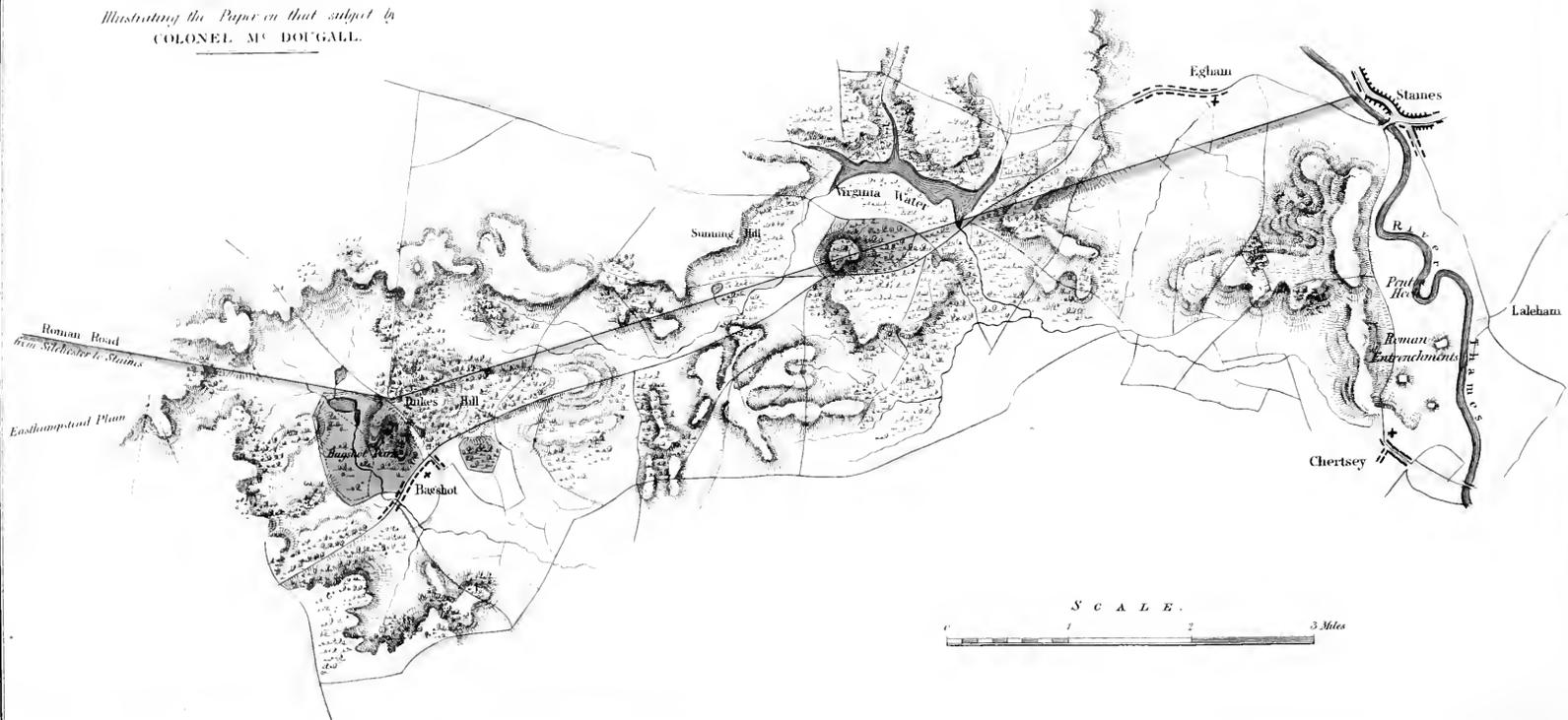
The church itself was evidently rebuilt by Archbishop Warham. Above the door of the tower, in the centre, are his arms impaled by the see of Canterbury, having on their left the coat of Hugh Warham, and on their right the indent of a shield, which doubtless bore the arms of Nicholas Warham. On the lintel of the door runs the motto of the prelate, “AVXILIVM MEVM A DŌNO;” whilst in the right spandril is a goat’s head coupéd—the crest, as we suppose, of the said Hugh—and in the left a man’s arm, as before described; viz., the crest of the said Nicholas.

With these particulars we conclude, confidently submitting our reasons for thus appropriating the Warham monument in Croydon church to the consideration of the Society.



Plan
 OF A PORTION OF
THE ROMAN ROAD
 from
SILCHESTER TO STAINES.
 PASSING THROUGH SURREY.

Illustrating the Paper on that subject by
COLONEL M^C DOUGALL.



V.

THE ROMAN ROAD BETWEEN SILCHESTER
AND STAINES.

BY LT.-COL. P. L. McDOUGALL, OF THE ROYAL MILITARY COLLEGE, SANDHURST.

INTRODUCTORY TO CERTAIN NOTES UPON THE SUBJECT, READ AT THE
INAUGURAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY, MAY 10, 1854.

THE general subject of "Roads" is one well worthy the attentive study of all those inquiring minds which seek to trace back effects to their causes, they being among the most important means by which the civilization of mankind has been effected.

At the present moment, when the nations of the earth are either armed or arming for battle, it is interesting to consider, that not only have roads been the great engine of civilization, through the medium of peaceful communication and by the arts of peace; but they have been so to a very great degree by facilitating conquest, and imbuing either the conquerors or the conquered with the superior civilization and refinement of those nations with which they have thereby been respectively brought in contact.

Thus Greece, conquered by the arms of Rome, imposed the yoke of her arts and literature on her subduers. And Rome, in conquering other countries, conferred upon them the advantages of her own civilization.

Rome, the iron kingdom of prophecy, was the greatest military nation the world has ever seen: conquest was the breath of its nostrils. While the subject of military organization occupies almost exclusively the public atten-

tion, and while, as a part of it, the question of a short seven miles of road in a remote classical country excites so much discussion—the want of which has caused the voice of mourning to be heard in many an English home—it is interesting, and may be useful, to observe how perfect with respect to roads was the military organization of that great people whose foot-prints we are now tracing, and who left their mark so deeply on nearly all the countries of Europe as after the lapse of so many centuries to be still clearly discernible.

The principle of Roman power was centralization. Sure and rapid communication from the centre to all the extremities of the empire, the means by which it acted. No sooner was a lodgment made in any country than it was joined to the great heart of the empire by highways; along which, by means of military posts established at intervals, a safe and easy passage for the legions to or from the new conquest was secured.

Whenever the grasp of those mighty warriors was laid on a country, that grasp was of iron. It was made effectual and permanent, and indeed could only have been so, by establishing within the conquered country a system of communication by roads branching from the centre of power to the limits of the conquest, provided with military camps and posts at intervals, and with cross-roads of communication between the main routes. It is to this policy that we owe the existence of the road (with many others in Britain) forming the subject of the notes which will be found further on.

The ancient Romans are supposed to have made 14,000 miles of road in Italy alone.

Napoleon, the greatest military organizer of modern days, was not behind the Romans in this respect; and, in proportion to the duration of his empire, he

accomplished more than all the Appii and Flamini of antiquity.

In the New World, the system of roads which Pizarro found existing in Peru at the time of the conquest is very remarkable. Their number and excellence, as well as the elaborate arrangement of stages and post-houses, are described by Prescott the historian.

The following notes were appended by Lieutenant Grey,¹ of the 83rd Regiment, and Lieutenant Lushington, of the 9th Regiment, to the plan of a survey made by those officers of the Roman road between Silchester and Staines. The accompanying plan is reduced from their plan.

It may be premised that the absence of inscriptions which might have revealed the appellations bestowed by the Romans on the spots where their early residence in numbers is clearly indicated by relics, invests the particular localities of those towns or stations which are enumerated in the Itineraries with uncertainty.

For instance, Silchester has been supposed by some to be the site of the ancient Vindonum; by others, of Calleva; while arguments have been adduced by others to show that Henley and Reading are respectively on the site of Calleva.

The evidence furnished by the Iter Antonini is unsatisfactory and conflicting; but the 12th and 15th Itinera strongly indicate Farnham as Vindonum; and the 7th Iter, with equal apparent probability, points out Silchester as Calleva. It may be, perhaps, that the future discovery of other Roman roads may reconcile the discrepancies which appear to exist as to distance, in comparing the present known routes with the Itineraries.

R. M. College, March, 1855.

¹ Now Sir C. G. Grey, K.C.B., Governor of the Cape.

NOTES.

The military road between Staines and Silchester is one of the most remarkable memorials of the Roman power in Britain ; it extended from London to Bath, and coincided with a portion of the Port-way from Norwich to Exeter. From Silchester, the ancient " *Callewa Attrebatum*," situated at the intersection of several great roads, which have been frequently traversed by the Roman armies during their occupation of this country, the line now surveyed proceeds eastward through Strathfieldsaye (the seat of the Duke of Wellington) in a right line along what is called the Park Lane, which is scarcely passable in the winter season. The precise spot at which it crossed the Blackwater river is uncertain, the line being interrupted by cultivated ground as far as Westcourt House (the residence of Mr. St. John), built, according to tradition, upon the road itself, whose direction is here marked by the avenue to the mansion. Some faint traces of the road again exist on the ground northward of Finchampstead church ; but on the eastern side of the heights its course is discovered extending in an unbroken line along a level country from thence to Easthampstead Plain, and bearing the fanciful name of the " *Devil's Highway*." The ascent of the road to this commanding plateau can be distinctly observed by a deep fosse on one side ; but the rectilinear direction, which had been hitherto preserved, appears now to have been changed, in order to avoid a deep and marshy ravine, and the road bends northward, so as to pass by the head of the ravine, and afterwards regains its former direction, and thus crosses the plain. This part of the road runs through Wickham Bushes, which have long been remarkable for the quantity of antique pottery from time to time discovered there ; it is also in the immediate vicinity of the strong intrenchment usually called " *Cæsar's Camp*," which crowns the summit of a height projecting from the plateau, and is strengthened on the side of the latter by a double parapet and ditch.

The road descends from the plain on the eastern side, and proceeds towards Bagshot. At Duke's Hill, near this town, it forms an angle of about 25 degrees with the produced line of its original direction, passes through a plantation, in which it can with difficulty be traced ; its existence here is, however, well known to the people of the country. At about a mile from Duke's Hill the road crosses a marsh, where, having been raised to a considerable height, it is in some parts very distinct. From this marsh it runs through a garden in the occupation of Mr. Hammond, and the substratum, which consists of excellent gravel, having been removed for the purpose of repairing the modern roads in the neighbourhood, the outline presents a remarkable appearance : from

hence the road again enters some thick plantations, and for about half a mile can with difficulty be traced ; it afterwards runs over cultivated ground, and from thence to the Sunning Hill road is very conspicuous. In the immediate vicinity of the road at this spot there exist great quantities of Roman tiles, bricks, &c., which, from the land having, till within the last three years, been left in an uncultivated state, appear to have escaped observation. This part of the road is therefore deserving of minute inspection. From the Sunning Hill road it crosses some low meadow land, where it can only be discovered with great difficulty ; and about a mile further, at its entrance into Windsor Park, it is for some distance totally lost. There is, however, a portion left in excellent condition between that place of entrance and the point where its line of direction cuts Virginia Water ; it can also be distinguished in a spot between that portion and the water, where one of the Park rides runs for about 300 yards along it. The old labourers in the Park state, that this part of the ride having never required any repair, they had been led to conclude that it was formed on the surface of some old road. It must be observed that the part of the Virginia Water which is crossed by the direction of the Roman road is artificial, and has been excavated only within the last forty years. From this spot the direction passes through the inn-yard at Virginia Water, and it is said that a foundation of gravel was formerly discovered there. On the brow of the hill above Egham, and in the direction of the road, within the last few months, part of its substratum, the foundations of some buildings, together with a variety of Roman coins and other remains, have been discovered.

The commanding nature of the ground about Egham, joined to the discovery of the remains, and the agreement of the distance from London with that which is stated in the *Itinera*, seem to point out this place as the site of the ancient Bibracte ; while the neighbouring part of the Thames may with equal probability be considered as the place of the station Ad Pontes. A chain of forts appears to have commanded the river between Staines and Chertsey. Three of these, of a square form, still exist near Penton Hook.

Nearly in the continuation of the line from Duke's Hill to Egham lie the remains of the Roman road from London to Staines, which are mentioned by Dr. Stukeley ; a portion of it near Ashford, on the Middlesex side of the river, was a few years since distinctly visible, but it is now wholly obliterated.

MEMORANDA RELATIVE TO THE SAME SUBJECT.

By Mr. E. J. LANCE.

REMARKS ON THE ROMAN ROAD FROM SILCHESTER (VINDONUM) IN HANTS, TO
EGHAM (PONTES) IN SURREY.

ON the south-east of the ancient city of Silchester (whose walled inclosure may now be seen), at a distance of about fifteen miles, are the sites of two Roman encampments, as if for legions; viz., near Alresford, at Bram-dean, there remain three large rooms of a Roman villa; at Farnham there is another camp; and lastly, near Crondall, the pavement of a villa. Near this may be seen two intrenched sites, probably for Roman cohorts, as outposts to the legion; and the large encampment on the hill has recently been purchased by Government, as a situation for a permanent camp for British troops. This is now partially occupied by Sappers in the surveying department, and forms the boundary between Surrey and Hants.

At about seven miles on the Roman road from Silchester there are the remains of another intrenched camp, near Easthampstead, in Berkshire (see the map), as if for a legion. This is near the Sandhurst Military College, and also near the ground lately given by the lord of the manor for the erection of a college in honour of the Duke of Wellington. On the south of this point there is a large barrow, 50 yards in diameter and 12 feet high; from this spot the legion sites of Farnham and Easthampstead might have been seen.

Proceeding onwards to the passage of the Thames, and near the south-west corner of Windsor Park, is a spot where the statue of a Roman gladiator was discovered a

few years ago, and now may be seen at Mr. Waterer's American Nursery at Bagshot. A Roman stone near Silchester may be seen, and another near Finchampstead, that are presumed to have marked the measurement of stadia.

The black line on the side of the Roman road as mapped, denotes the situations where the aggeres or mounds may be found of the original site.

With respect to the geology of the Roman road, it may be remarked that Silchester is situated on the "plastic-clay formation;" the stone debris on the surface of which has been picked up about the inclosure, for not a flint-stone can be found for some distance around. The walls of the old city are built with flint, grouted with lime and sand, and bonded in a herring-bone manner, with an oolite stone at every three feet in height. The road passes across Strathfieldsaye Park, over the "London clay formation," and there soon reaches the extensive range of the "Bagshot sands," occupied principally by native heath (*ericca*), much of which is in the same wild nature as when the Romans were here 1,600 years ago. On this formation the road continues its undulatory and elevated direct course for many miles, bending only at "Duke's Hill," near Bagshot, until the vale of the Thames is reached, when a small part of the "London clay formation" is again passed near Egham.

Roman coins, pottery, and fragments of Roman tiles, have been discovered in various parts of this line, and are in the hands of Mr. Barton, tenant of Silchester Inclosure; a good collection of gold, silver, and copper coin, may be seen, with also spear-heads, bucklers, and horse-gear, picked up at various periods. The site of the Roman bath, with a lead pipe (not soldered), also

the remains of the amphitheatre, may be well traced by the mounds of earth ; and many other earthworks may be also perceived.

Silchester is reached by railway, and is about six miles from Basingstoke.

VI.

ANCIENT BRITISH COINS FOUND IN SURREY.

THE eleven coins engraved in the accompanying plate claim the attention of the Surrey Archæological Society on the ground that nearly all of them have been discovered within the limits of the county. The first seven were found on Farley Heath, a locality in which many interesting relics have been brought to light. No. 8 is stated to have been found on Croydon Downs; No. 9 in Hampshire, on the borders of Surrey; No. 10 at Leatherhead, and No. 11 at Godalming.

No. 1 (by mistake represented upside down) resembles several of those found by a peasant boy near Albury in the year 1848, and described and engraved in the "Numismatic Chronicle," vol. xi. p. 92. The type was already known to Numismatists, but these are the first records of their place of finding, a matter of great weight and significance in any attempt to appropriate ancient British coins. There appears to be little doubt that these coins may at least be assigned to the southern counties of England, and their proper location is perhaps the district in which examples have hitherto been discovered. It is not easy to describe the type, which bears no analogy to that of any other ancient British coin.

No. 2, from its resemblance to other types found in the south of England, may probably be ascribed to the district of Britain comprised within the counties of Surrey, Hants, and Middlesex.

Nos. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, are types assimilating to those of coins more frequently discovered in Essex, Herts, and westward as far as Wallingford and Abingdon, in Berkshire. They are undoubtedly the result of successive copies of pieces of better execution, until the original devices—a horse and a laureated head—are corrupted almost beyond identification. A reference to Ruding's first and second plate of British coins, and to the various volumes of the "Numismatic Chronicle," will make this apparent.

Nos. 8 and 9 may be also compared with the first plate of Ruding, particularly with figures 4 and 9, the former being struck on one side only.

Nos. 10 and 11 are types which have been discovered, at various times, in different and widely-distant parts of England. To whatever country they may be assigned, it is evident that they are barbarous copies of the Gaulish coins of better execution, engraved in Ruding's second plate, Nos. 22—25.

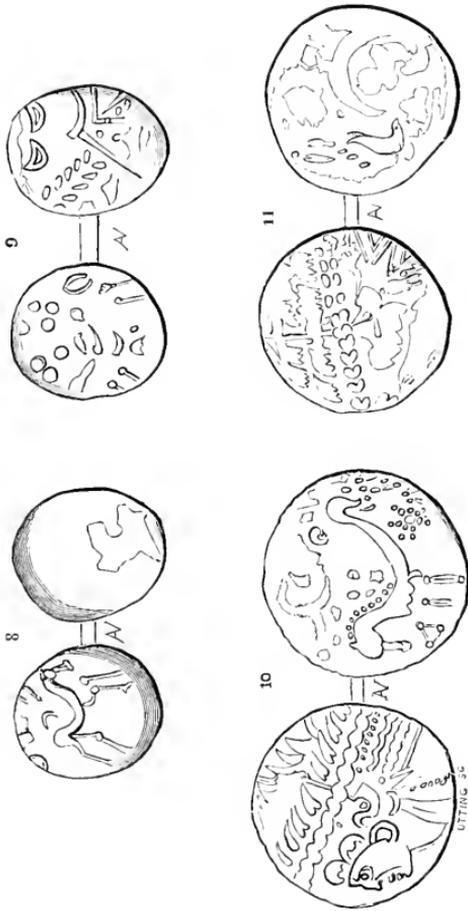
All these pieces being uninscribed increases the difficulty of their appropriation; but they are doubtless examples of the ancient currency of Britain, and not tokens or talismans, as has been supposed by some writers; among others, by Davies, who, in his work on the Mythology of the Ancient Druids, has indulged in the wildest conjecture regarding the origin of pieces which are now universally allowed to have been the first attempts of our primitive forefathers at a coinage of their own. These coins belong to the collection of Mr. R. Whitbourn, of Godalming.



ANCIENT BRITISH COINS, FOUND IN SURREY

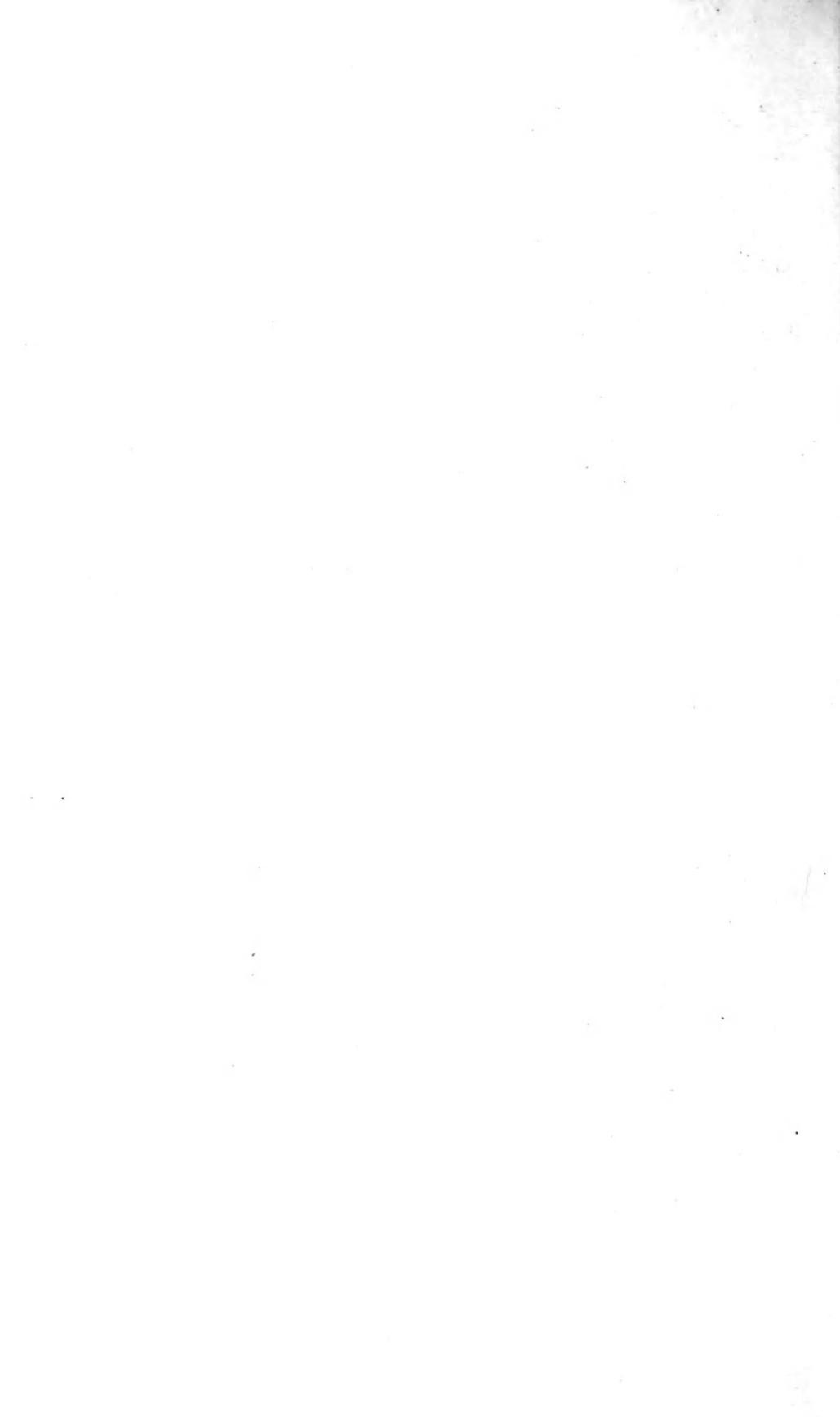
From a Drawing by Miss Wardeour





ANCIENT BRITISH COINS, FOUND IN SURREY

From a Drawing by Miss Whistock.



VII.

MURAL PAINTINGS FORMERLY EXISTING
IN LINGFIELD CHURCH.

LETTERS ADDRESSED TO THE HONORARY SECRETARY.

No. I.—FROM EDWARD PANSON, ESQ., ARCHITECT.

MY DEAR SIR,—In sending you the tracings of some mural paintings from the fine church of Lingfield, in Surrey, I regret that my very limited knowledge of archæology does not enable me to offer any observations of interest.

All I can record is, that in the year 1845 I was employed on the partial restoration of the fabric, when the roof, the walls, and the decayed tracery and glazing of some of the windows were restored and repaired under my professional superintendence.

The church was built in the reign of Henry VI., and being a collegiate church, is much beyond the usual size of parish churches in this part of England: it is all of the same period, and consists of a nave and two aisles, with a tower on the south side; and contains in the interior several fine tombs and brasses.

In restoring the plastering on the walls, I found in all parts of the church traces of mural decoration, and evidently of two or three distinct periods, overlying each other, the more recent consisting of texts of Scripture surrounded by scroll borders, so far as I could judge, not earlier than the end of the seventeenth century; but they were nearly all mere fragments, and the only examples which appeared to me of interest, were those

of which I sent you the original tracings made on the spot, and of which you have engraved the figures. These were all situate on the wall of the north aisle. The figures are above half life-size.

In Nos. 1 and 2 the cloak is of a red colour, and the collar blue. No. 3 has also a red cloak, and part of the dress is red; the figure of the angel (No. 4) is also shaded with light red, and the other colouring, except the flesh-tints, is made out with a brown shading.

Besides these figures, I traced a very elegant diaper pattern with a flowered margin, which appears to have covered a considerable wall-space; and I believe, from what I observed, that formerly the greater portion of the walls of this church were covered with similar decorations.

I am, my dear Sir,

Faithfully yours,

EDWARD P'ANSON.

CLAPHAM, *April 11th*, 1856.

NO. II.—FROM ALBERT WAY, ESQ., F.S.A., ETC.

MY DEAR SIR,—I should be glad if I had the occasion to offer you any information available for your purpose, but I am afraid I can only tell you what you must already be aware of, that the saint with the anchor is St. Clement, pope and martyr: the anchor with the cross bar is a form more familiar to us, but the form with a ring only is by no means unusual: the triple-barred cross is also commonly assigned to the pope, and even to an archbishop, although the double-barred cross is more familiar to us. The saint probably has a tiara on his head, and there is a curved line on



MURAL PAINTINGS FORMERLY EXISTING IN LINGFIELD CHURCH.

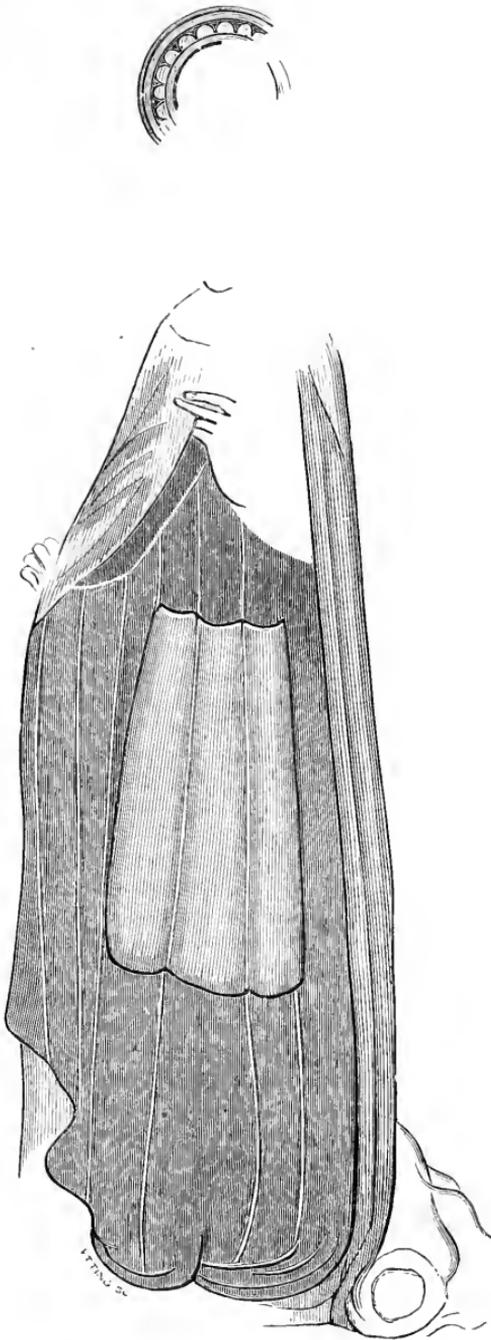
No. 1.





MURAL PAINTINGS FORMERLY EXISTING IN LINGFIELD CHURCH.

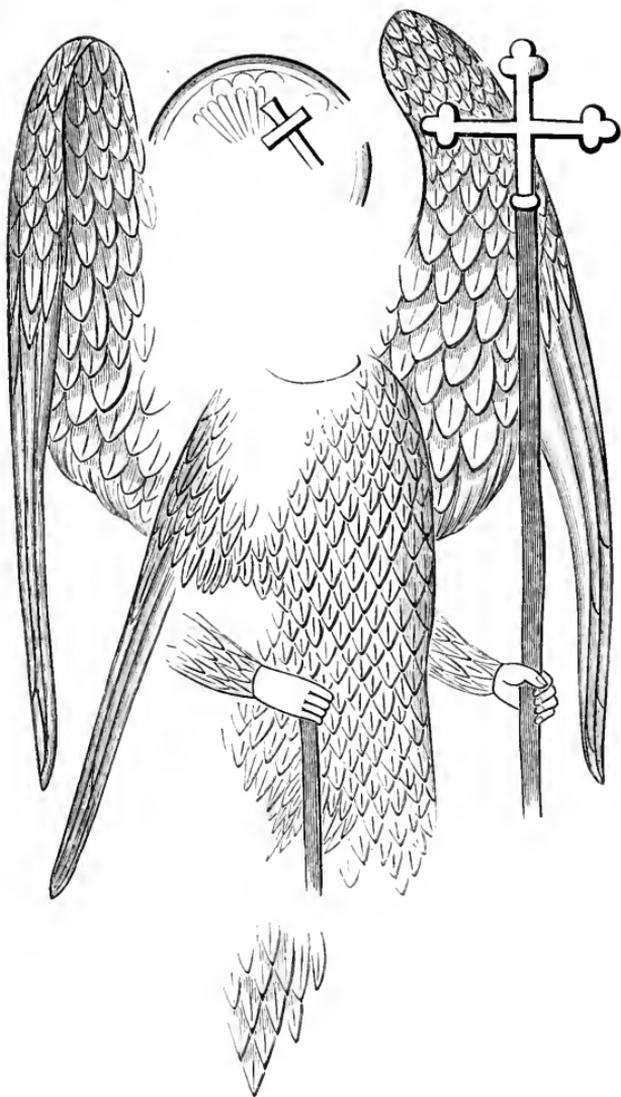




MURAL PAINTINGS FORMERLY EXISTING IN LINGFIELD CHURCH.

No. 3.





MURAL PAINTINGS FORMERLY EXISTING IN LINCFIELD CHURCH.

No. 4.



its left side, which doubtless, on examination of the original, would prove to be part of the outline of the nimbus: it gives the saint the appearance now of wearing a turban. The mitre, however, sometimes takes place of the tiara. Thus, at Westhall, on the rood-screen, St. Clement appears with the mitre; at Denton, with the tiara; and in both instances he bears the *triple* cross; but at Houghton-le-Dale he appears with the double-barred cross.

On such subjects, which must often present themselves to you, I cannot recommend you a more useful hand-book than the Rev. Dr. Husenbeth's "Emblems of Saints."

I do not know of any negro bishop amongst the saints: there are several black saints, but not of episcopal character. In mural paintings I think I have noticed, where mineral red had been used, the colour has sometimes become black, and that may have been the case in the present instance.

The other figures may be St. Michael weighing souls in the balance, and St. Margaret; but they are too imperfect to hazard more than a conjecture on their intention.

I remain,

Yours very faithfully,

ALBERT WAY.

WONHAM, REIGATE, *April* 14, 1856.

VIII.

ANCIENT BRITISH BARROW AT
TEDDINGTON.

THIS Barrow was opened under the direction and superintendence of Mr. Akerman, Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries, during a meeting of the Surrey Archæological Society, held at Kingston-on-Thames, on the 30th June, 1854. It is situated on some ploughed land, long known as "Barrow Field," on the right hand of the carriage-road called "Sandy-lane," leading from Hampton Wick to Bushey. A portion of this tumulus was removed when the road was widened about twenty years since; but there is no record of any relics having been then discovered.

There were, as usual, many traditions—some of them wild enough—respecting the spot. The country people had a story that a man and his horse were buried beneath the mound; and many of the better educated believed that it covered the remains of numerous victims of the plague in the seventeenth century. This last notion had so possessed the mind of a late royal personage then residing at Bushey, that a contemplated opening of the Barrow some years since was positively interdicted!

This mound had clearly been previously assailed; doubtless by treasure-seekers, who, finding their researches opposed by a compact mass of sand, had desisted after cutting into the south side, and digging into the apex; in which latter assault they appear



ANCIENT WEAPON DISCOVERED IN A TUMULUS AT TEDDINGTON.

BRONZE—length, 7 in.; breadth, $2\frac{1}{4}$ in.



to have dislodged and broken to pieces a fine mortuary urn.

Thus mutilated, the Barrow afforded but slight encouragement to the explorers: it was, however, resolved to excavate it to its base. In its imperfect state, its altitude was about twelve feet; its breadth from north to south fifty-two feet, and from east to west ninety-six feet. These measurements show how much had been removed when the road was widened.

The exploration commenced by the opening of a trench eight feet wide, but the presence of bricks and tiles, carelessly thrown in by former investigators, discouraged further excavation in that direction; accordingly, a trench of the same width was opened on the south side. After several hours' work, the labourers reached the centre of the floor, which was plainly indicated by the sand being burnt to a brick-colour. Traces of charcoal were now apparent, and after a few minutes' careful examination and removal of these indications, a small heap of calcined human bones was discovered. Upon these was laid the dagger-blade represented in the accompanying plate.

No traces of an urn, nor of any other object, except a few chippings of flint, were observed. Fragments of the like character are found in primeval tumuli, and may have been used by the tribe which assisted at these obsequies.

This Barrow was formed entirely of the surrounding soil, consisting chiefly of a compact sand, and was singularly free from large flints and stones. Nor was the heap of bones protected by a covering of stones, or by soil differing from that of the mound.

Further excavations on the following day brought to light the fragments of the large urn already spoken of,

and a flint hatchet-head, or celt; also the bones of an adult, superficially buried; but these had no connection with the interment already described, which was doubtless that over which the mound was first raised.

The bronze dagger-blade, if not belonging to the very earliest period, must yet be referred to a very remote age; and the individual whose obsequies had thus been celebrated by the rite of cremation, was probably a person of some rank and consideration among the primeval inhabitants of the southern district of Britain, long previous to the advent of Cæsar.

Mr. Quekett, of the Royal College of Surgeons, has inspected the calcined bones, which he states are those of an adult. He has detected among them portions of the cranium, portions of the upper and lower maxilla, the fang of an incisor tooth, and a fragment of a phalangeal bone of a finger. The whole had been reduced by great heat, and with free access of air during combustion.

The dagger may be compared with the examples figured in Akerman's "Archæological Index," Plate V. Nos. 40, 41, 42. The handle, of bone, wood, or horn, has perished; but traces of its form are yet observable on the blade. It is represented in the plate of two-thirds the actual size.

IX.

ON THE ANGLO-SAXON CHARTERS OF FRIDWALD, ÆLFRED, AND EDWARD THE CONFESSOR, TO CHERTSEY ABBEY.

BY G. R. CORNER, Esq., F.S.A.

MUCH valuable and interesting local information may be obtained from the Anglo-Saxon grants of lands, of which a large collection, called "Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici," edited by that erudite Anglo-Saxon scholar J. M. Kemble, Esq., was published by the English Historical Society between 1839 and 1848.

These grants generally contain very precise descriptions of the boundaries of the lands granted; and it is at least curious to trace those boundaries after the lapse of a thousand years, on a modern map, and to remark how many of the ancient landmarks are still remaining in the names of places, farms, hills, valleys, mounds, roads, rivers, streams, trees, stones, and other remarkable objects, which in all ages have been used to point out the extent of landed possessions and jurisdictions.

Mr. Kemble, in his preface to the third volume of the "Codex," says:—"In general, certain well-defined natural objects, as a hill, a stream, or a remarkable tree, furnished the points by which the boundary-line was directed; when these were wanting, a hedge, a ditch, a pit or well, or the mound of an ancient warrior, served the purpose; even posts of wood and stone appear to have been common; and upon many of these it is pro-

bable that inscriptions were found. It may safely be assumed that originally these boundaries were under the protection of Wóden; and various traces of his influence yet remain."¹

Nor was this feeling peculiar to the pagan Saxons. "Terminalis" was a surname of Jupiter, because he presided over the boundaries of lands, until the worship of the god "Terminus" was introduced by Numa, who persuaded his subjects that the limits of their lands and estates were under the immediate inspection of Heaven. The temple of Terminus was on the Tarpeian Rock, and he was represented at first, with a large square stone, but afterwards with a human head, without feet or arms, to intimate that he never moved, wherever he might be placed. In his honour annual feasts, called Terminalia, were held at Rome, in the month of February, when it was usual for the peasants to assemble near the principal landmarks which separated their fields, and after they had crowned them with garlands and flowers, to make libations of milk and wine, and to sacrifice a lamb or a young pig, and to sprinkle the landmark with the blood of the victim, or sometimes with pure oil.²

The sacred character of landmarks is also recognised in Holy Writ—

"Thou shalt not remove thy neighbour's landmark, which they of old time have set in thine inheritance, which thou shalt inherit in the land that the Lord thy God giveth thee to possess it." (Deut. xix. 14.)

¹ Kemble's *Codex Diplom. Æv. Sax.*, vol. iii. pref. p. viii.

² The custom still existing, of a periodical perambulation of the boundaries of parishes, is a relic of a similar ancient practice in this country, although the libations are now reserved for the parish dinner after the fatigues of the day; and instead of sacrificing a lamb or a young pig, some luckless boy is bumped to make him remember the boundary-mark.

“Cursed be he that removeth his neighbour’s landmark.” (Deut. xxvii. 17. Commination.)

Some remarkable instances of minute descriptions of landmarks are afforded by the grants of Friðwald, King Ælfred (the Great, or, as he is called in one of the charters, the wise king), and Edward the Confessor, to Chertsey Abbey.

The charters of Friðwald and Ælfred are without dates, but Friðwald’s charter is placed by Mr. Manning in A.D. 666,³ and by Mr. Kemble before 675. The grant by King Ælfred is placed by Mr. Kemble between two grants, dated respectively 889 and 891, and that of King Edward the Confessor in 1062.

The charters are in Latin, but the descriptions of the land-limits are (as usual) in the Anglo-Saxon language.

The boundaries of Chertsey and Thorpe, as set forth in the Charter of King Ælfred, comprehend the manors of Crocford and Woodham, which the boundary as described in the Charter of Friðwald omits; but in the last-mentioned charter the boundaries of Egham and Chobham are given, which are not contained in Ælfred’s grant.

These charters were printed in the “*Monasticon*,”⁴ and in the “*Codex Diplomaticus*,” from a MS. in the Cottonian Library at the British Museum, written, as supposed, about the time of King Stephen; and the English or Anglo-Saxon is very corrupt; which increases the difficulty of rendering it into modern English, and will, I trust, afford an apology for the numerous imperfections of the following notes.

My scanty knowledge of the modern local names has been derived chiefly from three maps of the county of

³ Manning and Bray, *Hist. Surrey*, vol. iii. p. 208.

⁴ *Monasticon Anglicanum*, by Caley, Ellis, and Bandinell, vol. i. p. 426. *Regm. Abb. de Chertsey*, MS. Cotton, Vitell. A. 13, fo. 19 b.

Surrey; viz. that by Rocque in 1762, Greenwood's map of Surrey, and the Ordnance Survey; but I have received valuable assistance from the Rev. J. C. Clark, of Chertsey, and other gentlemen, to whom I beg to express my thanks.

By the first of these charters, Friðwald, Subregulus or Viceroy of the province of Surrey under Wlfare, King of Mercia,⁵ gave, granted, and transferred for augmentation of the monastery, which was first established under King Egbert, and called "Cirotesege" (Chertsey), the land of two hundred inhabitants, for support of the same monastery, and five mansions or dwellings in the place called ðorp (Thorpe). And he not only gave and confirmed the land, but he delivered himself and his only in obedience to Erkenwald the abbot;⁶ and the land comprised altogether three hundred inhabitants. And, moreover, near the river which is called Thames, extending from the bank of the river to the limit which is called "the Old Fosse," that is, "Fullingadich," and in other part of the same, from the bank of the river to the other extremity of the said province which is called "Sunniges" (Sunning). There were also belonging to the same land, ten inhabitants near the port of London, where ships resort, on the south side, near the public way.⁷

⁵ Wlfare, or Wulfhere, was king of Mercia from A.D. 659 to 675.

⁶ Erkenwald was a son of Offa, king of the East Saxons, and was abbot of Chertsey from 666 to 675, when he was elected bishop of London, and retained that see till his death in 685. He was buried at St. Paul's, and was afterwards canonized as St. Erkenwald.—See Weever's *Funeral Monuments*, p. 358.

⁷ Probably in Southwark, in which place a harbour where ships resorted is mentioned in *Domesday Book*.

It does not appear from any other document that the abbey had lands in Windlesham. In Manning and Bray's "Surrey," it is suggested that Hunewal'sham is Hershams, in Walton-on-Thames. I do not know what Bishop this was.

There were, however, divers names of the same lands aforesaid; to wit,—“Cirotesegt” (Chertsey), “Dorp” (Thorpe), “Egcham” (Egham), “Chebeham” (Chobham), “Getinges” (Totinges or Tooting?), “Muleseg” (Moulsey), “Wodeham” (Woodham), “Hunnewaldesham” (Windlesham), as far as the limit aforesaid. All which he gave and confirmed to Erkenwald, and for erecting the monastery, that he (the abbot) and his successors might intercede for the soul of the donor; with all fields, woods, meadows, pastures, and rivers, and all other things of right belonging to the monastery of St. Peter, chief of the Apostles, at “Cero-tesegt.” And if any one should attempt anything against that his donation, let him be separated from all Christian society, and deprived of participation in the kingdom of heaven.

The charter is attested as follows:—“And I Friðwald, who am the donor (together with Erkenwald the abbot), for ignorance of letters have made the sign of the cross ✚.”

The following witnesses also attested the grant by the sign of the cross; viz. Friðwric ✚, Ebbe ✚, Egwald ✚, Badwald ✚, Ceadde ✚. Likewise Humfrey ✚, the bishop, at the request of Abbot Erkenwald, subscribed with his own hand ✚. And these are the Subreguli, who all subscribed their marks beneath; viz. Friðewold ✚, Osric ✚, Wigherd ✚, Æthelwold ✚.

And that this donation might be firmly and strongly established, this charter was confirmed by Wifare, King of the Mercians, and even he placed his hand upon the altar, in the town which is called Thame, and with his hand subscribed the sign of the cross ✚.

These things were done near the town of Friðuuald,

near the aforesaid fosse of "Fullingadich," about the kalends of March.

Then follows the description of the boundary of the lands granted by the charter.

This is the five-hide book⁸ to "Cerotesege" and to "Dorpe," which King Friðewald gave to Christ, and St. Peter, and Abbot Erkenwald, in full freedom in all things within the prescribed landmarks which be written in this book.

This is the landmark to "Cerotesege," and to "Dorpe;" that is, first from "Waiemuðe"⁹ up endlong "Weie"¹⁰ to "Waigebrugge;"¹¹ from "Waigebrugge" within the old mill-stream, midward of the stream to the old "Herestrate;"¹² and along the "Stræt" to "Woburnbrugge,"¹³ and along the stream to the great "Withig;"¹⁴ from the great Withy, along the stream to the pool above "Croxford;" from the head of the pool straight on to an alder; from the alder straight on by "Wertwallen"¹⁵ to the "Herestrate," and along the road to "Curtenstapele;"¹⁶ from Curtenstapele along the road to the "Hore Thorn."

In the Charter of King Ælfred, the boundary is

⁸ The Book of the Five Hides of Land.

⁹ From the mouth of the Wey, where it flows into the Thames.

¹⁰ Up along the Wey: the charter of Ælfred says up midstream.

¹¹ Weybridge.

¹² The old military way or high road.

¹³ Woburnbridge.

¹⁴ Withy, or Willow.

¹⁵ Wertwallen, the foot of a hill covered with trees or shrubs.—Kemble's Glossary, in preface to vol. iii. of Codex, p. xliii.

¹⁶ Curtenstapele (the Gaol post?); *Cwerten*, A.S. a prison, and *stapele*, a prop or support, an upright post.—Kemble.

described as going from Weybridge southward, up midstream, to "Boggesley,"¹⁷ from "Boggesley" to "Wudham"¹⁸ *suðrihte* (southward) into "Halewick,"¹⁹ and so forth, between the land of Halewick and the land of "Wintredeshulle,"²⁰ westerly, to "Fullbrook,"²¹ it goeth between "Fecingelye"²² and the "uergðe ;"²³ and so forthright to the "hoar-stone ;"²⁴

¹⁷ I should take this to be Bowsley ; but we are now going up the Wey, and Bowsley is too far off.

¹⁸ This should be Woodham, but the situation does not agree, if the next is right.

¹⁹ Halewick, is Holywick or Hollick farm.

²⁰ Wintredeshulle is Wintred's-hill (whoever he might have been). There is a house in Byfleet called "Wintersell," which was part of the Oatlands estate sold in 1846, and a farm in the parish of Byfleet called "Wintersells." There was a William de Wintreshulle, who was steward of the King's house, regn. Henry III.—(Pat. Rolls, 55 Henry III.)

²¹ Fullbrook I take to be the "Fullingadich" mentioned in the Charter of Friðuwald, near to which was his town, or tun, that is, his inclosed dwelling, or homestead. Mr. Clark informs me that there is now a bridge called "Fullbridge" at a spot where the Shere water-pond became contracted ; and it would seem that what was anciently called Fullbrook, was afterwards called Sherewater. This pond was drained and planted about 40 years ago.

²² Fecingelye, Mr. Clark thinks, may be Aningsley ; but he has since informed me that there is a name of a place something like Fecingelye not far from the Hermitage in Horsell.

²³ The tilled land.

²⁴ A Hoar-stone is generally an ancient erect stone pillar, rude, unsculptured, and rough as from the quarry, and called a hoar-stone from its age and whiteness ; the adjective being the same that we apply to a gray or hoary head,—a hoar-frost, &c. They were usually set up as memorials of some remarkable event (as Jacob set up a stone in Bethel as a memorial of his dream), or to mark the burial-place of some famous chieftain. In the 25th vol. of "Archæologia" there is a long and interesting paper on hoar-stones by Mr. Hamper, who has employed a great deal of research on the subject, and gives a long list of hoar-stones in various parts of this kingdom ; among which he notices that which is referred to in the charter before us. He considers them nothing more

and from the hore-stone into the "Derneford;"²⁵ and so forth, westrigte (westward), endlong streme into the more at "Estwode's end;"²⁶ and so up between Estwode and "Otershaghe,"²⁷ to the "Hore Thorn."²⁸

than landmarks, deriving their name from *Hars* (Armoric), a bound or limit; as, *Men hars*, a bound-stone. There was formerly at Pentecost, in Chobham, a white cross; but that is at some distance from our boundary, if it be, as I suppose, the same that I find in the maps as Pancras or Pancrets farm; and I should rather suppose the hoar-stone to have been at the angle formed by the boundary of the parish of Chertsey, at the Canal on Woking Common.

²⁵ Durnford, where there is now a bridge over the Bourn, on the road between Ottershaw Park and Onnensley or Anningsley farm.

²⁶ The more or marsh at Eastwood's End must have been at the west side of Ottershaw.

²⁷ The Otter's house, which is plain enough, and proves the great antiquity of the name of that seat.

²⁸ The old white thorn. There is nothing more beautiful in nature than a fine old white-thorn tree in full blossom; and those who are aware of the great age to which the thorn-tree attains, will not be surprised that such trees should have been selected as landmarks. The age of the hawthorn extends to 100 or 200 years. At Cawder Castle there is one which is said to be coeval with the building, the date of which is 1450 to 1500. There is a thorn-tree at Studley, near Ripon, Yorkshire, 43 feet high; its trunk is 4 feet in diameter, the diameter of its head being 43 feet.—(Loudon's Arboretum, vol. ii. p. 840.) Old thorn-trees were particularly cherished by our Saxon forefathers, and even in these days, when land is cleared of underwood, immunity is given to thorns and hollies.—(Akerman's Spring Tide.) In the South of Ireland, Mr. Crofton Croker tells us, "Old and solitary thorns are regarded with reverence by the peasantry, and considered as sacred to the revels of the fairy sprites, whose vengeance follows their removal." Piers Plowman tells us in his olden English,—

"And thanne met ich whith a Man on Midlents Soneday as hor as an hawethorne."—(Piers Plowman, p. 314.) Chaucer, in his "Court of Love," makes all his Court to go forth on May-day to fetch the flowers fresh, and branche and bloome, and

"Marke the faire blooming of the hawthorne tree,

"Who finely clothed in a robe of white,

"Fills full the wanton eye with May's delight."

From the Hore Thorn the boundary is similar in both the charters, and it goes from the Hore Thorn to "eccan triewe;"²⁹ and from the eccan triewe to the "Threm Burghen;"³⁰ from the Threm Burghen unto the "Sihtran" ("Siðren," or "Shightren");³¹ from the Siðren into "Merchebrook;"³² from Merchebrook to "Exleafes burn"³³ (or, as in Ælfred's grant, Exleapes burn); from Exleafes burn to the "Hare (or Hore)

See also in Shakespeare's King Henry VI. Part 3, Act 2, Sc. 5 :—

"Gives not the hawthorn bush a sweeter shade
 "To shepherds looking on their silly sheep
 "Than doth a rich embroidered canopy
 "To kings that fear their subjects' treachery."

And in Goldsmith's Deserted Village,—

"The hawthorn bush, with seats beneath the shade
 "For talking age and whispering lovers made."

The situation of the "Hore Thorn" may be looked for at the angle formed by the parish boundary, near Stanner's-hill farm.

²⁹ An oak-tree, probably at Long Cross.

³⁰ The Threm Burghen are undoubtedly the three very remarkable large barrows which are called three bury hills, and are close to the house of Mr. Pocock, a member of the Surrey Archaeological Society. I am not aware if these fine barrows have ever been explored, and if not, I trust the day is not far distant when, with the permission of the owner, they may be opened by the Society; from which, results equal to those from the late Mr. Gage Rokewood's examination of the Bartlow Hills, in Essex, may be expected.

³¹ This may mean the Tree of Victory, or merely a hollow tree. "Sige tren" would give us the former signification, and the neighbouring barrows may cover the mighty dead; but "Sihtra," or "Siohtra," is a wooden pipe, made of the trunk of a tree, hollowed or bored for the purpose. In a note to the "Monasticon," it is supposed perhaps to be a tree so called; but I think it must mean the stream which runs by Lyne Grove, and where the boundaries of Chertsey, Thorp, and Egham meet.

³² Mr. Clark informs me there is a Marshbrook near Lyne Grove.

³³ Exleafes burn was probably one of the streams forming the Oxley river. Mr. Clark says it was perhaps at Trumps Mill, where there is a stream with a rapid fall.

Mapledure ;³⁴ from the Hore Mapledure to the “ thrum treowen ; ”³⁵ from the thrum treowen along “ Depenbokes ”³⁶ on right to “ Wealagate ”³⁷ (or Wealegate) ; from Wealagate to “ Shirenpol ; ”³⁸ from Shirenpol to “ Fulbrook ; ”³⁹ from Fulbrook to the “ Blake Wiðig ; ”⁴⁰ and from the Blaken Wiðig on right to “ Weales hythe , ”⁴¹ and along the Thames on the other side “ Mixtenham , ”⁴² in the stream between “ Burghege ”⁴³ and Mixtenham ; and along the water to “ Neteleyge ; ”⁴⁴ from the eyot

³⁴ The old maple-tree.

³⁵ The three trees, perhaps on Thorpe Green.

³⁶ A watercourse still called Deepenbrook, separating Thorpe from Egham.

³⁷ “ *Wealh*, ” A.S. a stranger, foreigner ; Welsh, *Wealh* also signifies a slave or servant, and was applied by the Saxons to such of the British inhabitants as remained on the soil. Wealagate may therefore mean the Strangers’, or the British, or Welsh road.

³⁸ This cannot be the large piece of water formerly on Woodham Heath, called Shirewater, or Shirepond ; for that is too far back upon the boundary-line to the eastward : the name would lead us to suppose it to have been a piece of water on the border of the county, perhaps the original of the lake now called Virginia Water ; but that is on the opposite side of Egham parish. Mr. Clark suggests that a hollow basin-shaped piece of land near Thorpe Leigh, which has some appearance of having formerly been a pool, and where the water is still very deep in flood-time, may mark the site of the Shirenpol.

³⁹ Mr. Clark says he could not hear of Fulbrook in this quarter, but there is a considerable depth of water here, separating Thorpe and Egham.

⁴⁰ The black willow-tree.

⁴¹ See note 38. Mr. Clark says he cannot find that Wealeshithe, or Wallshithe, is known now by that name. It is evidently on the boundary of Thorpe and Egham, at the Thames, and there is at that spot a sort of haven or hithe, and a little island called “ Truss’s Island.”

⁴² Maxtenham in the old plan of Chertsey Abbey lauds, in Manning and Bray’s Surrey, and still called Mixtenham or Mixnam.

⁴³ Laleham Burway, of which it would be superfluous to say more than to refer to any published account of Chertsey.

⁴⁴ Mr. Clark informs me that there is an eyot now called Nettle Eyot, in the Thames.

along the Thames abutting on "Oxlake Ford;"⁴⁵ and along the Thames to "Boresborough;"⁴⁶ and so forth along the Thames to "Hamenege;"⁴⁷ and so forth along the stream by "Northenhamenyge;"⁴⁷ and so forth along the Thames, by mid-stream again to "Waemouth."

The boundaries, as described in the charters of Friðwald and Ælfred, correspond with each other from the Hore thorn to Weymouth. But Friðwald's charter goes on to say:—

Thus there are many of the islets which belong to Chertsey and to Thorpe; that is to say, there are eight, more or less, and seven pastures, which are all between Weales Hyth and Weymouth.

[Another landmark we shall find hereafterward, that was in Ælfred the wise king's day, to Cherte.]⁴⁸

These be the land marks of the fifteen-hide land in Egeham. This beeth the land mark at Egeham; that is, first at the Shigtren above Halsham,⁴⁹ and so forthright to the threm burghen;⁴⁹ from the Burghs to Eccantriwe;⁴⁹ forthright extending to the south end of

⁴⁵ Oxlake is found in the old map of the abbey domain in Manning and Bray's Surrey.

⁴⁶ Near Chertsey bridge is a piece of land called "Boseyte," which is part of Chertsey parish, and in Surrey, although on the Middlesex side of the river. Mr. Bray mentions it as an instance of the river having, in some places, altered its current. It is shown on the old plan of the abbey lands, in Manning and Bray's Surrey, and is there on the same side of the river as Mixtenham. Boseyte was probably the Boresborough of the charter.

⁴⁷ There are two islands in the Thames, opposite to Ham (in Chertsey), which are called the Ham eyots, and are doubtless the eyots indicated in the charter as Hameneye and Northenhameneye, one of which is in a bend of the river running north and south, and above stream from the other island, which is in a bend running from west to east.

[⁴⁸] This appears to have been a subsequent interpolation in the copy of the charter.

⁴⁹ The Shigtren or Sioltren, the Threm Burghen, and the Eccantriwe, are all on the boundary of Chertsey.

Sire Giffrens heath de la Croix ;⁵⁰ from the heath forth-right almost to the further end of Herdies,⁵¹ and so forth through the “Thorny hill”⁵² to Hertleys,⁵³ nether end of the “Menechene Rûde ;”⁵⁴ from the Rûde down right a way on the west side “Poddenhall”⁵⁵ almost to “Winebrigð ;”⁵⁶ from Winebrigð westerly to a way that goeth to Winchester,⁵⁷ that is called “Shrubbestede ;”⁵⁸ between the Shrubbess and Winebright ; going adown northward under the Park Gate (or road), and so forth from the gate going along by the Park’s hedge⁵⁹ to the

⁵⁰ The heath of Sir Geoffrey de la Croix ! Sir Geoffrey probably held a knight’s fee in Egham of the abbot. The Norman name of this knight strengthens the opinion that this description of the boundary was made subsequently to the Norman conquest.

⁵¹ Herdies or Hardies.

⁵² The Thorny Hill must have been the south part of Shrubs Hill.

⁵³ Hertleys must have been where Broomhall Hut now is.

⁵⁴ The Minchin’s Rood, or Nun’s Rood, a cross which probably stood on the hill called “Mincing Ride,” near Broomhall Hut, on Chobham Heath, between an old intrenchment and the high road to Winchester. The name is doubtless derived from its having belonged to the Benedictine Nunnery of Broomhall, in Sunning Hill, Berks, which escheated to the Crown in 13th Henry VIII., and was granted by that monarch, at the instance of Bishop Fisher, to St. John’s College, Cambridge, in the following year. This nunnery is said by Speed and Burton to have been founded by Edward the Black Prince ; but this charter shows it to have had a much earlier foundation, if, as it seems reasonable to suppose, the place was called “The Nun’s Rood” as early as the date of this charter, that is, previous to A.D. 675, or even as early as the description of the boundary is supposed to have been written ; *viz.*, about the reign of Stephen. Mincing Lane, in London, was so called from tenements there, some time pertaining to the Minchins or Nuns of St. Helen’s, in Bishops-gate-street.—Stow’s Survey of London, p. 50.

⁵⁵ Potnall Warren.

⁵⁶ Winebridge.

⁵⁷ The high road to Winchester.

⁵⁸ Shrubs Hill.

⁵⁹ The park-gate and the park’s hedge must, I think, have been the gate and fence of the park of Old Windsor, where the Anglo-Saxon kings had a seat until the reign of King Edward the Confessor, who gave it to St. Peter’s, Westminster.

new hedge ; from the hedge along the “ Frithesbrook ”⁶⁰ to the “ hore æpeldure ; ” from the hore æpeldure to the “ Knepp ; ”⁶¹ by the “ Quelmes ; ”⁶² from the Quelmes under the “ Stonie held, ”⁶³ and so going down by “ Tigelbeddeburn ; ”⁶⁴ down to that eyte that stands in the Thames at “ Ladders lake ; ”⁶⁵ and so forth along Thames by midstream to “ Glenthufe ; ”⁶⁶ from Glenthufe by midstream along Thames to the Huſe (Hythe) before “ Negen Stone ; ”⁶⁷ from the Hythe along Thames by midstream down to “ Nippenhale ; ”⁶⁸ from Nippen-

⁶⁰ Frithesbrook I cannot identify. A note in the “ Monasticon ” says, “ A stream where peace was made.”

⁶¹ The Knepp ?

⁶² The Quelmes signifies the place of execution : this was, I presume, a farm called in old maps Gallows Farm, although not now acknowledged by that name, as I found on inquiry. I also find on the maps Hangmore Hill close by.

⁶³ The Stonie Held was perhaps a sandstone quarry westward of Gallows Farm.

⁶⁴ Tigelbeddeburn, or Tilebed Burn, must have been a brook which runs down a ravine through the grounds of Cooper’s Hill to the Thames, which it enters at the west side of Leatherlake House, being the boundary of the counties of Surrey and Berks.

⁶⁵ Ladderslake is now called Leatherlake, being an expanse of water in the Thames ; and the eyte that stands in the Thames at Ladderslake is the far-famed Magna Charta Island, or another eyot a little above it and opposite to Leatherlake House.

⁶⁶ Glenthithe I have been able to identify most satisfactorily as a creek or inlet from the river to the entrance to Egham racecourse. The place is still called Glanthay.

⁶⁷ The hythe before Negen Stone must, I think, be Egham Hythe, opposite to Staines. Nigen means *nine* ; and it is very probable that there was a circle of nine stones there before the town of Staines was built, or the corporation of London had any jurisdiction in this part of the river. The name of Staines, in the plural, rather favours this conjecture.

⁶⁸ Nippenhale—Nippingale in Mr. Kemble’s Index to the Codex Diplomaticus. There are some meadows by Savery’s Weir much frequented by sportsmen for wild ducks, &c., called by some such name.

hale to “Wheleshuðe;”⁶⁹ from Wheleshuðe over right to the “Black Wiðege;”⁷⁰ from the Wiðege into “Fulbrook;”⁷⁰ from Fulbrook into “Sirepol;”⁷⁰ from Sirepol into “Whelegate;”⁷⁰ from Whelegate over right into “Depenbrok;”⁷⁰ from Depenbrok to the threm treowen; ⁷⁰ from the threm treowen to the hore mapledure; ⁷⁰ from the hore mapledure to “Exlepesburn;”⁷⁰ from the burn into Merehebroke; ⁷⁰ from the Merehebroke to the Shigtren above Halsham.⁷⁰

These be the land marks to “Chabbeham” (Chobham); that is, first, on the Oak Tree; from the Oak Tree along the road to the Hore Thorn; from the Hore Thorn to “Wihsan leage;”⁷¹ from Wihsan leage to “Woburnen;”⁷² along the burn to “Wapshete;”⁷³ from Wapshete to “Mimbrugge;”⁷⁴ from Mimbrugge

I have heard it is corrupted into “Nipnose.” Abbot Adam (1206 to 1223) assigned the profits of the weir near Nipenhale (Savery’s Weir) towards his Anniversary.—*Monasticon*, vol. v. p. 423, note; MS. Vitellius, A. xiii.

⁶⁹ Wheleshythe, which we may recollect was the northern boundary on the Thames, of Thorpe.

⁷⁰ The Black Withy, Fulbrook, Shirepool, Whelegate, Depenbrook, the Three Trees, the Hore Maple-tree, Exleafsburn, Merchebrook, and the Shigtren, are all on the boundary of Thorpe, as before described.

⁷¹ Wisan Leage, a field of plants, or—the field of the wise men, leaders, or chiefs.

⁷² Woburnen, in the Bourne Streeme.

⁷³ Mr. Kemble says Wapshot, Surrey. I know not if there be a place so called; but the name reminds us of the family of the same name, who are said to have been settled in this locality before the Norman conquest, and I understand are not yet extinct. Almner’s Barn, which they occupied for so many centuries, is near St. Ami’s Hill, at Chertsey; but they may have come from Chobham, and have taken their name from this place; but if the place were named from them, it proves the very great antiquity of the family in this neighbourhood. Wapshete seems to correspond with the now-called Bonsey’s Farm.

⁷⁴ Mimbridge is still the name of a bridge on the road to Horsell, and near it is a stone which is one of the boundaries of the parish of Chobham.

to "Wiðiless hete;"⁷⁵ from Wiðeless hete to the hedge at "Mimfeldd;"⁷⁶ thence from Mimfelde to the great Withy; from the Withy to "Wuhurst ride;"⁷⁷ from the Ride to "Siðwode hagan,"⁷⁸ and along the hedge to "Fyðeke mere;"⁷⁹ from Fytheke mere to "Hasulhurst;"⁸⁰ from Hasulhurst right over the field to "Cusceteshagen;"⁸¹ so by the hedge to "Cumore;"⁸² from Cumore to the "Standing stone;"⁸³ from the Standing stone up right to "Ruggestrate,"⁸⁴ then into "Wyðeke mere;"⁸⁵ from Wyðeke mere to "Burchslede;"⁸⁵ from Burchslede to "Eggelfusbrugge;"⁸⁶ from the bridge to "Cytereneford;"⁸⁷ from Cytereneford to

⁷⁵ Witheless Heath I cannot identify.

⁷⁶ Nor Mimfeld; they must both have been on the south side of Chobham.

⁷⁷ Wuhurst Ride also requires explanation.

⁷⁸ John de Rutherwyk, abbot (1307 to 1346), planted and inclosed a wood called South Grove in Chobham.—*Monasticon*, vol. v. p. 424, note; MS. Vitell.

⁷⁹ Fytheke Mere seems to correspond in situation with a pond at the bottom of Bisley Green.

⁸⁰ There is a field called Hasulhurst, on the confines, I believe, of Windlesham and Chobham parishes, not far from the road between Guildford and Bagshot.

⁸¹ The Dove's hedge.

⁸² There is a place called Cowmoor in Pirbright parish.

⁸³ There is a spot called the Standing Stone, near where the boundaries of Chobham, Pirbright, and Frimley parishes join each other; the stone is now gone, and a bound-mark left in the place.

⁸⁴ Mr. Clark suggests that Ruggestrate may be Blackstone-lane.

⁸⁵ Wytheke Mere, Whitmore Pond, or Light Waterpond. Burcheslede may mean an open country with birch-trees.

⁸⁶ Abbot Adam assigned the profits of a purpasture (probably an *inclosure* from the common), which Ewlfus de Forda held in Chobham, towards his Anniversary. Probably Ewlfus, or Eggelfus of the Ford, built a bridge instead of the ford.—*Monasticon*, vol. v. p. 423, note; MS. Vitell. A. xiii. fo. 81 b.

⁸⁷ Cytereneford I cannot identify.

“Wipesdone;”⁸⁸ from the Done (hill) and along the road to “Hertley;”⁸⁹ from Hertley again to the Oak Tree.

The bounds contain four mansas.⁹⁰

I have already acknowledged my obligations to the Rev. J. C. Clark, of Chertsey, for kind and valuable information and assistance. I have also to express my thanks to the Rev. S. J. Jerram, of Chobham, for useful information respecting the boundaries of that parish, and to Mr. Thomas R. Bartrop, of Chertsey, and to John Yonge Akerman, Esq., Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries, who accompanied me on a pedestrian excursion to identify some of the boundary-marks, and who has given me his able assistance in rendering the more difficult parts of the Anglo-Saxon charter into modern English.

FRIDUUALD OF SURREY, before 675.

✠ In nomine Domini Salvatoris Ihesu Christi! Hanc donationem ego Friðuualdus iuris mei ad libertatem uniuscuiusque rei concedo. Quotienscunque aliqua pro opere pietatis membris Christi impendimus, nostræ animæ prodesse credimus, quia sua illi reddimus et nostra non largimur. Qua de re ego Friðuualdus, provincie Surrianorum subregulus regis Wlfarii Mercianorum, propria uoluntate, sana mente integroque consilio, a presentē die dono, concedo, transfero, et de meo iure in tuum transcribo terram ad augendum monasterium quod primo sub rege Egberto constructum est, manentium ducentos ad roborandum idem monasterium quod Cirotesege nuncupatur, et quinque mansas in loco qui dicitur Ðorþ: non solum terram do, sed confirmo et meipsum et unicum filium meum in obedientiam Erkenuualdi abbatis trado, et est terra inter totum coniuncta manentium trescentorum; et insuper iuxta flumen quod uocatur Ðamis tota coniuncta simul ripariæ fluminis usque

⁸⁸ Wipesdone is, perhaps, Ribsdwn, which forms one of the boundaries of the parish of Chobham, and called in a Perambulation in 1595, Rippsdown.

⁸⁹ Hertleys, at Broomhall Hut.

⁹⁰ Farms.

ad terminum qui dicitur antiqua fossa, id est Fullingadich ; in alia parte iterum eiusdem fluminis ripæ usque ad terminum alterius prouinciæ quæ appellatur Sunninges. Est tamen de eadem terra pars semota manentium decem iuxta portum Londoniæ ubi naues applicant super idem flumen in meridiana parte iuxta uiam publicam. Sunt tamen diuersa nomina de ipsa eadem terra supradicta, scilicet Cirotesege, Ðorp, Egcham, Chebeham, Getinges, Muleseg, Wodeham, Huneuualdesham, usque ad terminum supradictum, dono tibi Erkenuualdo et ad monasterium construendum, et confirmo, ut tam tu quam posteri tui, pro animæ meæ remedio intercedere debeatis, cum campis, siluis, pratis, pascuis, et fluminibus, et omnibus aliis rebus ad monasterium sancti Petri, apostolorum principis, de Cerotesege rite pertinentibus. Omnia igitur in circuita ad prædictum monasterium pertinentia quemadmodum a me donata sunt et concessa et confirmata teneatis et possideatis, et quodcunque uolueritis de eisdem terris facere, tam tu quam posteri tui, liberam licentiam habeatis, nunquam me, ullo tempore, hæredeque meo contra hanc donationis meæ cartulam esse uenturis. Quod si quis contra hanc donationem meam et confirmationem uenire temptauerit, sit hic separatus ab omni societate Christiana et a cœlestis regni participatione priuetur. Et ut hæc cartula donationis meæ et confirmationis sit firma, stabilis, et inconcussa, testes ut subscriberent rogauimus quorum nomina infra sunt annexa.

Et ego Friðeuualdus, qui donator sum, una cum Erkenuualdo abbate, signum sanctæ crucis + pro ignorantia literarum expressi. Signum manus Friðurici testis +. Signum manus Ebbe testis +. Signum manus Eguualdi testis +. Signum manus Baduualdi testis +. Signum manus Ceaddi testis +. Similiter Humfridus episcopus rogatus ab abbate Erkenuualdo manu propria subscripsit +. Et isti sunt subreguli qui omnes sub signo suo subscripserunt. Signum manus Friðeuoldi testis +. Signum manus Osrici testis +. Signum manus Wigherdi testis +. Signum manus Æðelhuoldi testis +.

Et ut firma sit hæc donatio et confirmatio stabilis, a Wlfario rege Mercianorum confirmata est hæc cartula ; nam et super altare posuit manum suam, in uilla quæ uocatur Ðamu, et manu sua signo sanctæ crucis subscripsit +. Acta sunt hæc iuxta uillam Friðeuoldi iuxta supradictam fossatam Fullingadich circa kalendas Marcias.

Dis is ðære uiuen hida bók tó Cerotesege and tó Ðorpe, ðe Friðeuold king ybelhte Criste and seinte Petre and Erkenuolde abbude, tó fullen friedóme þurg alle þing suá se ðe londgimére hit bicluppeð ðe on ðisser bók iwite biez. Ðys is ðe laudegemére tó Cerotesege and tó Ðorpe ; ðat is, érest on Waicmúðe ; úp endlonge Waic tó Waigebrugge ; of

Waigebrugge innan ðe ælde múledich ; mideuuerde of ðére dich on ðére ealde herestræt ; andlange stræt on Wóburnebrugge ; andlang burne on ðene gréte wiðig ; of ðane gréte wiðig endlonge burne in ðane pól buve Crocford ; of ðes póles héuede on gerigte tó ðane ellene ; of ðane ellene on gerigte á be wertuualen on ðe herestráte ; andlange stráte tó curten stapele ; of curten stapele eandlonge stráte tó ðene hóre þorne ; of ðán þorne tó Eccan tréuue ; of Eccan tréouue to ðen þrem burghen ; of ðan þrum beorghen intó ðe sihtran ; of ðán siðren intó merchebróke ; of merchebróke on Exlæpes burnen ; of Exlæpes burne tó ðene háre mapeldure ; of ðene hóre mapeldure tó ðen þrum tréouuen ; of ðám þrem tréouuen andlange dépenbrókes on gerihite tó Wealagate ; of Wealagate on shiren pól ; of shiren póle on fúlan bróc ; of fúlan bróke tó ðán bláke wiðig ; of ðan bláken wiðig on gerihite tó Weales húðe ; andlange Temese on óðere halve Mixtenhammes in ðére eá betweone Burghege and Mixtenham ; andlange ðes weteres tó Netelyge ; of ðan ege andlange Temese ábúten Oxelake ; forð andlange Temese tó Boresburghe ; and suá forð endlange Temese tó Hámenege ; and suá forð andlange strémes be norðen Hámenyge ; and suá forð andlange Temese be hæluen strémes, eft on Waiemúðe. Þús feale synden ðére ygetta ðe liggeð intó Cherteseye and tó Þorpe ; ðat synden. viii. leassen and máren, and vii. werbære ða synden ealle betweonen Weales húðe and Waiemúðe. An óðer landimére me shal uinde herefterward ðat was igón albúten bi Ælfredes ðe wise kinges daie tó Cherte. Þis bet ðe landimére of ðe uiftene hide lond in Egehám. Þis bet ðe landimére æt Egehám ; ðat is, ærest at én shigtren bouen Halsam ; and swá forðrigte tó ðe þrem burghen ; fram ðes burges tó Eccan triwe ; forðrigte strechchinde tó ðe súðenðe of sire Giffrens héðe de la croix ; fram ðe héðe forðrigte tó herdeies, ourende alмест ; and swá forð þurg ðére þorni hulle tó Hertleys nuðer ende of ðe menechene rude ; fram ðe rude dúnrigte bi óne weie an westhalf Poddenhale tó Winebrigð alмест ; fram Winebrigð westrigte tó óne weie ðet géð tó Winchestre, ðat is ihóten Shrubbes-héðe ; bitwiene ðe shrubbes and Winebriggt goinde ádún norðrigte binuðe ða parkes gate ; and suá forð fram ðe gate goinde bi ðe parkes heige tó Herpesford tó ðére mulle ; fram ðére mulle goinde forð bi ðe parkes heige tó ðæt niwe hechehe ; fram ðe hechehe endlonge ðes friðesbróke tó ðére hóre æpeldure ; fram ðére hóre æpeldure tó ðe kneppe bi ðe quelmes ; fram ðe quelmes binuðe ðére stonie helde ; and suá goinde ádún bi tigelbeddeburne ádún úpe ðat eigtt ðe stant in ðére Temes æt Lodderelake ; and suá forðe endlange Temese bi mid stréme tó Glenthúðe ; fram Glenthúðe bi mid stréme endlonge Temese tó ðare húðe afornegene stone ; fram ðære húðe endlonge Temese bi midstréme dún

tó Nippenhale ; fram Nippenhale tó Wheles húðe ; fram Wheles húðe ofer rigte in ðene bláke wiðige ; of ðe wiðige intó fúle brók ; of fúle brók intó sirepól ; of sirepól intó Whelegate ; of Whelegate ofer rigte intó dépenbrók ; of dépenbrók tó ðe prem triwen ; of ðe prem triuuen tó ðe hóre mapuldure ; of ðáre hóre mapuldure tó Exlépes burne ; of ðére burne intó merchebróke ; of ðene merchebróke tó ðan shigtren bouen Halsam. Dis bet ðe londimére intó Chabbeham. Dat is, árest on Eccan triuwe ; of Eccan triwe andlange stréte tó ðe hóre þorne ; of ðe hóre þorne tó wihsan leáge ; of wihsan léghe tó Wóburnen ; andlange burnen tó Wopshete ; of Wopshete tó Mimbrugge ; of Mimbrugge tó Wiðeless-hete ; of Wiðeless-hete tó ðe hagan æt Mimfelda ; suá of Mimfelde tó ðáre gréten wich ; of ðére wich to Wuhurste riðe ; of ðére riðe tó Siðuúode hagan ; andlange hagu tó flyðeke mére ; of flyðeke mére tó Hasulhurst ; of Hasulhurst forð rigte ofer ðane feld tó Cuscetes hagen ; suá bi ðan hagan tó Cúmóre ; of Cúmóre to ðe stondind stone ; of ðe stone úprigte tó ruggestráte dún intó whiðeke mére ; fram wyðeke mére tó burchshlede ; fram burchshlede tó Eggelfus brugge ; of ðére brugge tó cyterene forde ; of cyteren forde tó wipsedóne ; of ðére dóne andlange stráte tó Hertlye ; of Hertlye eft on Eccan triuwe.

Expliciuunt limitationes quatuor maneriorum. — Codex Diplom. Ævi Saxonici, op^a. J. M. Kemble, No. DCCCCLXXXII. tom. v. p. 15.

CHARTER OF ÆLFRED OF WESSEX, cir. 890.

✠ Regnante æternaliter Rege omnium sæculorum Domino et Salvatore nostro Ihesu Christo! Orbita labentis sæculi cotidiano deficit occasu. Hoc quoque indicio fideles quique oppido commonentur, quo bonorum operum exempla perfecte sectantes in patrum beniuolentiæ proficiendo successu, temporalium uicissitudine bonorum perpetua et incommutabilia regni cœlorum mereantur adipisci gaudia. Quapropter ego Ælfredus, fauente Omnipotentis Dei clementia, Rex Anglorum, cæterarumque prouinciarum in circuitu persistentium rector ac gubernator gentium, quandam partem telluris in qua monasterium quod sub nomine Sanctæ Trinitatis et Beati Petri Apostolorum Principis constat honore dedicatum esse, atque fundatum, et constructum, scilicet locum qui famoso onomate apud Anglos nuncupatur Ceroteseg, id est Cirotis insula, et v. mansas apud Thorp, cum omnibus appendiciis illuc rite pertinentibus ; scilicet Getinges, Huneuualdesham, et Wudeham, ad sustentationem illius monasterii et omnium illuc unanimiter Deo seruientium, libenti animo concedo et confirmo ; ut illi ibi degentes pro meis non desistant interuenire peccaminibus atque offensionibus meis innu-

meris. Sit autem supradicta tellus ut taxauimus cum uniuersis quæ rite ad se pertinent, uidelicet campis, siluis, pratis, pascuis, stagnis et riuuli, libera et inconcussa, et ab omni seruitutis iugo stabilis, firma, et exinanita. Si quis autem diabolica illectus cupiditate huius mei decreti diffinitionem et confirmationem irritam fecerit, sciat se in tremendo iudicio rationem redditurum, et ultricibus auerni flammis cum antichristo et eius fautoribus semper arsurum, ibique æternaliter mansurum, nisi in hac uita satis digne pœnituerit.

Hiis igitur limitibus tellus præfata giratur, etc.

Ðis is ðe landimere tó Certeseye and tó Ðorpe. Ðat is ærest on Waie múðe ; úp endlonge Waie tó Waibrugge tó midstréme ; of Waibrugge súðuuard tó Boggeslye ; of Boggeslye by midstréme to Wudehám ; of Wudehám súðrihte into Haleuuk ; bi midstréme ; and so forð bituene ðe londe of Haleuuk and ðe londe of Wyn-tredeshulle westrigte ; and so forð westrigte in fúle brok ðe geð bitwene Fecingelye and ðe uergðe ; and so forðrigte tó ðe hóre stóne ; and fram ðe hóre stóne intó ðe derne forde ; and so forð westrigte endlonge stréme intó ðe móre æt Estuunodes ende ; and so úp betuene Estunode and Otershaghe on ðe hóre þorne ; of ðe hóre þorne tó eccan treiune ; of eccan treóuue tó ðe þrem burghen ; of ðe þrem burghen intó ðe shigtren ; of ðe shigtren intó merche bróke ; of merche bróke on exleafes burne ; of exleafes burne tó ðene hóre mapeldure ; of ðe hóre mapeldure tó ðe þrem treóuuen ; of ðe þrem treóuuen endlange dépe bróke rigt tó wealegate ; of wealegate on shýre pól ; of shýre pól rigt tó fúle brók ; of fúle brók tó ðe blake witghe ; of ðe wiðeghe forðrigte tó weales húðe andlange Temese an oðere halve mixtenham in ðere ác betuene burgheyge and mixtenham ; enlonge ðe wætere rigt tó neatel eyghe ; of ðen eyge endlonge Temese ábúte oxelake ; and so forð endlange Temese tó boresburghe ; and so forð endlange Temese rigt tó hámen eyge ; and suá forð endlange stréme rigt be norðen hámen eyghe ; and súa forð endlange Temese be healve stréme ; eft on Wayemuðe.—Codex Diplom. Ævi Saxonici, op^a. J. M. Kemble, No. CCCXVIII. tom. ii. and iii. App. p. 401.

X.

CHERTSEY ABBEY.

By W. W. POCOCK, Esq., B.A., F.R.I.B.A.

READ AT THE GENERAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY HELD IN THE TOWN-HALL,
CHERTSEY, APRIL 27TH, 1855.

ALTHOUGH situated close to the Roman, or more probably, the ancient British, road that crossed the river Thames, certainly at no great distance from Laleham, we search in vain for any mention of Chertsey, earlier than the seventh century, at which time, as we learn from Bede, a monastery was erected on "Ceroti Insula." Even he makes no mention of either town or village adjacent, but speaks of the site of the new establishment as an island, this being the most distinctive mark he could affix to the locality. From this we are led to conclude that the monastery, so called, was anterior to the town to which it gave rise, and which still survives, after its original, for many ages one of the largest and proudest establishments of the kind, has long ceased to shed its benign influence, or exercise its lordly sway, over the surrounding neighbourhood.

In Domesday Book the name is spelt Certesyg (with the final g), but on the conventual seal used in the reign of Henry VIII. the form of Ceretis *Ædis* is retained (see cut at page 114). The Anglo-Saxon original was evidently the name in common vogue, and is in Chertsey handed down, with singularly little variation in euphony, from the period of the Norman register.

The fact of the site of the abbey being an island, has puzzled more wise heads than one. Aubrey, followed by Salmon, seems to think that, prior to the formation of the causeway from Staines to Egham, Thorpe and the present locality of Chertsey, were both under water, and he adds that the streets of Chertsey, were "all raised by the ruins of the abbey," much above their natural level; and the abbey having been suppressed not more than 136 years when he wrote (1673), and the buildings probably, not having been entirely destroyed till some time after the suppression, he had far better means of ascertaining the use made of the rubbish, than we have now, unless by means of excavations on an extensive scale. This supposition is borne out, to some extent by Camden, who says that what Bede called an island, in his (Camden's) time (1600) "scarcely made a peninsula, except in winter." It is not unlikely that the tide of the Thames, so far from its mouth as Chertsey, may be lower than it was 1200 years ago, and that the land near it may have been somewhat raised by continual deposits, during so long an interval, left by receding tides. Or possibly after the destruction of the edifice by the Danes, who doubtless made the Thames their high road, a broad mote too shallow for the draught of their vessels, was considered so good an auxiliary in defence, as to cause its original course, on the south or land side of the monastery, to be diverted to its present position (where it is known as the Abbey River), on the north or river side of the supposed site of the conventual buildings of later dates. Or it may be, the original building was in what are now the Meads, which are indeed an island formed by the Abbey River, and in which tradition still points to certain irregularities of ground, as connected with the abbey.

But I shall presently, have to show that I prefer

another solution, to any of these—one which points out that Mr. Grumbridge's house, Mr. Lacoste's barn and farm-yard, with all the supposed remains of the abbey, are even now in an island, which was, I feel persuaded, more fully marked in ancient times.

This Ceroti Insula, with Surrey, of which it formed a portion, was, in the seventh century, a part or dependence of the kingdom of Mercia, or Mid Angles, which was converted to Christianity about the middle of that century, through the marriage of the son and heir of Penda, king of Mercia, to the daughter of Oswald, the zealous Christian king of Northumbria. It was about this time that parishes, as we now understand the word, were first formed in England. At first, each kingdom formed but one parish, which again was divided into what we should now call dioceses, the cathedral being for a time the only church, the bishop sending his priests travelling about the country, to instruct the people and administer the rites of Christianity. Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, towards the close of the seventh century, was the great instrument of accomplishing the formation of parishes, to which the influence his great talents and learning gave him, contributed not a little. This was effected in great part, by inducing the great proprietors, to erect and endow churches, of which they retained the patronage.

Such seems to have been the origin of Chertsey Abbey. It appears from documents, purporting to be the deeds of foundation, that, in 666, Frithwold, petty king of the Surreians under Wulpher, king of Mercia, built the monastery in conjunction with Erkenwall, afterwards bishop of London; which means, no doubt, that Frithwold built a church of which Erkenwall was appointed the incumbent, and that to this church was

attached, at most, accommodation for the itinerant priests who circulated through the district. Monasteries, as we now understand the term, were not erected in England till the reign of Edgar, in the tenth century, when Dunstan introduced monachism as a system, and erected the first monastery at Glastonbury.

The original building at Chertsey, was probably, a simple structure after the type adopted by the monks of Iona, under whose instruction Northumbria had been Christianized, and from whom Diurna, first prelate of Mercia, received consecration. The Cathedral of Northumbria, built in the Island of Landisfarn, was a wooden structure covered with reeds, and Chertsey was probably the same. This supposition will not be weakened by the reflection that, like his northern predecessors, Erkenwall chose an island for his site, somewhat in imitation of their original seat, the island of Iona.

The Abbey seems to have received the bounty of several of the Saxon kings, not excepting Alfred.

During the incursions of the Danes in the ninth century, Chertsey suffered in common with similar establishments; from which, we may safely conclude, that at this comparatively early period of its existence, it already had the reputation of having accumulated considerable property of a portable character, as plunder was the main object of these marauders; or else we may suppose that the monastery, had become the asylum for the persons, or the property of the people around. At this time the monks, to the number of ninety, were slaughtered, and the buildings burnt, — no difficult matter, if constructed of the materials indicated.

In 964 the monastery was rebuilt by Edgar, and by him assigned to the Benedictines, under the influence of

Dunstan, who had assumed the habit of that order, and was now archbishop of Canterbury. It is impossible to say with certainty, whether any of the few remains that now exist, belong to this edifice ; but, from the small portions of sculpture that I have seen (vide pp. 113-114), I am disposed to attribute them rather, to the next building in the order of succession, which was begun to be erected in 1110, under the Abbot Hugh of Winchester, a relation of King Stephen de Blois. The mouldings are better cut, and the carving is more profuse, than would have existed in a building of so early a date as 964. To which I may add, that the use of polished Purbee marble for shafts, of which there are more than one example, was not, so far as I know, introduced at so early a period. And if I am right in concluding, as I think I am, that the stone for the exterior was from Caen or its neighbourhood, this will undoubtedly point us to a period subsequent to the Norman Conquest. And as we have no evidence, of any very extensive buildings, having been erected here long after that period, I think we shall not be far wrong, in assuming the style of that day, as the general style of the edifice. To this, however, I will revert presently.

The parish of Chertsey, whenever originally formed, seems to have comprised, at least, all that now constitutes the parishes of Chertsey, Thorpe, Egham, and Chobham, and in all probability the whole of Surrey as it then was, or, at all events, all the country bounded by the Hog's-back and the Wye, the whole of which, as late as 1673, was a king's chace, not afforested, but under the jurisdiction of the honour and Castle of Windsor, the whole or greater part having come to the crown, probably, on the dissolution of the Abbey. Egham and Chobham were both chapelries of Chertsey

until the time of Edward I., and Thorpe to a still later period. Within these limits the Abbey had large possessions, not only of manors and livings, but lands and rents of various kinds. Thus, from the manor of Egham the abbot received annually 50 fat, and 24 lean hogs, and from Chobham no less than 150—all in that sleek condition which promised the monks speedy opportunities of enjoyment. Another manor supplied them with 325 eels every year, and Petersham, near Richmond, with no less than 1,000 eels, and 1,000 lampreys.

Nor were their possessions confined to narrow limits, but extended to no less than twenty-five manors, mostly in the county of Surrey, and even to London and South Wales; so that, about the time of the dissolution of the monasteries, the annual revenue of the abbey was little short of £660 per annum,—or, according to Speed, £744. 18s. 6d., equivalent to about £13,000 or £15,000 per annum of our present money. No wonder that establishments so rich, and which had already become obnoxious to bluff King Harry, should excite his longing—and with him to long was to have. He seems to have experimented with the monks of Chertsey, before demanding a surrender; for he bought of them the manor of Chobham, doubtless at no very large price, the abbot preferring to part with a single manor, rather than allow his own precious person, to become a pendant to his church steeple.

This ornament to a throne, knew how to adapt his conduct and his speech to the occasion. When apprehensive that the Commons, would not pass his bill for the dissolution, he is related to have sent for them, and said, “I hear that my bill will not pass; but I will have it pass, or I will have some of your heads;” an *argumentum ad hominem* that must have been irresistible,

considering the fidelity with which he kept such promises.* But how does he change his tone when "my bill" had passed! "I cannot a little rejoice," quoth he, "when I consider the perfect trust and confidence which you have in me, in my doings, and just proceedings; for you, without my desire and request, have committed to my order and disposition all chauntries, colleges, and hospitals, and other places specified in a certain Act, firmly trusting that I shall order them to the glory of God, and the profit of the commonwealth." One knows not which to admire most, the magnanimity with which he undertakes so heavy a responsibility, or the fidelity with which he executes his trust! Surely, much as we may rejoice in the results of the English Reformation, we have no reason to be proud of the auspices, under which it was inaugurated.

In point of rank, Chertsey Abbey was among the mitred abbeys, so called from their superiors wearing mitres, in token of episcopal authority within their own peculiar; and the abbot of Chertsey held of the Crown, as a military tenant, by barony. But there is reason to doubt whether he had a seat, at any time, as a lord of Parliament. He had exclusive civil jurisdiction within the hundred of Godley (probably thence so called), granted to him by Edward the Confessor, and confirmed by the two Williams, two Henrys, Richard, and John, together with the right of keeping dogs for hunting hares and foxes, a privilege carefully guarded by those lovers of the chase, the Norman kings. To the abbey also, belonged the privileges and profits arising from the holding of the two ancient fairs of Chertsey.

In the year 1537, the abbey and its possessions were surrendered to Henry, with the same willingness, no doubt, and under the same stipulations, as the Commons

had passed the requisite bill! And so speedy was its destruction, that in 1763, when Aubrey visited the spot, scarcely anything of the old buildings remained, except the out-walls about it. This destruction was hastened, or completed by the erection of a "fair house," out of the ruins, by Sir Nicholas Carew, master of the buck-hounds to Charles II., which, after passing to various owners of motley hue, was pulled down about 1810, and the materials sold and dispersed.

The only historical incidents of any interest, connected with the abbey, that I have been able to trace, are the burial there of King Henry VI., of unhappy memory, after his murder in the Tower of London; and the subsequent removal of his remains to Windsor by Henry VII. On the former occasion the body was brought by water, with but small pomp, at an expense amounting to £24. 14s. 5½*d.*, for conveying and attending the body from the Tower to St. Paul's Cathedral, and thence to Chertsey, including wax, linen, spices, and other ordinary expenses; and £8. 12s. 3*d.* for obsequies and masses at London as well as at Chertsey aforesaid. Of his removal, Camden remarks that Henry VII. "was such an admirer of his (Henry VI.'s) religion and virtue, that he applied to Pope Julius to have him put in the calendar of saints. And this certainly had been done," he adds, "if the pope's avarice had not stood in the way; who demanded too large a sum for the king's apotheosis or canonization, which would have made it look as if that honour had not been paid so much to the sanctity of the prince as to the gold." He might have added that, Henry was as good a judge of the value of money, as the pious Pope Julius.

Of the exact position and arrangement of the conventual buildings, it is impossible to speak with any

degree of certainty. Though considerable remains of foundations have been discovered, they still are but limited, when compared with the probable extent of the abbey; and they are so completely denuded of all architectural features (except some loose fragments of sculpture), that no clue is afforded as to the use of each wall, not even as to which was the internal or external face of it, beyond what the collocation, judging from the analogy of other establishments, may suggest.

In each convent, of course, the church formed the most conspicuous feature; in plan it was usually cruciform, with a central tower and western entrance. To the north or south of the nave, lay the principal court, surrounded on one, two, three, or all four sides, by a groined ambulatory or cloister, giving access to the chapter-house on the east, the monks dormitory on the west, and on the side opposite to the church the refectory with its kitchens. A *locutorium* or parlour, the *scriptorium*, *lavatorium*, and other smaller apartments, filled up the intervals. Generally, attached to some portion of these buildings was the abbot's or prior's lodging, including a private chapel. Another range of buildings was allotted to the reception of visitors of importance, whilst others of an inferior grade, with those who sought charitable relief, were accommodated in other apartments, commonly provided in connection with one of the gate-houses. An infirmary, sometimes a complete establishment, with chapel, cloisters, dormitory, and refectory—and perhaps a range of farm-buildings, together with bakeries, breweries, and other offices of this character—completed the whole.

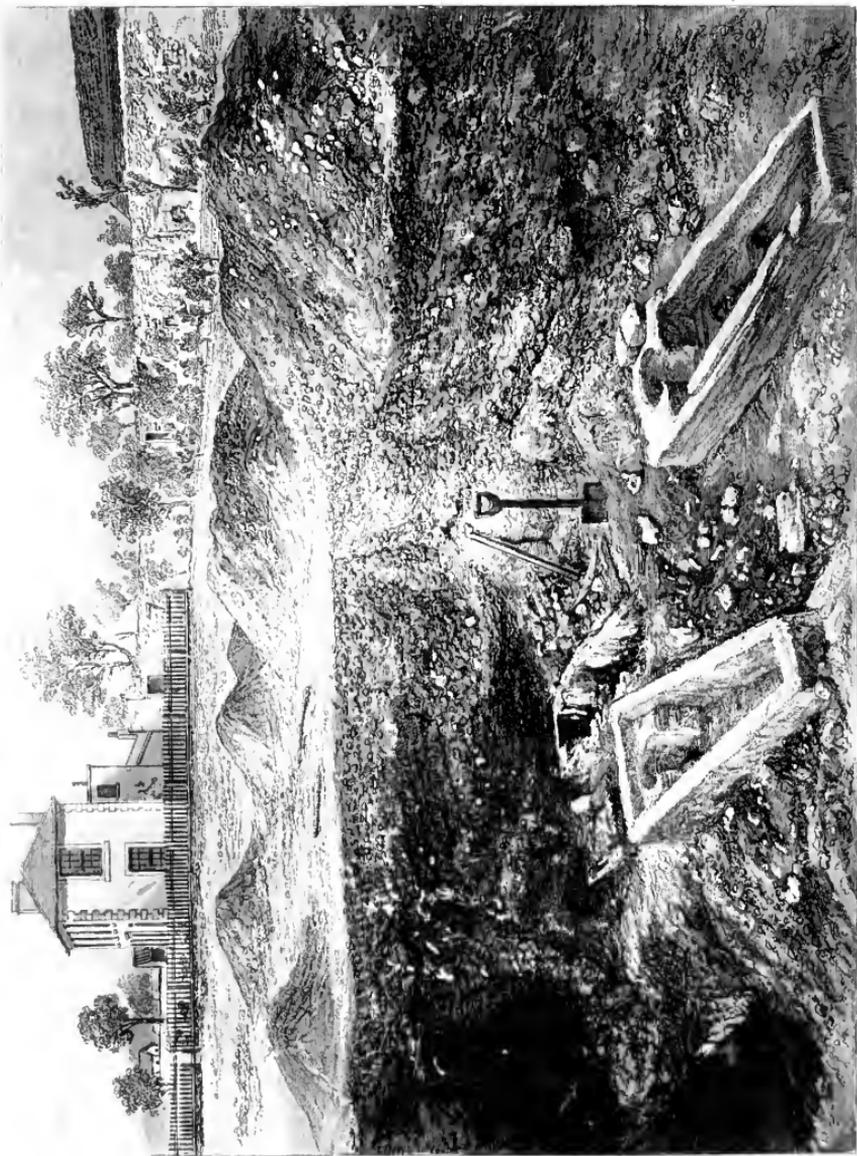
These were surrounded by a strong and high wall or a moat, or by both, having one or more entrances, of which the principal was a large erection, as already inti-

mated. The principal gate-house at Chertsey is said to have had a chapel over it, which was not by any means an uncommon appendage. This I believe to have stood opposite the end of Guilford-street, on or near the site of the present church, which (or rather its predecessor) was, I conclude, erected shortly after the suppression of the monastery, and evidently out of its ruins, close to, if not on, the actual spot where stood the chapel dedicated to All Saints, which we know existed, and to which, on ordinary occasions, the townspeople had been accustomed to resort.

In the map attached to an old record, called the Exchequer Leiger (see plate annexed), are shown two mills, one on the abbey river, and the other nearer to the church. This latter one, I imagine, stood where (in the direction of A.*) there are still the remains of some old foundations, between which runs a stream now arched over, and continuing under or near the Town-hall across London-street, and so to the Bourne. This, I conclude, is the ancient river of Redewynd, a ferry over which was granted by Edward III. (in 1343) to W. Allegar. This ferry appears to have been in London-street, which in the map above alluded to has the name of Redewynd attached to it; and if (as is probable) the Redewynd continued on the east of Guilford-street down into the Bourne as it now does, but on a larger scale, we have a reason for the formation and location of that approach to the abbey-gate, from the country in which a large portion of its possessions lay. Whatever its present origin, this stream apparently once was connected with the Thames, and thus completed the insular character of the site of the abbey, as described by Bede. To have turned a mill, the Redewynd would probably

* *Vide* the Plans.





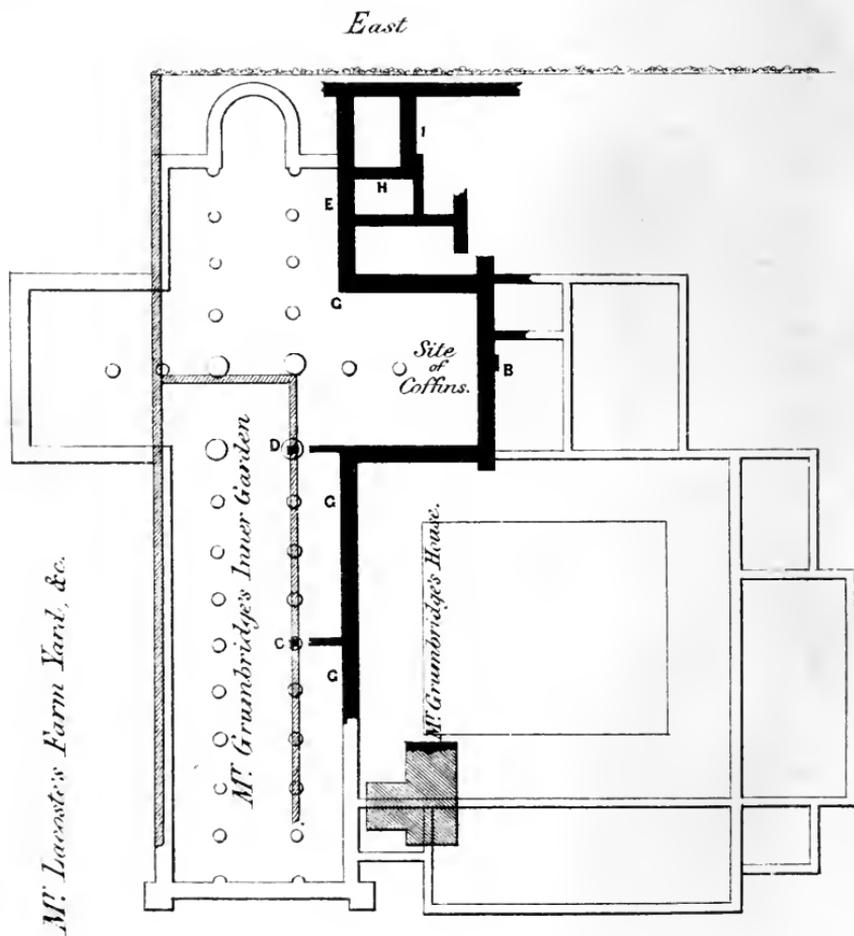
M. B. T. & C.

Printed by J. B. T. & C.

View of the site of the old fort of Chertsey Abbey.



UNIVERSITY HALL.



The Dark Text show the remains discovered in 1855.
The Crossed line, the existing modern erections.
The Outline, the restorations suggested.



be large enough to require a ferry. But should it be concluded that the foundations to which I allude, are not those of a mill, then doubtless they are of a bridge which gave access to the abbey-close, at that spot; and if so, it must have been no mean stream, that required such a bridge to span it.

More to the north-east we come upon the excavations lately made, indicated by the dark tint in the plan, the most remarkable feature of which, is the discovery of several stone coffins with their original tenants. This would indicate that the spot where they were found, was a portion of the church or the chapter-house. I am inclined to consider this as the south transept of the church, which I imagine was divided into two aisles of equal, or nearly equal, width, as immediately south of these coffins, on what would then be the external face of the south transept (at B), is the only fairly-worked stone that I have seen *in situ*, and this appears to be the base of a buttress four feet wide by a projection of about one foot.

To the north of this, and at a distance of some sixty feet, has been traced a wall running east and west for several hundred feet, the foundations of which are as much as eight feet wide. This I take to be the south wall of the nave and choir; and eighty feet more to the north is the extreme boundary-wall of Mr. Grumbridge's garden. The foundations of this wall are said to be very deep, and though the wall itself is a modern erection, I conjecture it to have been placed upon the old foundations of the north wall of the church. If so, we must look on the north of it for remains of the north transept. In the lower part of the wall, dividing the inner from the outer garden, are at least two masses of masonry (C and D) that appear older than the rest of

the wall; these may possibly be remains of the south range of the internal columns of the nave, and would determine the main dimensions of the church. Directly east of the axis thus found, and at a distance of 80 to 100 feet from what I suppose to have been the transept, remains of a circular tower are reported to have been discovered some years ago. This may be an apsidal end to the presbytery, and if so, I should not be far wrong in the appropriation I have assigned to the foundations that have been found. Near (at or near E) was discovered, in what I presume to have been the south wall of the choir, a portion of "a stone sink or basin of circular form, 18 or 20 inches in diameter, with a portion of lead pipe attached." This looks very much like the description of a piscina, and as fragments of the same pipe were found, running nearly the whole length of what apparently, was the south wall of the nave (G, G, G), and on the north side of it, I conclude that it must have been on the inside of the building, or so expensive a drain would not have been employed. The reason for leading the water in that direction, cannot now be determined. To the south of the part last alluded to, were several walls, in one of which (H) were found two steps much worn, and in the south wall of the apartment to which these steps ascended, was what appeared to have been a fire-place (I), though it was not clear on which side of the wall the room to which it belonged had been built. I would therefore attribute it to the room toward the south, and assume that to have been the abbot's kitchen, the intermediate rooms being either chapels or vestment-rooms. I am not prepared to produce any authority for placing the kitchen so near the choir; but the abbot's or prior's lodgings were frequently to the east of the chapter-house. At Foun-

Villa de Rishm

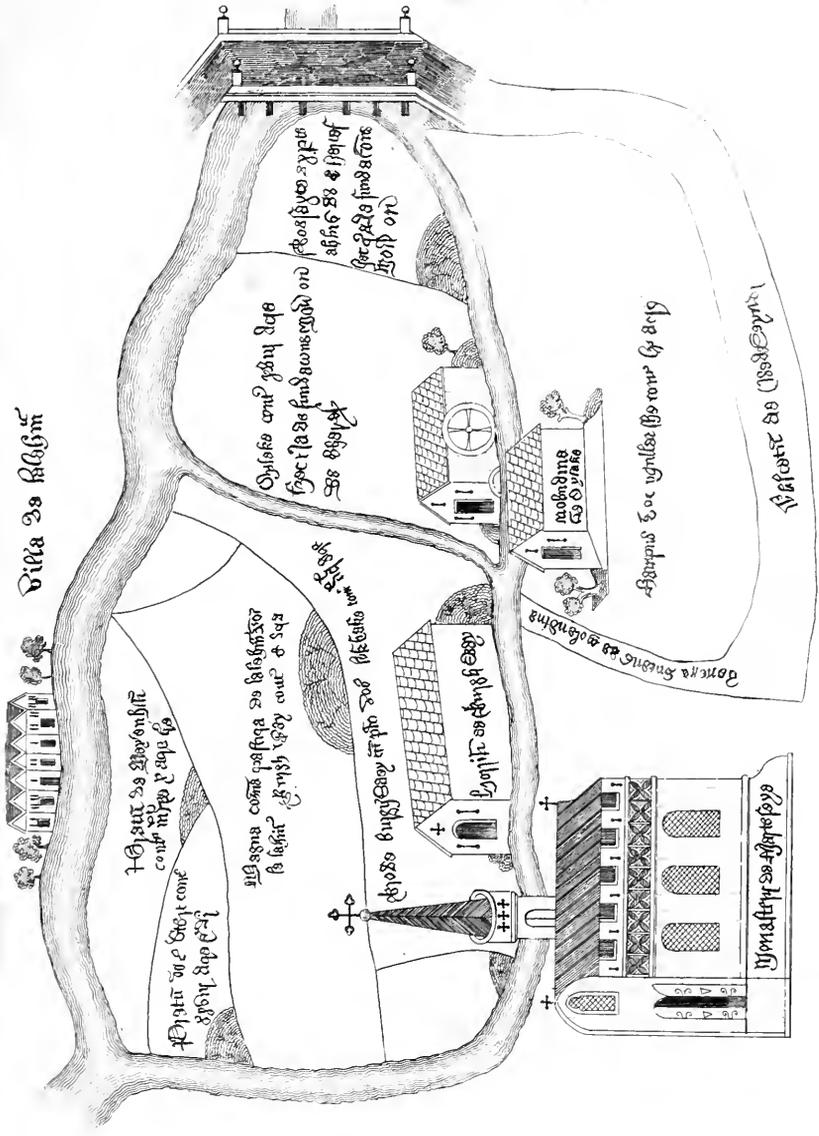
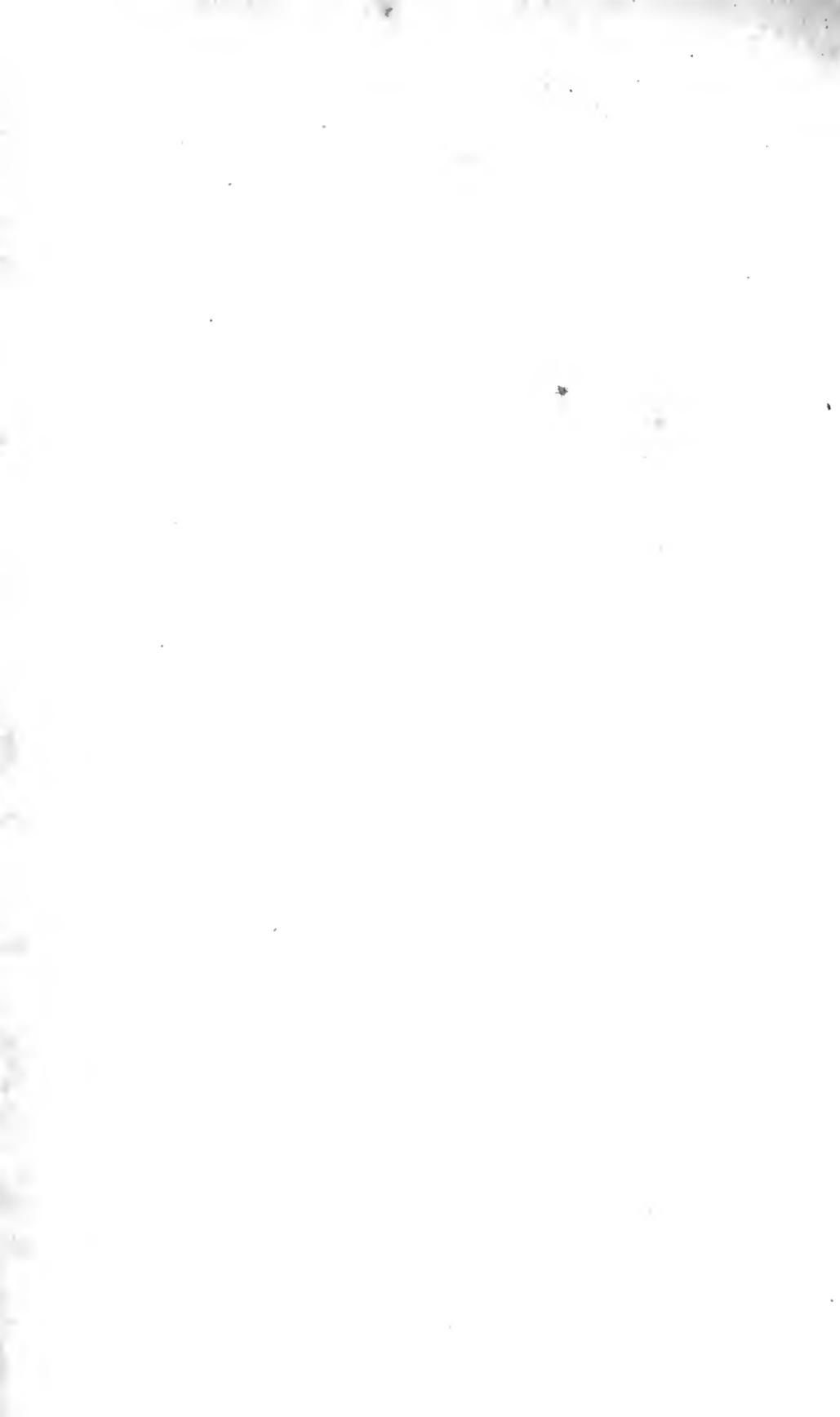


FIGURE 1. THE VILLAGE OF RISHM



tain's Abbey, and Rivaulx's such was the case, as also at Durham, Hereford, and elsewhere. At Buildwas, in Shropshire, the cloister being on the north of the nave, the abbot's lodge is to the north-east, and still remains as a dwelling. At Canterbury, where also the cloister is to the north, there are remains of very extensive buildings in that direction, some of which actually adjoin the chapels annexed to the choir and presbytery.

In the position thus assumed for the abbot's lodgings, I am informed that the soil and its crops, or rather want of crops, indicate considerable remains at no great depth below the surface; and on the spot where, according to my supposition, the dormitory stood, Abbey-house was subsequently erected, but in what direction the front of it was I have never heard. Dr. Stukeley, who visited it in 1752, writes, "Of that noble and splendid pile [the Abbey], which took up four acres of ground, and looked like a town, nothing remains; scarcely a little of the outward wall of the *precinctus*." He then proceeds to describe the position of the church, though upon what authority he does not say. "The gardener carried me," says the doctor, "through a court on the right-hand side of the house, where, at the entrance to the kitchen-garden, stood the church of the Abbey—I doubt not, splendid enough. The west front and tower-steeple was by the door and outward wall, looking toward the town and entrance to the Abbey." These would lead to the conclusion of, the entrance being towards the south-west of the church, as I have supposed. He speaks of the terraces on the back-front of the house, and I conclude that the north wall of Mr. Grumbridge's garden formed the boundary of the terrace, and consequently, that the court he alludes to, was on the east of the house, possibly some remnants

of the cloisters, which, he says, were on the south of the church, and would, as he stood with his back to the town, be on the right hand of the house. "The garden," [probably pleasure garden as well as kitchen], he says, "takes up the whole church and cloisters;" and as Mr. Lacoste's barn was no doubt standing in the doctor's time, and the moat still remains to the eastward, I think I cannot be far wrong in the general disposition I have adopted, though, confessedly, only worthy of reception as a probable conjecture.

But to return,—From the supposed fireplace before mentioned ran a cavity in a horizontal direction along the centre of the wall, westward, supposed by those who saw it to have been a flue, the more so as considerable remains of charcoal were found in it. I am more disposed to consider that this was the place of a beam of timber, which, becoming ignited, had burnt out, and left the charcoal and ashes remaining. This also makes me doubt the correctness of the supposition that the supposed fireplace was indeed such, though the hearthstone appeared much worn and reduced by the action of fire. I am more inclined to conclude it was a mere recess, which the destroyers of the abbey found convenient for lighting their fire in, for the purpose of melting the lead stripped from the roofs. At Fountain's, fires were made in many places for this purpose, and there are records still showing that the lead, was there melted into pigs before removal. An inhabitant of Yorkshire at the time of the suppression, or shortly after, has left a very affecting account of his trouble at seeing the devastation committed, especially at Roche Abbey, near which he dwelt. In a curious letter, published by Sir Henry Ellis, the writer says,—

"It would have made a heart of flint to have melted and wept to have

seen the breaking-up of the house, and their sorrowful departing, and the sudden spoil that fell the same day of their departure from the house. And every person had everything good-cheap, except the poor monks, friars, and nuns, that had no money to bestow of anything, as it appeared by the suppression of an abbey hard by me, called the Roche Abbey, a house of white monks, a very fair-built house, all of freestone, and every house vaulted with freestone, and covered with lead (as the abbeyes was in England, as well as the churches be). Some," he continues, "took the service-books that lied in the church, and laid them upon their waincoppes to piece the same; some took windows of the hayleith and hid them in their hay; and likewise they did of many other things; for some pulled forth the iron hooks out of the walls that bought none, when the yeomen and gentlemen of the country had bought the timber of the church. For the church was the first thing that was put to the spoil; and then the abbot's lodging, dorter and frater, with the cloister, and all the buildings thereabout within the abbey-walls. It would have pitied any heart to see what tearing up of the lead there was, and plucking up of boards, and throwing down of the spars; and when the lead was torn off and cast down into the church, and the tombs in the church all broken, and all things of price either spoiled, carped away, or defaced to the uttermost."

"The persons that cast the lead into foders plucked up all the seats in the choir, wherein the monks sat when they said service, which were like to the seats in minsters, and burned them, and melted the lead therewithall, although there was wood plenty within a flight-shot of them, for the abbey stood among the woods and the rocks of stone, in which rocks was pewter vessels found, that was conveyed away and there hid; so that every person bent himself to filch and spoil what he would. Yea, even such persons were content to spoil them that seemed not two days before to allow their religion, and do great worship and reverence at their mattins, masses, and other service, and all other their doings, which is a strange thing to say, that they could this day think it to be the house of God, and the next day the house of the devil; or else they would not have been so ready to have spoiled it."

He adds, his father, who bought the timber of part of the church, and the steeple and bell-frame ("in the which steeple hung viij yea ix bells," which "I did see hang there myself more than a year after the suppression"), and "thought well of the religious persons and of the religion then used," excused his participation in the spoil by arguing, "Might not I, as well as others, have some profit in the spoil of the abbey? for I did see all would away, and therefore I did as others did. And thus much," the writer adds, "upon my own knowledge touching the fall of the said Roche Abbey."—MS. Cole, vol. vii. Ellis, III. iii. 35.

This process—of which there are indications here—will readily account for the almost entire disappearance of any remains of the abbey of Chertsey, hastened, possibly, by the removal of the monks to Bisham in Berkshire, as they would endeavour to carry with them whatever was most valuable and portable; and the erection of the house for Sir Nicholas Carew, would complete the demolition of anything, that previous hands had left.

If we have little beyond analogy to guide us in determining the exact position of the monastic buildings, we have still less to assist us in arriving at any definite idea of their appearance.

In the annexed woodcuts, it may be seen that a representation of a building, occurs at the head of the seal of John de Medmenham, abbot of Chertsey about 1261, and a similar representation from the seal of his successor, Bartholomew of Winchester. Between these there appears this similarity, that they consist of three principal parts, finished with three gables; at the same time they are so far dissimilar, as to preclude the idea of the latter being copied from the former. I therefore, imagine them to have been meant for representations of the abbey church, though differently treated, both as to point of sight and conventional expression. I take the former one to be a view of the west front, with the two transept ends brought round so as to be both represented. This will give three large openings in the front, suggesting a resemblance to Peterborough Cathedral, and two in each transept, corresponding with what I have supposed to be the internal division of the south transept. At the angles of the west front are two large objects resembling horns, which I take to be conventional representations of purfled or crocketed pinnacles, each



CHERTSEY ABBEY

SEAL OF ABBOT MEDMENEAM.





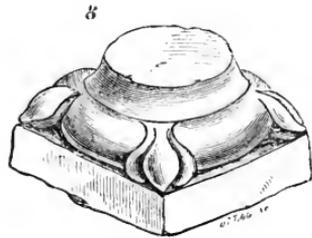
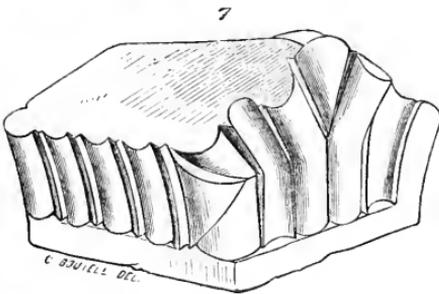
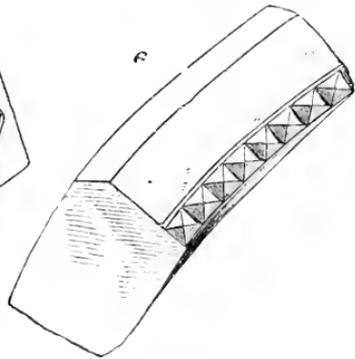
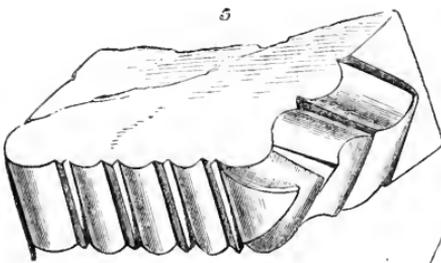
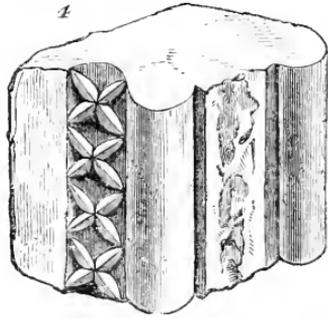
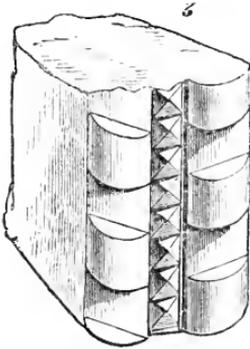
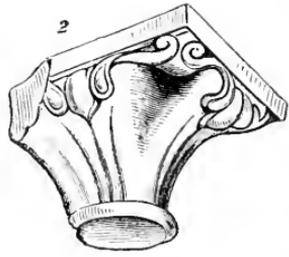
CHERTSEY ABBET

SEAL OF ABBOT BARTHOLOMEW



CHERTSEY ABBEY.

THE CONVENTUAL SEAL.



ARCHITECTURAL FRAGMENTS, CHERTSEY ABBEY.

gable being finished with a finial, and the wall pierced with a conventionalism for a rose window of some description.

The later seal shows but two openings in the central compartment, which I therefore conclude to be the transept, giving still three openings for the west and east ends.

The conventual seal attached to the deed of surrender, is shown by the third woodcut, and from this we may gather, that there was a western porch and a central tower and spire, as also a transept north and south, and some square turret or buttress running up the angles of the west front. The arrangement of the roofs in this seal I will not attempt to explain, but in the others the roofs are evidently sharply pointed ones.

Now Hugh of Winchester, a relative of Stephen de Blois, afterwards king, began a new abbey in 1110, and if we conclude that additions were made to his works by his immediate successors, the whole might well be complete and in good order in 1261, when the first of the said seals would be engraved. This directs us to a date not far different from that of Peterborough Cathedral, which was erected at various periods ranging from 1117 to 1220, the western front being the latest part added, of course excepting the presbytery, galilee, and insertions.

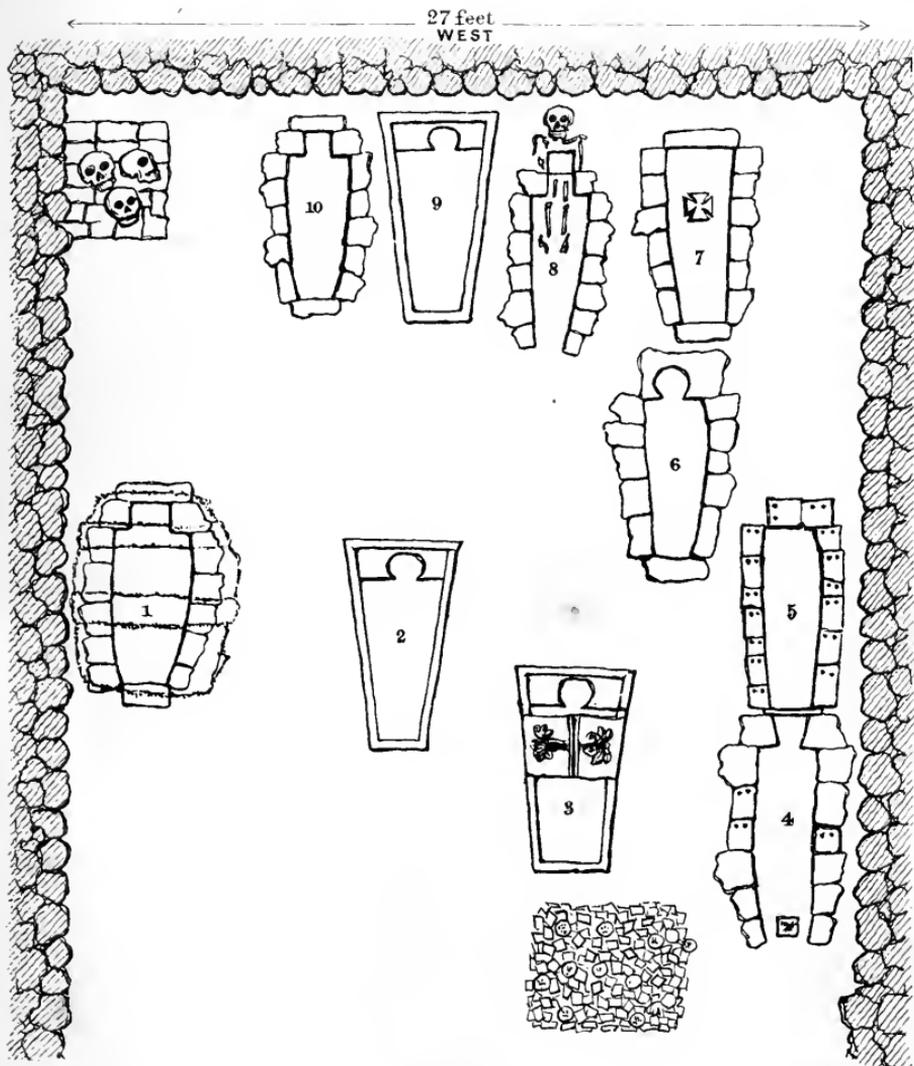
The foundations which have been discovered, were lying at a depth of five or six feet from the present surface; this has apparently been raised three or four feet by the *débris* of the old buildings, the soil for the whole of that depth, being composed almost entirely, of old mortar and fragments of freestone and flints. The illustration represents fragments of sculpture discovered and still preserved; 1 and 2 are capitals of shafts in Purbeck marble,

and 8, a base of the same material: 3 and 4 are jambstones, having the dog-tooth and nail-head mouldings well defined; 5, an arch stone with the Norman chevron; 7, a corresponding springing stone for two arches; and 6 also an arch stone exhibiting the nail-head ornament. All these five are of a greenish freestone, resembling Reigate stone. The woodcut annexed shows an inscription found on the same site.

These, with the tiles and coffins, and the few foundations indicated by the dark tint on the plan, are all the remains yet brought to light, of this once lordly and magnificent establishment. Three centuries have more than sufficed to dissipate and destroy, what it had taken nearly nine, to collect and consolidate. We do not find the monks or abbey of Chertsey, making much figure in history either good or bad; and whether they had completed, or failed to fulfil, the purposes intended by the Great Ruler of destinies; or what may have been its sin other than its wealth; or whether the delinquences of other similar institutions, caused the innocent to be involved in the common ruin; it was given over to a sudden and complete destruction. Suggestive as the subject is, I forbear to enter upon the train of reflection to which the catastrophe of Chertsey Abbey would naturally lead; and I conclude with the expression of a hope that further excavations may yet bring to light more, and more interesting remains of the buildings of this once magnificent establishment.

QVERTSÆ ABBEY.

Plan of South Transept.
Showing position of Coffins and Encaustic Tiles.







CHERTSEY ABBEY.

FRAGMENT OF A SEPULCHRAL SLAB

XI.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE ENCAUSTIC TILES
AND STONE COFFINS EXCAVATED ON THE
SITE OF CHERTSEY ABBEY IN 1855.

By W. W. POCOCK, Esq., B.A., F.R.I.B.A.

ASSISTED BY NOTES CONTRIBUTED BY M. SHURLOCK, ESQ., LOCAL HONORARY
SECRETARY FOR CHERTSEY.

IN the course of the excavations undertaken by the present owner of the site of Chertsey Abbey, the workmen met with portions of ornamental encaustic tiles, the body being of red or black clay, varying in tone in different examples, and the relief formed by a buff-coloured clay burnt into a depressed cavity. Upon arriving at about the same level as the lowest fair masonry of the exterior, and in the part of the building supposed, in the plan attached to the preceding Paper, to have formed the south transept of the church, a considerable quantity of these fragments was found, in a loose and confused mass resting on a stratum of concrete, though it was not possible to say whether they had ever been bedded upon it. Pains had apparently been taken to destroy the designs; unless we prefer the conclusion that, upon the destruction of the pavement or other work of which these fragments were the elements, the unbroken tiles, and those that could be refitted, were carefully selected and removed, and the obviously useless portions only left behind. The former notion seems, in great part, negatived by the absolute impos-

sibility of adjusting the broken parts; for whilst the same portions of the design occurred repeatedly, others were altogether wanting; or where the various parts of a design could be traced, they had to be deduced from fragments, not of one, but of many different tiles, the remaining portions of which could not be found.

The forms of the tiles vary, but are mostly square or circular, or combinations of these two figures; but of the designs, by far the greater part are circular, consisting of medallions occupying a single rectangular or round tile, or else four tiles, constituting together the square or circular form. These larger circles have apparently been surrounded by inscriptions, portions of many of which still remain. The centres are mostly figures or groups, such as, a harper in a boat on the water, grotesques, the signs of the zodiac, a king or ecclesiastic seated and holding a sceptre or crozier, warriors or knights on horse or on foot, and the like; and the spandrils or spaces between these circles are filled with foliage and arabesques of elaborate and elegant design. The drawing is remarkably spirited, the proportions and outlines good, and considerable skill manifested in giving the effect of light and shade.

One portion of the tiles appear designed to stand vertically, and probably formed a reredos or other wall ornament; they represent a series of niches flanked by panelled buttresses and crocketed pinnacles, surmounted by foliated canopies, in which the ogee arch occurs. The design of each niche occupies one tile in width and four in height; one is filled by an archbishop, another by a queen with a sceptre in her right, and a squirrel in her left hand, and the third by a king, having in his right hand an oak or olive branch, and a figure under his feet whom he seems to be crushing to the earth;

portions of a similar figure under the archbishop's feet can be traced, but the corresponding tile for the queen's compartment is wanting. The king's canopy contains a hare and a dog, at the lower corners, and the full moon and a star or sun above. Nearly the same symbols appear in the archbishop's canopy, but a rugged cross supplies the places of the hare and dog. The whole has evidently some undiscovered significance.

Other tiles were designed for borders of geometric or flowing patterns, and others again were plain, but of various shapes and sizes, forming indeed a never-ending diversity; but no clue remains for determining the general arrangements. Illustrations of many of these very beautiful and interesting remains, have been published by Mr. Shaw, F.S.A., whose work on the "Tile Pavements from Chertsey Abbey," the curious will do well to consult.

At no great depth below the concrete, alluded to as existing under the broken tiles, the workmen struck upon a slab of Purbeck marble, which proved to be the lid of a coffin hewn out of a single block of similar material, with a hole bored through the bottom. The entire length of this was 6 feet 7 inches by a width of 2 feet $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches at the head, and 1 foot 2 inches at the foot and $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep exclusive of the lid. The interior was hollowed to the depth of 9 inches, leaving the sides $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick, the place for the head being irregularly shaped so as to accurately accord with a deformity in the neck of the occupant proved by the vertebræ. These, together with the whole of the skeleton, were found as complete as when originally deposited, but a waist-buckle was the only vestige of apparel that could be traced. Of the lid only about one third, the middle portion, remained; the centre of this was occupied by a beaded fillet, from which

sprang, on either side, a tendril and foliage, consisting of three lobes or trefoils of early English character.

At two feet nine inches to the south of this, and six inches lower in the ground, was found another coffin, of Caen or other similar stone, 1 foot $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep externally, and internally 6 feet 6 inches long, 2 feet wide at the shoulders, and $12\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep, two holes being bored through the bottom. This was also shaped to receive the head, the walls of the sides being left 4 inches thick. The lid was entire, and consisted of one huge and rough slab of a material similar to the coffin itself. The skeleton, which was of large proportions, was entire and undisturbed. As in the previous case, a waist-buckle of bronze was the only evidence of any apparel.

At a further depth of about eight inches, and six feet to the west of the Purbeck marble one, was discovered a grave or tomb, formed of fourteen roughly hewn pieces of chalk, of which three formed the head, five the one side and six the other, the foot-stone being altogether wanting. The extreme internal dimensions were 6 feet 1 inch in length by 1 foot 6 inches wide and 11 inches deep. This skeleton was also entire, though no trace of any lid or covering, or of any clothing could be found. The soil formed the floor of this, as of all the other coffins not hewn out of solid stone.

A little to the south and west of this, was another one of an oolitic stone, and corresponding most closely to the second one described above.

At a similar distance to the north and west, was another grave of roughly hewn chalk-stones, enclosing a leaden coffin composed of two sheets folded together, and nailed about a wooden shell which had entirely gone to decay; contrary to the general rule, the bones composing this skeleton were in a state of confusion.

On the centre of the top of the leaden coffin, was nailed a Maltese cross cut out of lead, but no inscription was discoverable. The whole was covered with mortar.

Almost touching the north face of the foundations of the supposed south wall of the transept, at three feet from the second coffin described above, and two feet six inches deeper in the soil, was discovered what was in many respects, the most singular of all the tombs, especially on account of its dimensions. These were, internally, 6 feet 6 inches in length, and 2 feet 6 inches in width, and the depth nearly 2 feet. The sides, internally slightly concave in the direction of the length, were composed of roughly hewn chalk stones, and the whole was covered by five slabs of unequal size, cemented together. A recess was formed for the head, and a slab placed obliquely to receive it, and the inner faces of the head and foot stones, were ornamented by plain crosses in slender relief, occupying nearly the whole surface, that at the foot being a regular Greek cross, and the other a Latin one, the arms increasing somewhat in width towards the extremities, and the lower one terminating with a protuberance resembling a tenon. The bones were unusually large, and in a confused state, partially imbedded in a wet loam, so as to suggest the idea of their having been floated by water finding access to the interior. No remains of clothing or metal of any kind, could be detected, though every care was taken to discover whatever might exist.

Five other coffins without lids, and all formed of loose blocks of chalk or stone, were found immediately contiguous to those already described : in one, the recess for the head was formed of a single block hollowed out ; in another occurred a stone having some mouldings and carving, apparently of the early English or transitional

character; and the feet of the occupant of a third, had rested upon an encaustic tile decorated with a griffin in very good style. The walls of these two had been levelled up, with tiles exactly resembling our plain roofing tiles, with the two holes for the pegs, set in mortar as though to receive a lid or covering, but none such could be traced. Indeed, the whole of the uncovered coffins were filled with soil, if not concrete; and yet the bones were perfectly undisturbed, the ribs retained their rotundity, the feet bones their vertical position, and the hands and other portions their exact places and relations; leading almost irresistibly, to the conclusion that the soil was compacted around the corpse, before decomposition had ensued.

Immediately under and between the coffins were the remains of many skeletons, and though no other evidence of coffins remained, the frequent occurrence of a black substance, might be considered to prove, that the sepulture took place in wood.

The whole of the skeletons that were not disturbed, lay on their backs, with their feet to the east, their arms and hands not crossed or joined, but lying straight by their sides; the bones were sound and firm, except those without coffins, which soon crumbled into dust.

Excepting the small portions of sculpture already enumerated, nothing whatever was found to assist in determining the dates, or in otherwise identifying the interments: and therefore without indulging in vain speculations, I content myself with recording the above facts, simply adding, that we are mainly indebted to the persevering diligence and untiring watchfulness of Mr. Shurlock, for the discovery of these interesting remains, and the preservation of the details here enumerated.

Common justice however, both to amateur and artist, requires me to invite attention to the beautifully engraved representation of the excavations by which this volume is embellished ; and which Mr. Le Keux has executed, from the even more beautiful photographs, taken by Captain Oakes, and by him handsomely presented to the Society.

XII.

A MEMOIR OF THE MANOR OF HATCHAM
IN THE COUNTY OF SURREY.

BY WILLIAM HENRY HART, Esq., F.S.A.

READ AT THE GENERAL MEETING HELD IN LAMBETH PALACE 31ST OCTOBER, 1856.

Hatcham is thus described in Domesday Survey :—

“ In Brixistan Hundredo.

“ Episcopus Lisoiensis tenet de Episcopo Hacheham. Brixii tenuit de Rege Edwardo. Tunc et modo se defendit pro iij hidis. Terra est iij carrucatarum. Ibi sunt ix villani, et ij bordarii, cum iij carrucatis, et ibi vj acræ prati. Silva iij porcis. Tempore Regis Edwardi et postea et modo valet xl solidos.”

This gives as the first owner of the manor Brixii, from whom *Brixii's stone*, afterwards corrupted into *Brixton*, not far from Hatcham took its name.

At the time of the survey, Hatcham was held by the Bishop of Lisieux under Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, but on the disgrace of the latter it reverted to the crown, and afterwards came to form part of the Barony of Maminot, under the following circumstances :—

Gilbert de Maminot, one of William the Conqueror's chief captains and favourites, was one of those eight barons whom John de Fiennes associated with himself for guarding Dover Castle. For that service considerable lands were given by the king to John de Fiennes, who divided them between himself and the other barons, and bound each of them, by the tenure of their lands, to maintain a certain number of soldiers continually for the defence of the castle.

The share which fell to Gilbert de Maminot under this arrangement consisted of twenty-four knight's fees, of which fees Hatcham formed one.

The superior interest in the manor soon afterwards came to the Say family, lords of Deptford, and there remained till the reign of Richard the Second, when, in Trinity Term, in the nineteenth year of the reign of that monarch, a fine was levied, entailing the manor upon Sir William Heron and Elizabeth his wife (the representatives of the Say family) and the heirs of their bodies, with remainder to her right heirs for ever.

15th May, 2 Henry IV. [1401], Matilda, relict of Thomas Bosenho, and daughter and one of the heirs of Thomas de Aldon, released unto Sir William Heron all her right and interest in this manor.¹

Elizabeth, wife of Sir William Heron, died 23 Richard II., leaving her husband surviving; he died without issue 30th October, 6 Henry IV. [1404], and by an inquisition taken thereupon it was found that he died seized of two knights' fees in *Hecchesham* and *Bertyngherst*, and which, on his death, were taken into the king's hands. Value of each fee 100 shillings.²

The paramount interest in the manor of Hatcham, after remaining with the family of the Says thus far, then became vested in the crown. I will therefore proceed to the consideration of the mesne interest, or that which was held by the inferior tenants under the lords paramount.

In the time of Henry II. Gilbert de Hachesham resided there, and the manor afterwards belonged to James de Vabadune and Roger de Bavent.

In the "Testa de Nevill" it is returned that two

¹ Close Roll; 2 Henry IV., part 2, memb. 19. d.

² Inq. post mortem, 6 Henry IV.; n^o 21.

knights' fees in *Hachesham* and Camerwell were held of Humfrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, by William de Say and the heirs of Richard de Vabadune. This, however, is incorrect to a certain extent; the lordship of Humfrey de Bohun was confined to Camberwell, and did not include Hatcham; moreover, William de Say held directly from the king, not from Humfrey de Bohun.

By a fine levied in the eighteenth year of Henry III., Robert de Retherhee and Agnes his wife, in consideration of seven silver marks, granted to William, son of Benedict, and his heirs for ever, five acres of meadow in *Hachesham*; rendering annually half a pound of cummin and one penny within fifteen days of Easter.

By another fine levied in Trinity Term, 31 Henry III., Avicia, formerly the wife of James the Goldsmith, granted to Laurence, son of William, one third part of ten acres of land in Retherheth and *Hechesham*, being her dower of the freehold which belonged to her husband in those villages; and in consideration of that fine the said Laurence granted to Avicia a rent of one mark issuing out of a tenement in London, held of Laurence by Robert de Herefeld, to be received by her yearly during her life; and after her decease the rent was to revert to Laurence and his heirs for ever.

By a deed dated on the feast of St. James, 52 Henry III. [1268], and made between Adam de Stratton, clerk, of the one part, and Thomas de Heyham and Isabella his wife of the other part, the said Adam granted and demised to the said Thomas and Isabella, and to the heirs of Thomas, in fee farm, one messuage and all the lands and tenements which he possessed in the villages of Retherheth, Bermundeseye, Camerwell, and *Hachesham*, which formerly belonged to Sarah, daughter of

Henry of London, to be holden of the said Adam and his heirs, rendering yearly ten marks at Michaelmas for all services. And, moreover, the said Thomas and Isabella covenanted to sustain the houses, garden, and everything belonging to the said lands and tenements, without waste or destruction, in the same state in which they received them, or in a better, and also all the embankment against the Thames belonging to the said lands and tenements at their own expense; so that, in default thereof, neither the said Adam or his heirs should suffer any diminution in the said rent of ten marks, or the tenants in Rotherhithe or their neighbours suffer any loss or damage; to the faithful performance of all which the said Thomas and Isabella, for themselves and the heirs of the said Thomas, bound all their goods, movable and immovable, present and to come, and also all their lands; and they granted to the said Adam, and his heirs or assigns, power to enter upon the said lands and tenements to distrain in case of any breach in this agreement. And if the water of the Thames should overflow and break through the wall belonging to the Prior of Bermundeseye, or any other wall not so well sustained, and submerge wholly or in part the said land at Retherheth, so that Thomas and Isabella, or the heirs of Thomas, could receive none of the profits thereof, it was agreed that the rent should decrease in proportion to the land they might lose, to be estimated by a jury of good and lawful men, unless Thomas and Isabella, or the heirs of Thomas, could recover by law against those the insecurity of whose walls had occasioned damage. And it was also agreed that if the said Thomas and Isabella could enfeoff Adam of certain lands in the parish of Bysseye within the year next following, then the said Adam would enfeoff the said Thomas and Isa-

bella of all the said lands and tenements which he held in Retherheth, Bermundeseye, Kamerwell, and *Hachesham*, to hold unto Thomas and Isabella, and the heirs of Thomas, by the service of one penny.³

From proceedings in 22 Edw. II. it appears that Adam de Stratton had been guilty of certain transgressions, in consequence of which all his lands were forfeited and seized into the king's hands, but for some reason the lands granted to Thomas de Hecham and his wife were not included in this seizure; whereupon the sheriff of Surrey was commanded to seize them without delay and keep them in safe custody, so that he might answer at the Exchequer concerning the issues. And he was ordered to make a return to the Lord Treasurer and the Barons of the Exchequer, at Easter 22 Edw. II., what lands and tenements were, on that occasion, taken into the king's hands, and their value; at which day the sheriff returned that these lands consisted of forty-two acres, annual value of each acre 12*d.*; and fourteen acres of meadow, annual value of each acre 3*s.*; and rents of assize 24*s.* yearly. Total value 108*s.* per annum. Afterwards came to the Exchequer Philip Burnel, who claimed to hold these lands, and demanded that they should be replevied unto him, which was accordingly done until the Monday next after the Feast of the Ascension, when he was to appear and satisfy unto the king the transgression which he had committed in concealing from him the said rents, and to answer to the king as well for the said rent as for the arrears from the time when the said Adam first incurred the forfeiture of his goods and chattels. Philip Burnel failed in appearing at the time prescribed, wherefore it was adjudged

³ From the miscellaneous deeds in the Chapter House, Westminster.

that these lands should be again taken into the king's hands, and the sheriff was, on the 4th June, ordered to seize them and keep them in safe custody, and to attach Philip Burnel by his body to answer within eight days of St. John the Baptist; but before that time he died, and the king retained possession of these lands.⁴

In 13 Edw. I. the king granted to Adam de Bavent his charter of free warren over all his demesne lands in *Hacchesham*, but in the same year Bavent alienated a part of his estate to Gregory de Rokesley, which afterwards came into the hands of the Burnells, and was called Little Hatcham; what he retained was called the manor of Hachesham Bavent, now corrupted into Hatcham Barnes, and with the history of this manor we will first proceed, as it is the larger and more important of the two.

Adam de Bavent was summoned to Parliament from 6 to 15 Edw. I., and died about 21 Edw. I., leaving Roger, his son and heir, who was then under age, whereupon William de Say, as lord of the fee, became entitled to the custody of the person and lands of the heir; but it being supposed that Roger held of the crown *in capite*, and not of Lord Say, a writ, dated the 5th December, 21 Edw. I. [1292], was issued directing the escheator to seize the lands into the king's hands.⁵

Thereupon William de Say, in Michaelmas Term, 22 Edw. I., came before the treasurer and barons of the Exchequer, and demanded that the custody should be restored to him, asserting that it belonged to him and not to the king, because that Adam de Bavent held of him *in capite* three knight's fees, one of which was in

⁴ Lord Treasurer's Memoranda Roll, 21 and 22 Edw. I. memb. 47.

⁵ Fine Roll, 21 Edw. I. memb. 26.

Hachesham, and nothing of the king by which the custody of the lands or of the heir of Adam could pertain to the king. And the treasurer and barons answered that having examined the rolls and memoranda of the Exchequer, it was found that one Richard de Vabadune, whose daughter and heir, Sarra de Vabadune by name, was married to Roger de Bavent, father of the said Adam (of which Roger and Sarra the said Adam de Bavent, was son and heir), held one fee of the king *in capite ut de coroná* in Hachesham, in the county of Surrey, and the said custody therefore belonged to the king, the tenure by which Adam held of William de Say or of any other person in whatever manner notwithstanding. And William de Say said that Adam de Bavent held of him *in capite* by knight's service, and that the ancestors of William were seized of the custody of the lands and the heirs, the relief, marriage, and homage of all the ancestors of Adam from time immemorial; and in like manner the same William in his time was seized of the homage of the said Adam and of the said custody until he was now newly deprived by the king; and that the king, or his ancestors, never were seized of the custody, marriage, &c. of Adam or his ancestors; wherefore he demanded that the custody should be restored to him as before. And he prayed that the treasurer and barons would attempt nothing in this behalf to his prejudice, nor would proceed against him to judgment, but would leave the matter in its present condition till the parliament after Michaelmas in the same year; that then, before the king and his council, the right of the said William being more fully examined, there should be done to him in the premises what of right ought to be done. And a day being given him at the said parliament, at which the matter

being fully treated, and his right in that behalf being shown and being examined by the king and council, it was told him that he must go to the receipt of the Exchequer, where justice would be done him in that behalf. Whereupon a bill was directed to the Exchequer by William de Say, who appeared in person before the treasurer and barons of the Exchequer and the justices of the Bench, and they, after hearing his reasons, and examining the rolls and memoranda of the Exchequer, declared that the king was entitled to the custody, notwithstanding the seisin of William de Say or any of his ancestors; thus confirming their former decision.⁶

Immediately after Adam de Bavent's death, the custody of Hatcham Barnes was given to Master William de Wymundham until the lawful age of Roger de Bavent, but was taken again into the king's hands for debts owing by Wymundham. It was then granted to William de Hamelton, to hold during the king's pleasure, rendering annually 59s. 7½*d.* in part payment of such debts. The accounts relative to the manor from the time it came to Hamelton's hands, until Roger obtained livery, are all entered on the Pipe Rolls of the period.

A portion of Hatcham Barnes came into possession of John Abel at some time previous to 23 Edw. I., for, on the 16th April in that year, he had a grant of free warren over all his demesne lands of *Hacheham* and *Camerwelle*.⁷

He died on Monday after the feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, 16 Edw. II. [1322], and by an inquisition taken the same year, it was found that he died seized of one messuage, with a garden, at *Haches-*

⁶ Lord Treasurer's Memoranda Roll, 21 & 22 Edw. I. memb. 16, d.

⁷ Charter Roll, 23 Edw. I. n^o 21.

ham, held of Roger de Bavent, by fealty and the service of 13*d.* a year; value of the messuage 3*s.* 4*d.* He also held of the heirs of Robert Maunsel six acres of land by fealty and the service of 3*s.* per annum, which is near the true value. He also held of the heirs of Richard Aleyn four acres of land by fealty and the service of 13*d.* per annum; yearly value beyond the services 8*d.* Richard Abel was his son and heir; at that time aged 31.⁸

In Michaelmas Term, 29 Edw. I.,⁹ Roger de Bavent came before the justices of the King's Bench to prove that he had attained his majority, and to pray for delivery of his lands, which, on the 27th October in the same year, upon doing his homage, he obtained.¹⁰

30 Edw. I., Roger de Bavent petitioned the king for remedy against a sum of £30, arrears of castle-guard rent, demanded of him for the manors of Brandeston (in Suffolk) and *Hatchesham*, by the warden of Dover; being the rent for the period during which those manors were in the custody of the king, at the rate of ten shillings for every three weeks;¹¹ and by a writ dated the 10th August in the same year, the king commanded Robert de Burghersh, constable of Dover Castle, to permit Roger de Bavent to go free of this demand.¹²

William de Say died in 23 Edw. I., immediately following the proceedings concerning the custody of Roger de Bavent; but the dispute was revived by his son Geoffrey, who, in 35 Edw. I., preferred a petition to the king and council, in which he stated that Adam de Bavent

⁸ Inq. post mortem; 16 Edw. II. n^o 41.

⁹ Coram Rege Roll, 29 Edw. I. memb. 26.

¹⁰ Close Roll, 29 Edw. I. memb. 2.

¹¹ Rolls of Parliament, vol. i. page 157.

¹² Close Roll, 30 Edw. I. memb. 8.

and his ancestors held of him and his ancestors two knights' fees, one of which was situate in *Haccesham*, in the county of Surrey, and by reason of that tenure his ancestors did always, until then, have the custody and marriage of every ancestor of Adam who was under age, and relief of those who attained their full age after the death of their ancestor; and reciting the judgment of the Court of Exchequer against his father, William de Say, he says that he is ready to prove that Adam de Bavent held nothing of the king in *Hacchesham*, nor in any other place, *ut de coroná*; but of Geoffrey and his ancestors he held a knight's fee in Hecchesham, in the county of Surrey, of the barony of Maminot, which barony Geoffrey holds, and his ancestors held of the king by the service of guarding Dover Castle; and upon this he appealed to the books or rolls of the Exchequer, and to the testimony of the warden of Dover Castle, and prayed the king and council that they would command the lord treasurer and the barons of the Exchequer to cause the rolls and books of the Exchequer to be examined; and if, upon inspection, they should discover any error, that then the judgment should be revoked and annulled by them, and the custody be restored to him, with all its issues from the time when the king seized it. It was answered that the question should be reconsidered, and if any error were found, that it should be corrected and amended.¹³

By a fine levied in Easter Term, 7 Edw. II., William de Depyng and Ismania his wife, and Nicholas Donnem, in consideration of a sparrow-hawk, granted to Richard de Dunle and his heirs for ever, one messuage, twenty acres of land, and 6s. 8d. rents, in Rutherhuth and *Hacchesham*.

¹³ Rolls of Parliament, vol. i. page 202.

By a fine levied the 25th June, 7 Edw. II., Richard le Longe, of Wormele, and Emma his wife, in consideration of one sparrow-hawk, granted to Thomas Atte Grene, of Bermundeseye, and his heirs for ever, one messuage, eleven acres of land, and two acres of meadow in *Hacchesham*.

By a fine levied in Easter Term, 11 Edw. II., John de Ritlyng and Cristiana his wife, in consideration of ten silver marks, granted to Roger Husebond, of London, and his heirs for ever, three acres of land in *Hachesham*.

By a fine levied in Michaelmas Term, 11 Edw. II., William de Derham and Alice his wife granted to William de Pyncebek and his heirs for ever ten acres of land, 18*d.* rents, and one moiety of a messuage in *Hacchesham*.

By a fine levied in Trinity Term, 12 Edw. II., Roger de Munketon granted to John de Merkyngfeld, clerk, for his life, four messuages, two tofts, one garden, forty-two acres of land, three acres of meadow, and 11*s.* 6*d.* rents, with the appurtenances in Neweton, Waleworth, Suthwerk, and *Hachham*; and after his decease, then to Laurence de Merkyngfeld and the heirs of his body; and in case of his death without issue, then to Lannallus de Merkyngfeld and the heirs of his body; with remainder to Roaldus de Merkyngfeld and the heirs of his body; remainder to Andrew de Merkyngfeld and the heirs of his body; and with the ultimate remainder to John de Stynetton and his heirs for ever.

These were all inferior tenants under Roger de Bavent. About this time William de Bliburgh, who was keeper of the king's wardrobe, held a small quantity of land in Hatcham Barnes. By an inquisition taken upon his death, 6 Edw. II., it was found that he held of Roger

Bavent, at *Hachesham*, five acres of land, but by what service the jurors were ignorant; annual value ten shillings. Agnes, the wife of Richard de Dunleghe, at that time thirty-one years of age, was his next heir.¹⁴

By a fine levied on the day after the Purification, 5 Edw. III., Nicholas de Besseford granted to Thomas de Betoigne and Joan his wife, and the heirs of their bodies, two messuages, forty-six acres of land, and two acres of meadow, in Camerwell, Pekham, and *Hachesham*; and in case of their death without such issue, then to the right heirs of Thomas for ever.

By a fine levied in Trinity Term, 13 Edw. III., William Maddele and Matilda his wife, in consideration of twenty silver marks, granted to Maurice Turgis, citizen and draper of London, and Katherine his wife, and to the heirs of Maurice, one messuage, twenty acres and a half of land, seven acres of meadow, and 3s. 1d. rents, in *Hachesham*.

By another fine levied in the same term, Laurence Sely, citizen and leatherdresser of London, and Agnes his wife, in consideration of twenty silver marks, granted to the same Maurice Turgis and Katherine his wife, and to the heirs of Maurice, one messuage, seven acres of land, one acre of meadow, and 18d. rents, in *Hachesham*.

By a lease dated on Monday after the Purification, 1343, Roger de Bavent granted his manor of *Hachesham* to Robert de Burton, canon of Chichester, for seven years.¹⁵

On the 1st July, 18 Edw. III. [1344], Roger de Bavent granted, among many other manors, all his lands and tenements, with their appurtenances, in *Hacchesham* to the

¹⁴ Inq. post mortem, 6 Edw. II. n^o 17.

¹⁵ Close Roll, 17 Edw. III. part 1, memb. 24, d.

king,¹⁶ who, on the 3rd July in the same year, appointed William de Kelleseye to receive seisin of the same lands.¹⁷ On the 23rd September following, the king granted to William de Kelleseye and William Balle the custody of the same lands during the royal pleasure;¹⁸ and the next year, on the 3rd April, it was transferred to William de Kaynes.¹⁹

Roger de Bavent being at this time indebted to William de Carleton in the sum of £80 upon a "chevancie," the king, on the 25th June, 19 Edw. III. [1345], in order to reimburse Carleton, granted to him the manor of *Hachesham*, to hold to him, his heirs, executors, and assigns, with the corn, hay, and grass growing thereon, unto Michaelmas next, and from that time for two years, in full satisfaction of the £80; that is, valuing the manor at £40 up to Michaelmas, and at £20 for each of the following years.²⁰

This debt, however, would appear to have been soon afterwards satisfied; for, on the 18th May, 1346, the manor was granted by the king to Roger de Bavent, to hold for his life, free from the payment of any rent or service.²¹

By a fine levied in Trinity Term, 24 Edw. III., John Pynsegle and Katherine his wife, in consideration of one hundred silver marks, granted to John Adam de Luk, citizen of London, and Katherine his wife, and the heirs of their bodies, one messuage, seven shops, ninety-two acres of land, eleven acres and a half of meadow,

¹⁶ Close Roll, 18 Edw. III. part 2, memb. 22, d.

¹⁷ Patent Roll, 18 Edw. III. part 2, memb. 30.

¹⁸ Originalia Roll, 18 Edw. III. memb. 12.

¹⁹ Originalia Roll, 19 Edw. III. memb. 3.

²⁰ Patent Roll, 19 Edw. III. part 1, memb. 3.

²¹ Patent Roll, 20 Edw. III. part 1, memb. 2.

thirteen acres of pasture, three acres and a half of wood, and 5s. 5d. rents, in *Hacchesham*; and in case of their death without such issue, then to Guelph Adam de Luk and the heirs of his body; with remainder to James Passhoney and the heirs of his body; and with ultimate remainder to the right heirs of John Adam de Luk.

By another fine levied in Trinity Term, 25 Edw. III., Thomas Brown and Margery his wife granted unto John Adam de Luk and his wife, and to the heirs of John for ever, eighty seven acres of land, twenty acres of meadow, and 22s. 9d. rents, in *Hacchesham*, Camerwell, and Pecham.

The manor was next in possession of John de Wynwyk, William de Thorpe, and William de Peck.

In 29 Edw. III. a reversionary grant of Hatcham Barnes was made by the king to the prioress and convent of Dartford, and on the 12th October, 1361, Alice, the widow of Roger Bavent, released to the king, and also to the prioress and convent of Dartford, her right to this and many other lands.²²

John de Wynwyk died 20th June, 1360; William de Thorpe on the 27th May, 1361; and William de Peck on the 20th September, 1363; and by an inquisition taken at Southwark on the 28th June, 1366, it was found that they held the manor of Hatcham at the time of their respective deaths, by royal grant, together with the knights' fees and church patronage belonging to the said manor; and that they held forty shillings rents at Pitfold, in the county of Surrey, which rents were parcel of the manor of *Hacchesham*; and that the said manor was held of the king *in capite* as of the castle of Dover, rendering for the same ten shillings every thirty-two

²² Close Roll, 36 Edw. III. memb. 43 and 48.

weeks for all services; annual value of the whole manor £13. 6s. 8d. And it was further found by the same inquisition, that Thomas Vaghan, deceased, at the time of his death held in his demesne as of fee, one messuage and nine acres of land, with the appurtenances, in *Hacchesham*, as parcel of the manor called *Coldeherbergh* in *Hachesham*, holden of the manor of *Hachesham* by the service of fourteen pence paid at the aforesaid manor; annual value 6s. 8d. And the aforesaid tenements were taken into the king's hands after the death of Thomas Vaghan, two third-parts whereof remained in the king's hands by reason of the minority of Hamo, the son and heir; the other third-part being assigned to Alesia, the widow of Sir Thomas, for her dower.²³

John Abel (a descendant of Richard Abel before mentioned) dying without heirs, his lands in Hatcham escheated to the prioress of Dartford, and a writ was issued to the sheriff commanding him to deliver them to the prioress.²⁴

By a fine levied Trinity Term, 44 Edw. III., John Folevill and Mary his wife, in consideration of one hundred silver marks, granted to William de Walleworth, citizen of London, and Margaret his wife, and to the heirs of William de Walleworth, two messuages, sixty acres of land, and sixteen acres of meadow, in *Hacchesham* and *Peecham*.

By an inquisition taken at Southwark on the 25th October, 43 Edw. III. [1369], it was found that John the son of John Adam, deceased, at his death, held in his demesne, as of fee of the prioress of Dartford monastery, the demesnes of the manor of *Hacchesham*; one messuage worth nothing beyond reprises, one garden and one dove-

²³ Inq. post mortem, 40 Edw. III. (first numbers), n^o 40.

²⁴ Close Roll, 43 Edw. III. memb. 6.

house, worth per annum 40*d.*; also nine acres of land, worth per annum 3*s.*, held of the said prioress; also sixteen acres of land in Ombraifeld of the said prioress, worth per annum 5*s.* 4*d.*; also in a certain field called Cokescroft, ten acres of land of the prior of Tounbrige, lying between the wood belonging to Lord Say on the south side and the highway on the north side, worth per annum 10*d.*; also seven acres of land in a croft, called Absolon Crofte, of the said prioress, worth per annum 3*s.* 4*d.*; also in Absolon Crofte five acres of wood, worth per annum 40*d.* and no more, because there was nothing but brambles and thorns; all which were held of the said prioress by knight's service, rendering yearly 8*s.* 11¼*d.* at the feasts of Easter and St. Martin by equal portions, and at the feast of the birth of our Lord one cock and two hens, and at Easter thirty eggs.

By the terms of the service he was also to find a man to * * for one day, or pay 2*d.*; and also to find a man to stack the lord's hay, or pay 1*d.*; and to plough for a day, and to carry the hay if he have a cart; and if he refused to help the reaper during that time, he was to pay one quarter of malt a year, and have by the day for * * * * * performing suit at the court of the said prioress for the said manor from three weeks to three weeks. He held also two acres of land in a croft called Bringchoscroft worth per annum 8*d.*, held of the lord, Nicholas Burnel, by the service of 2*s.* 1*d.* per annum and suit of court to *Hacchesham*. He also held at *Hacchesham* one cottage and one acre of meadow, which formerly belonged to William Shrevesbury, worth per annum 2*s.*, held of the said prioress by knight's service, and paying 20*d.* per annum. He also held of the same prioress by service as before, one messuage, one garden, and two acres of

arable land adjoining, in a croft called Bonnescroft, worth per annum 2s.; also three acres of arable land which were formerly pasture, lying in a certain croft called the Lordescroft, worth per annum 3s.; also half an acre of arable land called Bridescroft, worth per annum 1*d.*; also one cottage and garden formerly belonging to William Wallis, worth per annum 6*d.*; all which were held of the said prioress by knight's service, and rendering per annum 2s., at the feasts of Easter and St. Martin by equal portions. He also held in a place called S—— eight acres of land, worth per acre 4*d.*, and five acres and three roods of meadow, worth per acre 2s., held of William de Say by the service of sixpence per annum at his manor of Westgrenewych.²⁵

This inquisition is exceedingly defaced and illegible, which will account for the occasional blanks I have been obliged to leave.

17th August, 30 Henry VIII. [1538], the abbess and convent of Dartford, by an indenture under the seal of the monastery, granted a lease of the manor to William Appaire, from Michaelmas, 1539, for forty-one years, at the annual rent of £25.²⁶

On the general suppression of monasteries, the manor reverted to the crown, and by letters patent, dated 27th February, 2 & 3 Philip and Mary [1556], the demesnes and manor of Hatchambarnes were, among many other lands, granted to Anne, Duchess of Somerset, widow of Edward, Duke of Somerset, Lord Protector of England, in full satisfaction and recompense of her dower in her husband's lands, of which she had been deprived by reason of their forfeiture to the crown on his attainder :

²⁵ Inq. post mortem, 43 Edw. III., part I, n° 9.

²⁶ I have not been able to discover the original of this lease, but it is frequently recited in subsequent documents.

to hold unto the duchess and her assigns for the term of her natural life, to be held as of the manor of Estgrenewiche in the county of Kent, by fealty only for all rents, services, and demands whatever.²⁷

By an indenture dated the 30th November, 28 Eliz., she assigned the manor to Walter Cope, and he, by indenture dated the 9th March in the following year, surrendered it to the queen.

The next proprietor of the manor was Walter Haddon. On the 10th March, 12 Eliz. [1570], letters patent were made out whereby the manor, excepting all woods, underwoods, &c., was granted to Haddon, to commence after the expiration of Appaire's lease, and also after the death of the Duchess of Somerset, for the term of thirty years, at the annual rent of £25.²⁸

Walter Haddon died 21st January, 1571-2, and his widow Anne then succeeded to the manor by virtue of his will; she afterwards became the wife of Sir Henry Cobham, who died leaving her surviving.

By letters patent dated the 19th September, 42 Eliz. [1600], the manor, excepting all woods, underwoods, &c., was granted to Anne Broke Lady Cobham, widow of Sir Henry Cobham, for the term of twenty-one years, to commence from the expiration of Haddon's lease, at the annual rent of £25.²⁹ Thus she possessed two terms in the manor, one of thirty years granted to her former husband Haddon, and the other of twenty-one years granted to herself.

6th March, 43 Eliz. [1601], she assigned the term of twenty-one years to Sir John Brooke, alias Cobham, her

²⁷ Patent Roll, 2 and 3 P. and M., part 8, memb. 22.

²⁸ Patent Roll, 12 Eliz., part 8, memb. 21.

²⁹ Patent Roll, 42 Eliz., part 29, memb. 21.

son, who was also in possession of the other term of thirty years.

By an indenture dated the 21st June, 44 Eliz. [1602], made between Sir John Brook, alias Cobham, of the first part, Anne Redman, widow, late the wife and sole executrix of the last will and testament of Thomas Redman, esquire, deceased, of the second part, and Edward Milner, of Carebeale, in the parish of Antoney, in the county of Cornwall, gentleman, of the third part, the manor of Hatcham Barnes was assigned by Sir John Brook to Milner upon various trusts for Sir John Brook and Anne Redman, his intended wife, with a power of revocation, which power was, by a deed, dated the 24th November, 11 James I. [1613], exercised,³⁰ declaring that the manor should from thenceforth be to the only use of Sir John Brooke, his executors, administrators, and assigns.

The woods excepted out of the preceding leases of the manor, and which comprise all that part of Hatcham Barnes lying on the south side of the high road, were kept in possession of the crown until the twenty-ninth year of Elizabeth, when, by letters patent dated 17th March, they were leased to John Cadye.³¹

By letters patent dated the 26th November, 7 James I., [1609], the manor was granted to George Salter and John Williams by the description of the manor of *Hatcham Barnes*, and the lands, &c., in West Greenwich and Lewisham, in the counties of Kent and Surrey, with the perquisites of courts formerly part of the possessions of the monastery of Dertford, in Kent, and theretofore demised under the yearly rent of £36. 2s. 4d., and eleven cartloads of faggots yearly to be delivered.³²

³⁰ Inrolled in Common Pleas.

³¹ Patent Roll, 29 Eliz., part 16, memb. 38.

³² Patent Roll, 7 James I., part 34.

By an indenture dated the 14th March, 9 James I. [1612], and made between George Salter and John Williams of the one part, and Peter Vanlore, of London, esquire, and William Blake, of London, gentleman, of the other part; Salter and Williams bargained and sold to Vanlore and Blake, their heirs and assigns, the manor of *Hachambarnes*, to hold unto and to the use of Vanlore and Blake, their heirs and assigns for ever.³³

By an indenture dated the 6th April, 10 James I. [1612], made between Vanlore and Blake of the one part, and Cristofer Brooke, of Lincoln's Inn, esquire, and William Hakewill, of Lincoln's Inn, gentleman, of the other part; Vanlore and Blake, in consideration of £2,050, bargained and sold to Brooke and Hakewill, their heirs and assigns for ever, the manor of *Hachambarnes*.³⁴

By an indenture dated the 1st November, 11 James I., [1613], and made between Sir John Brooke, alias Cobham, of the Strand, in the county of Middlesex, knight, Christopher Brooke, and William Hakewill of the one part, and Sir John Garrard and Sir Thomas Lowe, knights, and aldermen of London, Robert Offley, and Martin Bond, citizens and haberdashers of London, of the other part; Sir John Brooke, Christopher Brooke, and Hakewill, in consideration of £4,380 paid to Sir John, bargained and sold to Garrard, Lowe, Offley, and Bond, their heirs and assigns for ever—

“All that the manor of Hachambarnes in the parishes of Westgreenwich and Lewsham, in the counties of Kent and Surrey, with all and every, the rights, members, and appurtenances thereof; and all lands, tenements, rents, and hereditaments whatsoever, in the said counties of Kent and Surrey, called or knowne by the name of the manor of Hachambarnes (except as hereafter in these presents is excepted). And all those severall parcels of lands and grounds hereafter particularly men-

³³ Close Roll, 10 James I., part 20.

³⁴ Close Roll, 10 James I., part 24.

cioned, with their and every of their appurtenances, scituate, lying, and being in the said parrishes and counties, or some or one of them : That is to say, one close or parcell of ground commonlie called East Odefield, contayning by estimacion two and twentie acres, be it more or lesse ; one other close or parcell of ground, as the same is nowe inclosed, commonly called South Odefield, conteyning by estimacion twelve acres and a halff, be it more or lesse ; two closes or parcells of ground adjoyning together, the one called fowerteene acres, and thother fifteene acres, both of them conteyning by estimacion nyne and twenty acres and a halff, be they more or lesse ; one other close or parcell of meadowe ground, commonly called Crabtree Meade, conteyning by estimacion sixe acres, be it more or lesse ; all which nowe are, or late were, in the ocupacion or holding of Richard Nettles Butcher or his assignes ; one other parcell of land commonly called twelve acres, adjoyning upon the foresaid parcell of ground, called Crabtree Meade, conteyning by estimacion twelve acres, be it more or lesse ; all those meadowe or pasture groundes now divided into three severall closes, commonlie called the Alders and Horsclose, or by both or one of those names, conteyning by estimacion one and twentie acres, be it more or lesse ; one lane leading from the said closes called the Alders, to the said parcell of land called the Twelve Acres, which parcells last mencioned nowe are, or late were, in the ocupacion or holding of Thomas Large or his assignes ; one close or parcell of ground called foure acrefeild, nowe, or late in the ocupacion of ——— Palmer or his assignes, conteyning by estimacion one and twentie acres and a halfe, be it more or lesse, lying and adjoyning to the north syde of parte of the foresaide ground called the Alders ; one close or parcell of ground called Rushey Close, conteyning by estimacion sixe acres and a halff, be it more or lesse ; one other parcell of meadowe ground as the same is nowe inclosed, conteyning by estimacion two acres, be it more or lesse, and lying betwixt the howse of the said mannor and the aforesaide feild called Odefield, which two last parcells nowe are, or late were, in the possession or holding of Richard Cooke or his assignes ; and also one parcell of marish ground commonly called the Twentie Acres, conteyning by estimacion one and twentie acres, be it more or lesse, nowe or late in the holding or ocupacion of Henry Fesey or his assignes ; and all that close or parcell of meadow or pasture ground, nowe or late in the ocupacion of Marke Bannester or his assignes, conteyning by estimacion fyve acres, be it more or lesse, adjoyning to the south syde of part of the foresaid ground called the Alders, and abutteth uppon the highway there, leading to Debtford towards the south ; except and alwaies reserved out of this present graunt, bargaine, and sale, all those meadowes, pastures, woods, landes, and groundes, with all and singuler their appurtenances parcell of the said mannor and premises, which lye

and be on the south syde of the highway which leadeth from the cittie of London to Debtford, in the said countie of Kent ; and all those one and forty acres, be it more or lesse, of land, meadowe, and pasture, with the messuage or tenement lately built thereuppon, which lye together at the corner or meeting of the two highwayes there, thone of them leading from London to Debtford aforesaide, and thother leading from Peckham to the said towne of Debtford ; and which are scituate and being on the south-west syde of the said highwaye which leadeth from London to Debtford aforesaide:”

To hold unto and to the use of Garrard, Lowe, Offley, and Bond, their heirs and assigns for ever.³⁵

In this deed is mentioned a lease to John Daveis, citizen and haberdasher of London, of the whole manor for twenty-one years, at the yearly rent of £200.

Part only of the manor, it will be observed, was conveyed by this deed, the remaining part, exclusive of the messuage and the one and forty acres mentioned in the exception as lying at the corner of the two highways, and which afterwards came into possession of the Pomeroy family, was, by indenture of bargain and sale, dated 1st April, 1614, in consideration of £2,800, conveyed by Sir John Brooke and the others to Garrard, Lowe, Offley, and Bond, by the description of—

“ All that messuage or tenement, and all those severall parcellls of lands and grounds hereafter particularlie mencioned, with their and everie of their appurtenaunces, scituate, lying, and being in the parishes of Westgreenwich alias Deptford, and Lewsham, or one of them, in the counties of Kent and Surrey, or one of them ; and now or late parcell of, and belonging to, the manor of Hacham Barnes, in the parishes and counties aforesaid, and doe lie and be on the south side of the highe waye there, which leadeth from Peckham to Deptford ; that is to say, all that messuage or tenement now, or late in the tenure or occupation of Margerie Rundell or her assignes, and all houses, outhouses, edifices, buildings, barnes, stables, orchards, gardens, and hereditaments, with the appurtenaunces to the said messuage or tenement belonging or in anie wise apperteyning ; and also all that parcell of land, arrable or pasture, conteyning by estimacion eight acres, be it more or lesse, with the appur-

³⁵ Close Roll, 11 James I., part 15, n^o 42.

tenaunces, now or late in the tenure or occupacion of the said Margerie Rundell, and adjoyning to the said messuage or tenement ; and also all that parcell of land now or late being woodland, conteyning by estimacion six acres, be the same more or lesse, with the appurtenaunces, now or late also in the tenure or occupacion of the said Margerie or her assigns, and adjoyning to the said other parcell of land before mencioned on the south side thereof ; one other close or parcell of land, meadow, or pasture, commonly called Brake Close, conteyning by estimacion sixe acres and three roodes, be it more or lesse, now or late in the tenure or occupacion of William Shepley or his assigns ; one other close or parcell of meadowe or pasture ground, commonly called Colliers Close, conteyning by estimacion six acres, be it more or lesse ; one other close or parcell of ground adjoyning thereunto on the south side thereof, commonly called Little Hacham Hill, conteyning by estimacion nyne acres, be it more or lesse, which said two closes called Colliers Close and Little Hacham Hill now or late were in the tenure or occupacion of William Deare or his assigns ; one close or parcell of meadow or pasture ground, conteyning by estimacion tenn acres and three roodes, be it more or lesse, called or knowne by the name of the Wynter Pasture, or by what other name or names ; one close or parcell of meadowe or pasture ground adjoyning to the same, conteyning by estimacion three acres and one roode, be it more or lesse, called or knowne by the name of Three Acre Close, or by what other name or names, both which closes or parcell of ground now or late were in the tenure or occupacion of Symon Rawlins and William Wingrave, or one of them, their or one of their assignee or assigns ; one other close or parcell of ground, called or knowne by the name or names of Maunsford Close, or by what other name or names, now or late in the holding or occupacion of Mark Bannester or his assigns, and conteyning by estimacion five acres, be it more or lesse, lying on the south side of the said close called the Winter Pasture ; one other close or parcell of arrable or pasture ground, commonly called or knowne by the name of Mowlands, or by what other name or names, conteyning by estimacion seaven acres, be it more or lesse, now or late in the tenure or occupacion of Robert Warner or his assigns ; and also all that great wood, woodland, and ground, called or knowne by the name of Hacham Great Wood, or The Great Wood, or by what other name or names, conteyning by estimacion fourescore acres, be it more or lesse, now in the occupacion of the said Sir John Brooke or his assigns, the north part whereof abbutteth uppon the severall closes or parcell of ground before mencioned ; one other close or parcell of ground, commonly called Great Hacham Hill, conteyning by estimacion seaventeene acres and a halfe, be it more or lesse ; one other close or parcell of ground, commonly called Hacham Fieldes, conteyning by estimacion

nyneteene acres and a halfe, be it more or lesse ; which said two closes called Great Hacham Hill and Hacham Field doe lie and adjoyne to the south side of the said great wood, and are now in the ocupacion of the said Sir John Brooke or his assignes ; all that parcell of ground now or late being woodground, with the ground and soile of the same, called or knowne by the name of Kents Wood, conteyning by estimacion one and thirtie acres, be it more or lesse, now or late in the severall tenures or ocupacions of Richard Clarke, Roger Bradfield, William Stubbs, and John Ewen, or some or one of them, their or some or one of their assignee or assignes ; and all those two closes or parcells of meadow or pasture ground called Kents Land, or by what other name or names, the one of them conteyning by estimacion eight acres, be it more or lesse, now or late in the ocupacion of the foresaid Richard Clarke, and the other, conteyning by estimacion seaven acres, be it more or lesse, now or late in the ocupacion of Humfrey Hayward, and doe lie and adjoyne together at the south end or side of the said wood called Kentes Wood."

To hold unto and to the use of Garrard, Lowe, Offley, and Bond, their heirs and assigns for ever.³⁶

In the year 1665, and for a short time following, the manor was the residence of Thomas Pepys, cousin to our old friend Samuel Pepys, of gossiping memory ; and on reference to the diary of the latter we find the following notices of Thomas Pepys and his Hatcham residence :—

May 12, 1665. " After dinner comes my cozen, Thomas Pepys, of *Hatcham*."

May 1, 1666. " At noon, my cozen Thomas Pepys did come to me, to consult about the business of his being a justice of the peace, which he is much against ; and, among other reasons, tells me, as a confidant, that he is not free to exercise punishment according to the Act against Quakers and other people, for religion. Nor do he understand Latin, and so is not capable of the place as formerly, now all warrants do run in Latin. Nor he in Kent, though he be of Deptford parish, his house standing in Surrey."

June 29, 1667. " My cozen, Thomas Pepys, of Hatcham, come to see me."

May 1, 1668. " Met my cozen, Thomas Pepys, of Deptford, and took some turns with him."

From this period there will be no necessity to follow

³⁶ Close Roll, 12 James I., part 1, n^o 2.

the history of the manor of Hatcham Barnes; it became vested in its present owners, the Haberdashers' Company, as trustees of the charitable bequests under the will of Mr. Jones, and there are no new features of interest that I can lay before my readers: I will therefore proceed with the manor of Little Hatcham, which, it will be recollected, was divided from Hatcham Barnes.

In 13 Edw. I. Adam de Bavent alienated a part of his estate to Gregory de Rokesley, who in the same year obtained a faculty from the abbot and convent of Begham for his oratory, which he had built for the use of himself and family at *Hechesham*, in their parish of West Greenwich.³⁷

We have thus the origin of the manor of Little Hatcham.

From an intimate acquaintance with this neighbourhood, and the extent and boundaries of the various manors, I am enabled, even at this distant period, to point out with tolerable precision the spot where Gregory de Rokesley's residence must have stood; and as he was a notable individual of his time, having been several times Lord Mayor of London, it may not be uninteresting to pause here awhile, while I offer a remark on this point. The manor of Little Hatcham abuts, as it always has done, on the high road (*i. e.* the Old Kent Road), and Rokesley's residence would naturally be placed on this part of the estate; the simple point is therefore to show the extent of this abuttal, and we shall then have a fair idea of the position of his house. The traveller

³⁷ The church of Saint Nicholas, Westgreenwich (*i. e.* Deptford), at that time the parish church of Hatcham, then belonged to the prior and monks of Begham, having been given to them by Geoffrey de Saye and Alice his wife, and confirmed by a grant of their son Geoffrey.—Dugdale, Mon. Angl., vol. vi. p. 913.

from London, as he crosses the boundary between the parishes of Camberwell and Deptford, will observe on the left a large elm-tree at the corner of a lane; this denotes the commencement of the manor of Little Hatcham; then, if he continue a short distance farther, he will observe the boundary-post of the Haberdashers' Company's estate, which is the other manor of Hatcham Barnes; and it is between this tree and boundary-post that the residence of Gregory de Rokesley must have stood.

This spot is at present occupied by a row of irregularly built houses, known as St. James's Place, which will be immediately recognized by those acquainted with the locality. It can scarcely be conceived what was the particular temptation which led Rokesley to take up his abode here, for at that period the roads and means of access from London were in a very indifferent state; and it appears that shortly after Rokesley's death the manor was frequently inundated by the overflowing of the river Thames. It has even at the present day always been accounted a marshy and swampy locality.

Gregory de Rokesley died 20 Edw. I., leaving Roger de Rislepe his nephew and heir; and, by an inquisition taken upon his death, it was found that he held at *Hachesham* of Adam de Bavent, *in capite*, one messuage and fifty-four acres of arable land, and five acres of meadow, by suit of court to the hundred of Brixton, and he owed to the ward of Dover Castle 7s. 6d. per annum. Annual value of the messuage and garden 5s., each acre of arable 10d., and each acre of meadow 2s.; also rents of assize 6s. 6d. a year. He held also of Henry de Alneto five acres of arable land by the annual service of 1d., annual value 8d. per acre. He held also of Robert Mauncer six acres of arable land by the service of 8d. a

year, annual value 8*d.* per acre. He held also of the master of St. Thomas's Hospital, Southwark, six acres of meadow by the service of 2*d.* a year, annual value 18*d.* per acre.³⁵

Roger Russlep, his nephew and heir, succeeded to these estates, and soon afterwards sold them to Robert Burnel, Bishop of Bath and Wells.

By a fine levied in Trinity Term, 18 Edw. I., Thomas, son of Thomas de Heygham, in consideration of £20 sterling, granted to Robert, Bishop of Bath and Wells, one messuage, twenty acres of land, ten acres of meadow, and 10*s.* rent in Retherheth, Camberwell, and *Hacchesham*. The bishop died at Berwick-on-Tweed on the 25th December, 1292, and by an inquisition taken at Southwark 21 Edw. I. [1293] it was found that he died seized of a capital messuage, garden, and fishpond, at *Hacchesham*, annual value 5*s.*; fifty-five acres of land, annual value 55*s.*; thirty-two acres, annual value 10*s.* 8*d.*; twelve acres of meadow, annual value 36*s.*; four acres of several pasture, annual value 4*s.*; two acres of marsh, annual value 2*s.*; rents of assize of free tenants, 7*s.* 4*d.* per annum; and a cock and a hen, worth 2½*d.*; annual value of the whole manor £6. 0*s.* 2½*d.* This manor paid 7*s.* 6*d.* a year to the court of *Hacchesham* Bavant; and it owed suit to the king's hundred of Brixistan, from three weeks to three weeks, with two of the tenants, and suit of court to *Hacchesham* Bavant, from three weeks to three weeks; so that the clear annual value of the whole manor was £5. 12*s.* 8½*d.* The inquisition states that Robert Burnel bought this manor of Roger Russlep, for his own life, to hold of the said Roger; but it goes on to say, that Philip Burnel was his nephew and heir, so

³⁵ Inq. post mortem, 20 Edw. I., n° 29.

that it must have been limited over to him after the bishop's death.³⁹

Philip Burnel succeeded to his uncle's estates, but did not long survive him. He died 22 Edw. I., leaving by Maud his wife, daughter of Richard Earl of Arundel, Edward his son and heir, seven years of age.

By an inquisition taken on the death of Philip Burnel, in 22 Edw. I., it was found that he held at *Hatchesham*, in his demesne as of fee, one messuage, with a garden and fishpond, annual value 5s.; fifty-five acres of land, value 55s.; thirty-two acres of land, 10s. 8d.; twelve acres of meadow, 36s.; four acres of several pasture, value 4s.; two acres of marsh, value 2s.; rents of assize of free tenants, 7s. 4d.; a cock and a hen, value 2½d.; annual value of the whole manor, £6. 0s. 2½d. It was held of the heirs of Adam de Bavent, by the service of 7s. 6d. a year, and owed suit to the court of Hatchesham Bavant, from three weeks to three weeks; it also owed suit to the hundred of Brixton, from three weeks to three weeks, with two tenants; clear value of the manor after all deductions £5. 12s. 8d.⁴⁰

15th September 22 Edw. I. [1294], all the lands and tenements which belonged to Philip Burnel in *Hatchesham*, and which were extended at 112s. 8¼d., per annum, were, with many other lands in other counties, assigned to Matilda, the widow of Philip Burnel, for her dower.⁴¹ Edward Burnel, the heir, being under age at the time of his father's death, the custody of his person and lands was given to John de Drokenesford, Bishop of Bath and Wells.

Soon after this, the waters of the Thames broke

³⁹ Inq. post mortem, 21 Edw. I., n° 50.

⁴⁰ Inq. post mortem.

⁴¹ Close Roll, 23 Edw. I., memb. 9, d.

through their embankments and inundated a great part of the manor of Little Hatcham; whereupon it was agreed by the king and his council that John de Drogenesford should keep the water within its proper embankments, and in recompense thereof, he should have all the drowned lands he could reclaim for the term of seven years.

In 8 Edw. II. Edward Burnel laid a petition before the king and his council, complaining that the bishop had retained the lands three years after the expiration of the seven years, and that he had also, under colour of his agreement, appropriated forty acres of land and meadow of the said manor which never were inundated; but the council answered that the petitioner might have his remedy against the bishop at the common law.⁴² He died without issue 23rd August, 9 Edw. II. [1315], leaving Matilda his sister and heiress and Alice his wife him surviving.

Matilda, who succeeded to her brother's estates, was then the wife of John Lord Lovel of Tichmarsh; he died 8 Edw. II., and she afterwards became the wife of John de Handlo, who succeeded to all the estates of Edward Burnel.

By a fine levied in Hilary Term, 14 Edw. II., John de Handlo and Matilda his wife granted to Richard la Veille, for his life, one toft, sixty acres of land, seven acres of meadow, and 8s. rents in *Hacchesham*; rendering annually two silver marks, one at Easter and the other at Michaelmas.

By a fine levied 5 Edw. III. the manor of *Hacchesham* was settled upon John de Handlo and Matilda his wife and the heirs male of their bodies; and in default of such issue, to Johanna, Elizabeth, and Margery, daughters of

⁴² Rolls of Parliament, vol. i. p. 331.

the said Matilda; and after their decease, then to John the son of John Lovel and the heirs male of his body; and in default thereof, then to the right heirs of Matilda for ever. John de Handlo had issue by Matilda, two sons, Richard and Nicholas, of whom Richard died in his father's lifetime. This circumstance would appear to have altered John de Handlo's intentions with regard to settling his property, for in 14 Edw. III. another fine was levied, by which this manor was settled upon him for life; and after his decease, then to Nicholas and his heirs, without any remainders over.

John de Handlo died on the 5th August, 20 Edw. III. [1346], leaving Nicholas Burnell his son and heir, who was twenty-three years of age and upwards, him surviving; and by an inquisition taken at Kingston-upon-Thames, 10th October in the same year, it was found that John de Handlo at the time of his death held certain tenements in *Hacchesham* according to the terms of the last named fine: and it was found that the said tenements were held of Geoffrey de Say by the service of one quarter of a knight's fee, rendering five shillings every thirty-two weeks to the guard of Dover Castle. And it was found that there was at *Hacchesham* a capital messuage worth nothing, beyond reprises; and that there were seventy acres of arable land worth per annum 23s. 4d. when well cultivated and sown, and that year it was sown before the death of John Handlo; but when the land was not cultivated or sown, then it was worth 2d. per acre as pasture-land. There were also seven acres of meadow worth per annum 7s., and no more, because the meadow lay in a certain marsh which was frequently inundated and the hay carried away; and also rents of assize of free tenants, five shillings per annum⁴³.

⁴³ Inq. post mortem, 20 Edw. III. (first number), n° 51.

Nicholas Burnell then succeeded to the manor. He died 19th January, 6 Rich. II. [1383], leaving Sir Hugh Burnell, his son and heir, thirty-six years of age; and by an inquisition taken in the same year it was found that Nicholas Burnell died seized of 36s. 4d. rents of assize in *Hachesham*, which rents formerly belonged to the manor of *Hachesham* held of Geoffrey de Say.⁴⁴

Sir Hugh Burnell then succeeded to this estate. He married Joyce the daughter of John Botetourt, grandchild and heir to Sir John Botetourt, knight. Edward Burnell was his son and heir apparent, but he died in his father's lifetime, and in 4 Hen. V. Sir Hugh Burnell entered into articles of agreement with Sir Walter Hungerford, knight, (through the king's mediation by letters) for the marriage of Margery, one of the daughters and heirs of Edward Burnell, unto Edmund Hungerford, son of Sir Walter; and thereupon by a fine settled the manor of Hatcham in the following manner:—that after the death of Sir Hugh Burnell it should remain to Sir Walter Hungerford, Edmund his son, and Margery, to hold unto them and the heirs of the said Edmund and Margery lawfully to be begotten for ever. And in case of their death without such issue, then to the right heirs of Sir Hugh Burnell for ever.

Sir Hugh died 27th November, 8 Hen. V. [1420], and by an inquisition taken thereupon it was found that at the time of his death he held the manor of *Hachesham* according to the terms of the above-mentioned fine, and that this manor was held of the Prior of Wormele, but by what service the jurors were ignorant, and was worth per annum, in all its issues beyond reprises, ten marks. Margery Burnell was eleven years of age at the time of Sir Hugh's death.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Inq. post mortem.

⁴⁵ Inq. post mortem, 8 Hen. V., n^o 116.

The manor then came into possession of the Hungerfords, and continued with that family until the thirty-second year of Henry VIII., when it was granted by Sir Anthony Hungerford to Andrew Fraunces and Margaret his wife, as appears by a fine levied in Michaelmas Term in that year.

Hilary Term 4 and 5 Philip and Mary, a fine was levied between Thomas Hoo and John Heyworth of the manor of *Hatcheham*.

The next owner of the manor that I meet with is Nicholas Brockett of Whethampsted, in Hertfordshire.

By an indenture dated the 1st June, 7 Eliz. [1565], Nicholas Brockett and Margaret his wife, in consideration of £241. 10s., bargained and sold to William Edwardes, citizen and leatherseller of London, his heirs and assigns, this manor by the description of

“ All that their mannor of Lytle Hatcheham, with thappurtenaunces, in the county of Surrey; and all that their mannor of Lytle Hatcheham, with thappurtenaunces, extending, lyeing, and being in the county of Surrey aforesaid, and in the countye of Kent, or in either of the said countayes; and foure acres of lande, thirty acres and a halfe of meadowe and pasture or thereabouts, and one acre of wood; whiche lande, meadowe, and wood conteyne in the whole by estymacion thirty-five acres and a haulfe, whether the same bee more or lesse, sett, lyeing, and being in the townes, parishes, or fields of Hatcheham, Peckham, Westgrenewiche, and Camerwell, in the said counties of Surrey and Kent, now in the severall teanures and ocupacions of the said William Edwardes and one Elizabeth Ardeyne, widowe;”

and also all and singular those manors, &c., conveyed in remainder to Brockett and wife by the fine levied between Hoo and Heyworth. The manor and premises are convenanted by Brockett to be of the clear yearly rent of six pounds above all charges and reprisals. There is also mentioned a lease to Edwardes of the manor,

dated the 13th February, 4 and 5 Philip and Mary [1558], for 41 years.⁴⁶

Out of this transaction arose a question on account of Edwardes being supposed to hold this manor of the Crown *in capite*, in which case a royal license of alienation would have been necessary, and in the eighth year of this reign this question was accordingly tried before the Barons of the Court of Exchequer, when judgment was given in Edwardes's favour.⁴⁷

By an indenture dated the 20th June, 10 Eliz. [1568], Edwardes mortgaged this manor for £300 to Nicholas Toke,⁴⁸ by whom it was afterwards granted to Walter Mayne; he on the 1st April, 1577, conveyed it to Thomas Westwraye,⁴⁹ who in 44 Eliz. granted it to John Edwardes, William Edwardes's heir.

The next owner was Randolph Crew, a merchant of London; and it was during the time which he held it that the disputed question as to whether Hatcham lay in Surrey or Kent was finally settled. This decision arose out of the levy of ship-money by Charles I. In the course of this taxation Mr. Crew was rated in both counties for the manor of Little Hatcham, whereupon he petitioned the Lords of the Council for redress, and they sent the following letter to the judges of assize for Kent and Surrey:—

“ A Letter to the Judges of Assize for the County of Kent and Surrey.

“ Wee send you heere enclosed a peticon presented by Randolph Crew, of London, mercht., who being seized of the manner of Hatcham bordering upon the county of Kent, but dubtfull whether the said manner properly lyeth within the county of Kent or the county of Surry, wherby the two sheriffs of the said counties have charged the

⁴⁶ Close Roll, 7 Eliz. part 23.

⁴⁷ Lord Treasurer's Memoranda Roll, Hilary, 8 Eliz., m. 33.

⁴⁸ Inrolled in Common Pleas, 10 Eliz., Trinity, roll 8.

⁴⁹ Close Roll, 19 Eliz., p. 15.

said manner as lyable to either for the busines of shipping, as you may perceive more perticularly by the said peticon, forasmuch as the petitioner hath (as by certificat appears) payd towards the said service in the county of Surry, where hee hath formerly payd all personall duties, and for that it is not intended that any one shall bee so unequally dealt withall as to pay twice for one and the same thing at one time; Wee doe therefore heerby pray you, the judges of assize for the said counties of Kent and Surry, perticularly and carefully to examin the busines, and settle such a finall order, not onely in this perticular, but also in all other publique assesm^{ts} and rates as his m^{ts} service receive no prejudice, and the petitioner know for the future how to conforme himselfe for such payments, and soe, &c.

“ Dated at Whithall, the last of December, 1635.

“ (Signed)	LO: KEEPER.	MR. COMPT ^r :
	“ EA: OF DORSET.	MR. D. CHAMBE ^r :
	“ EA: OF SALISBURY.	MR. LOE COKE.
	“ KN: VILMOT.	MR. SEC. WINDBANK.”

In pursuance of this letter the judges entered into an investigation of the matter, and at last came to the conclusion that the manor was entirely in Surrey.

The following is their certificate:—

“ The true copie of a certificat made by the judges of assizes to the lords of the councill for the settleing of the manor of Hatcham in the county of Surry.

“ According to your lordships’ letters of the last of December last, and the peticon of Randolphe Crewe sent us therewithall, we at several dayes perticularly, carefully, and att large, in the presence of the petitioner and of divers inhabitants of Debtford, in the county of Kent, who opposed him, considered the witnesses evidence and proofes of either side, and are fully satisfied that the petitioner’s manner of Hatcham doth lye in the county of Surrey and not in the county of Kent, and ought to be taxed to the busines of the shipping in and with the county of Surrey and not with Kent; all which wee humbly leave to your lordships’ wisdoms. Vltimo Maij, 1636.

“ FR. CRAWLEY.

“ RIC. WESTON.”

XIII.

ON THE HISTORY OF HORSELYDOWN.

By G. R. CORNER, Esq., F.S.A.

A PAPER READ BEFORE THE SOCIETY AT A MEETING HELD AT HORSELYDOWN IN
SOUTHWARK, OCT. 30, 1855.

I DOUBT not that when the notice of a meeting of the Surrey Archæological Society to be held at Horselydown was received by the members, it elicited a very general inquiry of—Where is Horselydown? where can it be situate? in what part of the undiscovered regions of the metropolis does it exist? is it inhabited? if so, are the inhabitants civilized? and what description of persons can possibly reside in such a place as Horselydown? But by reference to a map of the metropolis, it will be discovered that Horselydown is a part of the borough of Southwark, situate near the bank of the river Thames, about half a mile eastward of London Bridge, from which it is approached by St. Olave's or Tooley Street: and as but very scanty and imperfect notices of this *terra incognita* are found in any local history or topographical work, I will attempt to give some account of it.

It is difficult to imagine that a neighbourhood now so crowded with wharfs and warehouses, granaries and factories, mills, breweries, and places of business of all kinds, and where the busy hum of men at work like bees in a hive is incessant, can have been, not many centuries since, a region of pleasant fields and

meadows, pastures for sheep and cattle, with gardens, houses, shady lanes where lovers might wander (not unseen), clear streams with stately swans, and cool walks by the river-side. Yet such was the case, and the way from London Bridge to Horselydown was occupied by the mansions of men of mark and consequence, dignitaries of the church, men of military renown, and wealthy citizens.

First, in St. Olave's Street, opposite to the church, was the inn or London residence of the Prior of Lewes, of which an account will be found in the "Archæologia," vol. xxiii., p. 299, and in vol. xxv., p. 604.

The Norman stone building described by Mr. Gage Rokewood in vol. xxiii., was not, however, the inn of the Prior of Lewes, but it had probably been originally the mansion or manor-house of the Earls of Warren and Surrey, who possessed the guildable manor or town of Southwark; and afterwards a gate-house or prison, with a house adjoining for the residence of the bailiffs of Southwark. Subsequently it belonged to a religious guild or fraternity in St. Olave's church, called "The Brotherhood of Jesus," and was then known as "Jesus House." After the suppression of such guilds, it came into the hands of the parishioners of St. Olave's, and was converted into a vestry hall and grammar school; for which purpose it was used until it was demolished, in 1831, for making the approaches to London Bridge.

The Norman stone building described by Mr. C. E. Gwilt in "Archæologia," vol. xxv., situate in Walnut-tree Court, Carter Lane, was undoubtedly part of the house of the Prior of Lewes, which is mentioned in ancient records as situate in Carter Lane, and adjoined to Jesus House on the west.

Stow says that the house which pertained to the

Prior of Lewes, and was his lodging when he came to town, was then a common hostelry for travellers, and had to sign, "The Walnut Tree."

A little further eastward, in Crown Court, Glean Alley, when the Greenwich Railway was being erected, there were discovered some extensive groined brick vaults, of handsome construction and ancient date: they evidently formed the basement or substructure of some important mansion; and it is not improbable that the Duke of Burgundy, or his ambassador, had his residence here, about the reign of King Edward IV.; as on or about this spot was a place called "The Burgundy" or "Petty Burgundy."

Adjoining to St. Olave's Church on the east side, where Chamberlain's Wharf now stands, was the house of the Abbots of St. Augustine's at Canterbury.

It was purchased by the abbot and convent in 1215, of Reginald de Cornhill, sheriff of Kent, for six-score marks, towards raising the sum of 3,000 marks, which he was compelled to pay to King John for his ransom, after having been taken prisoner at Rochester Castle. After the dissolution of the monasteries, it became the property, and perhaps the residence, of Sir Anthony St. Leger, Knight of the Garter, Deputy in Ireland to King Henry VIII., and ancestor of the Viscounts Doneraile. He was actively employed in the dissolution of the monasteries, and obtained a grant of the inn in the parish of St. Olave belonging to the Abbot of St. Augustine's. He gave to St. Olave's Church a vestment of cloth of gold, wrought with red velvet, with the garter and his arms upon the back, with all the apparel thereunto belonging.¹

¹ "Gentleman's Mag." May 1837. The arms of Sir Anthony St. Leger were azure, fretty argent, a chief, or.

Next to the Abbot of St. Augustine's was the Bridge House, and a little further eastward was the house of the Abbot of Battle, in Sussex, with pleasant gardens, and a clear stream (now a black and fetid sewer) flowing down Mill Lane and turning the abbot's mill at Battle Bridge Stairs.

On this stream were swans, and it flowed under a bridge (over which the road was continued to Bermondsey and Horselydown), from the "Manor of the Maze," the seat of Sir William Burcestre or Bouchier, who died there in 1407,² and Sir John Burcestre, who died there in 1466, and was buried at St. Olave's. This manor was afterwards the estate of Sir Roger Copley, of Gatton, Surrey, and came to the family of Weston, of Sutton Place, Surrey, from whom Weston Street derives its name; and the streets called Great and Little Maze Pond still keep in remembrance the ancient name of the manor.

From the corner of Bermondsey Street to Horselydown was formerly called Horsleydown Lane, and here, on the west side of Stoney Lane (which, by the way, was once a Roman road leading to the *trajectus*, or ferry, over the river to the Tower,—as Stoney Street, in St. Saviour's, was a similar Roman road leading to the ferry to Dowgate), was the mansion of Sir John Fastolfe; not Shakspeare's "lean Jack" Falstaff, but a gallant soldier and man of education (which was rare in his days), who distinguished himself in the reigns of Henry IV., V., and VI., Kings of England. He fought at Agincourt, and elsewhere in France, and was governor of Normandy. He

² In 2 Hen. VI., 1422, Elizabeth, wife of John de Clynton, Knt., died seized of a messuage, &c., as of the manor called "The Mase," in Southwark.

died at his castle of Caistor, in Norfolk, in 1460, at the age of 81 years.

During the insurrection of Jack Cade, in 1450, Sir John Fastolfe furnished his place in Southwark with the old soldiers of Normandy, and habiliments of war, to defend himself against the rebels; but having sent an emissary to them at Blackheath, the man was taken prisoner, and narrowly escaped execution as a spy. They brought him however with them into Southwark, and sent him to Sir John, whom he advised to put away all his habiliments of war and the old soldiers; and so he did, and went himself to the Tower with all his household. He was, however, in danger from both parties, for Jack Cade would have burned his house, and he was likely to be impeached for treason for retiring to the Tower, instead of resisting and attacking the rebels, which probably he had not force enough to attempt, they having entire possession of the borough.³

Sir John Fastolfe died possessed of one capital messuage, two water-mills, four messuages called "Bere-houses," seven gardens, twenty messuages called "Fret-renters," twenty-two messuages called "Smale-renters;" two messuages, called "Crouch-houses," and one messuage called "Herteshorn," in the parish of St. Olave, Southwark; and one messuage in the parish of St. Mary Magdalen (now part of St. Saviour's), called "The Boreshead."⁴

In the reign of King Edward VI., Fastolf Place belonged to Sir Thomas Cockaigne, of Ashborne, Derbyshire, who granted a lease of it, with the gardens, wharf,

³ A letter of John Bocking to John Paston, Esq., dated 7th June 1456, was written from this place which is therein called "Horsleigh-done."

⁴ Inquisitiones post mortem, 38 & 39 Hen. VI., No. 48.

and appurtenances, dated 24th January, 4 Edward VI., to Richard Marryatt, citizen and clothworker of London, for forty years.

Vassal Webling, or Weblink, of Barking, Essex, a Flemish emigrant, who had been a brewer in St. Olave's, Southwark, died seized of "Fastolff Place," with 103 messuages and two wharfs in the parish of St. Olave, Southwark; and by his will, dated the 30th October, 8 James I., he gave £4 a year thereout for the maintenance of the free school of St. Olave's, and 10s. to some learned preacher for an annual sermon. He was succeeded by his son, Nicholas Webling. The greater part of this estate now belongs to Earl Romney.

Further east and nearly opposite to the Tower of London was "The Rosary." This belonged to the family of Dunlegh, who appear to have been of some consequence in Southwark at an early period. Richard Dunlegh was returned to the parliament held at York, 26 Edward I., as one of the representatives of the borough of Southwark.

Henry le Dunlegh was returned to the next parliament, held at Lincoln, 28 Edward I., as one of the representatives of the said borough.

In 4 Edward III., A.D. 1330, Agnes de Dunlegh petitioned the King in Parliament, that whereas the King's father purchased of the tenants of the said Agnes three messuages and five tofts, with the appurtenances, in Southwark, in a place called the Rosary, opposite the Tower, which were held of the said Agnes by the services thereof and six shillings per annum, and of making and keeping the walls against the water of the Thames, each place its own portion; which service and reparation of the said walls the late king performed during all his time; and because the danger was so great of the said

walls by which the country was likely to be overflowed, she prayed that the said walls should be immediately repaired, and the rent in arrear paid.

Answer, that the petition be referred to the Treasurer and Barons of the Exchequer to inquire and cause the said place to be repaired.—(Rot. Parl., vol. i., p. 36).

The Rosary and the estate of the Dunleghs, at Horselydown were afterwards the property of a family named Olyver, and of Henry Yevele, mason.

29th January, 21 Richard II., Robert Wotton, of the county of Surrey, and Johanna his wife (who was relict of John Olyver of Croydon), Robert Olyver, and William Olyver, clerk, sons of the said John Olyver, demised to Stephen Bartillot, citizen and scrivener of London, one messuage, with two mills and certain gardens and meadow adjoining, as enclosed with ditches, in the parish of St. Olave, Southwark, together with one annual rent of 30s., to be received from a certain croft of pasture called Dunleys-field, lying on the south part of Horsleighdowne, in the parish of St. Olave aforesaid, which said croft, Thomas Felawe lately held of the said Robert Wotton and Joan his wife, for the term of the life of the said Joan; and also the reversion of the said croft, when it should happen, after the decease of the said Joan: and another annual rent of four shillings, to be received for a certain garden lying adjoining to Horsleighdowne on the west and adjoining to tenements formerly of Henry Yevele: to hold the said demised premises to the said Stephen Bartillot his heirs and assigns for the term of one hundred years.

On the death of Stephen Bartillot, he appointed John Sirre, Robert Sharshull, Alexander Bartillot, and William Combys executors of his will; of whom William Combys survived the others, and in 19

Henry VI. the said William Oliver, clerk, by deed enrolled in Chancery, confirmed to him the then residue of the term of one hundred years, having about fifty-six years to run.⁵

6th June, 25 Henry VI., William Burgh, gentleman, son and heir of John Burgh, deceased, and Katherine his wife, by deed enrolled in Chancery, released to Sir John Fastolf, Sir Henry Inglos, and Richard Wallere, Esq., all his right, title, claim and demand in all those messuages, lands, and tenements, rents and services, water-mills, gardens, and ditches, with all their appurtenances, which were of Henry Yevele, mason, in the parish of St. Olave, Southwark, in the county of Surrey, and which the said Sir John Fastolf and the others above mentioned, with one John Wynter, Esq., deceased, lately had by the gift and feoffment of the said Katherine, mother of the said William Burgh.

By another deed of the same date, William Burgh also released to Sir John Fastolf, and the other persons before named, all that messuage, with the gardens adjoining and all their appurtenances, in the parish of St. Olave, Southwark, in the county of Surrey, situate between the way leading from "Batailbrigg" towards "Horsleigh-downe" on the north part, and a tenement of William Redstone on the south part, and extending from the sewer leading from Batailbrigg to Bermondsey towards the west, and to the mill-stream of Henry Yevele towards the east.⁶

This property having been purchased by Sir John Fastolfe, he on the 7th July [1448], made Master Robert Pepys, clerk, and others, his attornies, to deliver seizin to his feoffees John (Cardinal) Archbishop of

⁵ Close Roll, 19 Hen. VI., m. 10 in dorso.

⁶ Close Roll, 25 Hen. VI., m. 9 d.

York, and others, of (*inter alia*) his manor or messuage, in St. Olave's Parish, in Southwark, near Horselydown, formerly Henry Yevele's,⁷ and seven messuages and twenty-five land, called Dunley's, in that parish.

Still further eastward, on the bank of the river, was a house, with a mill and other property, formerly belonging to the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem, who had a manor or liberty there called the Liberty of St. John of Jerusalem. In a return to a writ directed to the king's escheator in 7 Edw. III., it was certified that the Prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem held, in the first year of King Edward I., three water-mills, three acres of land, one acre of meadow, and twenty acres of pasture, at Horsedowne, in Southwark, which Francis de Bachenie then held for the term of his life, on the demise of Brother Thomas le Archer, late prior, and which anciently belonged to the aforesaid hospital. Courts were held for this manor down to a period comparatively recent. Messrs. Courage's brewery stands on the site of the mill and manor-house, and in a lease from Sir William Abdy to Mr. Donaldson, dated in 1803, there was an exception of the hall of the mill-house, court-house, or manor-house, to hold a court once or oftener in every year.

In a survey of the estates of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem by Prior Philip de Thame, in A.D. 1338, published by the Rev. Lambert Larking, F.S.A., being one of the recently published works of the Camden Society, it is stated that there are in Sutwerck two water-mills, one separate pasture, and three small pieces of meadow; and that the whole were demised to Hawise de Swalclive, for the term of her life, without rent, for her

⁷ Henry Yevele was freemason to King Edward III. He was buried at St. Magnus', London Bridge.—*Stow's Survey of London.*

pension of £20, granted by Brother Thomas l'Archer, and to pay the rent to the Prior of St. Saviour of Bermondsey, and that it was only worth beyond those payments twenty marks.

23rd June, 1505, Sir Thomas Docwra, Prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England, and his brethren, knights of the same hospital, demised to Ralph Bothomley of Horsadowne, yeoman, "their water myln called, St. John's Myln, situate at Horsadowne in the county of Surrey, with all the meadows and pastures, housings and appurtenances, thereunto belonging, for the term of forty years, from St. John's Day then last, at the yearly rent of £8."

And by another lease, dated 11th January, 1514, the prior and his brethren demised to the said Ralph Bothomley, "their water mylle situated at Horseadown in the countie of Surrey, with all the meadows and pastures, ponds, banks, waters and courses of water, and all howsings to the same appertaining, with the highway leading from the said mylle into Horseadowne aforesaid, that is to wyte, from the lowe water mark of the rever Thamys up into Horseadowne; and also all that their common in Horseadowne for his cattle, which common conteyneth seven acres of ground, little more or less, that is to wite, from the said lane end called Saint John's Lane, over Horsdowne, unto the lane end leading to another lane called Fivefoot Lane [now Russell Street], which seven acres of pasture, more or less, belongeth only to the said Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem; and also common for his cattle upon the residue of the whole common of Horseadowne, and free course to and from the aforesaid common, with all manner his carriages, without any letting or interruption of any man, person, or persons: And over and above that, the said prior

and bretheren granted and let to the said Ralph Bothomley, all that one half of their dok called Seynt Saviour's Dok, that is to wyte, from the upper part of the same dok to the lowe water marke of the rever of Thamys; and also all that their pightell of land, conteyning 3 roddes, little more or less, lying betwene the lane called Fyvefoot Lane on the north part, and a close of land pertaining unto Robert Preston, of London, goldsmith, on the south part: To hold the same from the feast day of St. John the Baptist then last, for 32 years, at the yearly rent of £8."^s

At the time of the dissolution of the monasteries, St. John's Mill was in the tenure of Hugh Eglesfield, by virtue of a lease granted by the Prior of St. John's to Christopher Craven, for sixty years from Midsummer, 23 Henry VIII., at the yearly rent of £8. It was sold by King Henry VIII., in the thirty-sixth year of his reign, to John Eyre. The estate has for many years belonged to the family of Sir William Abdy, Bart., having come to them from the families of Gainsford and Thomas, whose names are commemorated in Gainsford Street and Thomas Street.

Shad Thames is a narrow street, running along the waterside, through the ancient liberty of St. John, from Pickle Herring to Dockhead. For the name of this street I cannot assign a more reasonable explanation than that it may be a corruption or abbreviation of St. John at Thames; unless it be thought a more likely presumption that the place took its singular name from the quantities of shad-fish formerly caught in the river at this spot. My friend W. W. Landell, Esq., informed me that his mother recollected in her youth the shad-

^s Cotton M.S. Claudius, E. vi.

fish, caught in great numbers in the Thames off Horselydown, being cried about the streets, as herrings, mackerel, and sprats now are.

But it is now high time to come to Horselydown itself, which is not so called, according to the vulgar tradition, on account of King John's horse stumbling on the field; but the fact is, that it was a large field or down used by the neighbouring inhabitants for pasturing their horses and cattle, and was called Horsedown or Horseydown.

Horseydown was part of the possessions of the Abbey of Bermondsey and is within the lordship or manor of Southwark, formerly belonging to that abbey, and was surrendered by Abbot Parfew to King Henry VIII., with the other possessions of the abbey, in 1537.

This manor is now called the Great Liberty Manor, and is one of the three manors of Southwark belonging to the corporation of London; King Edward VI. having granted this manor, with the manor or lordship of Southwark (now called the King's Manor, and formerly belonging to the see of Canterbury), to the city of London, by charter (1 Edw. VI.).

Horseydown was probably the common of the Great Liberty Manor: but there were two acres of land, part of "Horseydown Common," which were within the manor of Bermondsey, and which were sold by King Henry VIII., in the thirty-sixth year of his reign, to Walter Hendly, Esq. That piece of land is in the parish of Bermondsey, and lies on the west side of Church Street, and between Artillery Street and Russell Street (formerly called Fivefoot Lane).

After the surrender to King Henry VIII., Horseydown became the property of Sir Roger Copley, of Gatton, Surrey, and the Maze in Southwark; of whom it was purchased by Adam Beston, Henry Goodyere,

and Hugh Eglisfeilde, three inhabitants of the parish of St. Olave, Southwark, and was assured to them by a fine levied to them by Sir Roger Copley, and Dame Elizabeth his wife, in Easter Term, 36 Henry VIII.

The parish of St. Olave came into possession of Horseydown in 1552, under a lease which the said Hugh Eglisfeild had purchased of one Robert Warren, and which the parish purchased of him, for twenty pounds and twelve pence (the sum he had paid to Warren for it), and the grazing of two kine in Horsedown for his life.⁹

A free grammar school was founded by the parishioners of St. Olave's, Southwark, in 1561, and was incorporated by charter of Queen Elizabeth, dated 26 July, 1571.¹⁰

The original endowment of the school was £8 per annum, which had been bequeathed by Henry Leke, of the parish of St. Olave, brewer (who is justly entitled to the credit of having caused this school to be founded), by his will, dated 12th March, 2 Eliz., towards the foundation of a grammar school in St. Olave's; but if no such school were established there within two years from his death, then he gave it to St. Saviour's Grammar School.¹¹

On the 22nd July, 1561, it was resolved by the vestry of St. Olave's, that the churchwardens should receive of Mr. Leke's executors the money given towards the erection of a free school, and should prepare a school and provide a schoolmaster. And on the 4th May, 1579, it was resolved by the vestry, that Thomas Batte, William Willson, Oliff Burr, Thomas Harper, Ryc

⁹ Minutes of Vestry, 5 March, 1552.

¹⁰ See a short History of this School in the Gentleman's Mag., New Series, vol. v., pp. 15 and 137.

¹¹ Collectanea Topog. et Geneal., vol. v., p. 48.

Denman, and Rye Pinfold, should take order with Mr. Goodyer and Mr. Eggelfeld, to pass over Horseydown to the use of the school.

Mr. Beston and Mr. Goodyer having died in the lifetime of Hugh Eglisfeild, the freehold of Horseydown became vested solely in the latter as the surviving joint tenant, and descended to his son, Christopher Eglisfeild, of Gray's Inn, gentleman, who, by deed dated 29th December, 1581, conveyed Horseydown to the Governors of St. Olave's Grammar School, to whom it still belongs; and it is one of the remarkable instances of the enormous increase in the value of property in the metropolis, that this piece of land, which was then let to farm to one Alderton, who collected the weekly payments for pasturage, and paid for it a rental of £6 per annum, now produces to the governors for the use of the school an annual income exceeding £3,000.

In Hilary Term, 26 Eliz., an information was filed in the Exchequer by the Attorney-General, against John Byrde and John Selbye, churchwardens of St. Olave's, and Robert Bowghier, for intrusion into the Queen's land at Horseydown, which was stated in the information to have been part of the possessions of the late dissolved monastery of Bermondsey. The defendants pleaded the title of the governors through Sir Roger Copley's fine to Beston, Goodyer, and Eglisfeild, and the conveyance to the governors of the school from Christopher Eglisfeild as heir of Hugh; and that they, the churchwardens, were in possession as bailiffs to and on behalf of the governors. The plea was satisfactory and the proceedings were discontinued.¹²

By a feoffment, dated 19th January, 1586, Hugh

¹² Exchequer Rolls, Hil., 26 Eliz., Roll 137.

Goodear, in consideration of £4, released and confirmed Horselydown to the Governors of the Grammar School. The following extract from the churchwardens' accounts relating to these transactions is rather curious :—

“ Expencc about the sute of Horseydowne as followeth :—	
It'm botelier to the Temple to our Counsellor - -	viii <i>d</i> .
It'm pd Mr. Foster for his fee - - - - -	xs.
It'm pd Mr. Cowper for his fee the same tyme - -	xs.
It'm to search in the Courte of Augmentacion for the Surveyay of the Abbey of Bermondsey - - -	iis.
It'm to the Sherieff for copie of the names of ye Jurie -	vi <i>d</i> .
It'm spent the 19 day of Nov. at breckfaste upon or lawyer - - - - -	iis. v <i>d</i> .
It'm the 22 day of Novr to or Counsellor - - -	xs.
It'm paid the 12 day of December to Mr. Danbey for the exemplyficacion of the verdict - - -	Liis.
It'm the 25th of January, we went to talke with Mr. Goodyer, and he appointed us to meet at the Tem- pell with our Counsell and his, and so we went to Westminster up and downe and to the Tempell and home - - - - -	xs. viii <i>d</i> .
It'm pd Mr. Cowper or Counseylour - - - -	xxs.
It'm to Mr. Hitchcoke, Counseylour for Mr. Goodyer, to see the deade sealed, and for helpinge us to make a deade - - - - -	xs.
It'm P'd Mr. Goodyer to seale or feoffment - -	iiij <i>l</i> .
It'm Expended in takinge possession of the Downe the 27th daye of January, 1586, upon loves of bread for boys - - - - -	xiii <i>d</i> .
It'm for a dynmer the same day in Fyshe Streate, for certayne of the P'ishe	

The parish butts were on Horseydown. In Hilary Term, 5 Edw. VI., an information had been filed in the Exchequer by William Martin, of London, fletcher, against Hugh Eglefeld and Geoffrey Wolfe, churchwardens, for not having butts for the exercise of archery in the said parish of St. Olave, pursuant to the statute of 33 Henry VIII. ; in consequence of which proceedings the butts were soon afterwards erected on Horseydown.





J. H. P. Lewis del.

Wiggle, belonging to the Marquis of Salisbury.
Horselydown, in 1590.





The Thames Docke

PLAN OF HORSEY DOWNE,

As it is bounded from the Original
Borough 1554.

In the Possession of the
Governours of St Olaves
Grammar School.

Ways to
Rotherhithe

Old Thomsons
Field

The whitsters Feilde

The washers Feilde

A Garden

A orchard

Knights
Hous

A Garden

A Garden

The
whitsters
Ground

McCanashe
his garden

M Weldon

Barnoudseye Hous

M Weldon

Hermatage

Stones of
Censalesmes Mills

Horseye Downe

Five foot Lane

Jacobes Garden
A Feilde

Roper Lane

Five foot Lane

Newmans
House

Park of
Barnoudseye
Parish

Crucifix Lane

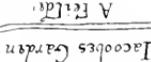
Glene his
Rentis

Barnoudseye

Southwarke



The River
of Thames



The Marquis of Salisbury possesses, at Hatfield, a very remarkable picture, which has been supposed to have been painted by the celebrated Holbein, but is really the work of George Hofnagle, a Flemish artist in Queen Elizabeth's time. There is a copy of this picture in the library of the Society of Antiquaries, for whom it was made by Mr. Grignon, and it is a copy of that drawing I now place before you. The drawing has a date (evidently copied from the picture) of 1590; but, without that indication, the costume of the figures, which is of the period of Elizabeth, is sufficient to show that the picture cannot be the work of Holbein, who died in 1554. The picture represents a fair or festival, which, from the position of the Tower of London in the background, appears to have been held at Horselydown.

In the catalogue of the pictures at Hatfield (in "Beauties of England and Wales," Herts, p. 278), the picture is said to represent King Henry VIII. and his Queen Anne Boleyn at a country wake or fair, at some place in Surrey, within sight of the Tower of London.

That the locality of the scene is Horselydown, or as it was then called Horseydown or Horsedown, several circumstances, in addition to its situation with respect to the river Thames and the Tower of London, concur to show.

I am enabled, by permission of the warden and governors of Queen Elizabeth's Free Grammar School of St. Olave's and St. John's, Southwark, to illustrate and explain this curious picture by a map of Horseydown, dated A.D. 1544, which is now before you.

Although this plan bears the date of 1544, I think it must have been made, or added to, some years later; for it shows the churchyard, which was not made until the year 1587, and is now called "The Old Churchyard."

On the left side of it is "Bermondsey House," of which I can only suppose that it was a house formerly belonging to the Abbey of Bermondsey.

Next is a piece of ground marked with the name of "Mr. Weldon," and next to that two houses and a garden marked as "Mr. Candish his garden."

Candish, otherwise Cavendish's Rents, is now Mark Brown's wharf, Goulding's and Davis's wharfs, and Potter's Fields.

Then follows the "Whitsters" (bleachers) Ground and two gardens, on which St. Olave's new grammar school, Mr. Ledger's house and premises, and Hartley's wharf now stand, which bring us to Horselydown Lane; on the east side of which is "The Knights House" (*i.e.* the house of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem), since known as the manor-house, now Messrs. Courage's brewery; and on the river-side "St. John of Jerusalem's Mill." Eastward of the Knights House, on the plan, is an orchard, a garden, the "Washers Field," and the "Whitsters Field," which comes up to St. Saviour's dock, leaving only a road between them and the water, and there are no buildings shown on the water side of that road from Bermondsey House to Dockhead.

On the other side of Horseydown, we have "Jacobs Garden," and a field on the east side of "Rooper Lane" (now Church Street), and on the west side, "Newman's House" (where Messrs. Slee and Payne's premises now are) and part of Bermondsey Parish, and "Glene his Rents," which is where Barnham Street (formerly Dog and Bear Yard), College Street, Magdalen Street and Circus, and Grieveson's Rents now are.

At the Dockhead is a field called "Ould Thompsons Field," and near it a large house called "The Hermitage."

The centre of the plan shows a large open space, now occupied by the diverging streets called Queen Elizabeth Street, Free-school Street, and Fair Street; and on the south side of the last-named street now stand the church and rectory-house of St. John, Horsleydown, and the union workhouse in Parish Street.

I do not know if Southwark fair were ever held on Horseydown, but it is worthy of observation, that when the down came to be built on, about the middle of the seventeenth century, the principal street across it from west to east, and in the line of foreground represented in the picture, was and is to the present day called Fair Street; and a street or lane of houses running from north to south, near to Dockhead, is called Three Oak Lane, traditionally from three oaks formerly standing there. The tree-o'ershadowed hostlery where the feast is being prepared, in the picture, may indicate this spot.

In Evelyn's time, however (Diary, 13th Sept. 1660), the fair appears to have been held at St. Margaret's Hill, in the borough, for he calls it St. Margaret's fair; and it continued to be held between St. Margaret's Hill and St. George's Church until the fair was suppressed by order of the Court of Common Council in 1762.

The portly figure in the centre foreground, with a red beard and a Spanish hat, must have occasioned the idea of its being a representation of King Henry VIII.; but the general costume of the figure is later than his reign, and the date on the picture shows the period of the scene to have been towards the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign.

The principal figures seem to me rather to represent some of the grave burgesses and young gallants of Southwark, with their wives and families, assembled on

Horseydown on some festive occasion, to enjoy a *fête champêtre* on some bright day in summer.

The principal figure is evidently a man of worship, for whom and his company a feast is preparing in the kitchen of the hostelry, while the table is laid in the adjoining apartment, which is decorated with boughs and gaily coloured ribbons.

It may be Henry Leke, son of the founder of the school, who succeeded his father as a brewer here, or Vassal Webling, who, as well as Leke the elder, was a Fleming and a brewer, both of them having come into this country from the Netherlands, with thousands of their country people, to avoid the persecution of the Protestants under the Duke of Alva.

These Flemings settled in great numbers in the parish of St. Olave, Southwark, which comprised Horseydown, and from them a churchyard nearly opposite to St. Olave's Church was called "The Flemish Churchyard."

Vassal Webling or Weblincke dwelt hard by Horseydown, having become possessed of the house of Sir John Fastolfe, called Fastolf Place. Webling was a man of some consequence, and bore for his arms azure, a saltire flory, and in chief a griffin passant.

Or it may be Richard Hutton, armourer, and an alderman of London, who represented Southwark in Parliament from 27 to 39 Elizabeth, an inhabitant of St. Olave's. Whoever it is, he appears to be a man in the prime of life, and he is accompanied by a comely dame, probably his wife, and by two elderly women, and followed by a boy and girl with a greyhound, a servant carrying an infant, and a serving man with sword and buckler. Near them is a yeoman of her majesty's guard, with the queen's arms on his breast.

The citizen in his long furred gown, accompanied by a

smartly dressed female, crossing behind the principal party, is worthy of notice. The gay trio behind them are also remarkable objects in the picture.

The minister accompanying a lady is probably Thomas Marten, M.A., parson of the parish. The hawking party behind shows that the neighbourhood of Southwark was at that period sufficiently open for the enjoyment of the sport. The flagstaff or maypole in the left background is also noticeable, as well as the unfinished vessel under a shed at the river-side, and the unfortunate individual in the stocks.

Two young women and two serving men are bearing large brass dishes for the coming feast, while in the right foreground a party of five are dancing to the minstrelsy of three musicians seated under a tree. A party is approaching from the right headed by another minister, who may be Mr. Bond, minister of the parish, and one of the first governors nominated in the charter. I cannot help thinking, however, that it is probable it may represent a much more noted man; namely, the celebrated Robert Browne, a puritan minister and founder of the sect of Separatists, sometimes called Brownists, who was schoolmaster of St. Olave's Grammar School from 1586 till 1591.

He was connected by family ties with Lord Burleigh, who protected him in the various difficulties and dangers into which he was frequently led by his ardent zeal; and that circumstance may account for this picture being preserved at Hatfield, which was built by Robert Cecil Earl of Salisbury, second son of Lord Burleigh.

Behind the musicians are two figures which deserve some attention. It has been suggested that the appearance of the foremost is much that of the portraits of the immortal Bard, and the head behind him is not unlike

those of Ben Jonson. Nor would there be any improbability in the idea of Shakspeare and Jonson being present at such a *fête*, as Shakspeare lived at St. Saviour's, and is very likely to have been invited to a festival in the adjoining parish; but the date of the picture is somewhat too early to be consistent with that notion.

Of the churchlike-looking building with a tower, at the right of the picture, I cannot give any account, unless it be "The Hermitage," marked on the plan. Of that place, however, I have not been able to learn anything, except that in the account of the churchwardens of St. Olave's, in 1615, they account for having received £13 of Mr. Jarvice Partridge, an attorney for Mr. Anthony Thomas and Mr. Arundale, for charges recovered against them in the suit between them and the governors of the grammar school, for the way from Crucifix Lane over Horsadown, unto the "Hermitage House," being Mr. Anthony Thomas's land, commonly called Westrame's Rents. Its situation was, as will be seen by the plan, near the head of St. Saviour's Dock, so called from the Abbey of St. Saviour, Bermondsey, to which the stream was formerly navigable for barges and boats; and as Mr. Anthony Thomas was the successor of the Knights of St. John, the hermitage, which stood on his land, had most probably in former times belonged to the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem; and it was no uncommon thing for such hermitages to have chapels attached to them, as at Highgate, where the hermit was authorized by a royal grant of King Edward III. to take a toll for repairing the road. The hermitage at Highgate, which had a tower, became a chapel for the devotions of the inhabitants.¹³

¹³ Hermitages were generally founded by an individual upon the ground of some religious house, who, after the death of the first hermit,

At the entrance to Horsedown from Tooley Street, or, as it was formerly called, Horselydown Lane, there was a gate, as appearing on the plan; showing that there was then no public road across the down from St. Olave's Street to Dockhead, but the way was down Bermondsey Street and Crucifix Lane.

By the kindness of Mrs. Allen, widow of my late esteemed friend George Allen, Esq., architect, and of Messrs. Snooke and Stock, his professional successors, I am enabled to exhibit two drawings, representing the exterior and interior of the old Artillery Hall of the Southwark trained bands, which was erected on Horseydown in the unhappy reign of King Charles I.

This building, which stood on the site of the present workhouse, in Parish Street, was pulled down about twenty years since. It was erected in 1639, as appears from a date on the keystone of the portal, and also over the windows on each side of it.

The governors of the grammar school, on the 17th of June, 1633, granted a lease to Cornelius Cooke, and others, of a piece of ground forming part of Horseydown, and enclosed with a brick wall, to be employed for a martial yard, in which the Artillery Hall was built.

In 1665 the governors granted a lease to the churchwardens of part of the martial yard, for 500 years, for a burial-ground; but they reserved all the ground whereon the artillery-house then stood, and all the herbage of the ground, and also liberty for the militia or trained bands

collated a successor; and as those persons devoted themselves to some act of charity, it does not appear so extraordinary that we find hermits living upon bridges, and by the sides of roads, and being toll-gatherers, as numerous records indubitably prove.—*Tomlins' Yseldon*, p. 35.

The Hermit of Horseydown, or Dockhead, perhaps received a toll for keeping in repair the road across the Bermondsey Marshes from Southwark towards Rotherhithe and Deptford.

of the borough of Southwark, and also his Majesty's military forces, to muster and exercise arms upon the said ground. The election for Southwark was held at the Artillery Hall in 1680; and at the following sessions, then held at the Bridge House, Slingsby Bethel, Esq., Sheriff of London, who had been a losing candidate at the election, was indicted for and convicted of an assault on Robert Mason, a waterman from Lambeth, who was standing on the steps of the hall, with others, and obstructing Mr. Bethel's friends. Mr. Bethel was fined five marks.

In the year 1725 the Artillery Hall was converted into a workhouse for the parish.

In 1736 the parish church of St. John, Horsleydown (one of the fifty new churches built under the provisions of the Act of Queen Anne, commonly called Queen Anne's Churches), was built on part of the martial yard; and, in pursuance of the act for establishing the new parish of St. John (which was taken out of St. Olave's), the workhouse was divided between the parishes of St. Olave and St. John.

The drawings, which were made under the direction of the late Mr. G. Allen during the demolition of the building, are careful restorations of the old structure; and as they may be engraved or lithographed for our proceedings, I omit any verbal description of them, especially as these notices have already extended to so unreasonable a length, that I fear they must have tried the patience of my hearers.¹⁴

G. R. C.

¹⁴ As the drawings are not engraved, our Honorary Secretary, Mr. George Bish Webb, has favoured me with the following description of the building from the drawings:—

The building was in the form of a parallelogram, having on one of

its longer sides two slightly projecting wings. The walls were of red brick, and the roof, of high pitch, was terminated at both ends by an ornamental gable with moulded stone capping.

The principal entrance was in the centre of the space between the wings, and was composed of a wide arched doorway between pilasters, surmounted by a pediment, in the tympanum of which was a shield of arms carved in stone. On either side of the doorway, and in each of the wings, was a lofty window of three lights, the central light being arched. The architraves of the windows, the pilasters, and the quoins were rusticated in brickwork. Another doorway is shown in the gable end with two windows on either side, and a range of five windows above. A cornice in brickwork ran round the building, which was also decorated with raised and sunk panels in the same material.

The chief feature in the interior was the fine open-timbered roof, formed by a series of trusses, each consisting of hammer-beams supported by curved brackets springing from stone corbels, similar brackets connecting the hammer-beams with the tie-beams. The beams were ornamented with mouldings and carved pendants. The walls were panelled to a considerable height, the panelling being surmounted by a cornice, and at the head of each panel was a shield of arms in relief. The side of the hall facing the entrance was lighted by a series of lofty arched windows, and the end shown in the drawing by a wide window of three lights, set in an arched recess surrounded by a broad rusticated architrave in stone.

XIV.

A COLLECTION OF WILLS OF PERSONS RESIDENT IN SURREY BETWEEN THE YEARS 1497 AND 1522.

COMMUNICATED BY MISS JULIA R. BOCKETT.

MANY years ago Miss Bockett's grandfather, Mr. Bradney, of Ham, found some wills in a chest in Kingston Church, Surrey. He copied several, one of which Miss Bockett sent to "Notes and Queries" from whose pages the first of the following wills is transcribed.

"The Will of Richard Knyvet, Luter, tempore Hen. VII.

"In the name of God, Amen. The viiith day of the moneth of Aprill, the yere of our Lord God 1497, and in the xiith yere of the regne of Kyng Henry the VIIth. I, Richard Knyvet, of Southwerk in the countie of Surr', luter, beying in holl mynd and clere memory, thanked be our Lord God, make and ordeyn this my testament and last will in maner ensuyng. First, I bequeth my sowll to Almighty God, my Maker and Savyour, and to the glorious Vergeyn, our Ladye Seynt Mary, his blesset Moder, and to all the holy company of hevyn, and my body to be buryed in the church hawe of my parysh church of Seynt Mary Magdalene, in Southwerk before-said, in such place or buryell that the cross there shall stand on the right syde of my burying. Item, I bequeth to the high awter of the said church for my offeryngs forgotten *iiiiid.* Item, I bequeth to Willm Wath my

servant my hanger and my dager with all that longeth to theym, my whyt fustian doblet, a lute and the case thereto. Item, I bequeth to the comon box of the brethered of Seynt Antony xiid. The residew of all my goods not bequethed, after that my debts ben payed, my burying made, and this my will fulfilled, I bequeth holy unto Mawde my wife, therewith to do and dyspose at her own free will. And of this my testament I make and ordeyn the said Maude my hole executrix. In witness whereof hereto I have set my seall. Written the day and yer' aforesaid. These witnesses, Syr Hugh Newton, prest, and William Camp, notary."

The following have since been communicated by Miss Bockett to the Surrey Archæological Society, through Mr. Corner :—

The Will of Alice Nicoll, Widow, of Kingston, 12th July, 1515.

" In the Name of God, Amen. The 12th day of the moneth of July, the yere of our Lorde God 1515. I, Alice Nicoll, of Kyngston upon Themys, in the countie of Surr', within the diocese of Winchester, calling to my remembrance the unstedfastness of this present transitory life, knowyng the day of my departing from the same fast comyng, and not beyng in rediness nor provided for the same, according to the good and laudable custome amongste every gode Cristen man and woman used, and now beyng in perfect memory & stedfast mind, laud be Almighty God, make, ordeyne, & devyse this my present testament & last will concerning my goods and catells moveables, after the forme as followeth. First, I bequeth my soule to Almyghty God, my Maker and Rediemer, and to his blessed Mother our Lady Seynt Mary, and to all the celestial company of Hevyn, and my body to be burid in the churchyarde of Alhalowes,

in the said Kyngston, beside my husband. Also I bequeth to the high altar of the same church for my tythes or offeryngs not done or negligently forgotton or withdrawn, in discharging of my conscience, 12*d*. Also I bequeth to the moder church of Winchester 4*d*. Also I bequeth to the light in our Lady chapell 2*lb*. of wax for a tapier. Also I bequeth to the light of the iii Kyngs of Colyn, within the said church of Kyngston, a *lb*. of wax for a tapier. Also I bequeth to the light of St. Anne a tapier of a pound of wax. Also I bequeth to the light of our Lady of Pity 2 pounds of wax for to make a tapier. Also I bequeth to the ymage of Seynt Sunday v pound of wax for a tapier, to burne every Sunday in service time as long as it will endure. Also I bequeth to the said church of Kyngston a tuell of playne clothe for the behove of the church. Also I will that there be seede for my soul and all Christian souls, in the chapell of Skaly Celi¹ at Westmynster v masses of the v wounds of our Lord God. Also I bequeth to Jone Northrygge two new silver spoons, two pair of sheets, two dyaper napkins, two platters, 4 dishes, two saucers, my red harvest gurdill, my large brasse pott, and two bell candlesticks. Also I bequeth to Agnes Berell two silver spoons of the new sorte, a pair of shetes, a dyaper napkin, a platter, two pewter dishes, a sawser, a bell candlestick, a feather bed, a new bolster, a pair of blankets, a coverlid, a grete pott with

¹ In the Conventual Church of the Augustine Friars or Eremites at Norwich, the place of the greatest profit was the chapel of our Lady, called Scala Cœli, to which pilgrims were continually resorting, and making their offerings there, on account of the many pardons and indulgences granted by the Pope to that chapel, being the only chapel (except that of the same name at Westminster, and another of our Lady at St. Botolph's Church, at Boston) which enjoyed equally extensive privileges with the chapel of Scala Cœli at Rome.

a brokyn legge, a harvest gurdill with a murrey course and a posnet. Item, I bequeth to Isabell Nicoll my table standing in the hall. Also I bequeth to Alice Kemp a pair of sheets, a pewter platter, a pewter dishe, a sawcer, my best gown, & my best beyds. Also to Harry Mademor, my servant, 3s. 4*d.* Also to Mawde Call my best smocke and a good kerchef. Also I bequeath to every of my godchildren 4*d.* The residue of all, my detts paide and this my testament and last will fulfilled, I give and bequeth to my iii daughters. And I ordain for my executors, Harry Nicoll and Harrye Northrege, they to dispose for the welth of my soule as they shall think most best God to please, and every of them to have for his labor 3s. 4*d.* These witness, John Dering, curate, William Morer, Thos Jestelyn, with other mo'."

The Will of John Bannok, Mynstrell, 22nd November, 1514.

"In Nomine Dei, Amen. Be it knowne to all men by this present wrytyng, that I, John Bannok, mynstrell, make my will, with a hole mynde unto God and to the world, the 22nd day of Novembre, and in the yere of the reigne of Kyng Harry the VIIIth the iiith yere. The first part, I bequeth my soule unto God and to our Blessed Lady, and to all the holy company of Hevyn; the seconde pt, I bequeth my body to be buried in the holy grave, where as my last mynde is for to be burid; the iii^d pt, I make my wife my hole executrix, and she for to fulfill my will, and for to receyve my detts, and she for to pay my detts, and my gode Maist^r, William Brown, merchant of the stapell, for to be overseer, for to se my will fulfilled, and he for to have for his labor, vis. viii*d.* Also I bequeth to the brotherhod of Mynstrelles of

our Lady & Seynt Antony in London iiis. iiiid. Also I bequeth to the high awter where as I am buried 3s. 4d. Also I bequeth to my father & to my mother xs. Also I bequeth to my child William all my reyment, and all my other thyngs I comyt unto my wife. In witnes hereof I, the saide John, hath writ this will with my hand. Gevyn the day ut supr' Anno 1514."

The Will of Gyffray Gough, Yeoman of the Guard to King Henry VIII., dated 7th October, 1520.

" In Dei Nomine, Amen. The 7 day of October, in the year of our Lord God 1520, in the 12th yere of the reign of Kyng Henry the VIIIth. I, Gyffray Gough, of St. Mary Magdalene Overy parishe, in Southwerk, in the county of Surry, on of the yeomen of the gards unto our sovereign lord the Kyng, have ordeyned and made this my last will, in this wise & form folowyng. First, I bequeth my soul to Almighty God & to our Blessed Lady Virgene Mary, Quene of Hevyn, and to all the holy seynts and blessed company of Hevyn, and my body to be buried in erth at my pew dore, within our Lady chapell, of my parish church of Mary Magdalene aforesaid. And I bequeth unto the blessed and holy sacrament of the high awter within the same church 4d. Item, I bequeth unto the broderhood of St. Catryne in the same church viiid. Item, I bequeth to the same church, for brikying of the grounde where my body shall ly, vis. viiid. The residue of all my goods and chattels movable and unmovable, dettes, and other my detts for my months wages, be it more or less, remayning in the Kyngs hands, and vis. viiid. in the hands of my felow Roger Whitton, usher of the Kyngs chamber, and vis. viiid. owing to me by my felow John A'Morgan,

and xiiid. owing me by Ffilypp of the Wodyard, grome of the Kyng's hall, lent hym in redy money out of my purse; all these my goods and detts, in whose hands some ever they be, or can be found, or known, and other vis. viiid. owyng me by Alice Brown, the wife somtyme of Bryan Swynbank of the iii Crownes in Southwerk, for a lode of hay, I give and bequeth them all unto Catryn my wife, and Elizabeth my daughter part thereof when she cometh to her marriage (at the dyscretion of her mother); and if the said Elizabeth my daughter fortune to dye before she come to her day of marriage, then I will the same Elizabeth my daughter's part be disposed for my soule and all Cristene soules. And to the performyng of this my will I have ordeyned and made Catryn my wife and Elizabeth my daughter my executors, to se my body honestly burid and done for after my deceyse. And I have ordeyned my frende William Molyne to be my overseer. And I bequeth hym for his labor my russet gown furred with ffox. In witnes of this my last beyng present John Dover, baker, ——— William Molyne, the Kyngs sporyer, William Vynkn, Thomas Bramefeld, and other, the day & yeare aboveside."

The Will of Robert Sutton, of Ham, dated 20th November, 1522.

"In the Name of God, Amen. The 20 day of the month of November, the year of our Lord 1522. I, Robert Sutton, of Ham, within the parish of Kyngston upon Themys, in the county of Surry, within the diocese of Winchester, being in good mind, lett, make, and ordain this my present testament and last will, in manner & form as followeth. First, I bequeath my soul to Almighty God, my Maker and Redeemer, to his

blessed Moder our Lady Seynt Mary, and to all the celestial company of Hevyn, & my body to buried in the church yerde of Alhallowys y Kyngston aforesaid. Also I bequeath to the mother church of Winchester 4*d*. Item, I bequeth to the high altar of the said church of Kyngston, for my tithes or offerings negligently forgotten or withdrawn, in discharging of my conscience, 16*d*. Item, I bequeath to the reparation of every other altar within the said Church of Kyngston 4*d*. Item, to every of my godchildren being alive 4*d*. Item, I will that my diaper table cloth to be cut in the middle, and the one half to be delivered to Petersham Chapel, for an altar cloth, & the other half to Stretham Church. Item, I will that all my corn being in my barne be divided by even portions betwen Thomas Sutton, John Staford, Richard Aden, and Alice Lydgold. Item, I bequeth to Thomas Sutton a flokbed & 3 pair of sheets. Item, I bequeth to Agnes Sutton, the wife of Thomas Sutton, all my shepe and xx*s*. of money. Item, I bequeath to Isabell Garatt 20*s*., and if she decease before she be maryed, to remayn to the next of her kin. Item, I bequeth Abrey Lidgold, my goddaughter, 20*s*., and if she decease before she be maryed, to remayne to the next of her kin. The residue of all my goods & catells not bequeathed, my sepulture made & content & this my present will fulfilled, I gyffe and bequeth to John Sutton, my cosyn, he to dispose for my soul as he shall thinke most best God to please. And I will that Richard Chapman & Richard Fowler be overseers, they to have every of them for their labour 10*s*., & their reasonable expensis.—Witness, Henry Bird, John Atwell, of Hitche, Henry Parkyn, with many other mo'."

The Will of Harry Lutman, of Kyngston, dated 21st February, 1522.

“In the Name of God, Amen. The 21st day of February, the yere of our Lord God m fivehundredth xxii. I, Harry Lutman, of the parish of Kyngston upon Thamys, hole of mynde & of gode memory, make this my last will as in manner folowith. First, I bequeth my soule to Almighty God, my body to be burid in the church yarde of Alhalowes, of Kyngston aforesaid. Item, I bequeth to the high altar 12*d.*, to the cathedral church of Winchester 2*d.* Item, I bequeth to Robert my son a bullok. Item, to Isabell my daughter a bullok. Item, to William my son a bullok. Item, to Agnes my daughter a bullok. Item, to Alice my daughter a bullok. Item, to Sance my daughter a bullok. The residue of all my goods not bequethed, I bequeth to Margaret Lutman my wife, who I make my executrix. Witness of this my last will—Syr William Huntter, curat, Thomas Jestlyn, & other mo’. Writyn at Kyngston the day & the date ut supr’.”

The Will of William Smyth, of Ham, dated 29th August, 14 Henry VIII.

“In the Name of God, Amen. The yere of our Lord God a thousand five hundred and twenty two, the 29th day of August, the 14th year of the reigne of Kyng Henry the VIIIth. I, William Smyth, of Ham, in the parish of Kyngston upon Thames, in the countie of Surry, husbandman, being in good mind and hole memory, make and ordeyn this my last will and testament in manner and form following. First, I bequeath my soul unto Almighty God, and to our blessed Lady the Virgin, and unto all the holy company of Hevyn, and my body to be burid in the churche yerde of All Hallows, of Kyngston afores^d, where my father and

mother being buried, when it shall please Almighty God to take me unto his mercy. Also I bequeath unto the mother church of Winchester *vid.* Item, I give and bequath unto the high altar of Kyngston, for my tithes and oblations forgotten, *12d.* Also I give and bequeath unto the holy Rode of Cumfort a taper of a pound of wax. Also I gyff and bequethe unto the light of the Blessed Trinite *6d.* Also I give and bequeath unto the bason lights of Kyngston *4d.* Also I give and bequeath unto the building of the Rode loft *12d.* Also I give and bequeath unto Jone, my daughter, to her marriage, v marks in money or money worth. Also I give and bequeath unto Sence, my youngest daughter, to her marriage, x marks. And as touching the disposition of my londs and tenements, set and lying in the parish off Kyngston afores^d, hereafter folowing. First, I will that Agnes my wife have all my lands and tenem^{ts}, with all appurts, sett and lying in the parish of Kyngston afores^d, to have and to hold for the terme of her liffe; and after her decease, I will that John Smyth, my son, shall have my tenement which I dwell in, with all the lands unto the said tenement belonging, to have and to hold unto the said John Smyth, my son, and to his heirs for evermore. Also I will that Robert Smyth, my son, have my tenement called Prymys, with all the lands unto the said tenement belonging, to have & to hold unto the said Robert, and unto the heirs of his body lawfully begotten, for evermore; and if it happen the said Robert to die without heirs of his body lawfully begotten, then I will that the said tenement & lands do remain unto Thomas, my son, for evermore. Also I will that Raffe, my son, have my tenement called Lambards, with all the lands unto the said tenement belonging, to have and to hold unto the said Raffe and

to his heires for ever. And also I will that Agnes my wife have my Hemestale Ground,² sometime Deodall, with the lands unto the said Hemstales belonging, to have and to hold unto the said Agnes & her heirs for evermore. All other my goods & catell not bequeathed, after my debts paid, I give and bequeath unto Agnes, my wife, to distribute as she think best, which Agnes I make & ordeyn my executrix, and John Pynchester, and John my son, overseers of this my last will and testament. These witness, John Hunt, Thomas Clarke, John Pynchester, Thomas Alyn, William Mychell, & John Smyth, & many other mo'."

² Homestall ground. (?)

XV.

A COLLECTION OF ANCIENT WILLS, &c.,
RELATING TO SOUTHWARK.

BY G. R. CORNER, Esq., F.S.A.

3, PARAGON, NEW KENT ROAD,
30th October, 1855.

DEAR SIR,

THINKING as I do that one of the most useful objects of local Archæological Societies is to afford a fitting and convenient repository for documents relating to the history of the county or of its inhabitants, and that the wills of bygone inhabitants, owners of lands and tenements, and even of those who held no lands and tenements, afford very valuable materials for local history and genealogy, and most interesting illustrations of the habits, manners, and customs of former times, I send you, in addition to the copies of wills communicated by Miss Bocket, a collection of ancient wills and documents relating to Southwark, which, if the council shall agree with me in the views above expressed, may be an acceptable and useful addition to the transactions of the Society.

I remain, dear Sir, yours faithfully,

GEO. R. CORNER.

G. BISH WEBB, Esq.,

Hon. Secretary Surrey Archæological Society.

A.D. 1082, 16 *Will. I.*—ALWIN CHILD, citizen of

London, founder of the monastery of St. Saviour, Bermondsey, with the king's licence gave to the monks of that monastery certain rents in the city of London, before King William II. gave them the manor of Bermondsey, and thereby induced other donations, temporal as well as spiritual, to be given to the same.

Register of Bermondsey Abbey.

A.D. 1096, 9 *Will. II.*—PETER OF ST. OLAVE'S gave the land of Hoddesdon¹ to the Monks of Bermondsey, which gift was confirmed by King William II. and King Henry I.

Annales Abbatice Sancti Salvatoris de Bermundsei, Harl. MS.

A.D. 1122.—THOMAS ARDERNE and Thomas his son gave to the Priory of Bermondsey the advowson of the Church of St. George, Southwark.

RICHARD DE BOTERWICK by deed poll gave to God and Saint Mary and the blessed Thomas the Martyr, and to the works of London Bridge, 8s. quit rent, which Robert de Bareuill, his uncle, annually paid out of a certain messuage called the Grange, in the parish of St. Olave, Southwark. Witnesses, Serlon Mercer and William Almain, then procurators of the bridge; Robert, chaplain of the said bridge; Walter de Folcham, &c.

A.D. 1378.—On Tuesday next after the feast of St. Edmond the king (20th Nov.) 1378, JOHN MOCKYNG, of

¹ Sic in MS., but query if not Horsedon?

Southwark (probably a relation of Nicholas Mockyng, who was instituted to the rectory of Saint Olave's 11th July, 1374) by his will of that date gave to the high altar of Saint Olave's 6s. 8d., to the church for his burial 6s. 8d., to the light of St. Mary 3s. 4d., to each chaplain there 12d., to the under clerk 8d., to the fabrick of the church 13s. 4d., to the light of the holy cross 3s. 4d., to the light of St. Nicholas 12d., to the master clerk 12d., with provision for two chaplains to say mass in the said church for his soul for one year after his death and then for one to say it for six years.

Register of Bishop of Winton Wickham, ii. p. 3, fol. 177a.

Manning and Bray's Surrey.

A.D. 1407.—WILLIAM BURCESTRE, Knt., by his will, dated at Southwark, in the parish of Saint Olave, the last day of July A.D. 1407, 8 Henry IV., desired to be buried in the Abbey of the Minoreesses of St. Clare without, Aldgate, London. He willed that his feoffees, Richard Wakehurst and Richard Ayland, and Dñs. Thos. Sakevyle, and all others who were enfeoffed of his lands, should permit his wife Margaret to receive the rents and profits of his manor of Burwash for her life, and after her decease that his feoffees should enfeoff his son, John Burcestre, therein, to hold to him and the heirs of his body for ever; and in default of such heirs, he willed that they should enfeoff his daughter Williama (or Williamana), in the same manor, to hold to her and the heirs of her body for ever; and for want of such heirs, he directed the same to be sold.

He disposed of his manor of Sumerden in like manner, and made a similar disposition of all that his manor of the Maze, and his mills and quit rents in Southwark,

London ; and in Havering, his manors of Ewell,² Lesene, and Steers, and all his tenements and rents at the Conduit, London.

He left to his son John all his arms, swords, daggers, and other furniture of war ; to the high altar of the parish church of St. Olave, Southwark, he left 20s. ; to the fabric of the same church 40s. ; to the use of the rector and the parishioners of the said church of St. Olave, in the same church, for ever, an antiphoner to pray for his soul and the souls of all his benefactors. He left to the said Dns. Thos. Sakevyle a cup called swaged cuppe with silver cover ; to said Richard Wakehurst a silver cup with cover of silver ; to Mary Redhogh 40s. ; to William Hale 40s. ; to John Cok 40s. ; to John Wandon 5 marks ; to Henry Bret 13s. 4d. ; to Thos. Bret 20s. ; to Thomas Stoneham 20s. ; to Alianore Stratton 20s. ; to Thomas de Coquinia 13s. 4d. ; to Willm. de Colegne 6s. 8d. ; to Edward Brandon 13s. 4d. ; to John Wycking 6s. 8d. ; to Thomas Prowde, his servant, 20s. and a green coat duplicat cū cavde ; to the wife of said Thomas Prowde a gown vlod (?) furr.

He appointed said Richard Wakehurst and Richard Ayland executors, and Dom^s William Genow, rector of St. Edward's in Lombard Street, supervisor ; and he gave said William Genow 40s. for his pains, and his silver cup with his arms.

Prerog. Office.

A.D. 1408.—JOHN GOWER, Esq. (the poet), by his will, dated within the Priory of the Blessed Mary Overy in Southwark, on the feast of the Assumption, *A.D.* 1408,

² This was the manor of Ewel, alias Tylehouse, in Stepney, Middlesex.

(*inter alia*) left to the four parish churches in Southwark, viz., St. Margaret's, St. George's, St. Olave's, and St. Mary Magdalene near Bermondsey, each of them severally 13s. 4*d.* for the adornment and lighting the same churches; and to each parish priest or rector in the cure of the same for the time being, resident and serving the church, 6s. 8*d.*, to sing and pray for his soul.

Gent's Mag., 1835; *Todd's Illustrations of Gower and Chaucer*, 87—90; and *Gough's Sepul. Mons.*, ii. 25.

A.D. 1424.—NICHOLAS MOCKYNG, Master of the College of St. Lawrence, Pountney, by his will of this date, directs his obit to be celebrated in the church of St. Olave, Southwark, for two years after his death, and gives to the fabric of the said church 13s. 4*d.*

Prerog. Office.

A.D. 1428.—THOMAS MOCKYNG, clerk, son of Thomas Mockyng, citizen and baker of London; his will in

Prerog. Office.

24th April, 1429.—ROBERT MOKKYNG, citizen and vintner of London, by his will of this date, willed that Thos. Rolf, William Daventry, Robert Aubury, and Thomas Cok, feoffees of his messuages or tenements in Southwark—to wit, an inn or tenement called the White Horse; a tenement called the Castle; a house with two shops, which John Dekene held and inhabited; a tenement held and occupied by Robert Develyng Bocher; a mansion which Thomas Burgh held, near the church of St. Olave—should be sold; and out of the proceeds he gave 20 marks yearly for his obit in St. Olave's church for 20 years, and the residue for works of charity. He

also devised a messuage or tenement called the Dolfyn, and a brewhouse called the Bere, with a tavern thereto belonging, in the parishes of St. Mary Magdalen and St. Olave.

7th Aug. 1466, 6 Edw. IV.—WILLIAM WYKES, of Southwark,³ by will recommends his soul to Almighty God and his Saviour, and the Blessed Virgin Mary, his mother, and to all the saints, and his body to be buried in the churchyard of St. Olave's, next to the place where his father lay. And he gives to the altar of the same church, for his tithes and offerings forgotten or by negligence detained, for the discharge of his soul, *xl.* Also he gives to the brotherhood or order of St. Anthony in London *xl.*; and to the brotherhood of the Blessed Mary of the Church of St. Paul, London, *xl.*, with several other like bequests.

A.D. 1466.—In the Name of God, Amen. The xxvjth day of October, the year of our Lord God, mcccclxvj and the vj year of the reign of King Edward the iiijth.⁴ I JOHN BURCESTRE, Knight, whole in mind and in good memory being, make, ordain, and dispose this my present testament of my last will, in this manner wise. First, I bequeath and recommend my soul to Almighty

³ William Wykes is one of the correspondents in the Paston Letters. He was probably a steward or retainer of Sir John Fastolfe at his house in St. Olave's, Southwark.

⁴ Sir John Burcestre, Burghchester, or Burcettor, was of the same family as Cardinal Thomas Bourchier, Archbishop of Canterbury. He possessed the manor of the Maze, in the parish of St. Olave, Southwark, in which parish was also the London residence of Sir John Fastolfe. Sir John Burceter is mentioned in one of the Paston Letters by Thos. Playters, dated London, 8th April, 1461, as having given him some intelligence.

God, my Creator and Saviour, and to our Blessed Lady the Virgin, his mother, and to all Holy Saints in Heaven, and my body to be buried in the wall beside the Holy King, Saint Olave,⁵ in Southwark, in the county of Surrey. Item, I will that after my burying as soon as Elizabeth, my wife, conveniently may, that all my debts which I owe be fully paid. Item, I bequeath to the high altar of the said Church of Saint Olave for my tithes and offerings forgotton or by negligence withholden, in discharge of my soul, xiijs. iiij*d.* di. Item, I will that an honest priest be found of my goods, for to sing at the altar of Saint John, in the said Church of Saint Olave, by x years next following after my decease, for my soule and for the souls of my father and mother, for all my friends' souls, and for all Christian souls. Item, I will that x marks of money be observed and employed to and for my obite, to be kept by x years, solemnly to be done in the said Church of Saint Olave, for my soul and all the souls abovesaid, with Placebo, Dirige, and Mass of Requiem. Item, I will and bequeath that after the death of my said wife the ladies of the Minories, besides London, where my father lieth buried, have my blue vestement. Item, I give and bequeath to serve and be set upon the high altar of the said Church of St. Olave, in festfull days, ij little basons of silver with the arms of Burghersh.⁵ Item, I will that every of

⁵ There was an image or statue of St. Olave in the church which was removed or destroyed at the Reformation, and restored in the reign of Queen Mary, as appears from the following extracts from the churchwardens' accounts from 1556 to 1558:—"Item, paid to John Carowe for making a septon and an axe for St. Towle (Tooley, or Olave), ijs. iiij*d.* Item, payd to Modyn for Saint Olyff, xxxs. Item, payd more for a den^r when we set him up, iis. viij*d.*"

⁶ These notices of the arms and church of Burghersh are remarkable, particularly as they appear to refer to an alliance which took place a

my servants be rewarded by the discretion of my said wife, after the quantity of their service. Item, I bequeath to the Brotherhood of St. Nicholas, clerks, in London, vjs. iiij*d*. Item, I will that after the decease of the said Elizabeth my wife, my white vestment with garters, and a chalice, be delivered to the Church of Burghersh. Item, I bequeath to the use of the Church of Saint Olave aforesaid a vestment of black velvet, with the apparel, ij curtains, and 1 frontell of the same, to be delivered to the same church of St. Olave incontinently after the decease of my said wife, and to serve for my obite there. Item, I bequeath to the Brotherhood of Our Lady in the same Church of Saint Olave, to pray specially for my soul, vjs. viij*d*. Item, I bequeath to the sisterhood of Saint Anne in the same Church vjs. viij*d*. The residue of all my goods, debts, and chattels, moveable and immoveable, wheresoever they be after my debts plenary paid and this my present testament fully fulfilled, I bequeath freely and wholly to the foresaid Elizabeth my wife, to dispose after her own free will, willing and desiring her to do for my soul as she would I should do for her soul in like case, which Elizabeth my wife I make my sole executrix of this my present testament. In witness whereof, to this my present testament I have put my seal in presence of John Bennet, Thos. Hoy, John White, Thomas Hoddesdon, and Thome Aucry, the day and year abovesaid.

Proved and Administration granted to the Widow, 27th Nov., 1466.—

Prerog. C. of Canterbury.

century before. Margaret, sister of Sir Bartholomew de Badlesmere, was married—1st, to — Pichard; 2nd, to Bartholomew Lord Burghersh, one of the founders of the Order of the Garter, who died without issue by her, April 4, 1369; 3rd, to William de Burcestre. She died in 1393, leaving William Pichard her son and heir.—*Cl. 30, Exc. 17 Rich. II. No. 3; Beltz Memorials of the Garter, p. 47.*

MASTER ROBERT ROGERS, leatherseller, a bachelor, gave, among many other charitable gifts, to St. George's Parish in Southwark, St. Sepulchre's, St. Olave's beyond the Bridge, St. Giles' without Cripplegate, and St. Leonard's in Shoreditch, to buy coals for the poor in each parish, £30 apiece.

And for relief of the poor in sundry parishes without the walls, as Newgate, Cripplegate, Bishopgate, and the parish of St. George in Southwark, unto every one of them he gave £26. 13s. 4d.

Stow's London.

A.D. 1503.—JOHN WEBSTER, of St. Margaret's, Southwark, by his will, dated the last of February, 1503, orders his body to be buried in the Church of St. Margaret, a trental of masses to be sung on the day of his burial; bequeaths his lands in Barwey in the parish of Laham and Stretcham, Co. Cambridge, to Agnes his wife during life, and then to Robert his son for ever; constitutes Agnes, his wife, and her father, Hugh Renkyn of the town of Cambridge, his executors. Probate dated 24th April, 1504.

Battle Abbey Deeds, penes Sir Thos. Phillips.

A.D. 1517.—PETER MATON, of the parish of St. Olave the king in Southwark, by his will dated in this year, gave to the Abbot of Battle and his successors, his greatest brass pot, belonging to his house, to remain in the abbot's house (which was in the parish of St. Olave). He gave to the abbot and convent 20s., to be equally divided among them, to pray for his soul; and to the fraternity kept by all the parish clerks in London to the honor of St. Nicholas, 20d.

Manning and Bray's Surrey.

A.D. 1543.—**JOHES ALYNSON.** In the name of God, Amen. In the yere of our Lord God, mccccxliiii, and in the reygne of our sovrayne lorde Kinge Henry VIII., by the grace of God, Kinge of Englonde, France, and Irelonde, defendor of the Faythe, and in erth under God supreme head of the Church of Englonde and Irelonde, the xxxvth. The xxiiird daye of Maye, in the yere aforsayde, I John Alynson, cyttyszen and barbor surgen of London, being hole in body and of pfect monde and remembrance, thanks be given to Almighty God, do make this my laste will and testament in manner and forme followyng and in renounsyng of all other willes and testaments afore made; I bequeathe my sole unto Almighty God and to the Blessed Virgin our Lady Saynte Mary, and to all the holy companye in heven, and my body to be buried wⁱⁿ the church of Saynte Owlyffe, in Southwerke, as nere as may be to the grave of Agnes my late wyfe deceased. Itim, I bequeathe to the highe alter of the same church, for tythes negligently forgotten or w^holden, yf any suche be, in dischargyng of my consyance, xij*d*. Itim, I bequeathe to evry of my god-chyldren xij*d*., if they com for yt. Itim, I wyll that at the day of my de^{pt}ng, there be given to xij pore peopl wⁱⁿ the p^{ish} afore-named there inhabityng in almes, xij*d*. in redye money, to praye for my soulle and all christen soulls. Also, I wyll that there be given to the company of the barbors, before my months mynde, iij*s*. iij*d*. to make them a recreasyon. Itim, I bequeathe to x pore hows-holders inhabityng wⁱⁿ the p^{ish} of Saynte Awlyffe, to any of them iij*d*. Itim, I bequeathe to Plene Woolverston, my wyffes daughter, a fether-bed with the bedsted with all other thynges thereto bolonging, when she come to her maryage, at the discession of Joyan my wyfe.

A.D. 1544.—RICHARD MYNAR. In the name of God, Amen. The xx day of the month of Maye in the yere, of oure Lord God, m^vxlⁱⁱⁱⁱⁱ. I Richard Mynar of the Pyshe of Saynte Olave in Southwarke, hole of mynd and of good remembrance, thankyed be God, make my testament, conteyning my last will in this maner and forme folowing: Fyrst, I bequethe my sowle unto Almighty God, our Lady Saynte Mari, and all the Holy company of heaven, my body to be buried in the church yard of Saynte Olave beforenamyd. Itim, I give and bequeathe to Agnes my wyffe, all my goods, movable and unmovable, whom I make and ordyayne my executrice, to pay my debts, and to dyspose for the welthe of my sowle as she shall thynke moste beste. Wytnes, S^r John Peerse, curate; Rychard Shepherd, Thomas ———, wyth others, the day of the monyth and yere of oure Lord above wrytten.

A.D. 1543.—THOMAS COLSTONE. In the name of God, Amen. The second daye of the monythe of September, in the yere of oure Lord God a. m^cv^cxl^{iiij}. I Thomas Colstone of Saint Olave in Southwarke, hole of mynde and good remembrance, thankyd be all God, make my testament, conteyning my wyll in this man^r and forme folowynge: Fyrst, I bequeathe my sowle unto Almighty God, our Lady Saynte Mari, and all the Holye companye in Heaven, my body to be burriede in the church yard of Sainte Olave beforenamed. Itim, I bequeathe to the hye alter within the foresaid church, viij*d*. Itim, I bequeathe to our Ladys awter iij*d*. Itim, I bequethe to Sainte Clements wⁱn the forsad church iij*d*. The residue of all my goods not given nother bequest, I give to Elisabeth my wyffe, to nuryche

and kepe my chyldrene, whome I make and ordeayne my executrix, to pay my debts, and to dispose for the wealth of my sowle as she shall thynke most best. Wytnes, S^r John Peerse, prist, for the time curat; Nicholas Orrel, prist; Richard Shippard, with many more, the day of the monthe and yere of our Lord God above wrytten.

A.D. 1560.—HENRY LEEKE, of Southwark, beer-brewer, by his will dated 12th March, 2 Eliz. (1560), gave out of the rents and profits of certain houses and tenements within the precincts of St. Martin's-le-Grand, which he held by lease from the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, £20 a year, during the term of the said lease, to be applied as follows:—To the poor of St. Olave's, St. George's, St. Saviour's, and St. Mary Magdalen, £5; towards the maintenance of a free school in St. Saviour's parish, £8; but if, within two years of his death a free school should be built and established in St. Olave's parish, then he gave the same £8 per annum towards the same; to the poor of the city of London, £5; to the preacher for a sermon at St. Olave's, when the money should be distributed, 6s. 8d.; to the parson of St. Olave's seeing the same performed, 6s. 8d.; and to the churchwardens of St. Olave's, for their pains in distributing his legacy, £1. 6s. 8d.

Proved in Prerog. Court of Canterbury, 23rd April, 1560.

HENRY LEEKE, citizen and clothworker of London, son of the late-named Henry Leeke, who survived his father only three years, by his will dated 16th September, 1563, desired to be buried in the church of St. Olvy's, Southwerke, of which he was a parishioner; and

he gave to the poor of this parish £10, to be distributed at the discretion of his executrix (his wife, Alice) and his overseers.

Ex Registro Cur. Prerog. Cant.

MASTER SAMPSON'S WILL.—Item, I give and bequeath these annuities ensuing, to be issuing out of certain tenements of mine, viz. (*inter alia*), twenty shillings yearly, for ever, to the churchwardens of St. Olave's, in Southwark, for the use of the poor of the parish. Dated 16th September, 1659.

Stow's London.

XVI.

NOTICES OF COLD HARBOUR, CROYDON.

BY CUTHBERT WILLIAM JOHNSON, Esq., F.R.S.

READ AT THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING HELD AT CROYDON, JUNE 12TH, 1856.

ALTHOUGH an examination of this district and its immediate vicinity, may lead to the discovery of but few traces of the ancient inhabitants of the neighbourhood, and their pagan priesthood, and those indications are chiefly to be found in the names of places, many of which have, in the lapse of time, become exceedingly corrupted; still these *indicia*, scanty as they are, appear to be of sufficient importance to render them worthy the notice of the archæologist.

Before proceeding to trace out these footprints of a bygone race, it may be useful to consider the probable state of the district before it was inhabited by man, and what were the reasons likely to induce some of the first settlers, who migrated into Surrey from the continent, to select this place as the site of those two or three rude huts which, slowly increasing in number, at length became a village, and then grew into a town. First, then, as to the appearance of the district in its uninhabited state, when the bear and the wolf wandered unmolested by man, around the sources of the Wandel.

The town of Croydon is situate on the verge of the great basin of the London clay; a formation which constitutes the soil of almost all that portion of the

county which lies to the north of the Wandel river. A narrow belt of the plastic clay formation is found running parallel with the margin of the London clay, usually about a mile or less in width; and adjoining to and running parallel with this we find the northern extremity or verge of the range of chalk wolds or downs known as the North Downs. These clay formations would be, in their primeval state, thickly tenanted by the oak, the hazel, the ash, and the birch; in fact, we learn that even in historic times a dense forest covered the north of Surrey. Small portions of that great wood yet remain. The sites of Norwood and Forest Hill, it is true, now almost as little remind us of a forest that once existed there—the great north wood of our county—as Woodside (close by this town), which still retains the name, when the once adjacent forest has long since disappeared. We are well assured, then, that in former days this great wood densely covered the land between the Wandel and the Thames, that its trees crowded the fertile soil of the plastic clay in which the springs of the Wandel rise, and that this wood, not far from the south of our town, would cease to extend itself, since the chalk which there commences will not support the oak or other woodland trees; the furze and other indigenous bushes would rather be its tenants. If any trees were thinly scattered on the chalk downs, they would probably be the birch or the beech.

It was through such a comparatively open country that, after landing on the southern or eastern shores of our island, the first families who migrated into Surrey would penetrate over our chalk downs to the borders of that dense and wild wood to which I have alluded. And could the members of a wandering tribe be likely to find a more attractive site for their habitations than

was then presented to them? Here were to be found excellent water, wood and reeds for their huts, and for fuel, cover for their game, on which they would at first subsist, an open chalk country behind them, and, when they began to have herds and flocks, and arable lands, the rich diluvial soils of our valley and its slopes for their subsistence.

With such natural advantages, we may perhaps safely conclude that from the earliest periods when man occupied our island, around the head-springs of our river at Croydon were placed some of the dwelling-places of the natives. These aborigines would soon give simple names to the objects around them; some of which, I believe, they yet retain. The well-drained land on which the "old town" of Croydon is placed would then have abounded with a chain of pools and irregularly filled water-channels. Now, within a few yards of those old channels we have certain names which seem to refer to these waters, such as Tain-field (which comes, I take it, from the Celtic word *tain*, water, and *feld*, a field) and Duppa, or rather Dubbers Hill (perhaps from the Celtic word *dubadh*, a pond or pool). Coomb Lane leads from these through a little valley; now *cym*, in old British, signifies a low situation or valley.

Then came the period when the increase of the population caused not only the formation of track-ways or roads,¹ but brought into this neighbourhood the pagan priesthood, the first races of whom are perchance utterly forgotten; then came the Druids and their mystic religious ceremonies, and then would soon arise the pagan temples—rude erections, of whose faint, yet pretty distinct

¹ One cause of principal roads being made from the sea-coast to London in the direction of Croydon, might be that they thus rounded the head-springs of the Wandel and their attendant swamps.

traces, still existing in the local names within a few hundred yards not only of each other, but of Croydon, we have next to inquire.

In our pilgrimage from this town to Beddington, as soon as we are well out of modern Croydon, we shall find ourselves in the hamlet of Waddon, once known, and marked in the old maps of Surrey, as Wodden or Woden. The name would here suggest that in its neighbourhood probably once stood a temple or idol of the great God of the northern men; that here were located, among their woods of oak and near to copious springs, the Anglo-Saxon, the Druidical, or a still earlier priesthood. That such was the case, let me remark, before we proceed to other indications of their former presence in the neighbourhood, the very name of the Wandel, which flows through Waddon, also seems to suggest. We may test, and perhaps render this pretty probable, by tracing the etymology of the similar name of *Wandsdyke*, or *Wansditch*, one of the great works of the early Britons, which extends across the county of Wilts. Now, when we find it is the opinion of most antiquarians that this great way or ditch derived its name from an adjacent temple of Woden, shall we not be justified in deeming it as probable, that our Wandel is also a corruption of *Woden*, and perhaps of *dal*, the old Saxon word for a dell or little valley? Camden, speaking of the Wansdyke, indeed remarks (*Britannia, by Gibson, p. 84*): "The natives have the tradition that it was made by the devil on a Wednesday (or Wodensday); the Saxons termed it *Wodenerdic*, that is Woden's or Mercury's Ditch, the village of Wodensburge [Camden adds] is near this dyke."

We may perhaps fairly then regard it as probable that close to the west or south-western side of the

modern town of Croydon once stood some great idol or temple sacred to Woden, that religious rites were there performed, and that to some of these ceremonies were devoted adjacent woods and meads, the site of which may be indicated by the name of Haling, a manor which is hardly half a mile from either Waddon or Croydon, and whose name is derived by Ducarel from the old Saxon word for *sanctus*, which is haliz (from whence also comes the old English word *All Hallows*, for *All Saints*); and he deems it not unlikely that the words *halig* and *inge* may mean "holy meadow" (*Ducarel's Croydon*, p. 73); for in the names of places, as Gibson remarks in his "Camden," *inge* signifies a meadow, from the Saxon *ing*, of the same import: and it may be worthy of notice, that from the very unusual names of two of the fields at Haling (Great and Little *Rangers*), we might conclude that circular stones, or earthworks, connected with Druidical ceremonies, once existed here; "Ranger" being derived from the old British *rhenge*, which comes from the German *ring*, a circle.

Now, in the interval between Waddon and Haling, short as is the distance, yet in that half-mile we pass a little group of two or three houses known as "Cold Harbour"—a place, like almost all the other Cold Harbours (and they are many) dotted over England, of very remote antiquity; but whether it was originally the site of a military or religious station, or the place of meeting for the old British bards, antiquarians are not exactly agreed; they all, however, seem to incline to the conclusions that the name of Cold Harbour is a gross corruption, and that it marks the site of the transactions of very early ages. The word Cold, as Sir R. Colt Hoare remarks in his "History of Ancient Wiltshire" (*Stinton Station*, p. 40), is frequently prefixed to the names of places, as

“Cold Arbour,” “Cold Kitchen Hill,” &c., and is probably a corruption of the Celtic word *col*, signifying a head or chief; Kitchen he deems to be a corruption of the Celtic word *crech* and *crechin*, a hill or summit; so that *Col Crechin*, or the chief summit, has been anglicized into the “Cold Kitchen Hill” of modern Wiltshire.

Before I proceed with these imperfect glances, let us inquire into the origin of the word Harbour. This word, according to Todd, seems to be derived from the Saxon *hepeberga*, a military station, a lodging for soldiers.² So that from these readings we might conclude that Cold Harbour is a corruption of *col* and *hepeberga*, or a chief military lodging or resting-place. Such an explanation is apparently supported by the fact that these Cold Harbours are commonly found in the immediate vicinity of old British trackways, or the Roman roads which were often raised on the ancient ways of the Britons—roads portions of which, we shall presently see, may yet be traced in the neighbourhood of Croydon. As a resting or halting place for soldiers our Cold Harbour would possess the considerable advantage of being close to one of the chief springs of the Wandel, that at Waddon Court.

The name of Cole, or Cold Harbour, remarks Mr. Arthur Taylor (when speaking of the Cold Harbour near Thames Street³), is known to be remarkably suggestive and significant in its general connection with ancient military works, and its occurrence here would

² *Herberge* in French; *herberg*, Dutch; *albergo* in Italian. From this usage of the word, adds Todd, which obtained among the Germans also, the sense of it as an inn, or lodging for any persons, was adopted into several languages.

³ In a conveyance of the reign of Edward III. called “Colde Herberghe.”

seem to point out this spot as one marked by *something* more conspicuous, or more durable, than lines of encampment. (*Archæologia*, vol. 31, p. 120.)

That *something* Admiral Smythe (*Ibid.* p. 128) is inclined to believe to be a mere vestige of the once almost universal Ophite⁴ Worship, the accurate history of which still continues to be a desideratum in archæology.

I do not feel inclined to do more than refer to the Arbour Lows of Derbyshire as having some possible connection with our Cold Harbours. Thus, near Middleton is to be found, says Davies in his "Derbyshire" (p. 581), one of the most remarkable of our county's monuments of antiquity; this is the Arbe-lous or Arbor-lows,⁵ a circle of stones within which the ancient British bards were accustomed to hold their assemblies. Supposing that there was a connection between these, then Col-Arbor-lows might intend a chief place at which, near to some raised mound or monument, the ancient bards of the Cymri, in remote ages, held their meetings;⁶ and if so, then we have here, within a very few hundred yards of each other, three names probably indicating the

⁴ The worship of the serpent (Coluber) was common to the ancient Scandinavians and other nations. Pliny, when speaking of the Druids, alludes to their stories and charlatanery about the serpent's egg.—(*Lib.* xxix. cap. 3.)

⁵ *Love*, *lœ*, comes from the hleap, or hill; heap, or barrow; and so the Gothic *hlaiw* is a monument or barrow.—(*Gibson's Camden.*)—*Todd.*

⁶ Mr. Pegge (*Archæologia*, vol. vii. p. 140), in speaking of the ancient British "Lows," and especially of the "Arbour Lows," near Bakewell, alludes to the Arbour-Low-close, near Okeover, in Staffordshire (*Plott's Staffordshire*, p. 404). Pegge thinks that the name is derived from the British word *arar*, a hero, and *low*, a mount or tumulus, and he concludes (*Ibid.* p. 147) that the monument in question must either be a sepulchre or a temple, and that the probability is that Arbour-Lows must have been a temple—a holy enclosure, not to be profaned or defiled.

former presence of heathen worship; viz., Woden, Col Arbour, and Halige.⁷

Some writers have contended that "Cold Harbour" merely means a very cold place, or harbour *against* the cold in the exposed places in which they are often found. There are several objections to this explanation, such as that the name occurs in sheltered situations, as in "Cold Herberge" in London, and that the name is too common, too widely dispersed throughout the island, and that it is found even on the continent. A writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for May 1856 has perhaps said all that can be urged in favour of the literal interpretation.

But that it is an error to conclude that "Cold Harbours" are always in cold or exposed situations, was not long since remarked by Mr. Benjamin Williams, F.S.A., in a letter read before the Antiquarian Society, January 16, 1851, in further illustration of the etymology of Cold Herbergh or Harbour. In corroboration of this, he observes, that according to Ihre's *Dictionarium Suio-Gothicum* there is, or rather was, the Swedish word *kol* signifying fire, the very opposite of *cool*; in that sense, however, there are various dialects of Germany and the North in which the word *kol* is used as denoting heat.

The name of "Cold Herberghe," I find, is known in Germany. In an ancient itinerary between Aix-la-Chapelle and Treves (starting from the former place), the name thus occurs:—

⁷ The Druid order of priesthood was divided into three essential classes:—viz., the *Bardd Braint*, peculiarly the ruling order; *Derwidd* (hence our word Druid), or religious functionary; and the *Ovydd*, or literary and scientific order. The principal doctrines of the order were—the belief in one God, the creator and governor of the universe, universal peace and good will.—(*Owen's Llywarch Hen*, quoted by *Davis in his Derbyshire*, p. 583.)

“ Ad S. Corneliam	i mil.
Roryng	$\frac{1}{2}$ „
Rusteyne	ii „
Cald Herberge... ..	dim. mil.”

The same place appears in the map given in Murray's Handbook of Belgium under the orthography of *Kaltenherberg*.

But let me not omit to note the existence of that old trackway which passes in a southerly direction by Cold Arbour, and which, in all reasonable probability, the early Britons made, and their Roman and Saxon conquerors afterwards used. If we wend our way up this lane from Cold Harbour, we soon arrive at the commencement of that portion of it where it is considerably sunk below the surface of the adjacent ground, and when we are nearly arrived at Beggar's Bush it joins the “Mear Bank,” or ancient raised ridge, now dividing the parishes of Croydon and Beddington; here, there is little doubt, were placed the old Saxon mear or mark-stones, once commonly set up to mark boundaries. Thence, descending the hill to Foxley gate, this old road (which from a remote period has here formed the boundary of Croydon and Beddington parishes⁸) leads the way to the remains of other ancient trackways, dykes, and banks. The ancient British Ermyrn Street, in fact, appears to have extended in this direction from Pevensey on the Sussex coast, passing near Croydon, to London. The “Stane Street” of the Romans, which extended from Chichester to London, passed through Coulsdon. At the entrance of Far-

⁸ The very fact of this road forming the parish boundary would indicate its antiquity. Since we may fairly conclude that this way was in existence when, in A.D. 636, parishes are said to have been first formed by Archbishop Honorius.

thing Down are traces of three dykes; on the hill ascending from Smitham Bottom are several small barrows; on the top of Riddlesdown, just beyond the sheep-pond, on the right-hand side as we proceed from Purley oaks, are the remains of two ancient banks and double ditches; the direction of these points to the similar works at the entrance of Hoolley Lane from Smitham Bottom. (*Manning's Surrey, vol. ii. p. 448.*) Our Cold Harbour Lane, too, leads towards "The Oaks," at Woodcote, a place which disputes with Croydon for the site of Noviomagus, the chief city, according to Camden, of the Regni.

From a retrospect, then, of the natural temptations which this district would assuredly offer to the early visitors of our island, we should anticipate that it would be selected by them for the site of their habitations; and when we consider the number of places around the town with names of apparently Celtic origin, we may perhaps fairly conclude, that here dwelt, from the earliest periods when mankind inhabited our country, a well-placed population and a numerous and influential pagan priesthood. The mere faint "casts" (as the geologists would say) of their foot-prints I have endeavoured to detect, with the hope that my imperfect attempts will excite my hearers to extended inquiries, and to far more satisfactory results.

XVII.

ON MONUMENTAL BRASSES, WITH SPECIAL
NOTICE OF THOSE AT STOKE D'ABERNON.

By THE REV. CHARLES BOUTELL, M.A.

READ AT THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING HELD AT GUILDFORD 28TH JUNE, 1855.

THE special objects for which institutions such as our Surrey Archæological Society are formed, may, I think, be assigned to one or the other of these two divisions; first, the wider diffusion of a taste for archæological pursuits, studies, and researches, together with a just appreciation of their true character and bearing; and secondly, the application of a comprehensive and concentrated system to the practical treatment of archæology within the range of a certain locality. It would seem that the importance of the former of these objects is scarcely estimated aright by some who are themselves already masters in the science of archæology; and hence it occurs that the aid and co-operation of such learned and accomplished archæologists is not always accorded to the country societies, either so readily or so zealously as might be expected as well as desired. Were they to reflect upon the value to the cause of archæology of a wide-spread taste for those pursuits which are grouped together under this general title, I cannot but consider that our most eminent archæologists would regard archæological societies as possessing peculiar claims upon them for the readiest

and most strenuous support, inasmuch as they are unquestionably calculated, in a pre-eminent degree, to attract attention, and to excite interest where, without their agency, archæology would have remained without notice or regard, if not actually unknown. The claim which societies such as ours may advance for support, in their capacity for developing the archæology of particular districts, for organizing and imparting a definite system to research and investigation, and for giving a fresh impulse to advance archæological science, it is beside my present purpose to urge; I do, however, venture to introduce the subject which has been intrusted to me on this occasion, with a passing remark upon the worthiness of these institutions as the means for strengthening archæology, both by very considerably increasing the number of archæologists throughout the length and breadth of the land, and also by removing those vulgar and unjust prejudices which would define an archæologist as a sort of would-be scientific dustman, whose elaborately erudite trifling is as worthless in itself, as it is repulsive to all but the high-dried brethren of his craft. With those who take an active part in the establishment and the subsequent administration of archæological societies, the importance of winning fresh adherents to archæology is well understood and duly appreciated. They estimate aright the results of elaborate research, and they regard with mingled sentiments of admiration and gratitude the attainments of illustrious individuals; still they feel that the great lessons which the past has written from age to age on those diversified memorials which each age enshrines in the sanctuary of its own memory, and treasures up for those who should come after, as the visible and tangible expressions of its own (once living) presence amongst the

generations of mankind—the promoters of archæological institutions feel that these lessons can never be comprehended in the fulness of their meaning, nor estimated in the due preciousness of their value, without a well-nigh universal recognition of their existence, and a scarcely less widely extended inquiry into, and sympathy with, their teachings. They have learned to regard history as depending for its true value, because depending for its vital essence—truth, upon historical memorials, and, therefore, they are archæologists themselves. They are also conscious that archæology cannot be fully developed, or rightly appreciated, while its study is restricted to a comparatively few; and therefore they seek to enlist fresh recruits into their ranks. Now, in order to obtain these recruits in large numbers, and of a character calculated to do honour to the service, it appears to be essential that, in connection with other and higher matters, an archæological society should (from time to time, and more particularly at an early period of its career) set forth before its members and friends, certain elementary branches of archæological study, and should treat them in a popular manner. This is the opinion entertained by our council, and, accordingly, I am honoured with their permission to introduce, on the occasion of this present meeting, some remarks upon a subject already enjoying a wide popularity amongst the younger, as well as with more experienced, archæologists, and also specially calculated considerably to extend their numbers. Moreover, I am authorized to preface a careful description of the brasses of Surrey and an inquiry into their historical and biographical associations, with some general observations upon these equally curious, interesting, and instructive memorials. In carrying out this plan, I propose now to

request your attention to the first portion of these general observations, and also to the commencement of those particular notices of individual brasses which I hope to be enabled, on subsequent occasions, to extend to every individual brass which time has spared to the county of Surrey. It will be understood, that by the term "Brass," or "Monumental Brass," is implied a commemorative memorial of some person or persons, engraven either upon a rectangular plate of metal, or upon several pieces of similar metal cut out to correspond with the main outlines of the design, the incised metal being, in both cases, let into a marble or stone slab, so placed as to form a part of the pavement of a church, or occasionally elevated upon an altar-tomb. The occasional deviation from the last condition which led, at a late period, to brasses being affixed to the walls of churches, must be regarded as both an exceptional and an inconsistent usage. We are able to show that these brasses were in use, as well in England as on the continent, very early in the 13th century; and it seems to be probable that, with the advance of that century, they were in (at least comparatively) general use. Thus, these incised monumental plates were produced in considerable numbers, and they also attained to a high degree of perfection more than two centuries before the discovery by the Florentine goldsmith, Maso Finiguerra (A.D. 1460), of the art of engraving plates of metal for the purpose of producing facsimile copies by means of impression. The same remark applies to the delicate and beautiful works in true line engraving, executed by artists who flourished at a far earlier period, for the decoration of the metallic hand-mirrors used by the ladies of ancient Rome. In searching for the origin of commemorative works of this class amongst the monu-

mental memorials in use at a still earlier period, we are led to trace the introduction of the engraven metallic plates, in the first instance, to the enamels of the continental artists of the 12th century; those enamels having been themselves introduced, apparently, through Venice, from Byzantium into Europe; while the greater durability of the metal, and its superior beauty also to incised monumental slabs, would insure its favourable reception and extended adoption. The monuments in use in our own country anterior to the introduction of brasses, which now claim our first regard, were upright crosses, adorned with various rude devices of interlaced work, sometimes intermingled with figures of animals. Contemporary with these crosses were small stone tablets, bearing Runic characters. Flat slabs, of larger dimensions, appear to have been also in use at the same period. On all these the devices and letters were produced, either by cutting lines into the stone, that is by incising or engraving them, or by removing the adjoining portions of the face of the stone, and so leaving the designs and inscriptions themselves in *quasi-relief*. The great Christian symbol, the cross, appears incised upon some of the earliest slabs. Somewhat later, the cross, with its accompanying ornaments, was worked in a true, but still a low relief; and now the actual lid of the stone coffin became, in many instances, the monumental memorial; on other occasions, the large rectangular slab was still retained. Shortly after the Norman conquest, monumental inscriptions fell into disuse, if we may judge from the scarcity of examples; and about the commencement of the 12th century we find the first traces of attempts to give a representation of the person of the deceased, either upon the lid of his stone coffin or on a sepulchral slab. These early effigies, though

sometimes incised, were generally produced in low relief, and the desired effect was not unfrequently obtained by such cutting away of parts of the surface of the slab as caused the representation to appear rather sunk in the stone than raised above it. As, in process of time, monumental art steadily advanced, and effigies in full relief were produced by artists of no mean capacity, so it became apparent, from the inconvenience and obstruction necessarily attendant upon the introduction of numerous monuments which would require to be raised above the pavement of churches, that, as a general rule, designs for monumental memorials should be expressed upon flat slabs of marble or stone; thus, while in comparatively rare instances the altar-tomb with its sculptured effigy continued in use, in the great majority of cases the coped coffin-lid gave way to the flat slab; and thus also both the monumental cross and the effigy came to be depicted by incised lines, instead of being executed in relief. Such incised stones would also possess the recommendation of being obtainable at far less cost than similar memorials wrought by the sculptor's chisel, and, at the same time, the designs thus engraved might (so far as the outline process would admit) be identical with those adopted in more costly and elaborately wrought productions.

Still, these incised monuments were exposed to one most serious objection; that is, of being surely and specially injured, if not actually obliterated, through the constant attrition to which, from their position, they would necessarily be subjected. This objection would not attach to monumental brasses, such being the hardness and consequent durability of the plates prepared for their manufacture that many of the earliest examples of these memorials yet in existence are still as essentially perfect

as when first laid down. Brasses, accordingly, when once established in use, continued in favour for the purpose of monumental commemoration until the close of the era of the Renaissance.

In our own country, very considerable numbers of brasses yet remain, many of them being in a state of preservation truly wonderful, when their age and the perils to which they have been exposed are taken into consideration; while others exhibit the effect of every variety of injury. Besides the brasses still in existence, a vast series of despoiled stones, from which the original brasses have been torn, give a sad testimony both to the extensive adoption of these memorials at one period, and to the sacrilegious violence and spoliation to which they were subjected at another. On the Continent but few brasses have escaped, and these are chiefly to be found in the churches of Belgium and of certain parts of Germany.¹

A degree of interest, second only to that which is claimed by the brasses themselves, is attached to the slabs which have been despoiled of their brasses. They will frequently repay attentive study, as they, unless mutilated, represent the composition of the lost brass with the utmost fidelity, and in many instances supply us with examples of designs of which there are no known existing specimens; and it is not uncommon for us thus to learn that brasses have been lost which were probably finer and more interesting than even the most splendid which yet remain. Such despoiled slabs thickly stud our larger and more important churches, and may also be found in almost every church in which the ignorant

¹ Recent researches have discovered a large number of Brasses in Belgium and Northern Germany.

and injudicious restorer has not busied himself to substitute new pavements for old.

I pass on now to observe that the use of incised slabs was not discontinued subsequently to the introduction of the engraven plates or "brasses," and particularly in those districts where marble and stone were most abundant; on the contrary, the two classes of flat memorials continued in use together, and contemporary examples of both exhibit many features in common; the distinguishing characteristic of the brasses being, in most cases, their higher degree of artistic merit. In both the brass and the incised slab the engraven lines were filled in with a species of mastic, generally black, but in some instances of various colours. Colour was also introduced into many brasses by means of enamel.

The brass plate originally denominated "latten" was a compound somewhat resembling the brass now in use amongst ourselves, but more costly and far more durable than that alloy. It appears to have been manufactured exclusively on the Continent previously to the middle of the 16th century, and from thence imported into this country. Although the "plate" itself was not made at home until long after the decline of brasses as works of art, yet we have every reason for believing that almost all the brasses laid down in English churches were the work of native artists, and probably even in the few instances in which the designs are certainly French or Flemish the actual engravers may have been Englishmen.² This brings me to the consideration of the

² Flemish brasses are best distinguished by the execution. The lines are broader, cut with flat chisel-shaped gravers, and not generally so deep as those of England. The Flemish brasses at Ipswich and All-hallows, Barking, London, have errors in the heraldry which would not have occurred if they had been executed in England.

designs generally adopted in brasses, and also of certain peculiarities in their treatment and execution which at once determine and facilitate their classification.

The first great distinction to be observed in the matter of design may be considered to have been ruled by the two general varieties of form in which the plate was used. In the first of these varieties, the brasses were worked in one unbroken plate of metal, or in several plates so united as to present the appearance of one unbroken metallic surface. This was the Flemish practice, and in brasses of this variety the design (derived apparently, like the form of the plate, from the enamelled tablets of Limoges) exhibits the effigy under a canopy elaborately enriched with tabernacle work, and with figures of saints and other personages in niches; the composition being surrounded by an inscription, and beyond that by an ornamental border. The background was covered with a rich diaper, which was (generally) continued between the shafts of the canopy and the inscription, thus imparting to the canopy and to the effigy beneath it the appearance of having been cut out in metal and laid upon a carpet of gorgeous richness. This arrangement accords exactly with the altar-tomb and its effigy sculptured in relief.

Five brasses of this class yet remain in our churches—at St. Alban's, Lynn, Newark, and Topcliffe—which may be assigned to the same artist, whose hand may also be traced in the fine relics preserved in the Church of St. Sauveur, at Bruges. A fragment of a sixth great work, by the same masterly hand, is in the British Museum; it is, in my opinion, the finest specimen of these engraven memorials in existence, and I am much disposed to consider, that it may be the remains of the companion work to the brass of Abbot Delamere which once covered the

remains of his predecessor in the abbacy of St. Alban's, at the foot of the altar-steps in the abbey church.

Other Flemish brasses may also be seen (their dates varying from A.D. 1370 to 1535) at Aveley (Essex), Newcastle-on-Tyne, Ipswich, in the Church of All-hallows, Barking (in London), and at Fulham on the Thames.

The second variety in the form of brasses differs from the Flemish in this respect, that here the effigy or cross, the canopy, shield of arms, inscriptions, and other devices, are each engraved on a separate piece of metal, cut out to correspond with the outline of the several details; each piece being also placed in a distinct matrix, or indent, of a form corresponding with its own, sunk in the face of the marble or stone slab, which thus became the field or background of the entire work. This is the method which was adopted by the English artists in the brasses which they produced, and it is unquestionably superior to the Flemish system. In these Flemish works, however wonderful as productions of the graving-tool, the eye is confused by the large and profusely ornamented surface presented to it at one view; whereas the brasses of England, by their arrangement, preserve clearly the distinctness of the several parts, while the canopy and surrounding marginal inscription sustain the unity of the design. I must add that the slab itself to which the brass plates are affixed contributes in no slight degree to the unity and completeness of the work as a composition. Accordingly, in taking rubbings, or in making drawings or engravings, the slab should always be included.

A few other brasses yet preserved in England are evidently of foreign workmanship, or at least of foreign design, notwithstanding that they are destitute of backgrounds. Such brasses are at Wensley, Yorkshire, and

North Mimms, Herts; they both belong to ecclesiastics, and are both Flemish. Also at Minster and Horsmonden, Kent; at Elsyng, Norfolk; Horseheath, Cambridge; at Ockham, Surrey; and at Trotton in Sussex, (date 1310); all of which are to be attributed to French artists. And, on the other hand, there is a brass at Constance cathedral to Robert Hallum, Bishop of Salisbury, who died while attending the council held at that city, A.D. 1416, which is of English design, and there is a tradition that it was sent thither from England.

Before the introduction of brasses, the designs which we have good reason for supposing to have been prevalent upon incised slabs were crosses with (in some instances) marginal inscriptions. Effigies appear to have been less common. There was also a singularly interesting class of designs which obtained very generally in incised slabs, but which we do not find to have been adopted in more than a few instances by the engravers of brasses; these designs exhibit, with the monumental cross, and sometimes with the inscription also, a device indicative of the profession or occupation of the deceased, such as a pastoral staff for a bishop or abbot, a chalice for a priest, a sword for a warrior, &c.

The earliest brasses appear to have been inscriptions, or inscriptions and crosses. In these memorials the inscription was set about the four sides of the slab near the margin; each letter was cut out of the metal and fixed in a hollow for its reception, and the rows of letters were (but not in the earliest examples) enclosed within narrow strips or fillets of metal forming borders to them. During the 13th and 14th centuries we find that an attempt was made to combine the cross and the effigy upon the same monument and in the

same design. Parts of the figure were sometimes introduced into these compositions; hence, apparently, may be derived the demi-figures so common in brasses. From these curious and interesting slabs, also, crosses were introduced into brasses having open floriated heads and inclosing figures or parts of figures. Crosses were also engraved without any open floriated heads, as in the fine and interesting examples at Higham Ferrers (Chichele Brass, A.D. 1400), and at Beddington, Surrey, to Margaret Oliver, A.D. 1425.

The custom of placing effigies or semi-effigies within or upon crosses, and also above them, led to the adoption of bracket brasses, in which the figure was placed upon a bracket and generally covered with a canopy.

The effigies represented in brasses comprise an almost uninterrupted series of figures of ladies, men in armour of various ranks, and civilians, from the time of Edward II. and Edward III. till the Reformation. The number of these figures is very considerable, and they are widely scattered through different districts, affording abundant facilities for reference, comparison, and illustration. They exhibit and illustrate with admirable exactness the changes in armour and costume which were introduced and discarded during that long and eventful period. They exemplify the feelings, tastes, and usages of our ancestors in almost every department of social and political life in those days, from generation to generation. They furnish a graphic chapter in the rise, development, and decline of art. I need scarcely add that they supply to the historian, the politician, the artist, the herald, and the topographer of our own times, information at once valuable, interesting, and instructive.

The brasses of ecclesiastics which yet exist give us examples of every variety in the habits of the hierarchy, down to the year 1554 (2 Mary), and on to 1611 (7 Charles I.). In addition to archbishops, bishops and abbots, priors and abbesses are also represented in brasses, though at a late period only; and in addition to these, commencing early in the second half of the 14th century, there is a long series of engraven effigies of priests in eucharistic, processional, and academic habits. The modifications of form and adjustment introduced into some of the clerical vestments, together with the varieties in their ornamentation, are well shown in these brasses, which are also, in many instances, indicative of the tone of feeling prevalent at the time.

The brasses of ladies and civilians (which commence at about the same period with those of ecclesiastics) exhibit abundant varieties in costume. These are all, without doubt, truthful examples of the dresses and ornaments actually worn. From other sources (illuminated MSS., &c.) we learn, that during the 14th and 15th centuries the dresses of both sexes were not only continually changing in their fashion; but that they were various and fantastic in the extreme. On the brasses the extravagances of fashion almost universally appear, with the very best taste, chastened, and the more outrageous forms are curtailed and simplified; or, rather, such forms are omitted, while the comparatively simpler styles are retained and exhibited. A marked similarity between the general effect of the costume of the two sexes is observable: the knightly coif of mail was emulated in the wimple of the high-born dame; both knight and lady wore the flowing mantle; the ladies delighted to have their dresses covered with heraldic adornments, and strange to our eyes (if not to their own) they

would have looked thus emblazoned,³ as in the instance of Lady Tiptoft, whose brass at Enfield shows her in a mantle having three great lions passant on one half of it, and on the other another lion rampant, at least as large as his three neighbours. The merchant and his lady wore the same flowing tunic; the knightly belt, both in form and adjustment, was closely imitated in the more delicate cinctures which encircled the ladies' waists. In addition to the long array of brasses of ladies and of merchants of various callings, there are also brasses of judges, from which we learn that in the 15th century the civilian's sword (*anelace*) was worn with the judicial coif and ermine; and there are brasses of serjeants learned in the law with coif and bands, of notaries with inkhorn and penner, and of crown-keepers and yeomen of the guard to the sovereign; of yeomen, and others.

The armour represented in brasses commences with the mail suit worn in the time of the first Edward, and furnishes examples of almost every change and modification in the panoply worn by the chivalry of England. Six brasses exemplify this style of armour; of these, the brasses at Trumpington and Chartham are unfinished, those at Croft and Buslingthorpe are half-figures; the Acton brass to Sir R. de Bures is singularly fine, and its preservation is actually wonderful. Of the sixth, the earliest of the group, I shall have presently to speak more particularly; this is the brass of Sir John D'Aubernoun.

From the unmixed mail we are carried on to the first decided addition of defences of plate or perhaps of prepared leather (*cuirbouilli*). During the next succeeding

³ These dresses were doubtless for state occasions only. The legal term "feme coverte" is derived from this usage.

period, the earlier years of Edward III., we have but a few examples: one of these, however, though much worn and mutilated, is a splendid work of art, and in the matter of armour and arms a little arsenal of itself; this is the brass to Sir H. Hastings, at Elsyng, which is also equally valuable from its architectural and heraldic accessories. Here is one of the earliest known quartered coats of arms—the royal arms on the jupon of Edward III. himself, who appears in a compartment of the canopy. I may add that the sub-canopies of these compartments of the principal canopy afford admirable hints for designs for stained glass.

Examples increase as the reign of Edward III. advances, and they abound during those of his unfortunate grandson and of Henry IV. The camail was universal. To this martial appendage the gorget of steel succeeded under Henry V., and thus the armour became of unmixed plate.

Every plate that, in process of time, was added in hopes of strengthening the defensive equipment against the shock of the charge either in the lists or in the field, and every fresh device for giving increased freedom to the sword-arm of the knight without detracting from its security, are found to have been carefully rendered on the brasses of the 15th century. The decadence of armour is also fully illustrated in the later brasses, which themselves give evident proof of an art rapidly declining.

The full value of the representation of armour given in brasses cannot, perhaps, be adequately appreciated, without instituting a comparison between these engraven figures and the actual relics of armour preserved in the Tower and other amouries. A comparison between the designs of brasses and those of sculptured effigies, seals, illuminations, and stained glass, will also tend

greatly to enhance our opinion of the value of these engravings.

As a matter of course, all these figures supply us with illustrations for a national history—illustrations of the people of England drawn in their own times, therefore of peculiar interest and value. No less admirably do they illustrate our great national writers in other departments of literature. How very valuable in this respect, for example, are the brasses of Alianore de Bohun, Duchess of Gloucester, of Lord Berkely, and Sir William Bagot, all characters in our great dramatist's "Richard II.;" also the brass of the standard-bearer to that unfortunate prince, Sir S. de Felbrigge, Knight of the Garter, who appears with the royal banner by his side, and who married a maid of honour to Anne of Bohemia, the queen. Then there is Lord Camoys, also a Knight of the Garter, who led the left wing at Agincourt; and Sir Anthony Grey (brother of Lord Grey of Groby, the first husband of Elizabeth Woodville afterwards Queen of Edward IV.) who, with his brother, fell at the battle of Bernard's Heath, near St. Alban's, February 17th, 1480; and, still later, at Hever is the brass to Sir T. Bullen, the father of the ill-fated mother of Queen Elizabeth; while at Blickling, another Anne Bullen, aunt to the queen, is represented in a brass. I might with ease extend very considerably this historic series, but I must be content to specify only one other example—a brass of poetic interest, the memorial of Thomas, son of Geoffrey Chaucer, at Ewelme.

Leaving for some future occasion a sketch of the general character of the inscriptions introduced into brasses, of their heraldry and symbolic devices, the attitudes of their effigies, and their accompanying accessories, including some observations upon the cross-

legged attitude in certain military effigies, which has attracted so much attention and led to such unfounded theories; leaving also the canopies, architecture, and other accessories, and the cost of their production,—I proceed to remark, that the earlier examples of these engraven monuments you will find to be the best as works of art: the plates are of harder metal, thicker, and in all respects better prepared; the designs are distinguished by a simplicity, breadth, and boldness, which gradually disappeared in process of time; the art workmanship is firmer than in later brasses, more expressive, more artistic. The true power and capacity of outline were thoroughly understood by the earlier brass-engravers.

The same may be said with reference to the brasses which prevailed in particular districts. In all cases, however, fidelity of representation was rigidly observed. To personal portraiture, as we now understand the term, these artists paid but little regard; they seem, indeed, to have considered it unnecessary to impart to the countenances of their figures more than the distinctive characteristics of sex, and of youth or age, as the case might be. The figures themselves varied in size, from the full proportion of life to 18 or 15 inches; but the costume and armour of the time in which the brass was engraved were always the costume and armour indicated on the brass. And since, as a general rule, the brasses were engraved and laid down immediately after the decease of the person represented, the date of the brass and of the commemorative inscription may usually be regarded as identical. Exceptions to this rule will be observed by the student of brasses; they arise chiefly from a habit which prevailed with some persons (and more particularly amongst ecclesiastics) of having their brasses

prepared during their lifetime and under their own directions. In these cases, even the inscriptions were written and engraved, blanks being left for the actual dates. The blanks generally remain, since too often none were found who cared to fill them up. In other instances, a brass may have been laid down to commemorate a person then long deceased; or an early brass may have been appropriated afresh at a subsequent period, and, with a fresh inscription, laid down as the portraiture and memorial of some person of a more modern age. (And here, in a parenthesis, I would observe, that not the least remarkable circumstance brought to light by the study of the monumental memorials of the middle ages, is the readiness with which the very men who were most anxious to provide monuments for themselves treated the monuments of others with disrespect, and even removed or appropriated them to their own purposes.) On the death of either a husband or wife, the survivor, in placing a brass to the memory of the lost one, usually had the figures of both represented, and the inscription written in the plural number, blanks being left for the date of the survivor's decease. In these brasses, if two dates appear, the brass itself is almost always of the earlier date. I say almost always, because in rare instances the brass to both husband and wife, with figures of both sexes, was laid down at the decease of the survivor. While speaking of the brasses to husband and wife, I may add that such effigies are occasionally to be seen hand in hand, and that, when in this attitude, they generally, if not always, denote a memorial placed by a widow to her departed lord. Of brasses of this kind, I may mention examples at Berkhamstead, A.D. 1356; Chrishall, 1370; South-acre, 1384; Dartmouth, 1403 (where Sir J. Hanley

appears between his two wives, holding the second spouse by the hand, his right hand resting upon the sword-hilt), and Trotton; 1424. Sculptured effigies are also thus represented; as remarkable examples, I may mention the effigies of Richard II. and his queen. My no less judicious than talented and accomplished friend Mr. E. Richardson discovered that this was the original attitude of the group from a close examination of the mutilated figures in Westminster Abbey; and having obtained corroborative proof of the correctness of his conjecture, he restored the cast of this fine monument in the Crystal Palace in accordance with the original design. There is one brass, and it is in every respect one of the finest in existence, which appears to be a solitary exception, commonly considered to be necessary for establishing a general rule. In this case, I refer to the rule already set forth that the costume of the period in which the brass was executed was represented on the engraven effigies. This is the memorial of Sir R. de Swynborne and his son, Sir T. de Swynborne, at Little Horkeley. The father and son severally died A.D. 1391 and A.D. 1412; and the brass (executed in 1412) represents the two knights each in the armour of his own time; and as an important change in armour was introduced in the interval between these two dates, the two effigies exhibit some points in marked contrast. Each of these effigies is surmounted by a triple canopy of the utmost grace and beauty, and the entire work, which rests on an altar-tomb, is in a rare condition of preservation.

The earliest example of a brass of which we have any record, was in the church of St. Paul at Bedford, to Earl Simon de Beauchamp, who died before A.D. 1208; this memorial, now long lost, consisted of a border inscription, with probably a cross. The earliest brass of

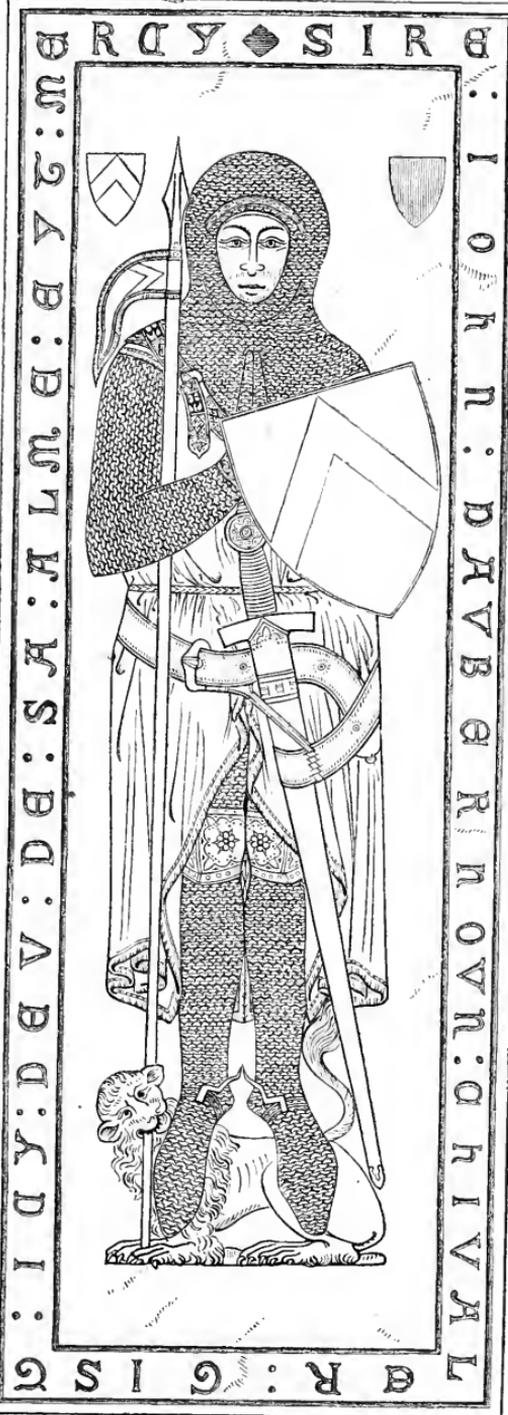
which the design has been preserved by means of an engraving was in France, and commemorated Philip and John, the two sons of Louis VIII., who reigned from A.D. 1223 to 1226; and the earliest brass known to be still in existence,⁴ is the bold and martial effigy of Sir John d'Aubernoun, which is preserved in the church of Stoke d'Abernon, in this county of Surrey; with this brass, accordingly, I commence my proposed descriptive notices of "The Monumental Brasses of Surrey."

This brass, when in its original state of completeness, consisted of the armed effigy of the knight, two small shields of arms, one on either side, a little above his head, and an inscription in Norman-French, which formed a border to the entire composition. This description was written in single Lombardic, or Uncial capitals, according to the usage of the time, with stops between each word, and a cross at its commencement; the letters were also inclosed within two narrow fillets of the metal. The brass-work of this inscription is entirely lost; the time-worn stone, however, still shows that it was thus expressed, ✠ SIRE : IOHN : DAVBERNOVN : CHIVALER : GIST : ICY : DEV : DE : SA : ALME : EYT : MERCY : and that it commenced in the centre of the stone at its head. Of the two small shields, that on the sinister side of the slab is lost; the dexter shield remains, and it is charged with the arms of d'Aubernoun, *Azure, a chevron or*. This effigy has been preserved with scarcely any injury throughout the long period that has passed away since the time of Edward I. It represents the knight as armed in a complete suit of mail (chain-armor). The body is

⁴ There are early brasses in Belgium, and one bearing the date of 1279 is at Hildesheim, in Germany.

covered with a sleeved hauberk, a coif is drawn over the head, and the lower limbs and feet are guarded by chausses of the same flexible and inwoven defence. The genouillieres, or knee-plates, are possibly of prepared leather. There is a lion at his feet, and he is not, as in many other instances, represented as cross-legged; his attitude is that of repose. Mr. Waller's remarks on this are to the following effect:—"Considered as a work of art, it will be found that the figure is ill-proportioned, but the arrangement of the drapery judiciously contrived; whilst, as a production of the burin, this brass is not excelled by any subsequent example; each link of the mail is distinctly represented, and the mere work of graving up so large a surface must have cost many weeks of patient labour." This name of d'Aubernon appears to have been derived from the river Aube, in Picardy, Champagne, and Burgundy. Roger d'Aubernon came over with the Conqueror, and appears in Doomsday as settled in Surrey, under Richard de Tonbridge, Earl of Clare. He held the manors of Molesham and Aldbury, and others in Stoke and Fetcham, but he established his residence at Stoke. This baron also possessed various other estates in other parts of the kingdom, especially in Bedfordshire and Devonshire. Several of his descendants are mentioned, and Walter d'Aubernon bore arms against King John. The first of this family, named John, died before 1279, the 7th, that is, of Edward I., leaving a son, another John, who died 1327; his son was also John, and his son William, who died in 1358 without male issue, after which the representation of the family became vested in the female line. There are three stones commemorative of members of this family in the chancel, all to Johns; but these are easily distinguished, and to each a period

may be assigned. With reference to our Sir John d'Auberon: at the death of his father, Gilbert, in 1236, he was a minor, but not far from his majority. In 1264, he was sheriff of Surrey and Sussex, so that you see there was a union in early times between Surrey and other counties. In 1266 he was sheriff again of the two counties, and after that period he is not mentioned in any public document. The son, however, appears, and is known in 1278, because in that year he was summoned to pay a fine on entering on his property; consequently, therefore, the inference is, that his father died previous to that period. Hence we assign to the brass the date of 1277. I have said the state of society is well illustrated by an inquiry into the circumstances connected with the career of this individual. There is preserved an account of the remarkable suit instituted against Sir John, the sheriff of Sussex and Surrey, in the year 1269, the 49th of Henry III. It appears that in 1265 William Hod, of Normandy, shipped to Portsmouth ten hogsheads of woad. These were seized, immediately on their landing, by robbers who infested the neighbourhood of Portsmouth in those days, and carried them off to Guildford; William Hod, of Normandy, overtook the robbers, regained his property, and lodged it for safe keeping in the castle. Then one Nicholas Picard and others from Normandy appear, and demand the property, that it should be given up to them in the name of one Stephen Buckerel and others. If there were any demur, he threatened to destroy by fire the whole town of Guildford, with its church, chapel, and neighbourhood, on the morrow. Nicholas, the under-sheriff, who appears to have resided there, and had property, and what he esteemed more than his property, his wife and family

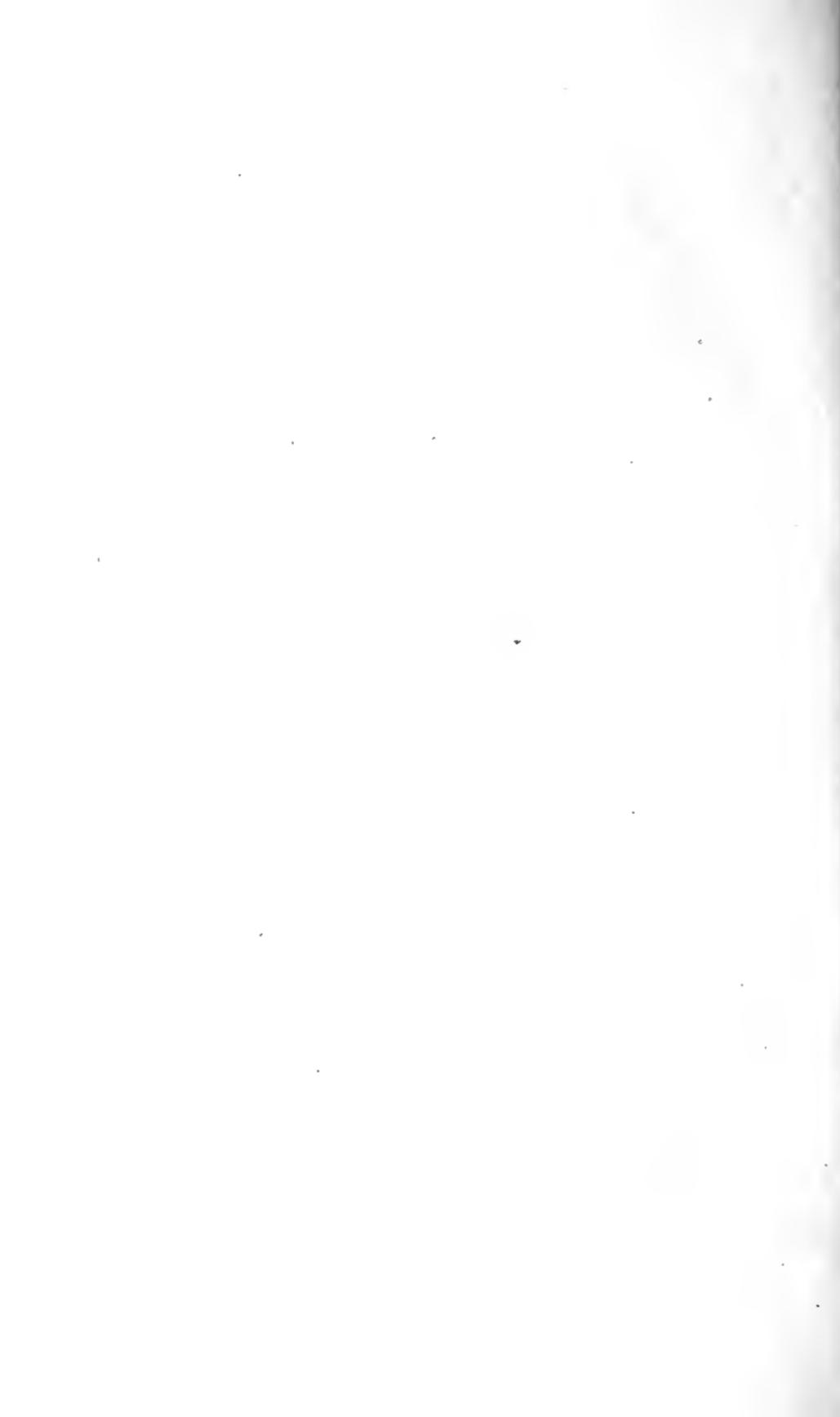


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BRASS OF SIR JOHN D'AUBERNOUN,
 Stoke D'Abernon Church, Surrey, A.D. 1377.

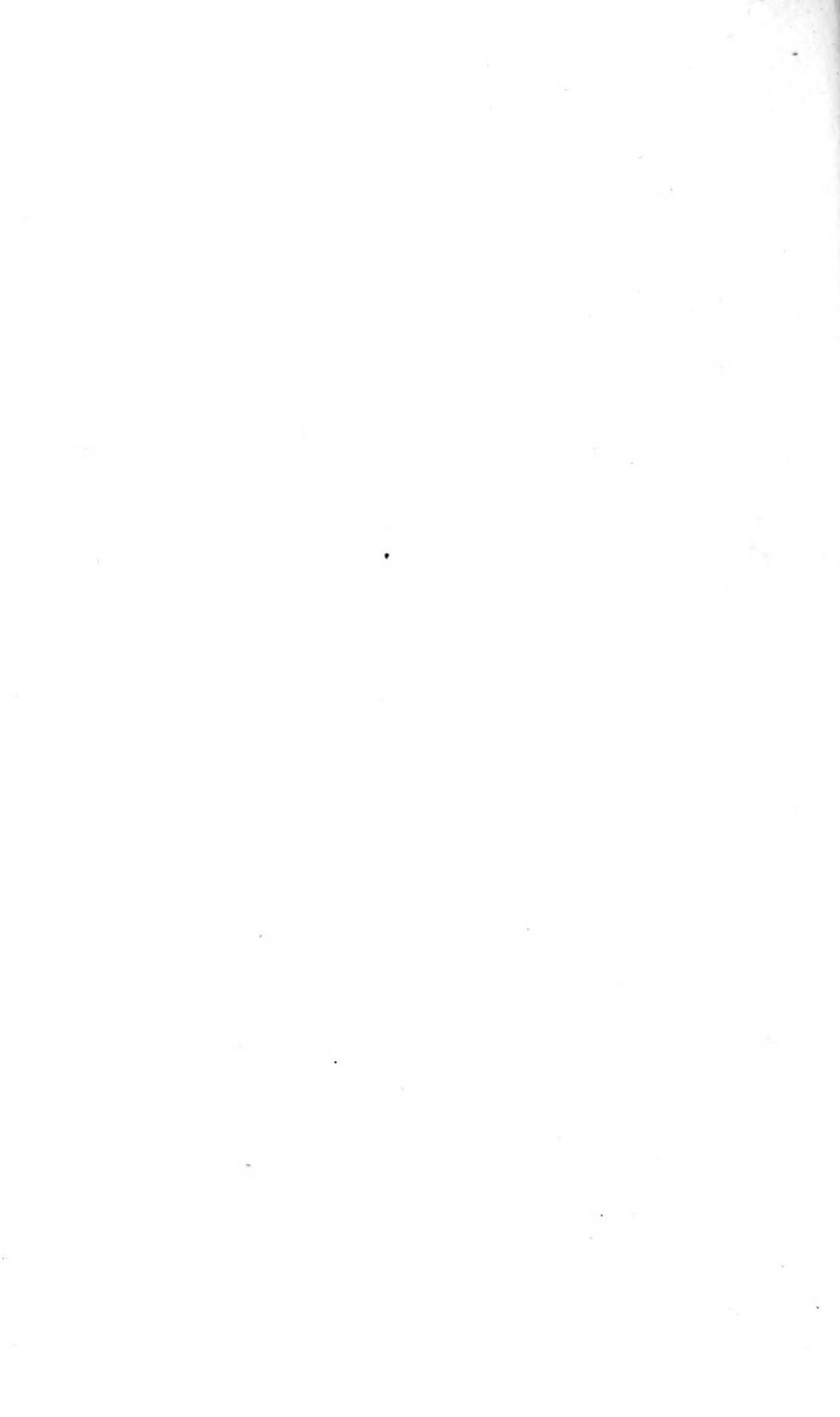




BRASS OF SIR JOHN D'AUBERNOUN.

Stoke D'Abernon Church Surrey. A D. 13:7.

living at Ditton not far off, gave up the property, which was at once carried off from the castle of Guildford. It was in consequence of this transaction that the original merchant brought an action against the sheriff of the county, the sheriff of course being responsible for the deeds of his representative, and he was fined in the full sum of 120 marks. It appears there were some circumstances connected with this matter which made it a mere question of disputed property. After all, the transaction is very questionable. I may remark, how strange does this mode of settling disputes appear to us. How strange that the sheriff of a county so near the metropolis, should have been unable to raise a sufficient number of persons to prevent so gross an outrage. From the first Sir John, I pass to his son, the second of that name, who died in 1327. The original brass of this second Sir John D'Aubernon is even more interesting, in certain respects, than that of his father, inasmuch as there are several others which present the same features as the brass of the first Sir John; whereas of the second there are but very few indeed. In very many places in this county of Surrey there are other brasses, all of which deserve some degree of attention, as all of them are interesting, and, indeed, all are valuable. The most important are at Kingston (Skene), Beddington (Carews), Crowhurst (Gaynesford), Ditton, Horley, East Horsley (the remarkable brass of Bishop Boothe), Lingfield (Sir Reginald de Cobham), Merstham (Elmebrygge), Shere, Cranley, and many other places.



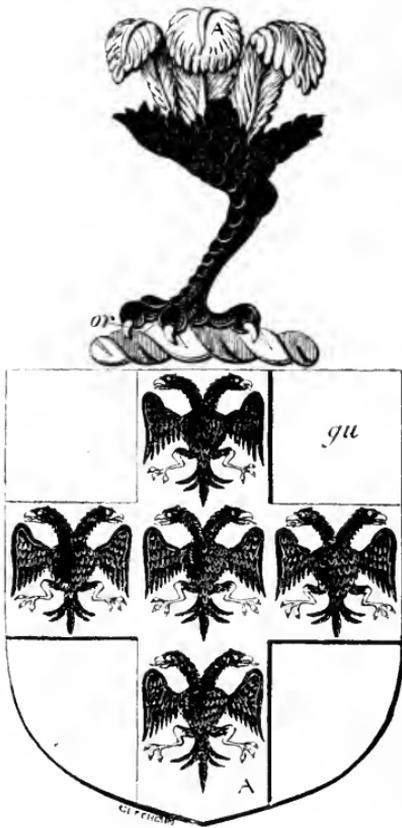
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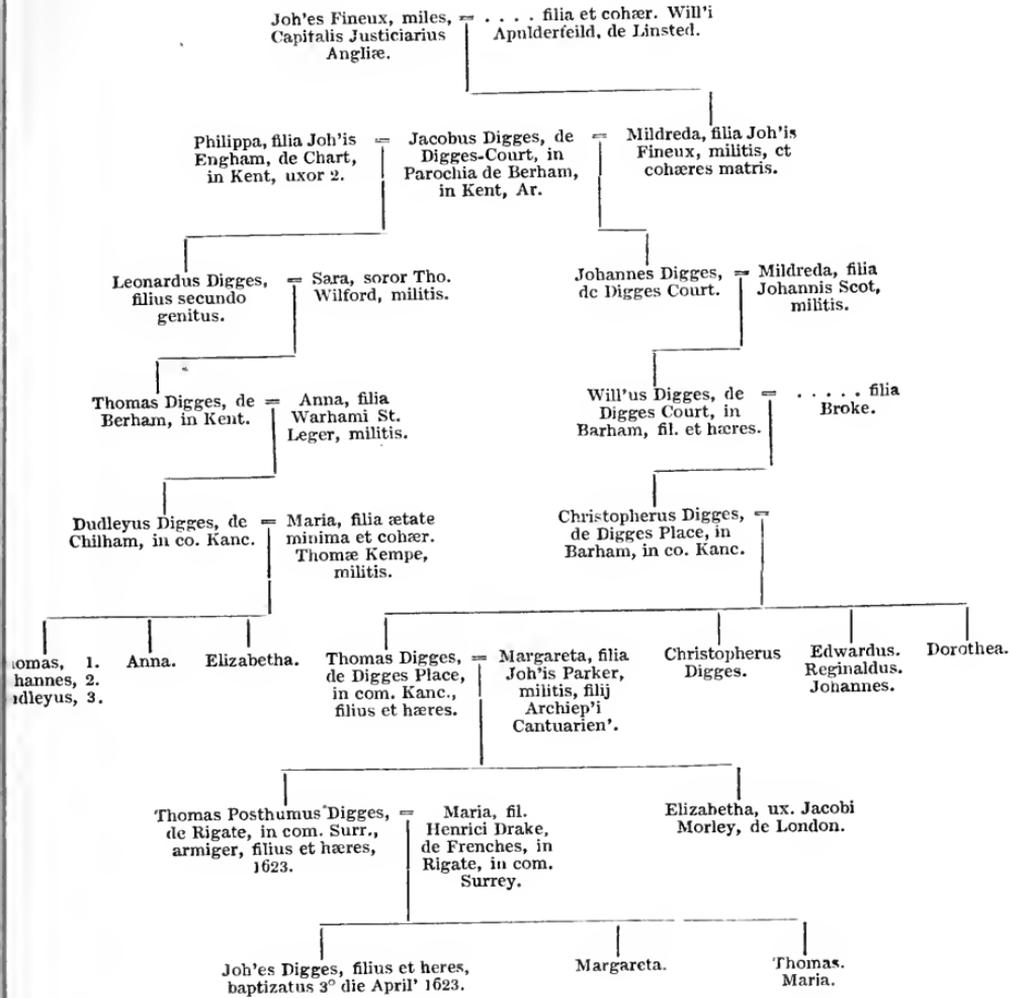




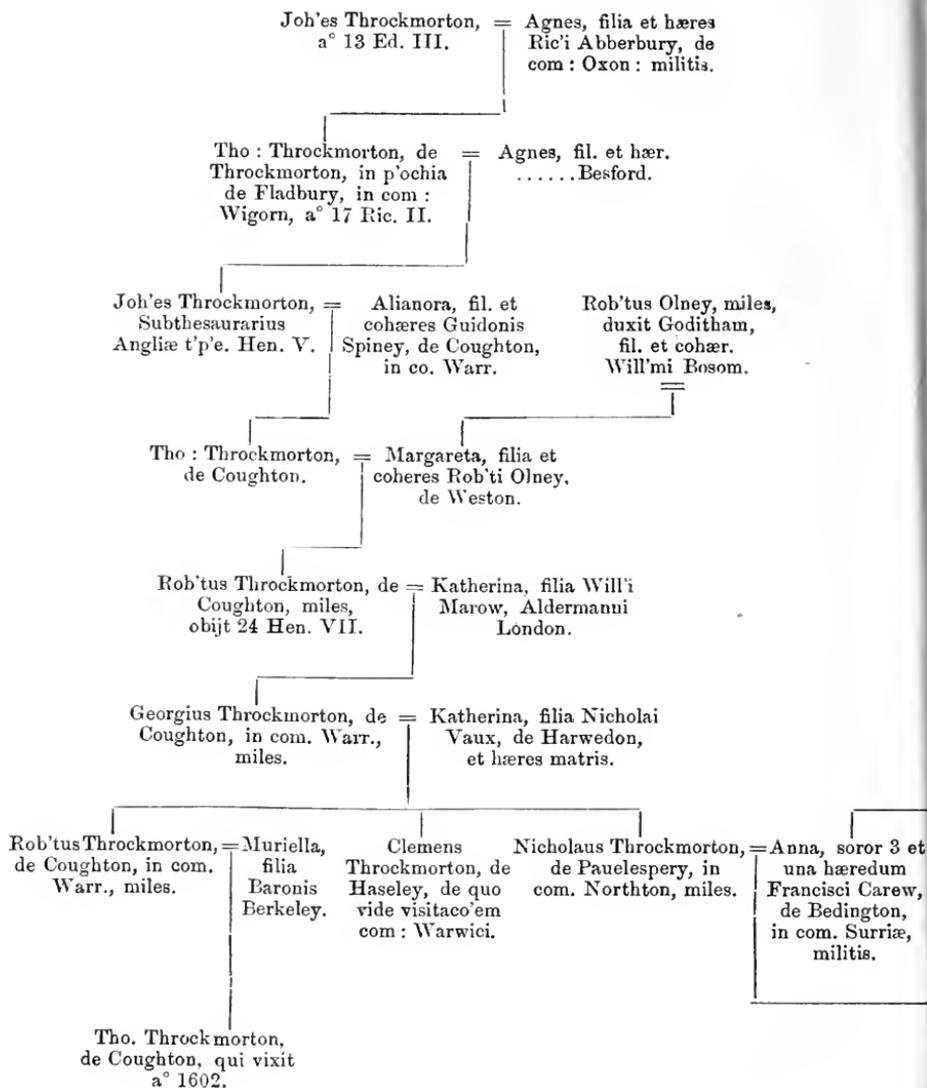


Thomas Posthumus Digges

Digges of Reigate.



Carew of



Beddington.

Nicholaus Carew, de = Lucia
Beddington, fil. et
hæres, a° 2 Hen. V.

Nicholaus Carew, de =
Bedington, obiit
4 Sept. a° 11 Hen. VI.

Nicholaus Carew, de =
Bedington Ar.,
obiit a° 6 Ed. IV.

Jacobus Carew, de = Margareta.
Bedington.

Rich'us Carew, de Bedington, =
miles, Vicecomes Surriæ,
a° 17 Hen. VII.

Nicholaus Carew, de Bedington, miles, = Elizabetha, filia
ordinis Garterij, a° 12 Hen. VIII., Thomæ Brian,
Locumtenens Calisiæ, decollatus. militis.

Franciscus Carew,
de Beddington,
miles, obiit cœlebs,
a° 1607, s. p.

Elizabetha, 1 soror
et cohær., uxor
..... Hall.

Maria, soror 2, ux.
Arthurij Darcy,
militis.

Isabella, soror
quarta et
cohæres, uxor
Will'i Sanders,
de Ewell, in
Surr. Ar.

Arthurus Throckmorton,
de Paulesperry, in
com. Northton, miles,
a° 1623 duxit

Nicholaus Throckmorton, vulgariter
Carew ratione adoptionis, miles, de
Beddington, in Surrey, 1623 duxit
in 2 uxorem, Susannâ, filiam
Bright, de St. Edmundesbury, in
Suff., relictam Butler, de
London, mercatoris.

= Maria, filia
Georgii More, de
Loseley, in com.
Surrey, mil.

Elizabetha,
uxor Walteri
Raleigh,
militis.

Thomas,
ob. in
infantia,
s. p.

Susanna.

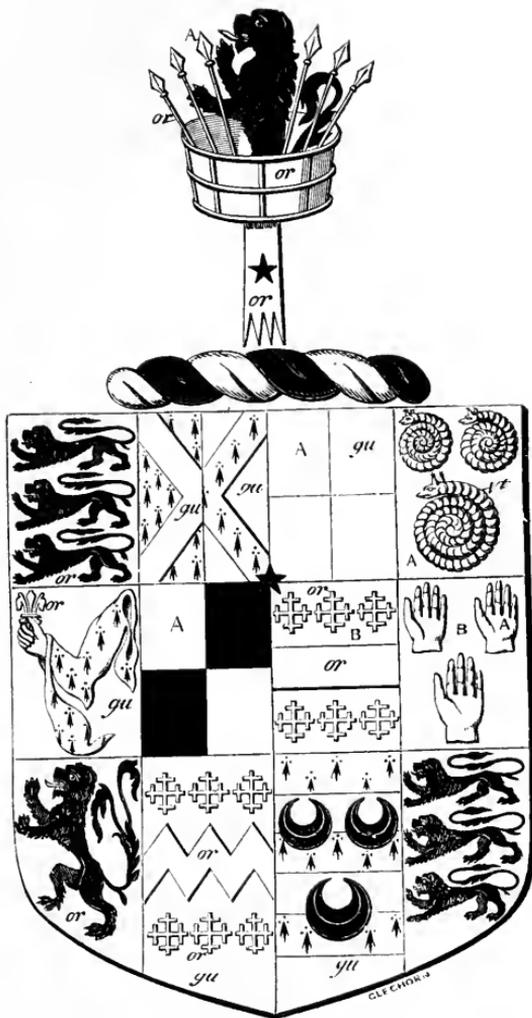
Franciscus Carew,
filius et hæ.
apparens, ætatis
20 annorum.

Nicholaus 2.
Georgius 3.
Edmundus 4.
Oloffus 5.

Maria.

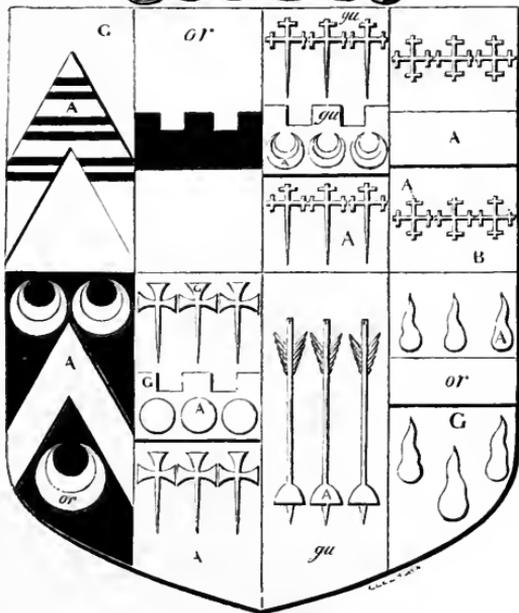
Elizabetha, uxor
Jacobi Pointz, de
Uppenden, in Essex,
mil., s. p.

Anna Maria,
s. p.



Nich. Carew





THROCKMORTON.



* * The COUNCIL, having resolved to print in their "COLLECTIONS" original Pedigrees, Grants of Arms, Notices of Ancient Seals, and other Genealogical and Heraldic matters tending to illustrate the Descent and Alliances of Surrey Families, specially invite the co-operation of all persons possessing original documents of Genealogical and Heraldic interest, and who would kindly permit the use of them.

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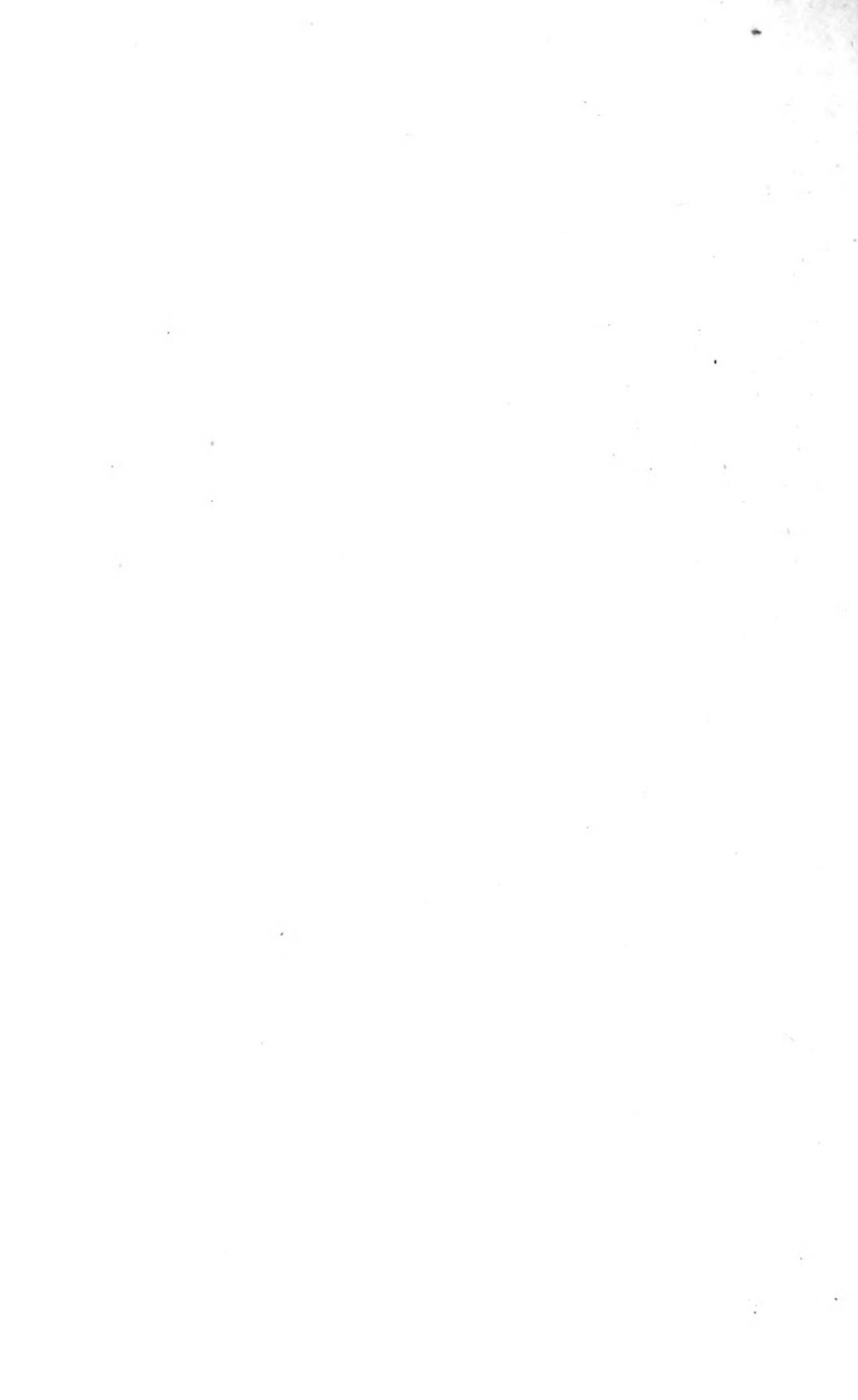
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