

and Vol. xxxvii., and in the Lincoln Volume of the Archæological Institute, as to an English one found at Lincoln. A notice of Leaden crosses found at Perigueux and at Bouteilles, near Dieppe, in Normandy, by Emanuel Delorme in the Bulletin de la Société Archæologique du midi, reviewed in the *Revue Chretienne, Lille*, 1889. The cross exhibited belonged to Mr. Reeve, Curator of the Norwich Museum.

Lord John Hervey read the following paper on

“EARLY WILLS RELATING TO BURY.”

Few people, I suppose, give their minds entirely to the incidents of their own lives, the work and play, religion, business and politics, in which we must all engage, and which have, no doubt, the first claim upon our attention; most people like to be able to compare the life they know by experience with something different; some for this purpose betake themselves to the *idealities* of poetry and fiction; others, of whom I will not say that they are wiser, but only that their tastes lie in another direction, find an interest in the *actualities* of the past made known to us by historical study and antiquarian research.

For to-night, at any rate, you and I, ladies and gentlemen, will be, looking backward, not by projecting ourselves a century or two into the future, and then, under the guidance of an imaginative writer, whose book we have all been reading lately, looking to see if we can guess what social changes the future may have in store for our great-grandchildren, but we shall be looking backward to see if we can learn something *real* about the lives our forefathers lived in this land many hundreds of years ago.

When I was asked to read a paper to you this evening, my first thought was that I did not know what I could say that would interest you, but it happens that lately I have been transcribing from *Kemble's Codex Diplomaticus* and other sources, all the documents I could find about Suffolk before the Norman Conquest; among them were several wills, which relate in part to the early history of the town over which the Mayor, who offers us his kind hospitality this evening, now so worthily presides.

These, I thought, would surely prove of interest to a gathering of Bury people; and I thought I would try to render the old English, in which the wills were written, into such English as should be intelligible to modern ears, while keeping as closely as possible to the words, the construction, and the style of the originals.

If I had known when I said I would read a paper that all the wills I meant to choose had already been done into modern English by Thorpe, in his “Diplomaterium,” and if I had remembered that one of them had been printed with a translation by Gage, in his “History of Thingoe,” one of the best books, I may remark, if not the best book of the kind that has ever been written, I might have declined the task; as it is, I said, yes; and so I have done my best, though it is right I should tell you that in Anglo-Saxon studies I am a mere beginner.

The wills I am going to read to you are four in number, or I should rather say three, for the two last are the wills of two sisters, and one of them may be said to contain a recital of the will of the other.

They are the wills of a Bishop who held two sees, or sat on two stools at once; of an Alderman, who was, under the King, at the head of the provincial government of the neighbouring county of Essex; and of his two daughters, one of whom, the eldest, was an English Queen, and the other was wife, and afterwards widow, of the Alderman, who succeeded him in the government of Essex.

The will I am now going to read is that of Theodred, Bishop of London, who was also Bishop of Hoxne, that is to say, Bishop of Suffolk, or the southern portion of East Anglia. Of Theodred, beyond the fact that he was Bishop of London, and that his name appears among the witnesses to several charters, I do not think anything is known except what the will itself tells us.

✠ “In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. I Theodred bishop of the Londoners will bequeath my bequest of my goods that I have gotten and yet may get, thanks to God and his saints, for my soul and for my lord under whom I got them, and for mine eldren, and for the souls of all the men for whom I plead, and from whom I have received alms, and for whom I am rightly bound to pray: That is, then, first, that he gives his lord his heriot, that is, then, two hundred marks of red gold, and two silver cups, and four horses the best I have, and two swords the best I have, and four shields, and four spears; and the land that I have at Ankesworth, and the land that I have at Illington, and the land that I have at Ermington.

“And I give Eadgiva fifty marks of red gold.

“And to Saint Paul’s church my two best masse-hackles (vestments) that I have with all the things that thereto belong with the chalice and one cup; and my best masse-book, and all my relics the best I have, to Saint Paul’s Church. And I give the land at Tit to Saint Paul’s church to the household as ‘bede land’ with all that thereon stands, but the men that are there let men free them all for my soul. And I give the land in Surrey with all the fishery that thereto belongeth to the household in Saint Paul’s church, and let men free all those men for the bishop’s soul. And Theodred the bishop gives the land at Tillingham to Saint Paul’s Church to the household in possession and let men free those men for my soul. And I give the land at Dunmow after my day to Saint Paul’s church to the household there.

“And I give the land at Mendham to Osgood my sister’s son after my day, but I will that the minster (have) one hide of land at Mendham for their church. And I give the land at Shotford and Mydicaam to Mendham Church to God’s household.

“And I give Osgood the land at Syleham and at Isestead and at Chickering and at Ashfield and at Whittingham, and all the small land that thereto belongeth.

“And I give the land at Horham and at Athelington to Saint Ethelbert's church to God's household.

“And I give the land in Lothingland to Offa my sister's son and his brother, and let men make half those men free and at Mendham also for the bishop's soul.

“And I give Osgood my kinsman Eadulf's son the land at Barton and at Roughan and at Pakenham.

“And I give the land at Nowton and at Horningsheath and at Ickworth and at Whepstead to Saint Edmund's church to God's household in possession for Theodred the bishop's soul.

“And I give the land at Waldringfield to Osgood my sister's son and my homestead within Ipswich that I bought.

“And I give Wolstan the land at Wortham as it stands.

“And I give to every bishops stool five pounds to deal out for my soul.

“And I give the arch-bishop five marks of gold.

“And I give that men deal out at my bishopric within London and without London 10 pounds for my soul. And I give (orders) that at Hoxne at my bishopric men deal out 10 pounds for my soule; and I will that men take the goods that stand at Hoxne (with) that which I have gotten thereto, and deal it into two halves, (one) for the minster, and deal out (the other) for my soul. And let men leave standing so much as I found thereon; and let men free all those men for my soul. And I will that men leave standing at London borough so much as I found thereon, and (take) my (goods) that I gat thereto, and deal out into two halves, one for the minster, and the other half for my soul, and let men free all those men; and let men do the like at Wimbleton (?) and at Sheen (?) And let men leave (all) standing at Fulham as it now stands, unless they will free my men, and at Dengey let them leave standing so much as I found thereon, and let men deal out the rest into two halves (one) for the minster, and (the other) half for my soul.

“And to Glastonbury I give 5 pounds for my soul.

“And I give Theodred my white mass-hackle that I bought in Pavia and all that thereto belongeth, and the festival chalice and the mass-book, which Gosebert bequeathed to me. And I give Ordgar the yellow mass-hackle that I bought in Pavia and that which thereto belongeth. And I give Gnuðwin the other yellow mass-hackle, that is without ornament, and that which thereto belongeth. And I (give) Spratacke the red mass hackle and all that thereto belongeth.

“And whoso cuts off aught from my bequest, may God cut him off from the heavenly kingdom, unless, ere his end, he make amends.”

With regard to the East Anglian bishopric, I may remind you that its seat was originally placed by Felix, the first bishop, at Dunwich; during the sickness which hindered Bisi, the fourth bishop, from the performance of his episcopal duties, two bishops were elected and

consecrated in his place; Baldwin at North Elmham, and Ecci at Dunwich. The southern bishop's stool must have been moved from Dunwich to Hoxne before Bishop Theodred's time, probably on account of the encroachment of the sea at the former place. After his time the Hoxne and Elmham bishoprics were re-united under one bishop, though in the time of Edward the Confessor, the Domesday survey tells us, that still in the manor of Hoxne there was a church which was *sedes episcopatus de Sudfolc*, the seat of the bishopric of Suffolk.

I cannot give you the date of Bishop Theodred's death. It must have been before 955. The Lord to whom he gives his heriot, that is to say the weapons, horses, and sinews of war, received from and returned to the King, must have been King Edmund or King Eadred, sons of King Edward the Elder, by Eadgiva, the lady to whom, as Queen, the Bishop gave by will fifty marks of gold.

The daughter of Sighelm, a Kentish prince, who died, A.D. 905, in battle against the Danish intruder, Eadgiva after her husband's death played an important part in Church and State during the reigns of her two sons from 940 to 955: during Eadwig's short and stormy time she lost her influence and her Kentish lands, but they were restored to her under King Edgar, and given to Christ Church, Canterbury.

St. Ethelbert, in whose honour the church at Hoxne was built, was King of the East Anglians, whose head, Offa, King of the Mercians, caused to be struck off, A.D. 792. His fame might have been greater if it had not been eclipsed by that of S. Edmund.

Almost every place in Suffolk named in Bishop Theodred's will can be found on the map to-day, between nine hundred and a thousand years after the will was made.

He must have been a very active man in his time, travelling to Pavia, where King Alfred's sister lay buried, on his way, no doubt, to Rome, and bringing from thence, for the service of his church, vestments more splendid than any he could get made at home; ruling two dioceses, and getting lands and gear in both of them, and making the men on his lands labour as serfs to add to his wealth in this life, and then at his death setting them free to pray for his soul in the next. Yet his will was not a mere selfish one, for we see he was careful in the case of all lands belonging to his Bishoprics to leave as much as he found thereon, and to add to it, spending only half of what he gained on his own soul, and leaving the other half for his brethren and his successor.

He must have been one of the earliest benefactors of S. Edmund's household, the fraternity, guild, or college of secular priests, who then had charge of the Stow at Bederichsworth, where the cunningly embalmed body of the sainted king had lain at rest since its removal from Hoxne less than fifty years before, in the year 903. When the body of S. Edmund was moved from Hoxne to the town which was afterwards called by his name, all East Anglia formed part of the Danelaw as settled by the peace of Wedmore, made between King Alfred and Guthrum, the Dane.

Bishop Theodred is incidentally mentioned in the next will I shall read to you, that of Ælfgar, Alderman of Essex.

It was in the later years of King Edmund's predecessor, or in his own short reign, we are told in Green's posthumous work on the Conquest of England, that we find the system of ealdormanries adopted as a necessary part of the organization of Britain. These ealdormen were bound to the West Saxon throne by their own West Saxon blood. The aim of the Crown in creating the first of these great ealdormanries, that of East Anglia, was probably to weaken the Dane-law by detaching from it all that was least Danish. Æthelstan, a noble of the royal kin, was made Ealdorman of East Anglia, and probably about the same time was created the ealdormanry of the East Saxons, by the elevation of Ælfgar, the father of Eadmund's Queen, Æthelfleda at Damerham. Essex seems to have included besides the shire of that name, those of Oxford and Buckingham, and also possibly that of Middlesex with London.

Ælfgar is once mentioned in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle; under the year 946 it is written, "This year King Edmund died on S. Augustine's mass day. This was widely known how he his days ended: that Leofa stabbed him at Pucklechurch. And Aelfleda at Damerham Ælfgar's daughter, the ealdorman, was then his queen: and he had the kingdom six years and a half."

When Ælfgar died in 951, 2, or 3, he was succeeded by Brithnoth, as husband of his second daughter, Ælfleda.

This is Ælfgar's will:—

"In the name of the Lord. This is Ælfgar's bequest. That is, first, that I give my lord two swords in their fittles and two badges each of fifty mancuses of gold, and three steeds, and three shields and three spears. And Bishop Theodred and Alderman Eadric made known to me, when I gave my lord the sword that King Eadmund gave me of a hundred and twenty mancuses of gold, and four pounds of silver on the fettle, that I should be worthy to make my bequest. And I never wrought anything, God is my witness, as concerning my lord, except as (lawfully) I might.

"And I give Ethelfleda my daughter the land at Cockfield and at Ditton and that at Lavenham after my day, and then after the day of us elders I give the land at Cockfield to Bedericksworth to St. Edmunds stowe. And I will that Ethelfleda after her day give the lands at Ditton to such holy place as she may think wisest for the souls of our eldren, and after the day of us elders I give the land at Lavenham to my daughters child, if that God will that she have any, unless Ethelfleda will sooner give it him, and if she have none let it go to St. Osyth's for the souls of our eldren. And I give the land at Babbingthorn to Ethelfleda my daughter, and after her day to mine other daughter for her day; and after both their days to my daughter's bairns; if she have no bairns then let it go to St. Mary's stowe at Barking, for the souls of our eldren. And I give the land at (Monk's) Eleigh to

my younger daughter for her day ; and after her day to Berthnoth for his day, if he live longer than her ; if he have bairns then give I it to them ; if he have none then give I it to Ethelfleda my daughter after their day, and after her day to Christ Church at Canterbury to the use of the convent. And the land at Colne and at Tey I give to my younger daughter ; and after her day, if she have bairns, to her bairns ; and if she have not, I bequeath it to Berthnoth for his day ; and after his day to St. Osyth's for the souls of us elders. And I give the land at Peldon and that at Mersey to St. Osyth's. And I give that Ethelfleda use the land there, while that her life be, on condition that she hold it rightly, and on the promise that she act towards the convent at St. Osyth's as well as she may for my soul and for our elders. And I give the land at Greenstead to St. Osyth's for my soul and for Ethelwards and for Wiswyth's, and I grant that Ethelfleda there use it, while her life be, on the promise that she do for the souls as best she may. Now may God and my Lord grant me this.

“And I give the land at Tidwoldington to Celfwold after my day, that he may supply food each year to the Convent at Pauls-bury for the souls of our eldren.

“And I give the land at Chatham to Bernoth and my younger daughter for their day : and after their day, let the land go along with Mersey to Ethelfleda my daughter.

“And I give the woodland at Ashfield to St. Osyth's just as Aylkil himself there bought it. And I give my mother the land at Rushbrook, if she live longer than I ; then after both our days I give it to Winelm if she rightly obey Ethelfleda.

“And I will beseech such lord as then shall be for God's love and and the love of all his saints, let my bairns do what work they may, that he would never work against my bequests that for my soul I have bequeathed. And if any turn it aside, be it between God and him and the holy saints unto whom I have bequeathed it, so that he never make amends except in hell torment, who sets aside this bequest, except I myself set it aside ere mine ending.

“And I Æthelgár give one hide land of that Æulf hath of a hundred and twenty acres : Let him dispose of it as he will.”

When Ælfgar made this will, his son-in-law, King Edmund, was dead, and Ælfgar had secured some privilege in regard to the making of his will by presenting to the King that then was, I suppose, King Eadred, the sword which King Edmund had given him. The will of the Alderman is of a simple character. He gives the lord King his heriot. By his gift he has gained the right to dispose of his lands as he will, and he gives them for the use of his daughters and his younger daughter's husband, Brihtnoth, for their lives and to their children afterwards if they should have children, and if they have none, then to various holy places for his soul and for the souls of his forefathers. He bequeathed most of the land after his daughters' day to the place where the bodies of his forefathers lay at rest, which I take to be not

Stoke, in Suffolk, but S. Osyth's Church, at Chiche, in the Ealdorman's own province of Essex.

Ælfgar's will seem to have been carried out pretty strictly, so far as we can judge from the wills of his two daughters which I have now to read.

Queen Ethelfleda's will must have been made before the year 991, for when it was made, Brithnoth was alive.

In the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for this year, it is written: "This year was Ipswich ravaged; and after that very shortly was Britnoth the ealdorman slain at Maldon."

Another account places the occurrence in the year 993, and says, "In this year came Olave with ninety-three ships to Staines, and ravaged thereabout, and then went thence to Sandwich, and so thence to Ipswich, and that all over-ran: and so to Maldon. And there Brithnoth the Ealdorman came against them with his forces, and fought against them; and they there slew the Ealdorman, and had possession of the place of carnage. And after that peace was made with them."

Elfleda's will must have been written after this time, for as you will see, when it was written, she was giving the land at Rettandun, which had been her "morning gift"—the land settled on a lady on the morning after marriage—and other lands, to the minster at Ely, where her husband's body lay at rest, and soul-shot had been given for him at the open grave.

This is Æthelfleda's and Elfleda's will:—

"This is Ethelfleda's bequest. That is, first, that I give my lord the lands at Lambourn and at Cholsey and at Reading and four badges of two hundred mancuses of gold, and 4 fur-ropes and 4 cups and 4 blades and 4 horses, and I beseech my loving lord for the love of God, that my bequest may stand good, and I have made none other, God is my witness.

"And I give the lands at Damerham to Glastonbury for King Edmund's soul and for King Edgar's soul and for my soul. And I give the landes at Hamme to Christ Church at Canterbury for King Edmund's soul and for my soul. And I give the landes at Woodham to Berthnoth the alderman and my sister for their day, and after their day to S. Mary's Church at Barking. And I give the landes at Hadham to Berthnoth the alderman and my sister for their day and after their day to Paul's-bury at London to the Bishop's home. And I give the lands at Ditton to Ely to Saint Etheldreda, and to her sisterhood; and I give the two lands at Cockfield and at Chelsworth to Alderman Berthnoth and my sister for their day and after their day to St. Edmund's stowe at Bedericsworth; and I give the lands at Fingringho to Alderman Berthnoth and my sister for their day, and after their day to St. Peter's Church at Mersey. And I give the lands at Polstead to Alderman Berthnoth and my sister for their day, and after their day to St. Osyth's and I give the lands at Wyvermarsh to St. Osyth's after my day, and I give to Alderman Berthnoth and my

sister the lands at Stratford for their day, and after their day I give them to St. Osyth's and I will that Lavenham go to St. Osyth's after the alderman's day and my sister's, and I give the lands at Bildeston to St. Osyth's after the alderman's day and my sister's, and I give the lands at Peldon, and at Mersey, and at Greenstead to St. Osyth's after my day and after Alderman Berthnoth's, and after my sister's. And I give the lands at Elmstead to Alderman Berthnoth and my sister for their day and after their day I give them to Edmund.

"And I give the one hide at Thorp to Hadleigh for my soul, and for the souls of mine elders after and I give the 10 hides at Wickford to Sibriht my kinsman after my day, and I give to Egwin my reeve four hides at Hadham after my day as it stood in old days, and I give Brihtwold my knight the two hides on Donyland after my day, and I give Alfwold my priest two hides on Donyland after my day, and I give Ethelmar my priest two hides on Donyland after my day, and I give Celfgreat my kinsman two hides on Donyland after my day: And I will that men free half my men in each town for my soul, and that men deal out a full half the goods that I have in each town for my soul.

* * * *

"Ælfleda maketh known by this writing how she will have her goods disposed of afore God and afore the world. First, that I give my lord the eight lands after my day, that is, first, at Dovercourt and at Fulpit (?) and at Alresford and at Stanway, and at Berden, and at Lexden, and at Elmstead, and at Buxhall; and two badges of two pounds weight—and two sop-cups and one silver vessel. And thee, beloved, I humbly beseech for love of God and for love of my lord's soul and for love of my sister's soul that thou protect the holy stowe at St. Osyth's wherein mine eldren lie at rest, and the possessions which they have promised thereto—to secure the freedom of God's rites.

"That is then that I give all things as mine elders before gave them. That is then the land at St. Osyth's to the holy stowe, and all that that therein to the town belongeth, and the woods at Hatfield that my sister gave and mine eldren. Then these be the lands that mine eldren thereto bequeathed after my sister's day, and after mine. That is then Stratford, and Freston, and Wiston and Lavenham, and Bildeston, and Polstead and Wyvermarsh and Greenstead and Peldon and Mersey, and the woodland at Totham that my father gave to Mersey, and Colne and Tay.

"Then these be the lands that mine eldren bequeathed to other holy stowes. That is then to Canterbury to Christ's church for the use of the convent the lands at Eleigh; and to Paul's minstre in London the lands at Hadham to the Bishop's home, and the lands at Tidwoldington for the use of the convent to Paul's minster; and to Barking for the use of the convent the lands at Babbingthorn. And I give Ælfthreda my lord's mother Woodham after my day, and after her day let it go to St. Mary's stowe to Barking all as it stands with meat and with men. And I give to St. Edmund the two lands Chelsworth

and Cockfield* to the use of the Saint's household all as mine children erst gave them and the lands at Nedging after the day of Crawe my kinsman. And I give to Mersey after my day all as my lord and my sister gave, that is Fingringho, and the six hides there that the minster stands upon. And I give after Crawe's day the lands at Waldingfield to Sudbury to Saint Gregory all as my sister erst fore-ordained it. And I give to Ely, to Saint Peter and Saint Etheldreda and Saint Witburga and Saint Sexburga and Saint Eormenhilda, where my lords body resteth the three lands of the which we both made behest to God and his saint. That is, at Rettendon, that was my morning-gift, and at Soham and at Ditton all as my lord and my sister erewhile gave them and the one hide at Cheveley that my sister gat for herself, and the badge fellow to the one that was given to my lord as soul-shot.

"And I give to Ethelmar the Alderman the lands at Lelling after my day with mete and with men all as it stands on the condition that he be in my life full friend and advocate of mine, and of my men, and after my day he be full friend and advocate of the holy stowe and its possessions at St. Osyth's wherein mine children lie at rest. And I give the lands at Lissington to Ethelmar my with meat and with men all as it stands, and humbly beseech him that he be my full friend and protector in my day, and after my day give help that my bequest and that of mine children may stand."

Thus Cockfield, bequeathed by Ealdorman Ælfgar came at last to Saint Edmund's household, and with it Chelsworth which had been granted to Ethelfleda by King Edgar; and Nedging comes too in good time when Crawe's life shall have ended.

Thus taking only the bequests you have heard to-night, Theodred's, and those of Ælfgar's family, we see that before the end of the 10th century the college of priests at St. Edmund's Bury had begun to grow rich; wealth soon begat slowth. Twenty years later Ailwin was consecrated Bishop of Elmham, and the secular priests for their negligence had to turn out, and the monks of the order of S. Benedict with their stricter rule of life took their places; and their properties, Cockfield and the rest, with their places.

All the world knows how great, how rich, how powerful, the Abbey of Benedictine monks became in the burg, as it began to be called, of S. Edmund.

Now of the wills I have read to you, the two first, Bishop Theodred's and Ealdorman Ælfgars belong to the first, and the others to the second half of the 10th century. The latest of them must be nearly 900 years old.

I have here a photographic reproduction, not of the original wills of the two sisters, but of an early copy of those wills made about a hundred years after the wills themselves, which copy was kept for centuries within the walls of the Abbey here, just across the street, and is now preserved in the British Museum.

Mr. E. Lingwood gave some account of "Flint Implements found in Suffolk."

The Rev. S. S. Lewis, F.S.A., of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, briefly described a Pastor Bonus Signet Gem, lately brought from Capua. He was followed by Mr. J. S. Corder, who gave interesting details of some Architectural Remains found in Abbeigate Street, Bury.

It was felt great praise was due to Major Gelston, as well as to H. Lacy Scott, Esq., and the other members of the Committee, for the admirable manner in which the programme had been arranged. Ten new members joined the Institute.

The Council met at the Athenæum, Bury, on Friday, March 7, 1890, when the chair was taken by R. Burrell, Esq. There were also present the Lord John Hervey, Rev. W. Layton, W. Brown, Esq., and the Rev. Francis Haslewood, the Honorary Secretary. After the minutes of the previous meeting had been confirmed, the subject of the appointment of Trustees under the scheme of the Charity Commissioners in regard to Orford and Dunwich was discussed. The following being section 6 was read:—"Representative Trustees shall be appointed for a term of six years by the following electing bodies respectively in the following proportions, viz.:—Five by the Ratepayers of the parish of Orford in Vestry assembled; and one by the Suffolk Institute of Archæology and Natural History."

Respecting Dunwich, according to section 7, the representative Trustees shall be appointed to office for a term of seven years by election, as follows:—"Four by the Vestry of the parish of Dunwich; and one by the Suffolk Institute of Archæology and Natural History. The Lord John Hervey was unanimously elected to act, with respect to both towns, as the representative of the Institute."

It was then resolved that the summer excursion should be made to Leiston Abbey and Dunwich, Theberton and Westleton being taken *en route*. A letter from Mr. St. John Hope, Assistant Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of London, was read, consenting to read a paper upon the Ruins of the Abbey. It was suggested that subscriptions might be more generally paid direct to the Bankers, as this method would save trouble in collection.

Gifts to the Society were acknowledged, and amongst them Dr. Hind's book on "Suffolk Flora," kindly presented by Lord John Hervey. The Rev. J. Monk and Mr. Henry Miller, jun., were elected members.

Mr. Burrell having vacated the chair, W. Brown, Esq., presided, and it was then resolved that the next general meeting should be held at Ipswich.

A Council Meeting was held on Saturday, May 10, 1890, at 12 o'clock, in the Vestry of S. Matthew's Church, Ipswich. Monday, June 23, 1890, was fixed for the summer excursion. The programme was approved by the Council. The draft Report was then read and adopted, and Balance Sheet approved. The Earl Cadogan and Rev. Dr. Haslewood were then elected members of the Institute.