

Fig. 1. In the British Museum ( $\frac{1}{4}$ )



Fig. 2. In the Museum of Antiquities, Newcastle upon Tyne ( $\frac{1}{4}$ )

SUSSEX LOOPS FROM THE HANDCROSS HOARD

## I.—THE CRAWHALL COLLECTION

*J. D. Cowen*

In the second quarter of last century a collection of antiquities was formed by Thomas Crawhall, latterly of Benwell Tower, where he died in 1833. It was not an extensive or ambitious collection; but it contained several items of such unusual interest as may be thought to warrant the trouble of tracing their origins, dispersal, and ultimate fate.

It will be convenient to begin by working backwards on the history of the Handcross hoard, as that was the point at which the investigation started, and where the trail is longest. We may then examine what little is known of Thomas Crawhall, with a view to determining the possible sources of his collection; and conclude with a review of its later history and dissolution.

In the Society's collection, now in the Museum of Antiquities at Newcastle University, there is an example of that class of bronze objects commonly known as Sussex or Brighton loops (Plate I, 2). Recent research places the type in the later Middle Bronze Age. It has been in the collection for many years; its accession is nowhere recorded; and it has always seemed strange that this isolated object, of a type that has never certainly occurred outside Sussex, should have found its way into the Society's possession.

In 1906 a Mr. Ambrose P. Boyson, F.R.G.S., F.Z.S., a member of the Sussex Archæological Society, paid a visit to the Black Gate Museum and there saw our Sussex loop, "to which was attached a label stating that it had been found at Hand Cross, Sussex". On enquiry he learned from Robert Blair that "they had no authority for the place of discovery other than that of the depositor the late Dr. Collingwood

Bruce, but he believed that another, from the same spot and very like it in character, was in the British Museum”.

Mr. Boyson proceeded to verify the existence of the British Museum piece (Plate I, 1), and to confirm from the register of accessions that it had indeed come, with others, from “Ham Cross” in Sussex. He followed this up by drawing attention to the illustrations of it in the current edition of the *British Museum Guide to Antiquities of the Bronze Age* (fig. 57), and in Evans, *Bronze Implements* (fig. 482). He pointed out that in both the British Museum publication, and in Evans, the true name of the locality was misprinted as Ham Cross; and concluded, “It would be of interest if any of our members could give more exact details as to the locality and date of the find”.

The first printed notice of our loop thus comes to be found in the *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, where Mr. Boyson reported to his fellow members the existence of a Sussex bronze at Newcastle upon Tyne.<sup>1</sup> This useful little piece of research served at least to draw attention to the existence of the Black Gate example before all knowledge of its origins had been lost. And there is today little enough to be added in answer to his final appeal, except that we can now give a limiting date for the discovery a good deal earlier than might have been expected; and can say from whom both the donor of the British Museum piece, and the Rev. J. C. Bruce, alike ultimately derived their respective examples.

The incongruity of the presence of this object from Sussex in the collections of the Newcastle Society was in no way diminished by Robert Blair’s gloss, for Bruce was not a collector, nor had he any known connection with Sussex. Be that as it may, since then our loop has made only one further appearance in print, except for routine inclusion in the various lists of such objects that have been compiled from time to time. In 1917 Parker Brewis, prompted no doubt by C. T. Trechmann’s mention of our example in his pioneer

<sup>1</sup> SAC XLIX (1906), 172.

list of Sussex loops,<sup>2</sup> published in the *Proceedings* of this Society what remains the standard account of the piece and its provenance, accompanied by an admirable photograph, without, however, adding anything to our information on its history.<sup>3</sup> On Brewis's note Blair again commented, "that the object had been placed in the museum many years ago, with other antiquarian objects, by the late Dr. Bruce to whom it belonged".

So much for the history of the piece as a possession of our Society. But already in 1906 Boyson had established that a second example from the same find was preserved in the British Museum, and it is this trail that must now be followed.

The British Museum piece was bequeathed (*inter alia*) by Sir W. C. Trevelyan, bart., of Wallington, in 1879, and is numbered 1879, 7-5, 7. The entry in the museum register, after briefly describing the object, runs as follows: "Found with two others and a bronze ring in a moss at Ham Cross near Crawley (Sussex) in 18.. Given to Sir John Trevelyan by — Crawhall". Up to the present this entry has constituted the sole evidence for the existence of this hoard and for the place of discovery. Although in what follows this information will be confirmed, we need here only observe that as Sir John Trevelyan died on 23 May 1846 the date of the find is already pushed well back, that is into the first half of the last century.

The facts, as relating to the hoard and the survival of the British Museum piece, were quickly picked up by John Evans, clearly from this source, and incorporated in his *Bronze Implements* (1881)<sup>4</sup>—the first published notice of the find—whence the record passed into the literature generally.

So much was already known, indeed long familiar, when through the good offices of Miss V. M. Dallas, to whom I am greatly indebted, I was given the opportunity of studying a

<sup>2</sup> *Proc. Soc. Ant.* 2, XXVIII (1916), 160.

<sup>3</sup> *PSAN* 3, VIII (1917), 60, plate.

<sup>4</sup> P. 386, fig. 482.

fresh source of information. This was a MS catalogue of the temporary museum, or exhibition, assembled at Newcastle for the meeting there of the Archæological Institute in August 1852.<sup>5</sup> It was compiled by Albert Way, partly as a record of the exhibition for his own use, but clearly also as an *aide-mémoire* for the return to their owners of the objects lent. It is written in a small quarto exercise book, and is in Way's handwriting throughout; a few letters from lenders have been inserted.

Opposite folio 6 is inserted a letter from Sir W. C. Trevelyan, dated 23rd August 1852, which states that he is forwarding for the temporary museum (*inter alia*): "1 Bronze implement of unknown use, found at Ham Cross near Crawley, in a moss—Several similar articles were found in 1825 near an antient earthwork at Hollingbury Hill, near Brighton". (And added later, in pencil) "Bangle". The reference to the Hollingbury Hill hoard fixes the type, and this piece is clearly that now in the British Museum.

Then on folio 25 comes the following entry. From "Joseph Crawhall Esq., Stagshaw Close House: through Rev. J. C. Bruce.

"A bronze 'crumena'". (Latin *crumena*, a purse.)

"Two bronze 'bangles', like those in the Dixon Coll. now at Alnwick Castle". (And added later) "and like 2 in Mantell's Coll., Brit. Mus."

"A bronze ring—*armilla* ? cast". (A pencil drawing shows a plain ring with a broad flat hoop, rectangular in section—75 mm. in diameter, the hoop 13 mm. × 5 mm. The scale is not indicated, but seems to be about natural size.)

"A small bronze figure of Minerva with Gorgon shield, from Benwell.

"Bronze fibula, Roman.

"—do—. Saxon.

<sup>5</sup> To the Council of the Royal Archæological Institute, in whose possession it remains, I am indebted for permission to study the catalogue and to publish extracts from it. To Prof. C. F. C. Hawkes, who before the war drew my attention to the survival of this catalogue, I am indeed grateful.

“—do—. penannular.

“Bronze ring of size almost suited for the neck, much decayed. Seems as if it had been silvered”. (And added later) “Birdoswald”.

“Two fragments Samian one marked in very large letters in relief.

“One roundel of Samian—perforated.

“Fragment of a vessel of ashy grey ware”. (And added in pencil) “With ridges in very high relief”.

That makes a total of thirteen items, and seven of them were drawn by Way, several with great care, on this and the opposite page. Of these drawings one has later been cut out; those that remain show both bronze rings, the Roman and the penannular brooches, and the two fragments of Samian ware. The drawing of the penannular brooch is entitled “Birdoswald”, so that the catalogue specifically identifies one piece as coming from Benwell, and two from Birdoswald.

Here then is that Crawhall source from which the Bronze Age loop in the British Museum had passed (before 1846) to the Trevelyan family. For here is the rest of the hoard—the other two Sussex loops (the reference to the well known pair at Alnwick from the Dixon collection, and to the pair from Mantell’s collection, establishes that), and the bronze ring (which is actually illustrated). The owner does not say whence they came; it is to Sir Walter Trevelyan’s note, incorporated in the British Museum register and recording the surname of the man who gave the Trevelyan piece to Sir John, that we owe that.

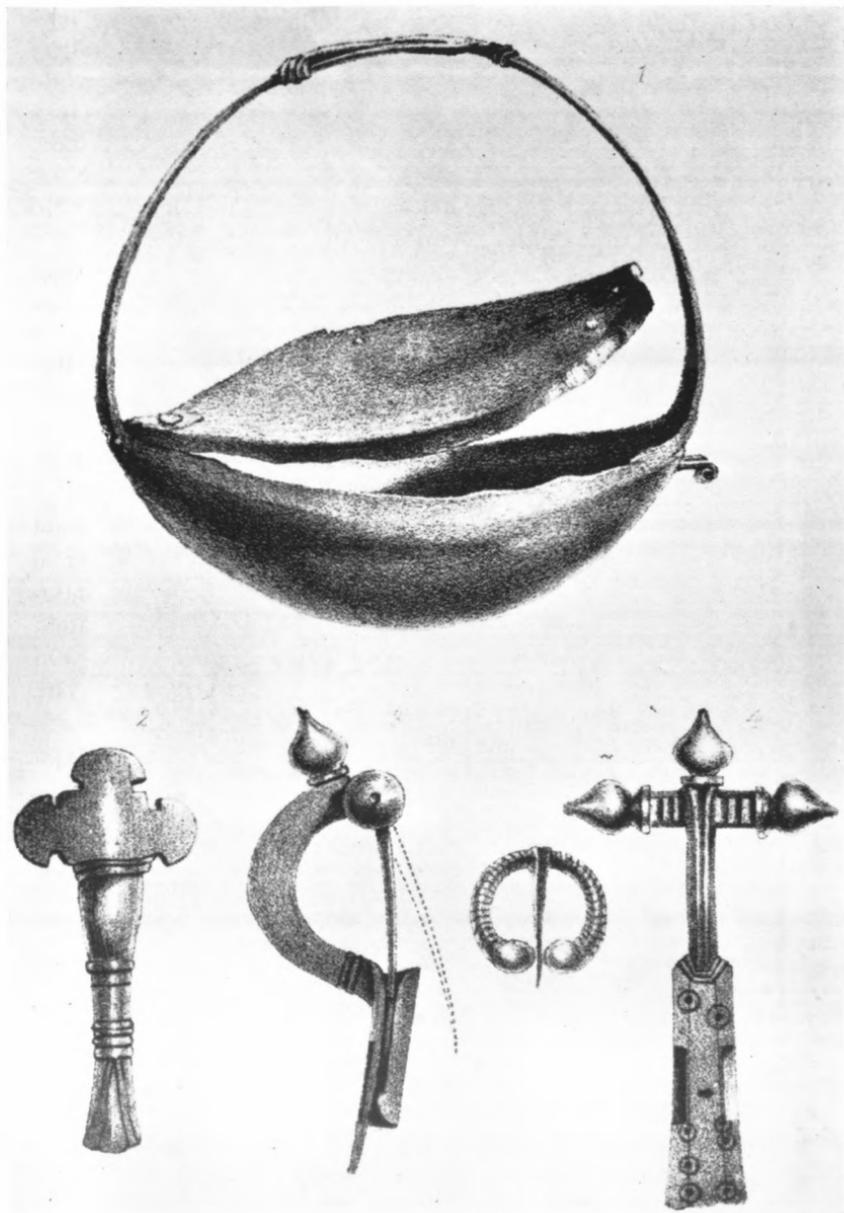
But this invaluable catalogue has still more to tell us. It establishes a link between the Handcross hoard and another better known group of material of the Roman period, showing that both derive from the same collection. For concurrently with the inclusion of Joseph Crawhall’s little gathering of antiquities in the exhibition of August 1852, the Rev. J. C. Bruce, who had arranged the exhibit, was already drawing upon the Crawhall collection for the illustrations to the second edition of his book *The Roman Wall*, and in so

doing gives us further information about it. In the preface to the second edition, signed 5 November 1852, he says: "Mr. Crawhall, of Stagshaw-Close House, has kindly lent me the antiquities discovered by his late brother, Mr. Thos. Crawhall, in the stations of AMBOGLANNA and CONDERCUM, and has further obliged me by giving me the use of his collection of drawings of those and other objects found on the Roman Wall".<sup>6</sup>

Again, on page 251: "Among the bronze articles exhumed in this station (Birdoswald) are a skiff-shaped vessel and some fabulae (sic) figured on the opposite lithograph". To this he adds the footnote: "They were discovered during the excavations of the late proprietor of the station, and are now in the possession of his brother, Joseph Crawhall, Esq., of Stagshaw Close House, by whom they have been lent to me, together with several other articles and drawings, for the purposes of this edition". The plate opposite (Plate II) shows the well known bronze arm-purse from Birdoswald (clearly the "crumena" of Way's catalogue), with two Roman brooches, and a trefoil-headed "small-long" brooch of a familiar pagan Anglian type. On page 435 Bruce again refers to this plate, as follows: "The one marked No. 2 has a decidedly Saxon aspect; 3 and 4 are as decidedly Roman; the small circular brooch is of a type that is met with in every age".<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> J. C. Bruce, *The Roman Wall*, ed. 2, 1853, pp. xi-xii. I am most grateful to Prof. Eric Birley not only for drawing my attention to the relevance of this source to the present enquiry, but for a number of other pertinent comments. During a period of several years we had been approaching the subject of the Crawhall collection on convergent lines: he on the Roman side, starting from the Birdoswald arm-purse; myself on the prehistoric, starting from the Hand-cross hoard. On the discovery of Way's Catalogue he most generously placed at my disposal the whole of the results of his researches in this field.

<sup>7</sup> In spite of a slight difference in the length, Bruce's figs. 3 and 4 almost certainly represent the same brooch in two different aspects. Professor Birley points out that the drawings on the plate in question, entitled "Bronze Articles, Birdoswald", and on the immediately adjacent plate bound in at the same point in the text, entitled "Roman Pottery, Birdoswald", are in a technique not used by any of Bruce's known artists. They form a pair unparalleled in the rest of the book, and we may with certainty infer that the contents of both plates were in the Crawhall collection, and with some probability that the plates themselves derived from the Crawhall drawings.



Objects from the Crawhall Collection, after Bruce.  
No. 1 ( $\frac{1}{4}$ ); Nos. 2 to 4 ( $\frac{1}{2}$ )



Finally, on the next page, in referring to the class of small bronze figures not uncommonly found on Roman sites, he notes and illustrates an interesting example in the form of a fully armed warrior, with right arm raised, and covering himself with his shield (page 436): "Another is here shown, of the full size. It was discovered at Benwell, and is chiefly remarkable for the grotesque form of the shield, which exhibits a face of Silenus". He does not state to whom it belonged, but from the Catalogue of 1852 we know that this too ("Minerva with Gorgon shield") was in the Crawhall collection and exhibited on that occasion (Fig. 1).<sup>8</sup>



FIG. 1. BRONZE FIGURE FROM BENWELL, AFTER BRUCE (1:1)

So the antiquities exhibited by Joseph Crawhall in 1852 were inherited by him, directly or indirectly, from his brother Thomas after the latter's death in 1833. Who was this Thomas Crawhall, and what were his interests?

He came of a family long established in Allendale, and prominent in the community through members of successive generations holding the appointment of Agent for the lead mining interests in that neighbourhood of the Beaumont

<sup>8</sup> Judging by the unusual "shaded body" style Bruce's figure of this piece also seems to derive from a Crawhall drawing (again reproduced in NCH XIII (1930), 525-6).

family.<sup>9</sup> Born in 1778 he was the second son of Thomas Crawhall (1748-1812), Agent at Allenheads, and Ann his wife (1750-1822), who had at least six sons and one daughter. Of these the most notable was the fourth son William, for 33 years Chief Agent at Allenheads. A man of some substance, in 1839 at the age of 55 he moved into an easier setting and bought the considerable estate of Stagshaw Close House, possibly in anticipation of retirement. It was there that he died in 1849, as had his sister Ann in 1847, and as his brother Joseph (the sixth son) was to do in 1853. As none of the three appears to have married (Ann certainly did not) it seems likely that a part, at least, of William's motive in buying this property was to set up a joint establishment with his sister, and perhaps with Joseph also, though the latter may only have moved in on the death of William.

Our main concern, however, is with Thomas (1778-1833).<sup>10</sup> Of his earlier life it is impossible to obtain any certain information, but it is likely that as a young man he migrated to Newcastle to earn his living in commerce. It seems in any case that his affairs prospered, for from 1825 at least we find him very comfortably housed on the outskirts of the town.

At a date unknown between 1807 and 1814 a man of this name (Mr. Thomas Crawhall, Newcastle upon Tyne) was advertised as the recipient of subscriptions to a Tontine of £30,000 secured on the tolls of Sunderland Bridge, in the realization of the assets of the bankers Messrs. Surtees and Burdon, who had failed in 1803.<sup>11</sup> Between these dates our Thomas Crawhall would have been aged 29-36, and though we do not yet know that he has even left home, much less arrived in Newcastle, it looks as if this is our man. If so, it would appear that he was already acting in a position of considerable trust in some professional or commercial

<sup>9</sup> A skeleton pedigree can be worked out from the particulars given in NCH IV, 100-101. See also NCH X, 160, 168.

<sup>10</sup> Not 1834 as in NCH XIII, 234. He died 14 September 1833: see NCH IV, 101; AA 3, X (1913), 171.

<sup>11</sup> Maberly Phillips, *A History of Banks, Bankers, and Banking in Northumberland, Durham, and North Yorkshire* (1894), 391.

capacity; and was well enough known, too, to need no more specific address than "Newcastle-upon-Tyne".

In April 1825 we find him for certain a member of the first board of directors of the Newcastle and Carlisle Railway; and in October 1829 he is again a member (in the company of two earls and four members of Parliament) of the reconstituted board after the passing of the Act of May 1829, and is further named as the first Secretary of the railway. Thomas Crawhall, now of "Benwell Hall", appears as a shareholder as well as a director of the undertaking in a list which seems to have been published towards the end of that year. In this list he is shown as the holder of 35 shares, a substantial number,<sup>12</sup> while his brother William, of Allenheads, has 30; George (another brother) has 30; and Joseph Crawhall, of Newcastle, has 10 and is also a director.<sup>13</sup>

That is all it has proved possible to glean of Thomas Crawhall's business interests and career,<sup>14</sup> but even from this one may perhaps infer something. Clearly he was from the first a most active promoter and supporter of the Newcastle and Carlisle Railway, strongly backed by the rest of the family headed by brother William. But the latter was Chief Agent at Allenheads, and it was enormously to the interest of the Beaumont family, with their great stake in the lead-mining area, to promote the construction of an easy and rapid outlet to the sea for their product.<sup>15</sup> Only so could they cut out the laborious carriage of the heavy metal by pack-horse and cart down the Lead Road to the Tyne at Blaydon or Dunston. In the absence of direct evidence it makes at least a logical picture to suppose that while William ruled the roost up at Allenheads, the most able of his brothers represented the

<sup>12</sup> It does not appear what the subscription for each share had cost. But only 6 shareholders, including the Corporation of Newcastle (50 shares), T. W. Beaumont, M.P. (60 shares), Sir Matt. W. Ridley, Bart., and Co. (50 shares), had taken up more shares than had Thomas Crawhall.

<sup>13</sup> J. S. MacLean. *The Newcastle and Carlisle Railway* (1948), 111 and plate between pp. 24-25; W. W. Tomlinson, *The North Eastern Railway* (1914), 201.

<sup>14</sup> No doubt more could be got from a more extensive search in the local records than I have been able to undertake.

<sup>15</sup> Note that T. W. Beaumont himself was the largest single shareholder in the new venture.

Beaumont lead interests down at the port of Newcastle, and on that connection (it need not have been a full-time occupation) founded his career. And that when the Railway Age dawned he saw the opening, saw that duty and self-interest coincided, and pushed for all he was worth.

In a prosperous middle life he was attracted to more cultural pursuits. Already by 1818 he was a member of the Literary and Philosophical Society, in which year he contributed a note to their proceedings on some fossil products from the neighbourhood of Whitley. At some date before 1822, when the first volume of *Archæologia Aeliana* was published, Mr. Thomas Crawhall (described as "of Newcastle-upon-Tyne") contributed to the transactions of our own Society a paper entitled: "An Account of Certain Instruments formerly used for the purpose of Blasting in the Lead Mines of Colonel and Mrs. Beaumont at Allenheads",<sup>16</sup> which not only demonstrates a knowledge of the practice of lead-mining by no means surprising in a member of his family, but which may also be thought to lend support to the above conjecture on his business interests. And later, on 4 February 1829, he became a member of the Society. In 1826 we find him presenting to the Newcastle Mechanics' Institute "an excellent bust of our ingenious townsman, Mr. Thomas Bewick".<sup>17</sup> He was a signatory (as was also his brother Joseph) to the circular of July 1829 calling a meeting for the purpose of founding a new Society devoted to the study of natural history. And when in the following month the Natural History Society was indeed duly brought into being he became not only a founder member, but also a member of the Society's first Committee.<sup>18</sup>

Finally, while still in his early fifties, he undertook a more active rôle in the field of archæology. He owned the

<sup>16</sup> AA 1, I (1822), 182-6.

<sup>17</sup> *Annual Report of the Committee for 1826.*

<sup>18</sup> T. Russell Goddard, *History of the Natural History Society of Northumberland, Durham, and Newcastle upon Tyne, 1829-1929*, 33-4, 180. For a brief summary of Thomas Crawhall's connection with the more intellectual side of Newcastle life see AA 3, X (1913), 171.

site of the great Roman fort at Birdoswald, and about 1831 he began excavating there. On a visit to the site on 2 September 1833 Hodgson noted: "We found that considerable and interesting researches had been lately made by Mr. Crawhall, the proprietor of the estate of Burdoswald, both in the station and The Great Wall that leads east and west from its northern rampart".<sup>19</sup> And after describing what had been uncovered he goes on to refer to more than one piece of work carried out specifically in 1831. Whether Hodgson's opening words are meant to imply that work had continued into 1832 or 1833 is not apparent; but excavations in 1831 are certain. From Bruce we already know *which* Mr. Crawhall was the excavator.<sup>20</sup>

In 1825 Thomas was living at West Denton Hall,<sup>21</sup> which argues already a certain affluence. At some time between then and 1829 (when, as we have seen, his address is given in the list of railway stockholders as "Benwell Hall") he bought the derelict shell of Benwell Tower; in 1831 he caused it to be pulled down, and on its site erected the present building of the same name.<sup>22</sup> On 14 September 1833, as already noted, he died, and shortly after the property was sold.

With that we have completed our account of the contents and earliest ownership of the collection, and of the collector, and we may pause to take stock of what we have learned. In the first place the ownership is now traced back into the hands of Thomas Crawhall; and as he died in 1833 the existence of the collection is pushed back to that relatively early date. We may further deduce that as Thomas Crawhall rebuilt, and at the close of his life lived in, Benwell Tower near one fort on the Roman Wall, and owned another (where he is known to have excavated), he was himself the founder of the collection, as indeed Bruce implies. In other

<sup>19</sup> Rev. John Hodgson, *History of Northumberland*, Pt. II, vol. III, 207.

<sup>20</sup> For an evaluation of Thomas Crawhall's work at Birdoswald see Eric Birley, *Research on Hadrian's Wall* (1961), 198.

<sup>21</sup> E. Mackenzie, *Northumberland*, ed. 2 (1825), Vol. II, 387.

<sup>22</sup> AA 3, XIX (1922), 89; NCH XIII (1930), 234.

words, beyond the lifetime of Thomas Crawhall it is needless to attempt to probe.

On the other hand from what we know of the two brothers, William (1784-1849) and Joseph (1793-1853), through whose possession the collection must successively have passed, we shall not be very ready to attribute to them either the inclination or the opportunity to have added to it. William had spent almost the whole of his life in hard practical work at Allenheads; while Joseph seems only to have played second fiddle to Thomas in Newcastle;<sup>23</sup> and neither can be shown to have taken the least interest in antiquities until in 1850 or 1851 Joseph subscribed for the first edition of Bruce's *Roman Wall*. We may safely exclude them from having contributed anything towards building up the collection, which remains the work of Thomas alone.

On the contents we know from Bruce<sup>24</sup> that it contained the Roman bronze arm-purse from Birdoswald, and a small brooch of Anglian type said (by Bruce, but not in Way's Catalogue) also to have come from Birdoswald. By combining Bruce (as above) with Way's Catalogue we know of other less determinate scraps of excavation material, some of which are stated to come from Birdoswald, while others might have come either from Birdoswald or from Benwell; and by combining another passage in Bruce<sup>25</sup> again with Way's Catalogue we know that it included the small bronze figure of a warrior which certainly came from Benwell. Finally by combining the evidence of the Catalogue and the entry in the British Museum register for 1879 we know also that the collection contained a small hoard of prehistoric bronzes of an uncommon type from "Ham Cross" in Sussex.

To account for the presence of the Roman material is easy enough. Unless Bruce has actually reproduced drawings from the Crawhall collection of material of which the

<sup>23</sup> He continued to hold his directorship of the railway till 1835/6 at least, and possibly till his death (MacLean, *op. cit.*, 111); but he is not recorded ever to have taken the lead in any kind of enterprise.

<sup>24</sup> RW 2, 251 and plate.

<sup>25</sup> RW 2, 436.

originals were not in the collection (which seems hardly likely), all the Roman pieces must have come, as Bruce says they did, from Birdoswald or Benwell.<sup>26</sup> Indeed, in view of the excavations there, it is probable that the great majority came from Birdoswald. It is even possible that the *only* piece from Benwell was the bronze figure of a warrior, which was just the kind of thing, both solid and interesting, to have been kept by any casual finder for sale to a local gentleman.

The bronze age hoard from Handcross is a different matter. In the absence of any demonstrable personal link between Crawhall and Sussex it can only have been obtained in the south, probably in London, from some antiquarian friend or on the market. But that is precisely what Thomas Crawhall, a prosperous bachelor in a thriving east coast port, with likely calls to the metropolis on business, was in a position to have done.

The significance of the Sussex hoard is that it proves Crawhall to have been ready and able to collect outside his own locality. And with that we come to the Anglo-Saxon brooch which, with one of the Sussex loops, is also in the Society's collection today. The only evidence that it came from Birdoswald is its inclusion on Bruce's plate in the second edition of his *Roman Wall*. In the Catalogue of 1852 the Anglo-Saxon brooch is not attributed to any locality. In fact a brooch of this type would be so improbable a thing to find at Birdoswald, west of the Tyne Gap, that the provenance has long been suspect.<sup>27</sup> The evidence has always seemed thin; now that we find the Sussex hoard in the same collection we need hesitate no longer. The attribution to Birdoswald is due to Bruce, and to Bruce alone, and

<sup>26</sup> RW 2, xi-xii.

<sup>27</sup> For a comprehensive discussion of the type, its date and distribution, see E. T. Leeds, *Archæologia*, XCI (1945), 8-14. Our example is a trefoil-headed small-long brooch of Leeds' class (a), with triangular foot. The homeland of this variety is the Cambridge region and east Midlands area; north of Lincoln only one other is recorded, and that still south of the Humber at South Ferryby. A single example of a related variety comes from Staxton in the East Riding. The type seems to be securely Anglian; and the date is sixth century.

must be rejected. It is in every sense more reasonable to suppose that Crawhall obtained it as an unlocalised piece on some business trip to the south.

We may recall that Bruce had quite a cavalier way with him at times over provenances,<sup>28</sup> and it would be in character for him to have treated all items in the Crawhall collection, of which the provenance was not specifically stated, as coming from Birdoswald, whence most of the pieces were known to derive. Many years later, as we shall see, he played exactly the same trick again with other items from the Crawhall collection—this time with the Sussex loops themselves. And on that occasion his error is not a matter of inference but of demonstration.

It remains only to follow the later history of this curious little collection, and its dissolution. When Thomas Crawhall died we do not know to whom his property passed. But his elder brother John, of Allenheads, was already dead (1832); and as we next find the collection at Stagshaw Close House it is clear that it at least passed to some member of that line of the family which took up residence there. That implies that it became the property first of William, and after his death in 1849, of Joseph. We may suppose that after a sojourn elsewhere it was moved to Stagshaw in 1839, when William bought the property; and there remained till 1852, when Joseph lent the whole of it to Bruce for study, publication and exhibition. In that case it would have been William who, at a date unknown, but not later than May 1846, gave to Sir John Trevelyan of Wallington one of the Sussex loops, and who was, therefore, the unspecified Crawhall of Sir W. C. Trevelyan's note incorporated in the British Museum register.<sup>29</sup> And there is the first piece gone.

In 1851 the Rev. John Collingwood Bruce, stimulated by the success of the Pilgrimage along the Wall he had organized

<sup>28</sup> PSAN 4, VI (1933), 22-26; and there are other examples.

<sup>29</sup> Or it may have passed direct to Joseph, and possibly not come to Stagshaw till after William's death in 1849. In that case it would be Joseph who gave the British Museum loop to Sir John Trevelyan. But these variations have no significance for the main story.

and led in 1849, published the first edition of his book *The Roman Wall*. To this book Joseph Crawhall was a subscriber, and on receiving his copy there can be no doubt that he was moved to make known to Bruce the existence of his collection, by that time forgotten, and unknown outside the family. In so doing he may have been prompted by an interest in the subject generally, aroused by Bruce's easy, even popular, approach and lucid style. But it seems much more likely that what really stirred him was finding on page 434 of the book a woodcut of the Thorngraston arm-purse, and with that the realisation that he was himself the owner of an identical object—the arm-purse from Birdoswald. Nor would the peculiar interest and the rarity of the piece escape him.

The book enjoyed a success as great as it was unexpected, and Bruce was not the man to let the grass grow under his feet. At once he set about preparing a second edition, and to boost the sales, and improve his standing, what he most needed just then was new material both for text and illustrations. The satisfaction with which he now secured the loan of the whole of the Crawhall collection, both originals and drawings, may easily be imagined; and something of it shows through the handsome acknowledgments he in due course made to the lender.<sup>30</sup> It seems certain that this was the reason why Bruce had the Crawhall collection in his hands during 1852; in the new edition of his book he himself says explicitly that the loan had been made “for the purposes of this edition”.<sup>31</sup>

This, then, was Bruce's position when, as the summer of 1852 drew on, he realised the implications of the forthcoming meeting of the Archæological Institute at Newcastle in the month of August. For in those days it was the salutary custom to organise as an integral part of such events what was called a “temporary museum”, or special exhibition, of local antiquities of all kinds, especially of those not normally

<sup>30</sup> RW 2, xi-xii, 251 n.

<sup>31</sup> RW 2, 251 n.

accessible to the public. Into this temporary museum accordingly Bruce, on behalf of the owner, put the Crawhall material. And it is to this happy circumstance, combined with the zeal of one of the officers of the Institute, Albert Way, that we owe whatever grip we may have today on the contents of the collection.

During the early months of 1853 Bruce's second edition duly appeared. As Joseph Crawhall died on the 27th April of that year it is hardly likely that he had much time or opportunity to claim back the objects and the drawings he had lent for the purpose of preparing that edition. Be that as it may, it is certain that, whether by agreement or by oversight does not matter now, Bruce retained the collection.

At this stage, however, it will be proper to observe that since the Exhibition of August 1852 the following objects from the Crawhall collection have not been heard of again, and cannot now be traced. The missing items are:

- (1) One of the Sussex loops from the Handcross hoard.
- (2) The bronze ring from the same hoard.
- (3) The small bronze figure of a warrior from Benwell.

In addition the Anglian brooch is not further mentioned except in contexts derived from the illustration in the second edition of *The Roman Wall*.<sup>32</sup> This piece, however, is known to have been for some long time in the collection of our Society. We are left with the arm-purse and one of the Sussex loops, and their subsequent history it now remains to follow.

The arm-purse was first exhibited in Bruce's own name in the temporary museum assembled by the Archæological Institute for their meeting in Edinburgh in July 1856.<sup>33</sup> On 5 November 1858 Bruce showed it again to a routine monthly meeting of the Institute in London, when it was specifically

<sup>32</sup> G. Baldwin Brown, *The Arts in Early England*, III (1915), 248, pl. XXXVII, 10; N. Åberg, *The Anglo-Saxons in England* (1926), 61; E. T. Leeds, *Archæologia*, XCI (1945), 9.

<sup>33</sup> *Catalogue of the Antiquities . . . exhibited in the Museum of the Archæological Institute . . . in Edinburgh, July, 1856*; ed. Albert Way, 1859: p. 62, plate facing p. 60.

described as being in his possession.<sup>34</sup> Then at the Carlisle Meeting of the same Institute, held 26 July to 2 August 1859, Bruce once more exhibited the arm-purse; and on this occasion one of the Sussex loops also, simply described as "one of a pair found in Sussex".<sup>35</sup>

So Bruce dined out on his arm-purse over a period of several years. But at heart he was no collector, and in due course he ceded it to his closest friend in Roman studies, John Clayton of Chesters, into whose hands it came not later than 1867.<sup>36</sup> Its later fate at Chesters, by a ludicrous error in Wallis Budge's catalogue to be transposed with the Thorngrifton arm-purse<sup>37</sup> was no more than a passing mischance in a long and otherwise well documented history.

We return to the Sussex loop with which we began, and but for a single tiresome reference there would be little more to say. Bruce's *Catalogue of the Antiquities at Alnwick Castle* was published in 1880, and in discussing the pair of Sussex loops from the Dixon collection preserved at Alnwick (noted by Way in 1852) he says:<sup>38</sup> "Two (similar objects) were found in or near the Roman station of Amboglanna, Cumberland, and are now in possession of John Clayton Esq., F.S.A., of Chesters, Northumberland". There is no other record of any such find at Birdoswald, which in any event would be extraordinary, and it is certain that Bruce is wrong about that. There is every reason to suppose that he was no less wrong in stating that the pieces were in the Clayton collection. Bruce, as we know, was not averse to relying on his memory; and sometimes it let him down. He was clearly thinking of the two loops remaining in the Crawhall collection in 1852; no others besides the pair at Aln-

<sup>34</sup> *Arch. Journ.*, XVI (1859), 84, and plate facing.

<sup>35</sup> *Catalogue of the Archæological Museum formed at Carlisle during the Meeting of the Archæological Institute . . . 1859*: p. 12.

<sup>36</sup> *RW* 3 (1867), 419-20, fig. Whether the rest of the Roman material was transferred at the same time, or remained with Bruce, does not appear; nor, in view of the scrappy nature of the objects, does it much signify.

<sup>37</sup> First noted by Professor Eric Birley in *Research on Hadrian's Wall* (1961), 198; *idem*, *AA* 4, XLI (1963), 10-12 the arm-purse generally; note 9 the misdescription.

<sup>38</sup> P. 65, nos. 273 and 274.

wick<sup>39</sup> have ever been in the north. He knew the arm-purse from that collection was at Chesters, and he thought he remembered that the loops went with it. Again the Crawhall collection had consisted (had it not?) of objects got by Thomas Crawhall in those old excavations of his at Birdoswald. That was where the arm-purse came from; and so must have the loops too. In 1880 Bruce was 75 years old, and it was 21 years since he had exhibited the surviving loop at Carlisle.<sup>40</sup> No wonder if he forgot that the one remaining loop was his own, lying in an unopened drawer at home. We may conclude that the passage in the Alnwick Castle Catalogue is wholly erroneous; on any other footing it is incomprehensible. That being so, we have no reference to the Sussex loop at Newcastle between 1859 when Bruce last exhibited it, and 1906 when Mr. Boyson noticed it in the Black Gate. But Blair knew that Bruce had given it to the museum, and we can only assume he had had it all the time.

The same observation must apply to the Anglian brooch. Though we do not, in this case, know from independent evidence that Bruce was the donor, we do know it came from the same source, and reached the same destination; and we may, therefore, reasonably suppose that it had passed through the same hands.

So it was Bruce, after all, upon whom devolved the ownership of the residue of the Crawhall collection. One Sussex loop had already been given away. The objects of which we hear nothing after 1852 may have been lost at the time of the exhibition, or they may have trickled away somehow while in Bruce's hands. The arm-purse at least (and possibly the smaller Roman objects as well) he gave to Clayton. The last remnant, perhaps by now no more than the single Sussex loop and the Anglian brooch, he gave to the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries. There is no record of the event; but if the interpretation offered above of the

<sup>39</sup> Excluding the third loop from Handcross, by then in the British Museum.

<sup>40</sup> A lot had happened meanwhile; RW 3, Bruce's last word on the subject, in 1867; CIL VII, on which he had assisted Hübner, in 1873; and above all the *Lapidarium Septentrionale* in 1875.

passage in the Alnwick Castle Catalogue is correct, it is not likely to have been before 1880, or Bruce would surely have remembered giving the Sussex loop to the Society. It was because he had done nothing with it for so long that he forgot where it was. Nor is it likely to have been after 1885, when Blair's vigorous secretaryship put the Society onto a businesslike footing, and ensured that proper records were kept. In all the latter part of Bruce's life there is, however, one outstanding occasion on which he might have been expected to clear his drawers in the Society's interests; and, as it happens, it falls between the dates mentioned. In 1885 the restoration of the Black Gate was completed, the main collections transferred from the Keep, and an entirely new display installed. In the enlarged setting some of the cases must surely have looked a little bare, and this was the moment for all good men to put their best foot forward. The event offers just the context for Bruce's action, for with his lifelong flair for the popular presentation of antiquity he was a great supporter of "occasions" in the history of the Society. Closer than this we are not now likely to get; and even this far we have got only by the aid of a number of inferences founded on no direct evidence. We may remind ourselves that the closest unassailable limiting dates for Bruce's gift to the Society are 1859, when he last exhibited the Sussex loop, and 1892, the year of his death.

After so great a complexity of detail, and at times of surmise, it may in conclusion be convenient to tabulate our results, and so to summarise the present situation as relating to those objects from the Crawhall collection which have been the subject of this study:

- (1) From Handcross, Sussex, before September 1833: a bronze Sussex loop, found with two others and a bronze ring. British Museum; no. 1879, 7-5, 7. Bequeathed by Sir W. C. Trevelyan, bart., 1879.
- (2) From Handcross, Sussex: a second Sussex loop from the same hoard. Museum of Antiquities, Newcastle

- upon Tyne; no. 1956. 287. A. Given to the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne by Rev. J. C. Bruce between 1859 and 1892 (possibly in 1885).
- (3) & (4) The third loop and the ring from the same hoard were last seen at the exhibition of 1852. Both are lost.
- (5) From Birdoswald, found in Thomas Crawhall's excavations, probably in 1831: a bronze arm-purse. Chesters Museum; no. 1704. Given by Rev. J. C. Bruce between 1859 and 1867.
- (6) From Benwell, before September 1833: a small bronze figure of an armed warrior. Known only from the illustration in RW 2, page 436, and Way's Catalogue. Last seen at the exhibition of 1852. Lost.
- (7) Provenance unknown (but published by Bruce as from Birdoswald), found before September 1833: a small bronze trefoil-headed brooch of Anglian type. Museum of Antiquities, Newcastle upon Tyne; no. 1956. 308. A. Given to the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne by Rev. J. C. Bruce between 1859 and 1892 (possibly in 1885).

