THE COUNTIES OF ENGLAND

THEIR STORY AND ANTIQUITIES

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THE COUNTIES OF ENGLAND

VOLUME II.

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Entrance to the Great Hall, Fulham Palace.

THE COUNTIES OF ENGLAND

THEIR STORY AND ANTIQUITIES

BY

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AND OTHER WRITERS

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. II.

WITH ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY PLATES AND DRAWINGS

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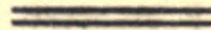

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LEICESTERSHIRE

LEICESTERSHIRE "hath the proportion of an hart, broad at the top, and narrower towards the bottom, which shape it truly beareth, for that it lieth almost in the hart and centre of the whole Continent of the Kingdome. The ayre is generally good, pure, and healthfull, by reason whereof many sweet and pleasant seats and dwellings are here found, healthfull by nature and much beautified by Art and industry." Thus did William Burton write of his county in the reign of the first James. His *Description of Leicestershire* is a famous book, from the early date of its collection—it was only preceded in county histories by Lambarde's *Kent*, Carew's *Cornwall*, Erdeswick's *Staffordshire*, and Norden's *Surveys*—and, according to Fuller, from having inspired the more learned Dugdale: "*The sparks* of his *Ingenuity* herein have since *set fire* on to Mr. Dugdale, my worthy Friend, to do the like to Warwickshire."

Leicestershire has been singularly fortunate in the number and ability of its historians, beginning with Henry Knighton, the monkish chronicler, down to the present day. It is difficult to write of the history of the shire as distinct from the town of Leicester, which is the centre, the focusing point of the county. In Roman times the station then called Ratæ, situated on the great Fosse way from the south-west to the north-east of Britain, developed into an important town, traces of whose early greatness still remain. The interregnum

between the end of the Roman domination and the rule of the Teuton is not especially marked in the county, but the probability is that the non-Romanised Celtic people re-asserted themselves strongly in places, and the Celtic name of Caer Lerion was either revived or given to Ratæ. When the Teutonic peoples gradually spread over the county, and when the Heptarchy was formed, Mercia, which included Leicestershire, was the central kingdom. By this time Christianity had spread among the people, and Leicester, with Lichfield, became a bishopric; later, about the year 737, it was made into a separate See. Where the church of St. Margaret now rises was the site of the first cathedral, and the bishop's residence is said to have stood where the vicarage is now. The portions of land, called in old deeds "Bishop's Fee" and "Bishop's Farm," are thought to date back to this foundation of the See; for in the next century, when the Danes took possession of the town, the bishopric was transferred to Dorchester in Oxfordshire, and after the Conquest Leicestershire was included in the diocese of Lincoln till it was joined to Peterborough in the nineteenth century. In Leicester it is probable that the churches of St. Martin and St. Nicholas were founded during this period of Anglo-Saxon Christianity, and were on the site of Roman buildings. Although no pre-Conquest building remains, St. Nicholas contains portions of pre-Conquest work in the north wall of the nave and some small windows fashioned partly of Roman bricks. At Birstall, in the north wall of the chancel, is a Saxon window, with remains of a wooden midwall slab with apertures cut in a design of interlaced circles.

The Danish occupation was an important factor in the history of the county. So far as we know, the Danes established themselves in large numbers in the northern and eastern counties before making incursions into Leicestershire, but from about A.D. 850 bands of invaders, finding the most fertile tracts in the neighbourhood of the

ROMAN REMAINS, LEICESTER MUSEUM.
(*For details, see Index.*)

North Sea already occupied by their countrymen, were forced to go further inland in order to obtain a settlement. Some of these bands accordingly followed the course of the Trent to the spot where it joins the Soar, and they found the fertile valleys of that river and the Wreake suitable to their requirements. They increased so rapidly that in 874 they drove the Mercian king Burhed from his throne, and conferred the kingdom upon Ceolwulf; and three years later, taking the towns of Leicester, Derby, Nottingham, Stamford, and Lincoln out of his hands, they formed them into a confederation known as the Five Boroughs or the Danelaw. The town of Leicester then remained uninterruptedly under Danish rule for a period of forty years.

The Danes stamped their nationality to so great an extent on this district that in Domesday Book the county divisions, called Hundreds through nearly the whole of England, are, in Leicestershire and four other counties only, designated by the Scandinavian word "Wapentake." The shire was called Leicester, after the *burh*, or strong place. It is uncertain whether or not the *burh* was among those founded or renewed by Edward and Ethelfleda.

Of Ethelfleda, "Lady of the Mercians," and daughter of King Alfred, it is told by the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* that, "with the aid of God, in the early part of the year (918), she got into her power peacefully the *burh* at Leicester, and subdued to herself the largest part of the Danish army that owned allegiance thereto"; but she died almost directly afterwards, and Leicester was again in Danish hands during Athelstane's reign.

Matthew of Westminster states that Onlaf of Norway and Edmund, Athelstane's successor, encountered each other at Legecesterian, probably Leicester, and decided after a drawn battle that Onlaf should possess the land north of Watling Street, and Edmund that on the south, and that the survivor should have the whole. Thus on

Onlaf's death in 941 all the five Danish boroughs came into Edmund's possession.

The history of this period is obscure, as in one record it is stated that Edmund is fighting against the Five Boroughs in 942, and in another that Onlaf, coming down to harass Mercia a year later, was besieged in Leicester by Edmund, who proved victorious. Ælfric, ealdorman of the Mercians, appears to have encouraged a new invasion in 986, and Leicester fell by turns into the hands of the contending parties, till in 1016 Canute became sole King of England.

The mediæval history of the shire was dominated by the Norman nobles. Leicester itself was fortunate in having as its masters a succession of powerful chiefs who were able men of high character. When new officers, with the titles of earls, were appointed to various divisions of England, Leicester, in the reign of Edward the Confessor, became the seat of an earldom. Leofric, Earl of Coventry and Leicester, with his wife, Lady Godiva, were at Leicester Castle in 1051 for the purpose of witnessing the grant of a charter for building and endowing the monastery at Spalding. Their grandson, Edwin, was slain fighting against William of Normandy, who had in 1068 captured Leicester. Most of the ownership of the town was then apportioned between the king and Hugh de Grentemesnil, who was appointed governor of Leicester and sheriff of the shire, in which he held sixty-seven manors.

Amongst the favours bestowed on Hugh were the Honour or Barony of Hinckley and the Lord Stewardship of England (which was at that time made hereditary), to be held together.[1]

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[1] Nichols gives that "the king richly married him to Adeliza, a great inheritrix of a noble family, and at the solemnisation thereof bestowed on him the honourable office of Lord High Steward of England." Orderic observes that his wife was Adelaide, daughter of Ivo de Beaumont, who was very handsome, and that Hugh had to return to Normandy in 1068, in order, it is said, to prevent her getting into mischief.

Amongst the Domesday tenants-in-chief were Robert de Todeni, who built Belvoir Castle (to be succeeded in the next century by de Albini); Geoffrey de "Wirce," said by Orderic to surpass all the magnates of the realm and nearly all his own kinsfolk in wealth and power; the Count of Meulan; Robert Dispensator (to be succeeded later by a Beauchamp, a Marmion, and a Tuchet); Geoffrey de la Guerche, whose possessions came into the hands of the de Mowbrays of Melton; Henry de Ferrers; Robert de Busci, who next century had given place to a Basset of Sapcote.

Hugh de Grentemesnil built a castle in Leicester[1] in the Norman fashion, and by means of his garrison imposed the foreign yoke on the county.

There is considerable doubt as to whether or not Leicester was destroyed when it passed into the hands of the Conqueror. The record in Domesday of 322 houses, 6 churches, and 2 mills, with only 64 burgesses, seems to point to a destruction of inhabitants having taken place. Mr. J. H. Round, on the other hand, arrives at the conclusion that, "as it happens, we can not only discredit the suggested 'destruction' in the days of the Conqueror; we can actually fix its date as the reign of Henry I."[2] (1101), when Ivo de Grentemesnil, who had succeeded his father Hugh as the King's reeve and representative, took part in the rebellion against the King and waged

---

1 Other castles were built after the Conquest and in succeeding years. In the reign of John there were standing in the county eleven fortified castles, which were probably Leicester, Belvoir, Mountsorrel, Sauvy; Hinckley, built by Hugh de Grentemesnil, where he also enclosed a park and caused a parish church to be built; Whitwick and Earl Shilton, founded by Robert Earl of Leicester, probably le Bossu; Thorpe Arnold by Ernald de Bois; Melton by Roger Mowbray; Donington, built by Eustace, Baron of Haulton; and Segrave; Sapcote may also have had a castle or only a moated house. Burton is no doubt correct in writing, "Most of these castles, during the unquiet reigns of King Henry II., King John, and King Henry III., being held by rebellious barons, were by command of the last king utterly demolished, and though some of them were afterwards rebuilt, yet at this day (1622) there is not one remaining entire, and even most of them are entirely defaced."

2 *Feudal England.*

war against his neighbours. Ivo has the evil reputation of being the first person to introduce private warfare into England. He was tried and condemned as a leading rebel.

After Ivo's condemnation, Robert de Beaumont, Count of Meulan, who had already great possessions in the county, advanced him the means to take a pilgrimage in return for the pledge of part of his Leicestershire fiefs, which he afterwards refused to return.[1] Beaumont "is distinctly stated by Orderic to have been created Earl of Leicester ('inde consul in Anglia factus'). But of this the Lords committee 'found no evidence.' Nor does he appear to have been so styled, though he possessed the *tertius denarius*, and though that dignity devolved upon his son."[2]

Henry of Huntingdon writes of Robert de Beaumont that he was a man of great ability and importance, "in worldly affairs the wisest man betwixt England and Jerusalem," and also relates that when urged on his death-bed to make restitution of some of his unjustly acquired lands, Beaumont answered that he would leave them to his sons, that they might provide for his salvation!

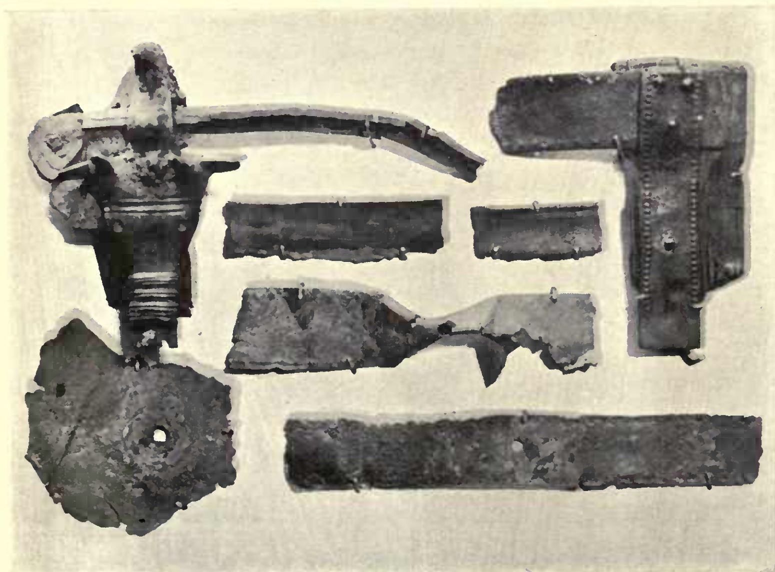
Count Robert certainly built a church of St. Mary de Castro, and founded for it a college of secular canons; whether it was finished by his son or rebuilt after the siege of 1173 is unknown, but the beautiful and rare Norman sedilia still preserved to us are late work of that style. To him in all probability is also due the splendid hall of the castle, which was not attached to the mount or keep, and so would not necessarily have been injured by the King's command of destruction in 1174. It is thought

[1] Ivo had a son, Hugh, who regained some of his father's possessions, including the Honour of Hinckley and the High Stewardship, which later passed by inheritance to the Earls of Leicester, through the marriage of his daughter Petronilla, or Pernelle, to Robert Blanchesmains.

[2] Mr. J. H. Round in *Dictionary of National Biography*.

FROM BILLESDON. FROM ROTHLEY TEMPLE.

ANGLO-SAXON FIBULÆ.



ANGLO-SAXON PERIOD.

PORTIONS OF BUCKET, WITH FRAGMENTS OF THE WOODEN STAVES, FROM TWYFORD.

that to Count Robert's good government was due, among other useful works, the original West Bridge.

The son and successor of the first Beaumont lord was Robert le Bossu. He carried out his father's dying suggestion, and did much to encourage the growing movement of Monasticism by various religious foundations, of which the most notable were those in Leicestershire—the Cistercian Monastery of Garendon, and the Abbey of St. Mary de Pratis for Augustinian Canons outside the town of Leicester. The Abbey, starting with Beaumont's rich endowment, became a powerful community, but now is possibly best remembered as the last resting-place which the dying Cardinal Wolsey sought on his way as a prisoner to London.[1]

The next Earl, Robert Blanchesmains, succeeded his father in 1168, and was so ill-advised as to join in the feudal rising that championed the cause of Prince Henry against Henry II., who sent Richard de Lucy with an army against Leicester. The town was taken and burnt in July, 1173. It was not till a year later that the Earl's besieged castellan of the castle, Anquetil de Mallory, broke out and ravaged the country, and Henry ordered the confiscation of his castles of Leicester, Groby, and Mountsorrel. The two first-named were destroyed; but though the imprisoned Earl was set at liberty, it was

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[1] Of the actual Abbey there is now nothing to be traced, though the site is marked by the remains of the Cavendish mansion; the boundary, however, in Abbey Lane is doubtless part of Abbot Penny's (1496-1508) "bricke walles" recorded by Leland.

Amongst other monastic foundations of the twelfth century were Croxton of the Premonstratensian Order, Osvelston, Bredon, and Launde, all of the Black Canons of St. Augustine, Langley Nunnery, and the Commanderies of Old Dalby and Rothley of the Knights Templars. Also the Leper Hospital of Burton Lazars, the chief of all the lazar houses in England, and subject only to the great house at Jerusalem. It was built by a general collection throughout England, the principal contributor being Roger de Mowbray of Melton. A spring of repute was the cause of the foundation at Burton, which so late as the eighteenth century, when the mania for mineral waters was at a great height, was utilised as a bath and drinking-well.

not till 1177 that he had his honours and castles (except Mountsorrel) returned to him. He was then completely reinstated in kingly favour, and after his death abroad on his way home from a pilgrimage, Richard I. invested his son, Robert Fitz-Parnel, with the Earldom of Leicester. This Fitz-Parnel, with his royal master, took a distinguished part in foreign wars, without doubt greatly to the impoverishment of his estates. It was the heraldic coat of Fitz-Parnel Earl of Leicester (*gules*, a cinquefoil *ermine*) that became the arms of Leicester town.

By the time John came to reign, the town had recovered its population and received more than one royal charter at the hands of the "Chartermonger" King, and during the same reign Leicester was the scene of a meeting of the barons, the first open expression of their hostility to their sovereign which afterwards culminated in the defiance at Runnymede. John, who was a great wanderer, is not known to have stayed in the town, but is recorded as sleeping at Bosworth, Mountsorrel, and Melton, among other places.

Early in the thirteenth century (1204) Robert Fitz-Parnel died abroad, childless, when the great inheritance of the last Beaumont passed to his sister Amicia's son, Simon de Montfort. Although recognised by John as Earl of Leicester, he had to pay the penalty of having entered on his French inheritance by losing his English estates, which John confiscated in 1207, and only yielded the honour of Leicester, in 1215, into the hands of Ralf, Earl of Chester, nephew of Simon, for "the benefit of the said Simon," to gain reconciliation with the Pope. De Montfort had by this time practically become master of southern France by his skill in the Crusade against the Albigenses, and was therefore high in the Pope's favour. He was killed at Toulouse 1218, and was never in England. It remained for his third son, Simon, to regain his English patrimony. Having displeased the

Queen of France about 1229, he accepted his elder brother's suggestion to give up to him his share of the Continental inheritance in exchange for a problematical success in England. "Hereupon," he says himself, "I went to England and besought my lord the King that he would restore my father's heritage unto me."[1] But it was not till 1230, after some efforts, that "the King received my homage and gave me back my lands." Amongst the causes in his favour not the least seem to have been the kindness and generosity of the Earl of Chester, who was ready to give back to Simon his estates that Henry had given meanwhile to Chester; and doubtless also Simon's own gallant bearing, that was to captivate later on no less a personage than the King's sister, Alianor, widow of the Earl of Pembroke, who became his wife. It was not till after a renunciation from his brother in 1239 that Simon became undisputed Earl of Leicester.[2] In the meantime the heirs of Amicia's younger sister had obtained a large share of the Leicester property, and what remained to him Simon declared had suffered so much destruction of wood and other great damages done by divers people to whom the King had given it in charge, "that it was inadequate to support the dignity of an Earl." Some relief was granted by Henry III. in 1232 by means of a licence to keep in Simon's own hands any escheats of land of his fee in England held by Normans.

A prince among administrators, a strong man marvellously versatile, great alike in war and peace, great in faith and love of justice, his government of the town and of his estates was without doubt wise and good, for he

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[1] Bibl. Nat. Clairembault, 1188, fol. 80; quoted in *Simon de Montfort*, Charles Bémont.

[2] Simon had styled himself Earl of Leicester since 1231, and had claimed at the King's marriage in 1236 to fulfil his hereditary functions of High Steward.

earned the sobriquet of "Simon the Righteous."[1] In private life he was noted for his simplicity, piety, and culture; three of his friends and counsellors were Walter de Cantelupe, Bishop of Worcester, the great and just administrator; Robert Grossetete, the famous Bishop of Lincoln, who at one time held the living of St. Margaret's, in Leicester; and Adam de Marisco, a learned Franciscan, whom, with Grossetete, Roger Bacon repeatedly describes as "perfect in all wisdom," and "the greatest clerks in the world." Grossetete and Earl Simon both favoured the Franciscans, and to the latter was due the encouragement of settlements of the Friars that did much in the thirteenth century to raise the standard of life and religion.[2]

The public career of Simon de Montfort belongs to the history of England.

After his death on the battlefield of Evesham (1265) his title and estates were forfeit to the King, whose son, Edward I., afterwards (1274) granted them to his brother, Edmund Plantagenet, who already was Earl of Lancaster, under which title Leicester then became merged, and its castle became an occasional place of residence of a great Prince. The first Lancastrian ruler is remembered by the town for his ordering the hall of his castle as the place for the newly-appointed itinerant Judges to hold their Court of Justice. It was no doubt also owing to his influence that Leicester obtained the "Great Charter" in 1278.

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1 In spite of prohibitions from Pope and King, Simon was worshipped as a saint for many years by the vulgar. A liturgy was composed in his honour, and worship was offered to him; a portion of one of the hymns has come down to us. It begins:—

"Simon de Montfort, hail, all hail!
Hail knighthood's flower and grace,
Who, suffering, entered death's dark vale,
Protector of the English race."

He had been the especial friend of those powerless to protect themselves.

2 De Montfort founded in Leicester the Friary of the Dominicans at St. Clement's, *Le Black Freears in le Ashes*, as there were at that time ash-trees growing on the spot; and the Franciscans or Grey Friars had a priory on the south side of St. Martin's Church.

Thomas, the second Plantagenet Earl, who succeeded his father in 1299, was a noble of high importance but with small personal connection with his Leicestershire property. During his tenure there were several royal visits to Leicester, not the least imposing of which must have been the great assembly of barons (1318) before which the Earl, at the head of 18,000 men, met Edward II. and his Queen and two Cardinal legates with their retinue at "Syroches Bridge," which now, says Henry of Knighton, is called "Cotes Brige" (probably Cotes on the banks of the Soar near Prestwold). Here salutations were exchanged between them in apparently the most cordial manner, and during the King's visit a great assembly was held at Leicester.

The following years were onerous ones in the county, when the Earl was calling on the services of his men-at-arms in his struggles with the King, so that it cannot have been an unmixed disaster when the end was put in 1322 to his life.[1] His brother Henry, distinguished by the sobriquet of *de Torto Collo*—Wry-neck—put up a cross outside the town of Leicester on behalf of the dead man's soul. Henry was restored to the Earldom of Leicester and High Stewardship of England in 1324, but it was not till 1330 that he obtained the reversal of his brother's attainder and was confirmed in all the great possessions of Robert de Ferrers and Simon de Montfort that had been granted to his father. Henry of Lancaster, who was a man of high character and sound judgment, was made guardian of the young King, Edward III., but found himself with no power, owing to the conduct of the Queen-dowager and her favourite, Mortimer. This put him in opposition to the King, and caused the Royal army to enter Leicester, 1329, and lay waste the surrounding country. By the time of the

[1] It is curious that Earl Thomas was the second Earl of Leicester who became a popular saint. Many miracles were reported as wrought at the tomb of St. Thomas of Lancaster.

reversal of Earl Thomas's attainder, Earl Henry's blindness forced him to retire from active life, and he decided to live in his castle of Leicester, which he enlarged and improved to befit the great state he kept up and the princely entertainments he dispensed.

Outside the castle he built and endowed the Trinity or Bede House Hospital,[1] and a church dedicated to the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, both within fortified walls called the New Worke. The "Magazine" gateway of the Newarke now remaining is possibly of fifty years later date, and belongs to the additions carried out by John of Gaunt.

In 1345 Earl Henry died, and was buried by the high altar of the church of his Hospital. He was succeeded by his son, who became known in Leicester as the "good Duke." A gallant and distinguished soldier and statesman, "Henry of Lancaster" was esteemed throughout Europe as a perfect knight; he was brave, courteous, charitable, just, and at once magnificent and personally temperate in his habits. He had a thorough knowledge of public affairs, was a wise counsellor, and was loved and trusted by Edward III. beyond any other of his lords. Like his father, Earl Henry, he was religious, and during his last days is said to have been much given to prayer and good works, and to have written a book of devotions called *Mercy Gramercy*.[2] The dukedom of Lancaster was conferred on him in 135½, four years after he had been made one of the original Knights of the Order of the Garter. To the Church of Our Lady in the Newarke he added a college with a Dean and Canons, "Collegium novi-operis," and here he was buried by the side of the altar,

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[1] Trinity Hospital was altered in the time of George III. and demolished altogether in the latter end of the nineteenth century, which period was responsible for much destruction in Leicester. The chapel with some of its fittings was spared.

The beautiful Collegiate Church of Our Lady perished at the Reformation.

[2] *Dictionary of National Biography.*

with great ceremony, in the presence of the King and his court, having survived the endless battles in which he took part to succumb to the plague that devastated England in 1361.

The death of the "good Duke" must have entailed for some little time the dispersion of the great household and an untenanted castle. The Leicestershire property passed to his elder daughter, called Maud or Matilda, the Duchess of Zealand, who came over to England to claim her estates, and fell a victim, like her father, to the pestilence. Thus the whole inheritance fell to the younger daughter, Blanche, wife of John of Gaunt, who was already rising into power that, by right of his wife, was destined to be so largely augmented. He became Earl of Lancaster, Derby, Lincoln, and Leicester, and High Steward of England. In November, 1362, he was created Duke of Lancaster, and invested with the Duchy by his father, the King, who girded him with a sword and set on his head a cap of fur with a circlet of gold and pearls. During the next few years John of Gaunt remained in England, and both he and his wife visited their domains.

He was, however, absent in Picardy when Blanche died of the plague, seven years after it had carried off her sister; and all England mourned at the same time for the deaths of the two noble women—Queen Philippa and the Duchess of Lancaster. Chaucer, in the "Book of the Duchess," has celebrated John of Gaunt's love story and the graces of his wife:—

"When that thou toke my lady swete?
That was so fayr, so fresh, so free,
So good, that men may wel (y)-see
Of al goodnesse she had no mete!"

Blanche presumedly died at Leicester, and (like her husband in years to come) was buried in St. Paul's Cathedral, whither their bodies were severally taken by regal progresses, with ceremonial services at the halting-

places She left an only son, destined to reign as Henry IV.

John of Gaunt continued to make occasional stays at Leicester, and at the castle was signed, on the 3rd of February, 1398, his famous will. Exactly a year later, in the same place, he died, worn out and broken down.[1] His body, at his expressed wish, was taken to the church of his favourite Order, the Carmelites in Fleet Street, before interment at St. Paul's: "juxte ma treschere jadys compaigne Blanch illeoq's enterre."

As administrator of his estates, the Duke of Lancaster was probably a just overlord. He was kind and charitable to the poor, and would appear to have been popular amongst his own people, though not always so elsewhere. It was owing to him that Wycliffe was brought into the county and converted it to a centre of Lollardism. From the living of Lutterworth for the last ten years of his life, 1374-84, John Wycliffe ceased not to promulgate his ideas by preaching, agitating, writing, and stirring up others to crusade in like manner.

It was a strange alliance, that of Lancaster and Wycliffe. They were practically only agreed on one

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1 "De gravi languore moritur."—*Eulog.* 381.

If the Duke had died at Ely House, Holborn, as some of the chronicles state, it would not have been necessary for his body to pass through St. Albans on the way to Fleet Street.

The true tradition has been preserved by Higden (viii. 506) and Otterbourne (197).—C. F. Froissart, K. de L., xvi. 137-141; Sidney Armitage-Smith, *John of Gaunt.*

As there has been some doubt if John of Gaunt did die at Leicester, I am indebted to Mr. Armitage-Smith for the following further note of additional evidence:—

"The Duke was at Leicester Castle on

24 Oct.	1398,	see	*Rot. Pat.*, vi.	496
4 Nov.	,,	,,	*ibid.*	494
24 Dec.	,,	,,	,,	569
28 Dec.	,,	,,	,,	524
2 Jan.	1399	,,	,,	489 and 500
4 Jan.	,,	,,	,,	569
23 Jan.	,,	,,	,,	478

"It is probable that the Duke never left Leicester Castle after his arrival there from Pomfret on 24 Oct. 1398; and it is practically certain that he could not have left it after 23 Jan., *i.e.* eleven days before he died."

point—the humiliation of the prelates. The reason for this alliance is well summed up as follows: "Lancaster, feudal to the core, resented the official arrogance of the prelates and the large share which they drew to themselves of the temporal power. Wycliffe dreamt of restoring, by apostolical poverty, its long-lost apostolical purity to the clergy. From points so opposite and with aims so contradictory were they united to reduce the wealth and humble the pride of the English hierarchy."[1] On Wycliffe's part he believed that in John of Gaunt he had found a man who not only had the power, but also the inclination, to reform the abuses of this time.

Two of Wycliffe's "poor priests or scholars" that he sent out as missionaries—Leicestershire men—Smith, a layman, and Waytestaff, a priest, stirred crowds of listeners by the Belgrave Gate at Leicester, within sight of the Abbey, but they overreached themselves by their great profanity, and were banished from the place.

More successful was William Swynderby, who lived in the woods outside the town, whence he came to preach vigorously against the abuses of the day in the churches of St. Martin and St. Margaret. In the county he went to various villages, so that after he recanted his doctrines on being cited to appear before the Bishop of Lincoln, he had to publicly disown them in the two churches above mentioned and St. Mary of the Newarke in Leicester, and in those of Melton, Hallaton, Harborough, and Loughborough.

One of Wycliffe's chief followers was John Purvey, who had been his colleague at Lutterworth, and a co-translator of the Bible. This translation was the most lasting product of Wycliffe's life, and gives him just claim to the title of "Father of English Prose"; for it is owing to this work, which was largely done in the little vicarage of Lutterworth, that his fame has

[1] Introduction to *Fasciculi Zizaniorum Magistri J. Wyclif.* W. W. Shirley. Rolls Series.

come down through the ages. Great as had been his influence, not only in Leicestershire, but throughout England, and great as was the zeal of his picturesque russet-clad preachers,[1] it is doubtful if the movement influenced the Reformation beyond the fact of facilitating the reading of the Bible. Lollardy continued to grow for some years till vigorous persecution set in, when Wycliffe's bones were exhumed, burnt, and the ashes thrown into the stream at Lutterworth. Wycliffe's most influential convert was Queen Anne of Bohemia, who, with Richard II., was more than once in the county with Lord Beaumont at Beaumanor.

The duchy of Lancaster having become merged in the Crown, there is no further record of Leicester Castle serving as a continuous residence, after the early days of Henry IV.'s reign; his son, Prince "Hal," was there sometimes as a child. As a royal building of some size, not too near London, it figures in the assembly of three notable Parliaments—1414, 1426, and 1450—though the debates of the first in order of date were actually held in the hall of the Grey Friars. This Parliament was remarkable for its legislation against the Lollards, and here, where their teaching was so prominent, their suppression was decided on; probably the decision was brought to a head owing to a recent rising of the Lollards in London. This Parliament also gave Henry V. the power to finally suppress the alien priories.

The next assembly was summoned to meet in the Castle hall with a view of making peace between the uncles of King Henry VI. It was known as the "Parliament of Bats," because the members came armed with "bats" or bludgeons in their hands, owing, it is said, to their being forbidden to carry sharper weapons of offence. During this session the little King and his court were at the Castle under the Regent, John Duke

1 Their robes were most probably made of Leicestershire "russet" wool.

East View of Belvoir Castle in 1730.

of Bedford, and with much ceremony Henry at five years old was formally made a knight in the Church of St. Mary de Castro. As the son of the able and popular Henry V., much no doubt was hoped from him in the future; but before the 1450 Parliament was held, the gentle scholarly King had proved his utter incapacity to rule, and all was confusion at the seat of Government on the breaking out of Jack Cade's rebellion.

At this period, when Leicester ceased to be the centre of a powerful noble, began the rise of the Hastings family, who, with their castles of Kirby Muxloe and Ashby-de-la-Zouch, figure prominently in the history of the time. At the other end of the county the lords of Belvoir had kept on their way; later times were to see them still greater men.

Till the fifteenth century there had been no dominant lord other than of Leicester, though there were important Barons—Mowbray of Melton, Basset of Sapcote, and Segrave of Segrave; also Zouche of Ashby, and Ferrers of Groby, who had come into the county by marriage with the descendants of the Beaumont co-heiress; but of castles or even fortified or moated houses there were singularly few in Leicestershire, and it is probable that the beginning of the Wars of the Roses found the strongholds of Belvoir and Leicester alone in repair. Hastings' two castles were built during the struggle.

The town of Leicester, in the Wars of the Roses, forsook its Lancastrian allegiance, and its men fought for the Yorkists at Towton under Sir William Hastings. A contemporary ballad runs:—

> "The wolf cam fro Worcester, ful sure he thought to byte;
> The dragon cam fro Gloucester, he bent his tayle to smyte;
> The griffin cam fro Leycester, flying in as lyte (quickly);
> The George cam fro Nottingham, wit spere for to fyte."

Hastings was from the first a champion of Edward of York, and his first reward was the grant of the manor of Ashby-de-la-Zouch.

Another Leicestershire family, the Greys of Groby, were destined to rise with meteoric splendour, along with the Northamptonshire Widvilles of Grafton. It was Edward IV.'s marriage and the favours that followed to his new relations that brought about his discomfiture by the Earl of Warwick, the "King-Maker," in 1470. For some months Edward fled the country, and on his return in March, 1471, he came to Leicester, where he was met by his adherent, Lord Hastings, who had collected "ryght-a-fayre felawshipe of folks to the nomber of 3,000 men, well habyled for the wars," so that the King left the town "better accompanied than he had been at any time before" to fight the battle at Barnet.

Only for a few years was the country at peace, during which Edward granted several municipal privileges to the town. On his death in 1483, Richard the Protector speedily made a pretext to seize and behead Lords Hastings and Rivers and Richard Grey, brother to the Marquis of Dorset. The Marquis escaped to Brittany and sided with Henry of Richmond, where, like Hastings, he changed his opinions and intrigued with the opposite party; but, more fortunate than Hastings, Henry left him behind in custody out of harm's way when he sailed for England, and eventually restored him to all his honours.

When Richard III. knew that an invasion on the part of the Earl of Richmond was imminent, he withdrew to Nottingham Castle, thinking that it would be a good central position. There at Nottingham the King heard the news that Richmond had landed at Milford Haven and had already made his way to Shrewsbury. The King set out at once, with as many men as he could muster, for Leicester. He probably arrived at Leicester on the evening of August 20th (1485), and spent the night there. There is a curious legend relative to Richard's lodging on this particular occasion. The story goes that instead

of spending the night at the castle, he slept at the "White Boar" Inn, afterwards called the "Blue Boar,"[1] and that he hid in the false bottom of the bedstead £300, which was afterwards found in the time of Elizabeth. The landlord, finding this treasure, became rich, and after his death his widow was murdered on account of her wealth. Although Richard's place of lodging remains in doubt, the Rolls of Parliament confirm the fact that on the day before St. Bartholomew's Day the King mustered his forces, and, wearing his crown upon his head, marched out of Leicester with all pomp and splendour. Another strange story connected with Richard at Leicester is that when he was riding over the Bow Bridge[2] his spur struck against one of the stones, and a "wise woman," seeing this, told him that where his spur had struck his head should be broken. This prophecy was fulfilled, for when Richard's body was brought back to Leicester, the head, hanging down on one side of the horse, struck against the bridge. On the night of August 21st the King encamped south of Market Bosworth, beside the village of Sutton Cheyney. The battle took place the next day. Henry of Richmond, under the skilful guidance of a Warwickshire man, one John Hardwick, had marched from Atherstone to White-moor, adjoining Redmoor, on the 21st. By this position Henry, when he advanced next day, had a morass on his right flank, and his forces were disposed so that they had the great advantage of the sun behind them. Lord Stanley with his men were apart, and his brother, Sir William Stanley, was, with another independent force, probably at Nether Coton.

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[1] The old bedstead from the "Blue Boar," still preserved at Beaumanor Park, is of Elizabethan design.

[2] This mediæval bridge was destroyed in 1862. It carried the Fosse Way over the Soar.

Close by it was a high single-arched footpath connecting parts of the Augustinian Priory. This was probably the original Bow Bridge. It disappeared some years earlier than the larger one.

Richard without doubt was on Ambian Hill; he had the larger force, but Henry is thought to have had the best artillery.

The final issue rested with the Stanleys, who had all the power of Lancashire, Cheshire, and North Wales at their back. Lord Stanley was Henry's stepfather, but he dared not take part in the battle till the victory was somewhat assured, for he feared to risk the life of his son, Lord Strange, who was a hostage in Richard's hands, and would have been put to death had Stanley gone over to Henry too soon.

It was after Lord Stanley had joined the Tudor forces that Richard was informed that his rival was posted not far off with but a slender guard. Tradition says he then took a draught at the spring now called "King Dickon's Well"; then calling for his battle-axe and his crown, he set spurs to his horse, and, with the splendid courage that distinguished him, first hurled himself at Brandon, the standard-bearer, whom he killed, then unhorsing Sir John Cheney, renowned for his size and great strength, succeeded in engaging Henry in personal combat. But the cry was raised of "A Stanley! a Stanley!" as Sir William, with his men in their red coats bearing his cognisance of a hart's head, swept down to cut off the King's retreat. Richard was urged to fly, but it was too late, and whilst shouting "Treason!" he fell, overpowered by numbers and done to death with numerous wounds. His death was the end of the battle, and the defeated Yorkists were pursued by Richmond and Lord Stanley; from the human bones and armour long afterwards picked up, it is conjectured that they fled in the direction of Stoke Golding. When the victory was complete, Henry first knelt down and thanked God for his success, then addressing his soldiers he was acclaimed with cries of "King Henry!" Lord Stanley placed Richard's battered crown on his stepson's head amid renewed

acclamations of "Long live King Henry!";[1] and after a Te Deum had been sung the first Tudor sovereign of England set out to make a great entry into Leicester.

It was necessary to prove to all men that King Richard was veritably dead; search was made for his body, and when it was found unseemly indignities were showered upon it. Covered with blood and stripped naked, it was borne to Leicester, bound on the horse of one of Richard's pursuivants. There the body was exposed for two days to public view in the Newarke Church, and then buried with little ceremony in Grey Friars, or, as Burton puts it, "homely buried, where afterwards King Henry VII. (out of a royal disposition) erected to him a faire alabaster monument, with his picture cut out and made thereon."

At the Dissolution of the monasteries tradition states that Richard's bones were carried through the streets of Leicester by a mob and thrown under the end of the Bow Bridge.

From the battle of Bosworth till the Civil War Leicestershire enjoyed peace within its borders. What great changes took place were economic, and brought about mainly by the Reformation and the Dissolution of the monasteries.

Shortly before this great upheaval in the religious life of England, the death and burial of Cardinal Wolsey took place in Leicester Abbey. The dying statesman was on his way as a prisoner to London by order of his despotic King, when he halted at St. Mary de Pratis, and said prophetically to the Abbot as they met, "Father Abbot, I am come to leave my bones among you"; and again when he died, three days later,

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1 All this took place, no doubt, on Crown Hill, upon a nodule of volcanic rock, now grassed over, and situated near some poplars, a little to the south of Stoke Golding.

"The crown had been snatched from the fallen Richard's helm by one of the many plunderers of his person, who had secreted it under a thorn-bush; it fell into the hands of Sir Reginald Bray, and he was thus at this opportune time enabled to produce it."—*Transactions of the Leicestershire Archæological Society*, vol. ii.

he uttered the famous words, "If I had served my God as I have served my king, He would not have deserted me in my grey hairs."

The lamentable methods of the Dissolution were the same story in Leicestershire as elsewhere. First, the lesser monastic houses, then the larger ones, and finally the Colleges, Chantries, and Guilds were swept away in succession. What has been termed Cromwell's "Reign of Terror" set in when the buildings were stripped of anything movable that could be sold, and the churches and tombs were desecrated. The parish churches were at this time spared, to be dismantled in the iconoclastic Reformation under Edward VI. The last confiscation, which included the Guilds, no doubt hit the people of Leicester hard, for they had several rich communities; and there must have been general dislocation when almost every school, and what answered to friendly societies, workhouses, and hospitals, were all swept away.

No new foundation in the county was created out of the revenues, though amongst the good intentions of Henry VIII. that came to nought was a bishopric of Leicester; but the neighbouring Abbot of Peterborough proved himself more complacent about the surrender than did his brother of St. Mary de Pratis, so that he got his reward and was made the first Bishop of Peterborough.

Possibly the finest character amongst the Reformers was a Leicestershire man, Hugh Latimer, born at Thurcaston of yeoman parentage. When at Oxford at Corpus Christi, the newly-founded secular college of Bishop Foxe, who had been Archdeacon of Leicester, he was a zealous Papist, but from real conviction turned to the reformed religion, and with his honesty and humour, his powerful preaching pleaded its cause more effectively than all the fanatical edicts. Latimer was burnt at the stake in Queen Mary's reign, three years after another Leicestershire victim, Lady Jane Grey, had paid the penalty of her relatives' ambition.

The break up of the religious estates brought into greater prominence many who became possessed of them either by direct grant or favouritism, or by purchase from those possessors of ill-gotten lands.

The three chief nobles took care to increase their landed possessions; they were the representatives of the Lancastrian Roos (now Manners), created by Henry VIII., Earls of Rutland, the Yorkist Hastings (now Earls of Huntingdon), and Henry, second Marquis of Dorset, who at this time got possession of Bradgate. The Beaumonts acquired Grace-Dieu, and William Cavendish obtained Leicester Abbey amongst other rewards. He was one of the husbands of the celebrated "Bess of Hardwick," and ancestor of the Dukes of Devonshire and Portland, but the abbey soon passed from his estates into the hands of another branch of the Cavendishes, who made of it a residence.

The Hastings of Ashby-de-la-Zouch vied with the Lord of Bradgate in chief importance. Free from royal ambitions, they were able to live in all the state that a subject could keep up; and after the Greys fell from their high position, the Earls of Huntingdon and Rutland, at their opposing ends of the shire, used their influence in the cause of law and order in the Midlands through the reign of Elizabeth.

It is not recorded that that monarch paid one of her costly visits to the county, though four times had the town the expense of futile preparations for her reception. Mary Queen of the Scots was twice within its borders—at Ashby Castle under the care of the Earl of Huntingdon, and at Leicester on two occasions. The reign of Elizabeth saw the increase of public soldiers that had begun to replace the retainers of older times; the town of Leicester had its armoury; its soldiers were increased from ten to twenty, and were trained with the county forces at Melton as well as at home. In 1588 the Armada made a great stir; some 12,000 males in the county

responded to the summons of the High Sheriff, Thomas Skeffington of Belgrave, to bear arms; 2,000 were sent to Tilbury, and the remainder were partly armed and allowed to return home pending the landing of the Spaniards. Sir George Villiers[1] of Brooksby commanded the forty town soldiers that were the Tilbury contingent.

The opening of the Civil War found the county held almost wholly for the Parliament, with the exception of the two castles of Belvoir and Ashby. Amongst the individual Royalists who helped the King were William Earl of Devon of the Abbey Mansion, Sir R. Halford of Wistow, Sir George Villiers of Brooksby, Henry Berkeley, Henry Skipwith, Woolstan Dixie, John Rolleston of Staunton, John Skeffington, Richard Roberts, Sir John Bale, William Foster of Knighton, William Jones, and George Ashby.

For the Parliament were the Earl of Stamford, his son Lord Grey, Lord Ruthin, Sir Arthur Hesilrige, Sir Edward Hartopp, Archdale Palmer, Thomas Brudenell, Thomas Beaumont, Thomas Babington, William Danvers, John St. John.

In 1642, when the first Commissions of Array were issued to put the counties in a state of defence on behalf of the King, Leicester was the first county to receive the proclamation, which was the final provocation; presumably there were waverers, as it was thought worth while for Charles himself to visit the town and address the people. In July, 1642, he came from Nottingham with Prince Charles and Prince Rupert, and was met by the

[1] The Villiers had been settled at Brooksby since the reign of Henry III. This Sir George was the father of the celebrated favourite, the Duke of Buckingham, by his second wife, daughter of Anthony Beaumont of Glenfield, in Leicestershire. The Duke was born at Brooksby and sent to school "to one Mr. Anthony Code, at Billesdon, where he also learned the grounds of musick"; at thirteen he went to live with his widowed mother at Goadby Marwood, north of Melton; later on he went to France, and was not much connected with the county again (except by his marriage with Lady Katherine Manners, only daughter and heiress of the Earl of Rutland), though he used his influence to obtain for Leicester the privileges of a staple town from Charles I.

Mayor and Corporation and escorted to Lord Huntingdon's mansion. Next day Charles addressed the assembly at the Assizes, and received petitions from both town and county couched in respectful language, but plainly showing their disagreement with him. The following day, Sunday, he attended in great ceremony a service in St. Martin's, the official church of the town, which was specially got ready for the occasion; and next day he departed, to return once more for a night the following month on his way to Warwickshire. There he found the gates of Coventry closed against him, and returned to Leicester, not to the town, but to the hospitality of the loyal Countess of Devon at the Abbey.[1]

The next day Charles, with Prince Rupert, rode on to Nottingham, and that afternoon raised his standard during a storm of wind and rain that proved an ill omen for his success in the war.

Before a month was out Prince Rupert had headed an assault on Bradgate, and established the headquarters of his Royalist cavalry at Queniborough for a short time.

Bradgate was again plundered in the following year (1643) to such an extent that Lord Stamford humbly entreated the House of Lords that "some malignant's house" that was ready furnished might be allotted unto him for his family.[2]

Skirmishes and raids took place in different parts of the county throughout the next two years, mainly led on the one side by Hastings and on the other by Lord Grey. It was probably the desire to relieve the pressure on Oxford that decided Charles to occupy Leicester, which was a centre of disaffection. The Royal army came from Staffordshire to Ashby on the 27th May, 1645; on the 28th it rested at Loughborough, and Charles slept at

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1 The exact dates of Charles's movements were: Nottingham to Leicester, August 18th; to Coventry, 19th; that night and probably the next at Stoneleigh. Returned to Leicester Abbey, 21st; and the following day, Monday, 22nd, to Nottingham.

2 J. Thompson, *History of Leicester*.

Cotes, the residence of Sir Henry Skipwith; the following day it reached Leicester, and Prince Rupert utilised the ready-made earthworks of Rawdykes as positions for his batteries.

King Charles took up his quarters at Aylestone[1] till after two days' siege the town was taken, and he rode through it on his way to the Abbey mansion, which after his departure was unaccountably set on fire by the Royalist soldiers. The town was extensively sacked and robbed by the victorious troops, as appears from a petition to the House of Commons by some Londoners, who said the storming of Leicester had made a deep impression on them and "the barbarous cruelties practised there." [2] That terrible licence and cruelty went on is without doubt true, and there seems to have been provocation to the Royal army in the part taken by women. At least a letter written by an officer in the King's army sets forth:—

"That the very women, to the honour of the Leicester ladies, if they like it, officiously did their parts, and after the town was taken, and when if they had been possessed of any discretion with their zeal, they would have kept their houses and been quiet, they fired upon our men out of their windows, and from the tops of their houses and threw tiles upon their heads." [3]

In ignorance of Fairfax's movements, who set out for Leicester from Oxford, Charles's plans were undecided. The Royal army marched to Kibworth [4] the week following the taking of Leicester, then to Northamptonshire, within the boundary of which county was fought the decisive battle of Naseby. Charles fled to Leicester,

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[1] Mrs. Fielding Johnson, *Glimpses of Ancient Leicester.*

[2] J. Thompson, *History of Leicester.* The details of the siege of Leicester have been well dealt with by the local historians.

[3] J. F. Hollings, *Leicester during the Civil War.*

[4] When Charles left the Abbey on the 4th June he spent the night at Wistow at Sir Richard Halford's, where soon after, on his flight from Naseby, he got a fresh horse, leaving his own ornate saddle and stirrups behind to become treasured heirlooms.

but, hotly pursued, he had to go straight through, and reached Ashby in safety. Cromwell had himself nearly reached the town in the pursuit, and, followed next day by Fairfax (who had come on to Great Glen after the battle), prepared to retake Leicester. Fortunately it was spared another siege, owing to the weakness of its defences, and the terms of surrender that were offered by Fairfax were honourable as befitted the man whom Charles described as "a man of honour and keeps his word."

Fairfax tarried but a few days in Leicester, nor did he stay to take Ashby Castle; which, with Belvoir, surrendered to the Parliament early in the following year.

The great personages of the strife were still to traverse the county—King Charles on his way as a prisoner to Holdenby, Fairfax and his wife to be entertained by the corporation at a banquet, and Cromwell on his way to Scotland.

At the beginning of the Commonwealth, when the Independents were intolerantly asserting their form of religious persuasion, it was again the lot of the county to take part in a new religious excitement when Quakerism was preached by George Fox, son of a Leicestershire weaver of Drayton by the Rutland border, where he began proselytising before he roused Lutterworth and the neighbourhood in Leicestershire. Later on a conference of Baptists and others at Broughton Astley gave him his first opportunity of addressing a large assembly, which brought him into notoriety. In Leicester, probably at St. Martin's, was the first occasion he was moved to speak in a "steeple house," as he called a church, where, at a great disputation, in which Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, and Churchmen all took part, Fox set the congregation "on fire," and the debate came to a stormy conclusion, so that he retired to an inn to continue his arguments with those that were willing.

On a later occasion, when he was preaching in the town, he was taken up by the officer commanding and eventually sent up in custody to Cromwell, who, more liberal-minded than his officers, let him go.

The mayor and aldermen of the town sent a most humble address up to his "Highness" Richard Cromwell on his father's death; but notwithstanding that he failed altogether to prove "Another Joshua with his spirit redoubled," they still clung to the Cromwellian party, and would not join the county in a demand for a free Parliament. In 1660 they were fain to entertain General Monk at a banquet as he passed through the county on his way to London with part of his army, when he was met near Leicester by the two commissioners from Parliament. The bells were rung and many people of the neighbourhood assembled to greet him. The following day the High Sheriff, George Faunt, and others followed him to St. Albans to present an address in support of their views, but the mayor wrote to Sir Arthur Hesilrige to acquaint him with their standing aloof from the sheriff's overtures.[1]

Hesilrige, the Leicestershire Parliamentarian, had represented the town in three of the ineffective Commonwealth Parliaments, but in the election that closely followed, in April, 1660, the revulsion of feeling in favour of the Restoration caused the name of Hesilrige to come out the lowest in the poll. It was owing to Monk's interposition that his life was spared after the Restoration.

The Proclamation of Charles II. was everywhere received with loud rejoicings, so great was the majority in his favour.

From this time Leicester ceases to figure in the general history of the county. The Civil War was the end of all fortified dwellings; Leicester Castle had long been only a semblance of itself; Ashby and Belvoir Castles

[1] J. Thompson, *History of Leicester*.

were partially destroyed; Kirby Muxloe abandoned; of Castle Donington, Burton wrote that it had been "quite ruinated" by the Earl of Huntingdon, when he bought it at the end of the previous century, and "built a fair house in the park." In some counties great building activity succeeded the Restoration; in many cases to repair damages, in others men who had been abroad with Charles II. came back imbued with French taste, and set to work to express it in their houses. In Leicester itself it was round about the year 1700 that much of the old town was rebuilt, when brick clay was discovered close to the town.

Jacobite feeling in Leicester ran high, and from the abdication of James II. till the final act in 1745, the intrigues were incessant in favour of the Pretender. Much alarm and commotion was caused by the near approach of Charles Edward and his army from the north, and some of his adherents were heartily glad when they found he had been turned back from Derby and were spared putting their loyalty to an actual test.

From the Civil War downwards there has always been a party in the county focused at Leicester with a strong bias against the powers that be. Jacobitism having come to an end in 1782, the "Revolution Club" was founded in memory of the reign of William of Orange to unite "The independent interest of the town and county of Leicester . . . supporting and defending them against any oppression or invasion they might suffer from the undue exertions of misplaced power or the venal influence of enemies to freedom."

The consternation at the deeds of the French Revolution, ten years later, raised a storm all over the county in denunciation of all reformers; in the horror excited by the excesses committed, such a course was a natural reaction. The "Revolution Club" died a natural death, and even the strongest Liberals made themselves into a "Constitutional Society." All parties of the town and

county sank their differences in the mayor's feast in 1792, and drank to the toast of "May the British Constitution be never infected with the French disease."

The arming of soldiers, owing to the alarms of invasion, was common to other counties in the Napoleonic times, and henceforth the distinctive history of the shire is entirely industrial.

The variety of interests in the county is great. From the old castle of Ashby in the north-west stretches the beautiful district of Charnwood Forest to the flat river plain where Leicester stands—a modern manufacturing town on Roman and mediæval foundations. It may well be taken as a typical illustration of the different stages in the history of an English town from the earliest times to the present day. South-east from Ashby, beyond the murky coal villages, lie the pastures of Bosworth and the manufacturing district of Hinckley and Earl Shilton, where tall, smoking chimneys betoken the exchange of agriculture for manufactures. Farther south is the peaceful little town of Lutterworth in rural surroundings, and from there, striking north-east through Market Harborough up to Melton Mowbray and the Vale of Belvoir, to Lincolnshire, some of the finest land of England is comprised, purely agricultural, well farmed, with picturesque villages and fine churches and houses; it is the land of the Cottesmore, Quorn, and Belvoir Hounds—the land, above all others, of fox-hunting.

This sketch has sought to outline a few of the events that agitated the shire, to mention some of the principal men concerned in its history, and, if it may be, lead some of the inhabitants of the present day to study more of the past of their inheritance—"For what is man's lifetime unless the memory of past events is woven with those of earlier times?"

ALICE DRYDEN.

CAMBRIDGESHIRE

THE shire owes its existence to no relic of ancient Saxon kingdom. Its boundaries, except on its eastern side, are artificial, not natural. Its name is derived from its chief town, and its birth as a shire cannot be traced further back than the tenth century, when the great undivided kingdom of Mercia was separated into various shires, the story of which we have endeavoured to tell. The heroic son and daughter of the great Alfred, Edward the Elder and Ethelfleda, the Lady of the Mercians, rescued the land from the yoke of the Danes, and established Cambridge-shire as an administrative entity.

But "much water had flowed under the bridge," or rather had oozed through the Fenland into the Wash, before Edward's triumphs. It was not a very attractive country, especially in the northern Fenland district, ere the draining of fens was accomplished. Wild and desolate it was, the home of fish and wildfowl, in winter a huge lake with here and there an island jutting out above the surface of the water; in summer a marsh covered with reeds and rushes. The southern district, composed of low, chalky uplands, contains many traces of the primitive inhabitants of Britain. Passing over prehistoric times we will commence our survey of the shire with the records which the Celtic tribes have left, who opposed the Romans and fought bravely for their homes. The tribe which inhabited the district were the Iceni, who held also the land afterwards known as East Anglia. They were a strong and powerful race, and constructed great roads. The Icknield Way, extending

from the Norfolk coast to the Berkshire Thames, is the Way of the Iceni, its course through the county being marked by the place-name Ickleton. They were civilized enough to have abandoned the practice of bartering, and to have used coins, certain gold specimens of which, framed on the model of the staters of Philip of Macedon, bearing a horse with their badge, a crescent and star, have been found in the district. You can see great dykes constructed by them, earthworks at Castle Hill, at Cambridge and Vandlebury, round moats at Fowlmere, pit-dwellings at Barrington, and much else which they left behind them as a testimony to their skill. Cæsar heard of their fame, but did not encounter them in battle. When the Romans again invaded Britain, the Iceni, who had rather groaned under the dominion of the powerful Trinobantes, whose chief Cunobelin, the "Cymbeline" of Shakespeare, we have met with in Buckinghamshire and Hertfordshire, welcomed the invaders, who scorned them not as allies. Being ordered to disarm, they revolted. Along the Icknield Way the Roman army under Osterius marched, charged the British forces somewhere near Balsham Dyke, and overcame them, the fight closing with the terrible slaughter of the revolting tribes. Hard was the Roman hand pressed on the conquered. Prasutagus, their chief, suffered the loss of his lands, and the outraging of his daughters, ere he died, and then his queen, brave Boadicea, goaded to madness by the lash of the Roman soldiers, and by the persecution of her people, raised the standard of revolt and gave crushing blows to the Romans. But vengeance was not long delayed, and the pitiless slaughter of brave Britons followed, the country now known as Cambridgeshire feeling severely the might of the Roman avenging arm. The peace of despair settled on the land. Roman civilization spread. Roads were made which echoed with the tread of legionaries. Ermine Street passed through the county, entering it at Godmanchester and

leaving it at Royston; the Via Devana ran from Colchester to Chester, and had a guarding fort at Camboritum, afterwards known as Grantbridge or Cambridge, and the Akeman Street passed through Ely. Villas sprang up on the banks of the Cam, and coins and pottery and other relics testify to the presence of the conquerors. The district formed part of the Flavia Cæsariensis.

When the time came for the Roman eagles to fly homewards, the district fell a prey to Saxon invaders. They came in their boats to the Wash and thence sailed up the Ouse and Cam, pillaging and destroying. Some marched from the south along the Icknield Street and did battle with the Picts, but the chief settlers were the Gyrwas, or Fenlanders, who destroyed the Roman station on the Cam, established their village communities, drove out the British, who took refuge in the wild Fenland district, and for some centuries preserved a precarious existence, hunting and fishing and preying on their neighbours.

Christianity at length brought its message of peace to the Saxon folk. St. Felix, the Apostle of East Anglia, was buried at Soham in the county, but his mission did not reach the Gyrwas. Cruel Penda, the champion of Paganism, was raging in the west, but the Christian King Anna ruled over the East Angles, and his famous daughter, Etheldred, was married in A.D. 652 to Tonbert, chief of the southern Gyrwas, who gave her the Isle of Ely. Then, after her husband's death and the triumph of Penda over her father and husband, she retired to devote herself to the service of God. And thither she returned after her marriage with Egfrith of Northumbria and established her monastery, the centre of light, learning, and religious influence in the Fenlands. Soon after arose the kindred houses of Thorney in Cambridgeshire, and not far distant Peterborough, Ramsey, and Crowland.

The angel of peace had scarce spread its wings over the land when the war-horns sounded again, and the dreaded Danes followed the footsteps of the early Pagan English, sailed up the Ouse and Cam, and left behind them ruined monasteries and churches and slaughtered men and women, amongst them St. Edmund, the martyred king of the East Angles. Cambridge was a stronghold of Viking chiefs, who remained there a whole year pillaging and ravaging the neighbourhood. The shire became part of the Danelagh, entirely subject to the conquerors until it was wrung from them by the valour of the son of Alfred and his heroic sister. Fierce was the fighting between Ethelwold the Etheling, who aspired to the throne with the help of the Danes, against Edward the Elder, who triumphed and overran all their lands; and then the last battle fought in Cambridgeshire took place between the men of Kent and the Danish hosts, when the slaughter was terrible and Ethelwald and other leaders were slain.

Peace settled on the newly created shire. The Golden Age seemed to have dawned. Bards sang their sweetest lays in honour of brave Brithnoth, the Alderman of the shire, who fought with the Danes at Maldon. Ely monastery again raised its head above the Fen, on the island celebrated for eels (hence its name). When the Danes again came they were resisted gallantly by the men of Grante-bridge-shire, who fought more bravely than any other people. But Cnut extended his sway over England, and the *Liber Eliensis* tells of his fondness for Ely, of his hearing the monks' chant wafted over the fens, of his crossing the ice with a guide going before him, of his making the "King's Delph," of his gifts and benefactions, and of the progress of the abbey.

The Norman Conquest pressed heavily on the shire. William crushed out the English landowners, and divided their lands among his hungry followers. A gaunt castle arose at Cambridge to overawe the inhabitants. No

Ely Cathedral.

wonder the people rose when gallant Hereward the Wake came from across the seas to lead them. The pages of Kingsley's romance, founded on Ingulf's chronicle, will recall the daring deeds of the "Last Englishman," whether mythical or not. There can be little doubt that he established his camp of refuge at Ely, and there for a long time defied the power of the Conqueror. We cannot follow the records of that siege, of the protecting bog-land, of the firing of reeds, of the monks whose hearts failed them, of William's shameless cruelty to the conquered, of the heavy fines levied on the monastery; and then of the raising of a castle on the sacred isle, of the quartering of Norman knights on the unhappy monks, and the crushing of the English. That is a sorry tale in Cambridgeshire annals.

However, good came out of evil—civilisation progressed; monasteries were founded. Ely saw a noble church arising, which, in 1109, became the seat of a bishop, and parish churches were built. Nigel, its bishop, became a great statesman. The troubles of Stephen's reign brought evil on the shire. Owing to the lawlessness of the times, one Galfrid de Mandeville, a notorious freebooter, carried on shameless ravages, destroying Cambridge; and Bishop Nigel supported the Empress Maud, and Ely suffered a siege, which resistance involved the monks in heavy fines. But St. Etheldred's shrine attracted many pilgrims, who filled the monastic treasury.

With the thirteenth century, "the golden age of English Churchmanship," great progress was made, and soon Cambridge, recovering from its sack by Mandeville, laid the foundations of its greatness as a seat of learning by establishing schools, which subsequently developed into a University. It would be difficult to assert with confidence how this arose, whence the students came, probably from Oxford and Paris, who were the great teachers who attracted such scholars, or why Cambridge, as yet not ranking with the great towns of England,

should have been selected as the seat of a University. But the fact remains. Early in the thirteenth century the scholastic life of Cambridge began, and at the end of that period the first college arose—Peterhouse, by the munificence of Bishop Hugh de Balsham of Ely. The collegiate system throve slowly. Most of the students lived in hostels and halls, many of which have disappeared. The roll of undergraduates increased but slowly. Oxford overshadowed its sister University. But when Wycliffe found adherents on the banks of the Isis, and Lollards thundered forth their vehement words against priests and priestcraft, Cambridge came into favour with royal and princely founders. Henry VI. founded King's College in 1441; Queen Margaret of Anjou founded Queen's; Jesus owes its foundation to Bishop Alcock of Ely; St. John's and Christ's to Lady Margaret, Countess of Richmond; and Trinity to Henry VIII. The annals of the University would require a volume for their elucidation. We can only treat of it in connection with the shire, upon which it conferred so great honour, and became its most distinguished feature.

Cambridgeshire played its part in the wars of the barons against King John and Henry III., and suffered for its opposition to tyrannical kings, who let loose their miscreant mercenaries upon the shire, plundering and destroying houses and lands and churches, and even Ely's sacred shrine. But the barons succeeded in driving out the sacrilegious host, capturing the castle at Cambridge, thus driving the wretched John to seek safety at Lynn, and then to lose his baggage in the Wash and then his life. During the sad times that followed, Ely again became a camp of refuge. For three long years the best men of England defended themselves therein, until the stark Edward drove them out and gained the victory, leaving the Isle to its peace, which has never since been disturbed.

The capital of the county gradually grew into dignity

St. John's College Gateway, Cambridge.

and importance, not only as a University centre, but also on account of its great fair at Stourbridge, which attracted merchants from all the neighbouring European countries. The bishops of Ely did great service in endeavouring to drain the Fens. The great peasants' revolt, Wat Tyler's rebellion, the result of the Black Death, extended to the shire, and caused the sacking of monasteries and colleges, and though the storm was severe it was only brief, and was crushed by the determined action of Ely's bishop.

Cambridge played a prominent part in the work of the Reformation. Erasmus was here in 1511 teaching Greek, until the place became too hot for him. Thomas Cromwell was here as Chancellor, reforming and devastating, as was his wont. A clean sweep was made of the monasteries. Ely, Royston, Thorney, and the rest were ruined, but the bishopric of Ely remained, though shorn of much of its power and lands. Bishop Goodrich was a willing tool in the hands of the unscrupulous king and his shameless minister, and the results of the Dissolution were evident in the reversion of the Fens to a swamp and wilderness; in the crowd of sturdy beggars, once the contented servants of the abbeys, who perambulated the country; in the complaints of the poor, who lacked the hospitality of the monks; in the cries of the farmers, who found their new grasping landlords, greedy courtiers, a poor substitute for their former easy-going masters; in the diminution of opportunities for divine service; and in the plunder of churches and shrines. And yet the Reformation was not unpopular in the county. Cambridge was the home of the Reformers. Magdalene and Trinity arose from monastic spoils; and the pillaging of the University and college libraries, the burning of priceless MSS., form an ugly page in the history of the movement. In the rebellions that arose in consequence of the New Religion the county took no part. It liked not Mary. It saw the arrest of Northumberland,

the father-in-law of Lady Jane Grey, at King's College. It felt the brunt of the Roman Catholic reaction, and saw the burning of the dead bodies of Bucer and Fagius, which, though ghastly enough, was better than the scene of the martyrdom which took place at the sister University town, Oxford, though Cambridge saw some burnings too. With Elizabeth again came reaction, with a disastrous effect on the University. The episcopal residence of the Bishop of Ely at Wisbech held as prisoners the deposed bishops who refused to take the oath of allegiance to the new queen. The Stuart monarchs came frequently to the county. Elizabeth saw with disgust a shameless performance of Protestant irreverence. James I., as was his wont, came to hunt at Royston, and his palace there is associated with many events in the annals of the seventeenth century. The county took little part in the struggle of King and Parliament, being essentially inclined towards the cause of the latter. Once the king attacked Cambridge, but was unable to capture it, though he carried off much money and booty. We draw a veil over the miserable iconoclasm and fanatical destruction of all that was beautiful in the churches of the shire by an ignorant wretch Dowsing, whose exploits have often been recorded with shame and disgust.

Cambridge held the royal prisoner Charles the Martyr when his cause was lost. At Newmarket, where other royalties have found relief from the burden of state affairs, he was detained, and spent his time agreeably playing tennis; and at Royston, whence in happier days he had sallied forth to woo the Infanta of Spain, and whence at length he departed on that last sad journey which ultimately led to the scaffold at Whitehall. Cambridgeshire had some loyalty for the king. When he came to the shire as a prisoner, Cambridge was preparing to decorate its streets with boughs and roses, and Fairfax dared not lead him through the town through fear of a popular demonstration, but conducted him through

Trumpington, where there was much strewing of the streets with boughs and preparing of bonfires.

The above mention of Newmarket reminds us of the second Charles's establishment of the famous races on the heath, which from that day to this has been the recognised centre of the sport. It attracted all the *bon ton* of the fashionable world. Beaux and bucks strutted on the heath, and there was a curious mixture of lords and ladies, players and fiddlers, ladies respectable and otherwise, touts and rascals, gipsies and rustics, who thronged the course for amusement or gain. Of the past glories of Stourbridge fair we have already written. It developed into amazing proportions in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and became one of the greatest in Europe. The mixed company that frequented this annual gathering, its size and store of commodities sold in the booths, have often been described, and are reflected in Bunyan's enduring chronicle of Vanity Fair in his "Pilgrim's Progress."

No other great historical events have disturbed the tranquillity of the shire. There have been some riots of starving rustics in the "hungry years," when wages were low and food dear and scarce. Its University raises high the lamp of knowledge, and has made its influence felt wherever learning is prized; and, adapting itself to the needs of a new age, proclaims itself the most progressive of institutions. Ely's stately fane still guards and beautifies the Fenland, which it did so much to reclaim from the wild morass, sluggish streams and slimy bogland that once occupied the land where now the corn luxuriantly grows. It is not a rich shire. It can boast of few great houses or flourishing towns; but its history tells of gallant struggles with nature, of brave fights for liberty, and of the triumphs of learning and knowledge, which will ever reflect glory on the county of Cambridge.

P. H. DITCHFIELD.

HUNTINGDONSHIRE

HUNTINGDON is one of the smallest of the English counties, being only greater in area than Rutland and Middlesex. It was a land of dense forest and fens, and bears a name dear to the heart of the sportsman. Huntingdon, or Huntandun of the *Saxon Chronicle*, and spelt in divers ways, is Hunter's down, and tells of the sport of kings and of the deer that frequented its forests. If we would imagine its ancient conditions we must see the sea laving its shores and reaching as far as its capital. The Wash, by industrious draining, has been driven northwards, and the fenland produces rich crops instead of fish and wild-fowl; and the mouth of the Ouse was somewhere between Chesterton and Castor, where the Romans made their station of Durobrivæ, near Dornford Ferry, to guard its entrance. The shire was part of the country of the powerful British tribe of the Iceni, whose king, Prasutagus, the Romans slew. In the story of Hertfordshire we have told of the bravery of Queen Boadicea, and her savage attack upon the Roman legionaries, her victories, her defeat and death. We need not repeat it here. Tacitus describes that last pitiless slaughter, the doom of a brave people, and afterwards history is silent as to the annals of the Iceni as a separate race.

The Romans were not greatly attracted by the land of fen and forest. They made their roads or improved the British trackways. Godmanchester was the centre

of their system, where the roads intersected. There was the old British Ermin Street, proceeding from Cæsar's camp in Bedfordshire, by Crane Hill, through Toseland, Godmanchester, Weston, Upton, and entering Northamptonshire at Wandsford. The Roman Ermin Street followed some of the same course, but entered the shire from Cambridgeshire near Papworth St. Agnes, following the present high road to Godmanchester, and then along the older Ermin way, branching off through Sawtry, Stilton, Chesterton, Durobrivæ, entering Rutland at Stamford. Besides these there was the Via Devana leading from Cambridgeshire by Fenny Stanton to Godmanchester, and thence to Clapton in Northamptonshire. There were two principal stations in the district: Duroliponte, afterwards called Godmanchester, near Huntingdon, where many coins and other relics have been found; and Durobrivæ, where there is Castle-field, enclosed by a ditch and a rampart, and countless Roman remains have been discovered, some of a very curious and interesting character. Other evidences of the presence of the conquerors have been found at Holywell (vessels and pottery), an urn and coins at Somersham and at Sautrefield.

When the Romans departed the land lay open to the English, and along the Ouse came sailing the ships of the South Gyrwas, whom we have met with in Cambridgeshire. History is silent with regard to their doings, but the evidence of place-names seems to support the theory that they established their village settlements in the habitable portion of the shire, and that though the Danes invaded the land in 870 A.D., the conquerors did not form any permanent settlements. Huntingdon they held, and rivetted their control over the shire; but from this possession they were driven in 921 by King Edward the Elder, whose triumphs we have seen in other districts. Camden states that on the river near the bridge at Huntingdon are to be seen the mount and site of a castle

which in the year 917[1] King Edward the Elder built anew; and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* records that "when one division of the forces went home then another went out, and took possession of the town of Huntingdon, and repaired and rebuilt it, by command of King Edward, when it had previously been demolished; and all who were left of the inhabitants of that country submitted to King Edward, and sought his peace and protection."

Soon after the triumphs of Edward the Mercian kingdom was divided into shires, each shire being named after the chief town within its borders, and the shire of Huntingdon began its real existence. The Danish raids had destroyed the great abbeys of Peterborough (Medenhemstead), Croyland, and Ely. After peace had settled on the land these were restored, and in 967 the great Huntingdonshire abbey of Ramsey began to arise on the island where, according to the traditionary tale, a solitary ram, "armed by Nature's cunning with twisted and crooked horns, took up his abode and left his lasting name to the place." It appears that Duke Æthelwin told Bishop Oswald of Worcester that having in grievous sickness seen a vision of the blessed Benedict, who commanded him to build a monastery, he had begun in a small way with an establishment of three men. The bishop urged him to continue his good work, and undertook to arrange and supervise the details of the building. Zealously did Oswald labour in erecting the monastery, over which he presided as abbot, being at the same time Archbishop of York and Bishop of Worcester. In 974 the church was dedicated. King Edgar supported it with gifts, including two bells for the minster, and other great men poured wealth into the treasury of the monks. Thus the famous monastic house began its existence, and continued to shed its benign influence on the shire. A pretty story is told of a German named Wythmann, who

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[1] The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* gives the year 921.

The Bridge, St. Ives.

was the third abbot. He had "an innate fierceness of mind," and accused his monks to the bishop of the diocese of idleness and neglect of regular discipline. The good bishop, Æthelric of Dorchester, had previously been a monk of Ramsey, and believed not the accusation. He disguised himself as a beggar, entered the abbey, observed the excellent order of the brethren, and then rebuked the abbot for his false accusation. The German resigned, and "went to Jericho," or, rather, to Jerusalem, and the house had peace.

Edgar also established a priory of Austin Canons at Huntingdon, which stood on the site of St. Mary's Church. A great event happened for the welfare of Ramsey. It was in the time of the first abbot, Ædnoth. A ploughman in the Saxon borough of Slepe turned up with his plough the body of a man. It was revealed by a vision of the saint himself that these were the remains of St. Ivo, a Persian archbishop of much sanctity, who had spent many years in preaching the gospel in England. Convinced of the truth of this remarkable story, the abbot conveyed the precious relics to Ramsey, and at the shrine of the saint many miracles were wrought. Moreover, they decided that Slepe was far too common a name for a place where such a notable miracle had occurred, and its name was changed to St. Ives in memory of the saint. A church and priory were built on the spot where his body was found, the former by the abbot, the latter by Earl Adelmar for a colony of Benedictine monks from Ramsey. A later abbot removed the body of St. Felix, the apostle of East Anglia, from Sotham to Ramsey, by the permission of King Canute. The body was conveyed in a ship, but the monks of Ely were jealous of this rich possession of the monks of Ramsey, and sallied forth with a strong force in their vessels to intercept the brethren of Ramsey. But a sudden and thick mist settled on the waters, "to the hindrance of many and the safety of the few," and, as the Ramsey

historian concludes, "our adversaries wandering from their course, the attendant water restored us to the bosom of our domestic hearth." Yet another town in the shire changed its name on account of a saint. St. Neots was known as Ainulphsbury, a name derived from Ainulph, a holy man. Camden states that the body of St. Neot, a Cornish saint and apostle, was conveyed hither, and that in honour of the saint a monastery was founded, which was afterwards greatly enriched by Dame Roisia, wife of Richard Lord of Clare.

When Canute came and conquered England, Ædnoth, abbot of Ramsey, and then Bishop of Dorchester, and his successor, Wifsi, were martial Christians, and were slain fighting against the Danes at Ashenden. Ramsey lost many manors owing to its lack of hospitality when Duke Brithnoth of Northumbria travelled south with a few warriors to fight the Danes. He craved refreshment and entertainment for his men. The abbot refused to provide for so many, offering to give dinner to the Duke and seven men. This the indignant Duke refused, declaring that without his soldiers he would not dine, because he alone without his men could not fight. Turning away from the inhospitable gate he repaired to Ely, which received him joyfully. So he bequeathed to that house many goodly manors, which, owing to the defeat and death of the brave duke at the hands of the Danes, soon came into its possession.

With the accession of Canute to the English throne, changes took place in the shire. It was attached to the East Anglian earldom. Camden states that earldoms were not hereditary in England, but the governors of shires were called earls, with the additional titles of the shires they presided over. Thus Edward the Confessor conferred the Earldom of Huntingdon on Siward, Earl of Northumberland. But ere long these earldoms passed to the heirs of the earl, and that of Huntingdon was held by many important persons, even by kings;

though we have not discovered the famous Robin Hood amongst the earls, as popular tradition would lead us to expect.

Waldeof, or Waltheof, son of Siward, became Earl of Huntingdon and also of Northumberland. Though an Englishman, he obtained the favour of William the Conqueror, who married him to the Countess Judith, his own niece. He became rich and powerful, and the possessor of a vast territory; but in an evil moment, when flushed with wine, he was persuaded to engage in a conspiracy against the Conqueror, who had loaded him with kindness. The following morning brought wisdom, and he revealed the plot to Archbishop Lanfranc, who advised him to tell the King and plead for pardon. In fear he did this, and was forgiven, but afterwards the King repented his leniency and ordered him to be executed. His widow, Judith, the King offered in marriage to Simon de St. Liz (or Senlis), but she had an independent spirit and liked not the person of her new suitor, refusing to marry him. The Conqueror was enraged, deprived her of her earldom, and Simon married her eldest daughter, Matilda, and received with her the Earldom of Huntingdon. On his death Matilda married David, the brother of Alexander, King of Scotland; and thus the earldom became connected with the Scottish throne, and was held by kings who were obliged to do homage to the English sovereigns for their possessions in England, a homage that was sometimes claimed to include that for Scotland. Moreover, these English possessions of Scottish monarchs, when war raged between the two countries, were often seized by England and declared to be forfeited. Complications often arose. Thus Henry, the son of David by Matilda, secured the earldom, but, refusing to acknowledge King Stephen, he was deprived, and the young Simon de St. Liz received it. Then when peace was restored Henry of Scotland again gained possession. On his death, Malcolm, his son, King of Scotland, succeeded,

and did homage to Henry II. for Huntingdonshire. But Henry forced him to accompany him to a disastrous war in France, much to the displeasure of his Scottish subjects, who on his return rebelled against him, until they learnt how evilly Henry had treated their king, and then waged war on England. An agreement was at length arrived at, and the earldom remained with Malcolm. William the Lion succeeded, but, as we have recorded elsewhere, he was captured, and in 1174 a heavy ransom—£100,000—was demanded, half to be paid in money, and for the security of the other half his English earldoms were delivered to Henry. This monarch destroyed the castle of Huntingdon on the plea that it was a nest of "seditious rebels," and that it might be no longer a cause of dispute between the Scots and the St. Liz family. Richard I., in order to make peace with the Scots so that he might go crusading, restored the earldom to the Scottish king, William the Lion, and remitted a large portion of his exorbitant ransom. Alexander the Second of Scotland succeeded, and at the coronation of Edward I. his son, Alexander, did homage for the Earldom of Huntingdon. But when the Scottish wars blazed forth, owing to the rival claims of Bruce and Balliol, the Scots, as Camden says, "lost this title and a fine estate in England." Edward III. created William Clinton Earl of Huntingdon. We need not follow its course save to record the names of successive earls—Guiscard d'Angolesme; John and Henry Holland, Dukes of Exeter; Thomas Gray, Marquis of Dorset; William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke; and, in the time of Henry VIII., George Hastings, in whose family it remained until the extinction of the title in 1789.

We must now retrace our steps and note some of the events which happened in the shire apart from the story of its earls. The Scottish monarchs did not forget their distant possession. They founded hospitals at Huntingdon—St. Margaret's, for leprous and infirm folk,

was built by Malcolm IV., St. John the Baptist's by Earl David—and did other good works. Amongst the monastic houses in the county were the Benedictine nunnery at Hinchinbrook, founded by William I.; Sawtrey Judith, built by the second Simon de St. Liz in 1146; and Stonley Priory of Austin Canons, founded by William Mandeville, Earl of Essex, in 1180. The position of the county entailed many visits. Henry III. came to Ramsey on the Feast of St. Matthias in 1234, and stayed four days. A very troublesome visitor was Queen Isabella, the miserable wife of Edward II., who compelled the reluctant abbot, John de Sautre, to entertain her for eighteen days.

Lollard doctrines found favour in this as in other parts of England, but they met with a stern opponent in Roger de St. Ives, an Augustine friar, at the end of the fourteenth century. The next great event which startled the county was the fall of the monasteries. Much land in the shire belonged to them, and the effects of the Dissolution were far-reaching. The annual revenues of Ramsey were nearly £2,000, and the last abbot, John de Wardeboys, alias Lawrence, was an active promoter of its fall and of the destruction of other abbeys, receiving for his services a good pension. Learning had found a congenial home at Ramsey. Many of its abbots and monks were learned men. They maintained an excellent monastic school, and their library was one of the most famous in England, especially for its store of Hebrew books. There had been synagogues at Huntingdon and Stamford, and when these were pillaged in the time of Edward I., Gregory Huntingdon, a monk of Ramsey, attended the sale of the books with a good sum of money, and readily purchased their gold for his brass, returning home in high spirits. He was an earnest student of Hebrew, and left many notes for his successors. Laurence Holbeach, another monk, compiled a Hebrew dictionary. Another monk, John Child,

when the abbey and its noble library were sinking in one common ruin, preserved these Hebrew books. "Such an illustrious society of Hebrew scholars was this sequestered abbey of Ramsey, and such a Christian Sion was raised amidst the eastern lakes of our island, till the Reformation swept away this Sion, and made that study of the Hebrew to set in the ocean for a century and a half afterwards."

The destruction of the abbeys helped to produce a race of new men, who fattened on the spoils. Foremost among these was the family which has rendered the county notorious, and gave birth to one of the most extraordinary persons who ever lived, the Protector, Oliver Cromwell. Their original name was Williams, of Welsh extraction. Morgan-ap-Williams, who owned a small estate in Glamorganshire, was gentleman of the Privy Chamber to Henry VII. He married a sister of Thomas Cromwell, afterwards Earl of Essex, the willing tool of Henry VIII.; and Thomas Cromwell also married a connection of the Williams family. Hence, when monastic property was being sold and squandered, Henry's agent, after the fashion of dishonest upstarts, did not forget his relations. He introduced to the tyrant's notice Richard Williams, alias Cromwell, the son of the aforesaid Morgan, and great-grandfather of the Protector, who helped to suppress the Pilgrimage of Grace, became one of the visitors of religious houses, and then opened his hands to grasp all that might fall into his eager clutch. He took the name of Cromwell in order to support his claims, and soon reaped a rich harvest. The nunnery of Hinchinbrook first fell to his lot, with many good manors in this and the adjoining counties. Then the monastery of Sawtrey Judith, the site of the Abbey of Ramsey, St. Mary's Monastery, Huntingdon, and St. Neot's Monastery. The annual value of his estates in this county amounted to about £30,000, besides many goodly prizes he gained in Norfolk,

London, and Wales. He was skilled in arms, and displayed great prowess in a tournament at Westminster in 1540, which pleased the King, and took part in the French wars. Dying in 1546, he was succeeded by his elder son, Sir Henry, who was a great county magnate, a favourite of Queen Elizabeth, who stayed at Hinchinbrook in 1564, and lived to a good old age, dying in 1603, having earned the title of the "Golden Knight." He had grievous trouble in his household, caused by witches. His second wife died through their influence, and his children suffered terrible pains. The witches were named Samwell, and they lived at Warboys, and everyone has heard of the Warboys witches, who were all executed, according to the custom of the age, and it is not necessary to record their story, save only to mention that for many years a doctor of divinity from Queens' College, Cambridge, was sent to preach every year a sermon on the sin of witchcraft at Huntingdon.

Before we follow the further fortunes of the family we must record that poor, deserted Queen Catherine spent her last days within the shire at Buckden and Kimbolton Castle, which was part of her jointure. It formerly belonged to the Mandevilles, Earls of Essex, and became the seat of the Earls and Dukes of Manchester. In Elizabeth's time a remarkable man was born at Denton, to whose memory all antiquaries must pay due homage. Sir Robert Cotton, the founder of the Cottonian Library, now in the British Museum, was one of the most admired men of his age. It is sad to remember that on a false charge of sedition he was arrested, and though released, he was deprived for a long time of his beloved manuscripts, and he states that this was the cause of his mortal malady. We have only just time to glance at that remarkable community at Little Gidding founded by Nicholas Ferrar in 1626, a seminary of piety and virtue, of religious worship, learning, and study, which met with a violent end during

the Civil War at the hands of Cromwell's troopers. A whole volume might be devoted to the good works of this community of Christian souls.

The Stuart monarchs visited the shire. Sir Oliver Cromwell, uncle and godfather of the Protector, entertained on several occasions James I. The monarch came to Huntingdon on his way southwards to the English throne, where the mayor gave him a sword; and then Sir Oliver invited him to Hinchinbrook, which he had enlarged and beautified for the occasion. He gave the most splendid reception, throwing his doors open to all comers, who were regaled with the choicest viands. The heads of the University of Cambridge, in their robes, came here and made a long Latin oration; and when the royal visit came to an end, James declared to his host, "Morry, mon, thou hast treated me better than any one since I left Edinburgh." Sir Oliver presented to him a large elegantly-wrought cup of gold, goodly horses, deep-mouthed hounds, divers hawks, and distributed £50 among the principal officers. Such prodigality and the sacrifices he made for the royal cause wasted the estate of the old knight, who was obliged to sell his estates, and died in 1655, encumbered with debts. The life of his nephew is too well known to require an extended report. Huntingdon was his birthplace, and he was educated at the Free Grammar School there. A story is told of his playing truant and being nearly drowned in the river, when he was saved by a clergyman named Johnson. Years afterwards, when riding through Huntingdon at the head of his troopers, he saw the clergyman, and asked him if he remembered the incident. "Yes, but I wish I had put you in than see you thus in arms against your King," was his reply. Another story tells of his fight with fisticuffs with Prince Charles at Hinchinbrook when they were both boys, and the royal nose was made to bleed—an omen of their future antagonism. During the Civil War, Huntingdon was

pillaged on one occasion by the King's troops. Just before the war Charles stayed here on his way to York.

One who played a prominent part in the war was Edward Montagu, Earl of Manchester, owner of Kimbolton Castle, where he was born. The connection of the family with the county began with the purchase of the property by his father, Henry Montagu, Lord High Treasurer in the time of James I., and created by him Earl of Manchester. Edward the second earl espoused the cause of the Parliament, and fought bravely in the war. Everyone knows of his quarrel with Cromwell, who removed him from his high position in the rebel army because, as Clarendon says, "he was not wicked enough." The earl took a leading part in furthering the Restoration. Charles, the fourth duke, raised a troop of horse at Huntingdon to support the Prince of Orange and secure for him the English throne.

No other great events have disturbed the tranquillity of the shire. The country folk were reminded at the beginning of the nineteenth century of the prolonged war with France by the presence of a very large number of French prisoners who were confined at Norman Cross. There very extensive barracks were erected for their reception of wood and brick, surrounded by a high wooden palisade, behind which the poor captives pined for their native land.

Huntingdonshire was a noted shire in the great days of the coaching age. The two main roads from London to York traversed the county, meeting at the Wheatsheaf Inn at Alconbury, not far from Huntingdon. Along these roads all the northern traffic went. It was a country of good hostelries, wherein a motley crowd of kings, queens, statesmen, highwaymen, generals, poets, wits, fine ladies, conspirators, and coachmen tarried and found good comfort, solid fare, and excellent beds scented with lavender. Famous are the inns of Huntingdon, the old George being the favourite; of Stilton, where the Angel

and the Bell stand as rivals on each side of the great north road, and where the flow of traffic never ceased. Here, too, were sold the famous Stilton cheeses, which were really not Stilton cheeses at all, but were first made by a Mrs. Paulet, of Wymondham, near Melton Mowbray, in Leicestershire, a relative of Cooper Thornhill, who kept the Bell at Stilton, and who sold "the English Parmesan" to the passengers that crowded his doors. We should like to glance at the famous bridges at Huntingdon and at St. Neots, which retains its bridge-chapel, but we have a long journey before us, and must travel on to other scenes and counties.

P. H. DITCHFIELD.

RUTLAND

RUTLAND, the smallest of English shires, did not attain to the rank of a county until the reign of King John. It is an error to speak of Rutlandshire. It was the Roteland that derives its name from *Rotæ* or *Ratæ*. Indeed, at the time of the Domesday Survey, it was smaller than it is to-day, and only consisted of two Wapentakes, Alstoe and Martinsley; subsequently a portion of Northamptonshire was added. It has shown no remarkable individuality, and derives its main importance not from any striking scenes in English history that have occurred within its borders, but from the illustrious persons who have held property therein or been otherwise connected with the shire.

Of prehistoric times we have few glimpses. Few relics have been discovered of the primitive races who first found a home in this woodland district. At Great Casterton some flint Neolithic implements have been found, and of the Bronze Age at Cottesmore some relics have been discovered, where a hoard of bronze implements and weapons has been brought to light. Here came the Goidels from across the seas, a Celtic tribe; and more than a thousand years before the Christian era the Brythons (or Britons) lived, who have left traces of their presence at Braunston and Oakham, where some of their querns have been found.

When the light of history burns dimly on the scene, we find the district inhabited by the Coritani, a British tribe, who included in their territory the country now occupied by Lincoln, Northamptonshire, Leicestershire,

Nottinghamshire, and Derbyshire. The chief towns of their settlement were Lindum (Lincoln) and Ratæ (Leicester). Against this tribe marched the Emperor Claudius in A.D. 43, and the Roman arms found no difficulty in overcoming the Coritani. Four years later all the country now known as Rutland was occupied by the Romans. They do not seem to have found it a very attractive district. It was evidently a wild woodland district, with few clearings in the forest, and few places to invite them to erect their sumptuous villas or build towns. The important road, Ermin Street, however, passed through the shire, entering on its eastern side, going from Great Casterton to Market Overton. The road was guarded by oblong-shaped camps. Though few villas have been found, some hoards of coins have been discovered at Market Overton, Lyddington, and Uppingham. At Thistleton a Romano-British village existed, and other Roman "finds" have been turned up at Barrow, Braunston, Kelton, Langham, and elsewhere.

When the Romans had vanished, and the Saxon conquerors came along the old Ermin Street, they soon established their rule over the district, making clearings in the forest and enclosures. We find a powerful clan settling at Uppingham, "the village of the sons of Uppa," and another at Lyddington; but not many of the names of villages end in "ing" in Rutland. It formed part of the territory of the Middle Angles, whose chief settlement was at Leicester. When the kingdom of Mercia waxed in strength it absorbed the little shire, and became part of Mercia. We have often referred to the division of the Mercian kingdom into shires that took place early in the tenth century, when each shire received its name from the chief town within its borders. Rutland is a solitary exception. It was not named Oakhamshire. As Mr. Grant Allen observes, "apparently it remains a solitary example of an old native Mercian division which has outlived the West

Saxon redistribution of the country into shires on the southern model, rudely mapped out around certain Danish burghs." Of Offa, the powerful King of Mercia, we find a trace at Ryall, where the church is dedicated to St. Tibba, his kinswoman.

Although Stamford was only just over the borders which the Danes certainly held—that being included in their rule of the Five Boroughs, and confirmed to them by the Treaty of Wedmore, A.D. 878—it is surprising that no local names in Rutland are Danish, and that no Danish relics have been discovered as evidences of their rule. The fact is that the district seems to have been mainly forest, and did not invite the conquerors. Before Norman times it must have been practically deserted forest, with here and there Saxon clearings, which, during Danish ascendancy, had become deserted.

It was, however, a splendid field for hunting, and a great part of the shire was soon designated forest, not merely a tract of woodland, but a district subject to forest laws, and preserved for the chasing of deer and wild boars and other animals that were hunted. The keepers of the forest were not very lenient in the administration of these laws. They were tyrannical, unjust, corrupt. In the story of the forest, as told in the latest work on the county,[1] we read that Peter de Nevill, the King's chief forester, prevented the people from enjoying their common rights, and levied unjust fines; that he had a private gaol at Allexton, where he imprisoned a man with iron chains for two nights for taking a rabbit; and that the keepers levied unjust fines for carting along the King's highway, called *cheminage*, and that men were imprisoned for refusing to pay.

But the consideration of these forest laws have drawn us too far afield. At the dawn of the eleventh century, which was destined to work so great changes in England,

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[1] *Victoria County History of Rutland.*

in A.D. 1002, the Saxon king, Ethelred, gave the shire to Emma, his queen, who subsequently married King Canute. This gift was of immense importance. It afterwards became the custom for monarchs to bestow Rutland on their queens and court favourites. It became a sort of dower-land, and thus attained to a high degree of importance, and was subsequently raised to the status and dignity of a county. Following Ethelred's example, Edward the Confessor gave it to his beloved queen, "Edith of the Long Neck," and till this day her name is preserved in the name of the village Edith Weston.

The "miracle-working" Edward subsequently granted the shire to Westminster Abbey, which still retains much patronage in Rutland and a moiety of the manor of Oakham; but William the Conqueror, who "loved the tall stags as though he were their father," was loath to leave such good hunting country in the hands of ecclesiastics, and deprived them of the grant. He retained much of the land in his own hands. All the central portion of the shire he kept, and the Survey mentions the names of other owners—Robert Malet, the Countess Judith, Gilbert de Gand, Earl Hugh of Chester, and Albert the Clerk.

Historical events that occurred in Rutland are not very numerous. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* records that just before the Conquest, in A.D. 1065, the Thanes of Yorkshire and Northumberland, having outlawed their earl, Tosti, and seized his treasures, marched south with their new earl, Morkar, to Northampton, where they were met by his brother Edwin, who had mustered an army, with many Britons. Harold tried to make peace, but the northern men did much harm about Northampton, burning houses and corn, and capturing cattle, and many hundred men they took and led north with them; so that that shire, and the other shires which these are nigh, were for many years the worse.

The Buttercross Stocks, Oakham.

Rutland was doubtless included in the "other shires," and this hideous raid would be the cause of the desolation which reigned when the Conqueror came. The size of the shire was soon increased by the addition of the Hundred of Wiceslie, taken from the shire of Northampton. The chronicles are silent concerning any events which happened during the contest of Stephen with the Empress Maud, save that Rutland sympathised with the former.

The castle of Oakham became an important stronghold. Robert de Newburgh held it in the reign of Henry I., and then it passed to the powerful family of the De Ferrers. Hugh de Ferrers, brother of William, Earl of Derby, held it, and William de Ferrers in the time of Henry II., who created him baron of Oakham. Henry II. gave Rutland as a dower to his queen, Eleanor of Guienne. Queen Berengaria received a like gift from Richard the Lion Heart, and John, following their example, bestowed it on his second wife, Isabella of Angoulême. Under John "Lackland" the shire at length attained to the dignity of a *comitatus*, or county, and is so mentioned in a Charter Roll of that date; but the leading men of Rutland espoused the cause of the barons in the reigns of John and Henry III. When studying the story of Bedfordshire we met with the name of Fulk de Breanté, that soldier of fortune who wrought evil with his lawless band of robbers, and received a grant of the castle of Bedford as well as Rutland for his support of the royal cause. He met with his deserts, you will remember, at Bedford, and was driven into exile in 1224, when Richard, Earl of Cornwall, the King's brother, and King of the Romans, obtained the lordship of Rutland, and held the castle of Oakham for the King against the barons, who attacked the fortress and captured it. All the other magnates of the county favoured the cause of the barons, including Peter de Montfort, the brother of Earl Simon, who held Preston

and shared his brother's fate at the Battle of Evesham. When the King's cause triumphed, Earl Richard returned to his estates and to Oakham Castle, in the possession of which he was succeeded by his son, Edmund.

Royal favourites were often rewarded by grateful kings for their services, and the worthless Edward II. granted Rutland to his still more worthless and notorious courtier, Piers Gaveston, in 1309. His career was not long. He aroused the anger and jealousy of the powerful barons, especially the Earl of Warwick, who seized him at Scarborough Castle in 1312, and executed him in Warwickshire. His widow, Margaret, married Hugh de Audley, Earl of Gloucester, and so conveyed Rutland to that family. We need not follow the tangled mazes of English history, the rise and fall of parties, and all the changes that took place, which were all reflected in the story of this shire. In the fourteenth century the condition of the shire made it a very undesirable place of residence. The people were wild and lawless. Robberies, assaults, and murders were frequent. The prison at Oakham Castle was full of gaol-birds, who frequently contrived to fly away. The men were skilled archers, and instead of shooting deer and robbing their neighbours, many of them crossed the seas and took part in the French wars, earning fame and honour at Creçy and Poictiers. An old document gives us a glimpse of the castle of Oakham in 1341, which then consisted of a hall, four rooms, a chapel, kitchen, stables and barns, a prison for the county, a porter's room, drawbridge, two acres of land and a moat. Even then the curious custom, still in vogue, existed. The lord of the castle could demand from every nobleman on his first passing through the lordship a shoe from one of his horses, to be nailed upon the castle gate. A money payment is now made to the bailiff, who provides shoes of all sizes, according to the generosity of the donor. Some are very large and handsomely gilt.

The story of Rutland is mainly concerned with the royal and distinguished folk who travelled through the shire, and with the magnates of the realm who held the lordship or other estates in Rutland. During the Scottish wars Edward I. often travelled through the shire, and stayed at Lyddington. Among the lords of Rutland were William de Bohun, Earl of Northampton in 1347; Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford, favourite of Richard II., defeated at the battle of Radford Bridge in Berkshire, and then driven into exile; and Edward, cousin of Richard II., who was created Earl of Rutland.

The Wars of the Roses scarcely disturbed the peace of the county, save for the battle fought near Empingham, called "Losecoat Field," from the fact that the Lancastrians cast away their coats when they fled, pursued by the victorious Yorkists under Edward IV.

During the fifteenth century trade prospered, and even in Rutland the merchants and traders became great and powerful. Oakham became a noted place for trade. Its merchants were of the staple of Calais, and no less than five belonged to that hierarchy of trade, four from Oakham and one from Langham.

When the order for the Dissolution of Monasteries was issued, there were few to suppress in Rutland. At Brooke there was a priory of Austin Canons, founded in 1150; Tolethorpe Hospital, founded in 1301; that of St. Margaret at Great Casterton, for lepers, in 1311; and one at Oakham, founded in 1398 by one of the town's successful merchants, William Dalby, of the Staple of Calais. There was also a college of the Blessed Mary at Manton, the priory of Edith Weston, and a cell of the abbey of St. George de Boscherville, founded by William de Tanqueville in 1114. These all shared the usual fate, and the people liked not the changes, and united with those of Lincolnshire in the Pilgrimage of Grace.

The lordly castle of Belvoir is outside our county—the

stately home of the Manners family, once the stronghold of the De Todeni, Albini, Especs, and De Ros. In the last year of the reign of Henry VII., on the death of Lord Ross, the estate passed to his sister, Eleanor, who had married Sir Robert Manners, knight. Their son, Sir George, attained to great honour. He married Anne, only daughter and heiress of Sir Thomas St. Leger by his wife Anne, daughter of Richard, Duke of York, and sister of King Edward IV., and widow of John Holland, Duke of Exeter. Their son, Sir Thomas, a favourite of Henry VIII., was created Duke of Rutland, "a title which none but the royal family had ever borne." The dukedom remains in the family, the fortunes of which lie beyond the boundaries of Rutland, and therefore do not now concern us. The Cecils lived at Burghley House, near Stamford, just across the border. The great Lord Burghley, who played such an important part in Elizabethan affairs, was more nearly connected with the county, and Richard Cecil, his father, was Sheriff of Rutland in 1539. The Earls of Huntingdon were lord-lieutenants of the shire, and there were many noted men within its borders, including Sir James Harrington of Exton and Burley, who lived in great state; Sir Andrew Noel, the Digbys, Hunts, Herendens, Brownes, Brudenells, and Sheffields.

Archdeacon Johnson was a great benefactor. He founded a fine school at Uppingham, which has since developed into one of the great public schools of England. He also built a hospital for fifteen old men and one woman, and also another school and hospital at Oakham. His brass memorial may be seen in North Luffenham church.

James I. made a progress through the county, and was entertained by Sir John Harrington, whom he created baron, and appointed him guardian to the Princess Elizabeth, thereby causing him some financial embarrassment, until the lady was safely married to the King of Bohemia. The Digbys lived at Drystoke. and, as all

The Old School, Uppingham.

the world knows, Sir Everard was concerned in the Gunpowder Plot, and was convicted and executed. His estates, however, passed to his son, the celebrated Sir Kenelm Digby, who was famous as a soldier, having equipped and commanded a squadron against the Algerines and Venetians in 1628, but was more famous still for his philosophical works.

Sir Edward Noel was, in 1617, created Baron Noel of Ridlington, and then Viscount Campden. A curious little person, who had a stout heart within a diminutive body, was born at Oakham in 1619. This was Geoffrey Hudson, who was a dwarf, and when grown up did not exceed three feet in height. The Duke of Buckingham was living at Burley-on-the-Hill, and took him into his service. When Charles I. and his young bride came to stay with the duke at Burley, a pie was opened, and out jumped the little dwarf, and the Queen was so amused that the duchess presented her little retainer to her. When the Civil War broke out he obtained a commission as captain of horse, and, in spite of his stature, gave proofs of courage, and when afterwards he was in France with the Queen, he challenged the brother of Lord Crofts to a duel and shot him dead. The poor man was then banished, captured by the Turks, sold into slavery, treated with great cruelty, but at length returned to England, and, save that he was accused of meddling in a Popish plot, lived happily till 1682.

Our little hero's career has carried us too far, and we must retrace our steps. The shire proved itself loyal, and amongst the Royalists were Viscount Campden and his son, Baptist Noel; George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham; the Heaths of Cottesmore; the Bullinghams of Kelton; and Sir Wingfield Bodenham. Sir Edward Harrington was the only distinguished Roundhead in Rutland. No actual fighting occurred in the county, though some houses were garrisoned for the King, and Burley was captured by the Parliamentarians and held

by them. The King himself came to Belvoir, and the Rutland folk followed the royal army to Stamford, where it was sorely beaten. When the royal cause was lost, many of its supporters were made to suffer. The Parliamentary leaders had no mercy. The ancient mansion of the Noel family at Luffenham was besieged by Lord Grey of Groby; and though it surrendered on capitulation, every article of the treaty was broken, and both officers and men plundered, wasted, and destroyed the goods, accounts, and writings of the owner, Henry Noel, violated his female servants, defaced the monument of his deceased wife in the church, and carried him a prisoner to London, where he died in consequence of his long imprisonment. You can see at Teigh church the memorial of James Adamson, rector, who for his loyalty suffered much, both in person and circumstances. There was a vile person in the county, chief agent of the Parliament, who delighted in playing the tyrant and despoiling the Royalists. The Duke of Buckingham saved his estates by marrying Mary, the daughter of Lord Fairfax, and others made the best terms they could.

The Rutland folk were glad to welcome Charles II. at the Restoration, and since that time little has happened to connect the shire with the general history of the country, save that Oakham had the dishonour of giving birth to Titus Oates in 1649, the hateful informer and inventor of plots, who doomed to death many innocent persons by his lying and false testimony.

With this we must end our record of the smallest of English counties. On account of the great names associated with it, it has loomed large in the annals of the country, and given a title to one of our greatest nobles. Without evincing any striking individuality, it has a story to tell which is not surpassed in interest by much greater shires.

P. H. DITCHFIELD.

BEDFORDSHIRE

THE smallness of the county is not commensurate with the greatness of the men of the shire, or with the stirring events that have taken place on its soil. It possesses no marked individuality, nothing that distinguishes it from other counties in its immediate neighbourhood. Some writers have deemed its dialect Saxon, and detected some difference between its speech and that of Huntingdon and Northants; but the latest authorities on folk-languages pronounce this to be groundless. Its position is the key to its history. Two great roads have from the earliest times passed through it, the famous Watling Street connecting the south and the north, the Icknield Way, intersecting the former at Dunstable, connecting the busy life of East Anglia with the civilization of the west; and on the east and north were the Fens, where the fugitives from justice or the refugees from tyranny fled for safety. Ere the Roman legions came the district was inhabited by the powerful British tribe, the Catuvellauni, whom we have met with elsewhere, and who dwelt mainly in its southern portion. We may not imagine the Roman legions marching forward devastating the country with fire and sword. The conquest throughout this region was peaceful. Gradually the Roman sway extended. Romano-British settlements arose at Dunstable (*Durocobrivæ*), Bedford, Sandy, and just beyond the border at Fenny Stratford (*Magiovinium*) on the Watling Street. Stanford and Shefford have revealed important remains. Certain vaults at the former place, containing many curious objects, including an amphora, glass vessels, bone flute,

fire-dogs, etc., show the existence of a villa; and at the latter a cemetery has been discovered; and also at Sandy. Miscellaneous objects, including much Samian ware, have been found at Arlesey, Astwick, Biddenham, oculist's stamp at Harrold and Biggleswade, Flitton, Kempston, Maiden Bower near Dunstable,[1] Toddington, Totternhoe, Woburn, and several hoards of coins in divers other places. There is no evidence of the existence of Christianity in the district during the Roman era, but the nearness of Verulam, the scene of the martyrdom of St. Alban, would suggest the probability of Christian influence, all traces of which were soon stamped out by the influx of the Pagan Saxon hosts.

In 571 Cuthwulf, the king of the West Saxons, marched eastward and fought against the Britons at Bedicanford (Bedford), and drove them out of their log fort, capturing also the four towns, Lygeanburgh, which may be identified as Luton, or Linsbury in the parish of Luton, Agelesburgh (Aylesbury), Benesington (Benson), and Egonesham (Eynsham). But it stayed not long under Wessex rule, unless it be that the southern portion for a time was held by the West Saxon kings. The shire became part of the country of the Middle Angles, and early in the seventh century was absorbed in the Mercian kingdom. The district does not seem to have been a firmly attached part of Mercia, as later on it was attached to East Anglia, until at length, in the tenth century, it became a separate shire, and Bedfordshire sprang into being.

Meanwhile, many exciting events had occurred in the district. Bedford, from its position on the Ouse, became an important place. There was a ford, and then a bridge was made to span the stream. Churches and monasteries

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1 A delightful suggestion was made, in all seriousness, by an eminent antiquary of the early part of the nineteenth century, a certain Dr. Salmon. He stated that this earthwork was constructed by the Saxons as a place of exercise for females, and surrounded by a vallum to keep the crowd at a proper distance!

were built. It became a market and a place of trade. Offa of Mercia ruled over the Bedford land, and loved the country, having a palace at Offley, which name preserves his memory, where he died. The monks of St. Albans Abbey naturally wished to bury the body of their founder in their minster, but he willed to be interred at Bedford in the midst of his kingdom; and a chapel was built as his burying-place, which was subsequently swept away by a flood. His queen, Cynethritha, also loved the fair land, and founded a house for nuns at Bedford, to which in her widowhood she retired.

The Danes sailed up the Ouse and, after their fashion, caused devastation in the shire, burning and harrying; but when Alfred the Great ruled and fought bravely for the defence of English liberties, and at length made peace at Wedmore, part of the shire passed under their dominion, and part remained English, the Ouse being the dividing line. There are no evidences of a Danish settlement, as almost all the names of the towns and villages are thoroughly Saxon.

The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* tells of the furious onslaught in A.D. 905 of the English under Edward the Elder upon the Danes of East Anglia, who had broken the truce and ravaged Mercia as far as Cricklade. King Edward went after them speedily and "overran all their land between the dikes and the Ouse, all as far north as the fens." This included a large portion of the shire Often was its peace disturbed at this period. It was on the borderland of the English and Danish rule, and when the peace was broken, the country suffered. After Edward's wasting of the Danish land when he would return, the Kentish-men disobeyed his orders, and were engaged by the Danes. A fierce battle ensued, many chiefs being slain, including Eohric, their king, and Ethelwald the Etheling, who had caused the war, and other great men. The site of the battle is not recorded in the *Chronicle*, but it was probably within the

shire. In 917 the men of Luton bravely distinguished themselves. The Danes again broke the peace and rode forth from Northampton and Leicester, killing many men at Hockerton, and then rode out against Luton (Leighton); but the men of the town fought against them and put them to full flight, and re-took all that they had seized and also a great portion of their horses and of their weapons. The gallant King Edward was pressing forward with his conquests and building forts in order to hold their lands. In 918 he was at Buckingham building forts on either side of the river, and there Thurkytel, the Danish jarl, and all the captains and chief men who owed obedience to Bedford, sought him to be their lord. In the next year he went with his forces to Bedford and gained the town; and "almost all the townsmen who formerly dwelt there submitted to him, and he sat down there four weeks, and commanded a fort to be built on the south side of the river before he went thence."

Thus did the shire play an important part in the wars and commotions of those days. And still more exciting scenes took place. Two years after the submission of Bedford to the English king the Danes abandoned Huntingdon, sailed up the river until they came to the junction of the Ouse with the Ivel, and at Tempsford constructed a fortress, thinking that they might from this centre "by warfare and hostility get more of the land again." But they reckoned not of the brave Bedfordshire folk. These men gallantly met them, put them to flight, and slew a great part of them. The site of the battle is Rising Hoe. Not content with their victory, the men of the shire sallied forth and followed the Danes to their encampment at Tempsford, beset the place, fought against it till they took it by storm, and slew the King and Toglos the Earl, and Mann the Earl, and all who were within and would defend themselves, and captured all the rest. It was a gallant victory.

We need not follow the course of the continued contest. When East Anglia acknowledged the sway of the heroic Edward the Elder, the shire was united with it and severed from Mercia. The far-famed Abbey of Ramsey was founded in 962 and exercised its beneficent influence over the district. But at length the Danes had their revenge on the shire which had often so bravely resisted them. Sweyn came with his ships and warriors to Norfolk, and then terrible things happened. The *Chronicle* tells that in 1010 the Danes "went westward into Oxfordshire and into Buckinghamshire, and so along the Ouse until they came to Bedford, and so onwards to Tempsford, and ever burning as they went. Then went they again to their ships with their booty." Poor Bedfordshire! Poor Bedford! The town was set on fire, and fire-marks still remain on the walls of St. Peter's Church.

A Dane ruled English land, and Bedfordshire became part of the East Anglian Earldom. Little is known of the life of the shire until the Norman Conquest. Ramsey Abbey gained manors and privileges. We have already found traces in other shires of Earl Morkere's invasion in 1065 of the southern counties, including northern Bedfordshire, when he slew men, burned houses and corn, and captured cattle and prisoners, so that Northamptonshire and "the other shires which there are nigh were for many years the worse."

And the next year the Conqueror came, William the Norman and his hungry followers. The Hon. Francis Baring has recently traced the course of the Conqueror's march by examining the depreciation in the value of estates and manors caused by the passage of the army as revealed by the *Domesday Survey*. This novel and ingenious inquiry has produced some interesting results. We can trace his march, foraging as he went, from Hastings to Wallingford through Buckinghamshire and then sweeping round through Bedfordshire to Hertfordshire, while detachments went to St. Neots and elsewhere.

His hand fell heavily on the English landowners of the shire. Nearly all were dispossessed in favour of Normans. The English liked not this treatment, and doubtless many of them were in the neighbouring Camp of Refuge at Ely with Hereward the Wake. Hereward was at one time a prisoner under the charge of Robert de Horepol at Bedford, if we may accept the legendary story of his life.

The castle at Bedford was built in the reign of the Red King by Payn de Beauchamp, the son of Hugo, who came over with the Conqueror and fought at Senlac. The Barony of Bedford was given to the Beauchamps, the most powerful family in Bedfordshire. Another branch held the castle of Eaton Socon, lower down the river, near Tempsford. They played a prominent part in the history of the shire. Henry I. created Dunstable. The old Roman town had long fallen into decay, and the king built a priory of Augustinian or Black Canons there, planned a town, and gave large possessions to his foundation.[1] Here he and his successor on several occasions kept his Christmas feast. Other monastic houses arose within the county. At Woburn an abbey for monks of the Cistercian order was founded by Hugh de Bolebec in 1145; and other houses were built at Harold, Elston (a Benedictine nunnery), Warden Abbey for Cistercian monks, founded in 1135 by Walter D'Espec, a priory at Chicksand, and the priory of Bushmead at Eaton Socon. During the wars of Stephen's reign the Beauchamps sided with the Empress Maud, the owner of the castle of Bedford being Milo de Beauchamp. He refused to surrender it to the king's favourite, Hugh de Beaumont, created Earl of Bedford, and was compelled to endure a protracted siege, which is

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[1] The *Annals of Dunstable* were transcribed and printed by Hearne, and subsequently by Luard. These include the records of the priory from 1131 to 1297, the earliest portion being the work of Richard de Morins, fourth prior of Dunstable.

Bunyan's Cottage, Elstow.

graphically described by the chroniclers, illustrating clearly the mode of attack adopted by military leaders of that age. After the departure of the king the castle was abandoned, but again taken by Milo de Beauchamp when the cause of the Empress for a time was in the ascendant. "While this castle stood, there was no storm of civil war that did not burst upon it," wrote Camden. The shire seems to have suffered much during this period of war and confusion. There seems to have been another castle at Meppershall which was besieged by Stephen. And castles are said to have existed at Odell, Stevington, Arlesley, and Clophill. It is believed that Bedford endured yet another siege, and when Geoffrey de Maudeville was plundering the neighbouring county of Huntingdon in 1144 and seizing Ramsey Abbey, he did not refrain from pillaging other estates and villages within the shire. Some time ensued before the land recovered from the harrying. In 1154, at the termination of the war, Stephen and Henry, Duke of Normandy, afterwards Henry II., had a friendly meeting at Dunstable.

Every one knows the story of the quarrel between Henry II. and Thomas à Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, and of the refusal of the latter to allow the clergy to be tried in any but spiritual courts. In Bedfordshire the spark was struck which caused the conflagration. A canon of Bedford was accused of causing the death of a knight. He was tried and acquitted by the bishop. The king's justiciary at Dunstable refused to accept the decision, and summoned the canon to appear, who refused to have his case re-tried. The king was enraged. The archbishop held an inquiry and supported the cleric, and then the quarrel blazed forth. Every student of history knows the sequel: the Constitutions of Clarendon, the heated Council of Northampton, the flight of Becket and his subsequent murder in his cathedral. The chroniclers tell of a strange sight that was seen at Dunstable in 1183

in the heavens, "the form of our Lord's banner with the crucifixion upon it."

When King John outraged the feelings of his subjects, and the barons rose in wrath against him, the shire witnessed the conflict and played no inconsiderable part. William de Beauchamp sided with the barons, and his castle was the rendezvous of the party. After the signing of the Great Charter, John, with his foreign mercenaries and his few English supporters, marched to Dunstable and Northampton, and failed not to pillage the estates of the barons through which his army of cut-throats, the vile scum of foreign soldiery, passed. They captured Bedford Castle after a brief siege, and the king gave it to one of his prominent foreign leaders, Fulk de Breauté, a vile wretch, a mischievous upstart, robber and murderer, to whom nothing was sacred. We can only follow the course of the war as it affected the county, which suffered greatly from it. The barons invited Louis of France to England, who soon gained the mastery of the southern district. Dunstable suffered severely from him in 1216, and in a later march through the shire much damage was done with the object, doubtless, of endearing the foreign would-be king to his new subjects. But worse things happened. Fulk and his brother, William de Breauté, proved themselves consummate scoundrels. Their castle at Bedford was a den of robbers, who committed every kind of enormity. They killed some of the monks at Warden, raided St. Albans Abbey, wrongfully seized manors, robbed the exchequer of large sums, placing the money in the security of the Knights Templars. When the young King Henry III. came of age, he lacked not wise councillors who advised him to put a stop to these proceedings. Royal castles were ordered to be given up. Fulk and others refused, but then consented. William de Breauté was at Bedford, and enraged at Henry de Braibroc, the king's justiciary, who had levied heavy fines on the brothers for their

crimes, carried him off and imprisoned him at Bedford. This was too much for the king and his courtiers. Every man was mustered, every arm directed against these vile robbers. Bedford Castle again was besieged. Two months it held out, and then the royal forces gained an entrance. William and his men were hanged, and Fulk, who happened to be absent at the time of the siege, was at length persuaded to deliver himself up to the mercy of the king, on condition that his life should be spared, and was banished for ever from the realm. His castle, "that nursery of sedition," as Camden calls it, lest it should again be a source of danger to the peace of the country, was shorn of its outer walls and converted into a residence for William de Beauchamp.

The road to Dunstable saw many noted men riding along it who found entertainment at the priory. Here Simon de Montford came in 1263. Now companies of knights were riding along to tournaments at Luton and Dunstable. The tournament was an excuse for assemblies of discontented men, who came together to enforce by arms their demands. Hence these jousts were often forbidden. This was so in 1244 when Rome tried to rivet its chains on England and the nuncio had to flee for his life. It was so in 1246 and 1265 when it was thought that knightly deeds of arms would degenerate into fierce and deadly contests. However, the king and queen, with the Pope's legate and Simon de Montford, sojourned here some days in that year. Bedford witnessed a grand tournament three years later in the presence of King Henry, and Dunstable was the scene of another display of arms at the beginning of the fourteenth century, and when Edward II. was murdered his faithless and shameless Queen, with her paramour Mortimer, held a feast in Bedford Castle. Here came also Henry of Lancaster in an angry mood with an army vowing vengeance on the upstart earl, but war was happily for a time averted. Dunstable witnessed the

mournful procession bearing the body of Queen Eleanor to its last resting-place at Westminster, and here her sorrowing husband, Edward I., erected one of his Eleanor Crosses. A very different scene took place some years later when Edward III., returning in triumph from his Scottish wars, was met by 230 knights, who entertained their sovereign by a grand exhibition of martial exercises.

In most of the towns of England where a powerful abbey existed, under the shade of which a town had grown mainly on account of the protection of the abbey, there were quarrels between the townsfolk and the monks. Such was the case at Dunstable, where during the time of the peasants' risings the townsfolk demanded from the prior a charter of liberties. Under compulsion the prior consented, but the king would not brook such proceedings. The charter was returned, and the prior had much ado to save the lives and property of his good neighbours, towards whom he acted with becoming Christian charity. In the fourteenth century there was much lawlessness in the land, and the shire was no exception. Its sons took part in the Wars of the Roses, but there was no fight fought on its ground. We should like to follow the fortunes of its great families, and Bedfordshire has had many illustrious sons, but our space will not permit. Margaret, Countess of Richmond and Derby and mother of Henry VII., was born at Bletsoe in the county in 1441, and left a reputation of piety and virtue, of learning and the love of letters. She translated from the French *The Mirroure of Golde for the Sinful Soule* and the fourth book of the *Imitation of Christ*, and her name is preserved and her memory revered by her magnificent foundation of St. John's and Christ's Colleges at Cambridge, and the Margaret Professorship of Theology at Oxford. The mansion of Ampthill is associated with more than local history. It was made over to Henry VII. by Richard Grey, third Earl of Kent, who had become

embarrassed through his lust of gaming. Here Henry VIII. often hunted, and on one occasion brought with him Anne Boleyn, and here his unfortunate Queen Catherine spent her mournful days, and her case was tried by Cranmer in the neighbouring priory of Dunstable. Horace Walpole wrote the following verses, inscribed on the base of a cross erected by Lord Ossory in memory of the unhappy queen in 1773:—

> In days of yore here Ampthill's towers were seen,
> The mournful refuge of an injured queen;
> Here flowed her pure but unavailing tears,
> Here blinded zeal sustained her sinking years;
> Yet Freedom hence her radiant banner wav'd,
> And Love avenged a realm by priests enslav'd;
> From Catherine's wrongs a nation's bliss was spread,
> And Luther's light from lawless Henry's bed.

The dissolution of the monasteries caused the destruction of Woburn, Dunstable, and other houses in the county, but no insurrections in Bedfordshire occurred on account of the religious changes. Woburn was granted to Lord Russell, created Earl of Bedford, whose extraordinary career is a veritable romance. It commenced in Dorset when some ships conveying the Archduke of Austria, son-in-law of the King of Aragon and Castile, to Spain were wrecked at Weymouth. Sir Thomas Trenchard, the governor, sent for his young cousin, Russell, an accomplished linguist, to converse with the archduke. "It is an ill wind that blows nobody profit," wrote Fuller when telling the story, and this storm led to the foundation of the Russell fortunes. The archduke conceived a liking for him, took him to Windsor, where he captivated the king "by his moving beauty and the comeliness of his mien," and by his varied accomplishments and talents. He became a favourite of Henry VIII., serving in the French wars, was knighted, and in 1538-9 created Baron Russell of Chenies. His rise was rapid. Honours and lucrative appointments clustered thick. He shared freely

in the spoils of the monasteries, and continued to bask in royal favour through the reigns of Edward VI. and Queen Mary, escorting Philip of Spain to England, and giving her Majesty away on the occasion of her marriage. Full of riches and honour, he died in 1555 and was buried at Chenies, where so many of his illustrious descendants lie. Woburn Abbey is one of the most magnificent houses in England. We must not omit to record the noble benefaction of Sir William Harper, Alderman of London, a native of Bedford, who in 1556 founded a grammar school, endowing it with thirteen acres of land in Holborn. The increased value of the land has made Bedford one of the foremost educational centres in England.

The Civil War left its mark upon the shire, and caused much disaster. The king had many gallant supporters in the county among the nobility and gentry, but the Parliament had about an equal number of partisans. William, fifth Earl of Bedford, succeeded his father just before the outbreak of the war, and at first fought for the Roundheads, but after Edgehill he became Royalist Amongst others who fought for King Charles were the Earl of Cleveland and his son, Lord Wentworth, the Earl of Peterborough, Lord Capel of Warden, the Dyves, the Gerys, the Taylors of Clapham, Sir Francis Crawley of Luton, and many other loyal and true men. But the farmers and commons were for the opposite party, as were the Earls of Kent, Bolingbroke, and Elgin of Ampthill, the Lukes, St. Johns, Burgoynes, and others. Bromhall Hall saw the first act of the drama, when Luke tried to take Sir Lewis Dyve prisoner. The principal theatre of the war was the north-western division of the shire, which saw several fights and skirmishes. We cannot follow the achievements and misfortunes of the Bedfordshire squires in other counties where they fought manfully, and can only record the progress of the war in the shire. It came very near to them in the summer of

The Moot Hall, Elstow.

1643 when Sir Lewis Dyve was constructing his fort at Newport Pagnell, and Prince Rupert came to plunder the property of the Roundheads and captured Bedford, while Dyve visited Ampthill and took some rascally gentry prisoners who were busily engaged in sequestrating Royalist estates. This fortress at Newport Pagnell was especially obnoxious to the Parliamentarians, who determined at all hazards to capture it, as it destroyed their communications with London. Along the old Watling Street through Dunstable marched Essex with his train-bands, took possession of the fort, and required Bedfordshire to hold it and to supply it with provisions. The royal forces were very busy here in the summer of 1644. Leighton Buzzard, Dunstable, Woburn, and other places were plundered; and, according to the Roundhead papers, the soldiers behaved badly, "cut and slashed the people in church and shot at the minister," but these partisan reports are not very reliable.

To support the war the land was drained of money and supplies, Royalist estates were seized and confiscated, troops were quartered on the impoverished people, and Cromwell's troopers thought nothing of carrying off sheep and committing other robberies; so the people grew a little tired of Roundhead oppression. They suffered, too, from a Royalist visit in the summer of 1645, when Charles and his Cavaliers rode through north Bedfordshire, plundering the estates of both friend and foe, capturing Bedford and Barton, and then passing away into Buckinghamshire.

Bedford must ever take a high place in English history, as having been the scene of those prolonged negotiations between the Parliamentary leaders and the defeated king with regard to the future of the kingdom. The leaders stayed at Bedford; the king was at Woburn. If the king had not refused to abandon to their enemies his loyalist friends, and to destroy the Church, possibly these negotiations would not have been in vain. A last

fight took place within the Bedfordshire borders. It was on July 10th, 1648. The Earl of Holland, defeated at Kingston, had hurried across the shire, gaining strength as he rode, until he arrived at St. Neots with a force of cavalry four hundred strong. In the market-place they fought against Colonel Scroop and a company of Cromwellian troopers, but the Royalists were forced to fly, and the last struggle of the royal cause in the county ended.

Since those days the struggles on the soil of the shire have been mainly political. The Duke of Monmouth passed some time of his hiding in the society of Henrietta Baroness Wentworth at Toddington. Bedford Gaol, after the Restoration, held a notable prisoner, John Bunyan, the author of the immortal work, *The Pilgrim's Progress.* He was born at Elstow, near Bedford, in 1628, the son of a tinker, who in his young days served in the army and was not remarkable for his piousness. He was imprisoned for not observing the Conventicle Act, and released by the interference of the Bishop of Lincoln. His chair may still be seen in the vestry of his chapel. It would be a pleasant task to record all the illustrious names connected with the history of the shire, and to describe all the pleasant seats in this delectable county. But we can only mention a few of these. Sutton and Potton are the possessions of the Burgoyne family, and have been held by them since the time of John of Gaunt, who granted the estate to their ancestor by these simple rhymes:—

I John of Gaunt
Do give and graunt
Unto Roger Burgoyne
And the heirs of his loine
Both Sutton and Potten
Until the world's rotten.

A melancholy event in English history is recorded on an obscure tablet in the church of Southill, bearing the inscription:—

To the perpetual disgrace of
Public Justice
The Honourable John Byng,
Vice Admiral of the Blue,
Fell a Martyr to
Political Persecution,
On March 14, in the year 1757,
When Bravery and Loyalty
Were insufficient securities
For the Life and Honour
of a naval officer.

Admiral Byng was the son of Viscount Torrington, formerly the owner of Southill Park, and the tablet records the judgment that posterity has passed on the execution of a brave officer who was made a scapegoat for the weakness and vacillations of politicians.

Antiquarians will not forget that Bedfordshire produced one of the most noted of their fraternity. John Leland, antiquary to Henry VIII., was born at Melchbourn; and the shire has given birth to a poet laureate, Nicholas Rowe, born at Little Barford in 1673, a prolific dramatic author and editor of Shakespeare's plays. On the accession of George I. he was appointed Poet Laureate, an office which was curiously combined with that of Land Surveyor of the Customs of the Port of London. When on one occasion he was seeking preferment from the Earl of Oxford, Lord High Treasurer of England, his lordship advised him to study the Spanish language. Rowe imagined a glorious future and an honourable commission to the court of Spain, and immediately applied himself to the task of learning Spanish. Having perfected himself in the language, he waited on the Earl to inform him of his success, and was greeted by his lordship with the words, "How happy are you, Mr. Rowe, that you can now enjoy the pleasure of reading and understanding *Don Quixote* in the original." Rowe lies buried at Westminster, where may be seen a fine monument with an epitaph by Pope.

With this brief record of Bedfordshire worthies we may take leave of a county which, on account of its many historical associations and the greatness of its sons, is worthy to rank with many shires of much vaster size and importance.

P. H. DITCHFIELD.

NORFOLK

THE division of England into counties is, as is well known, late in date, and, unlike the old divisions of France into provinces, it is largely artificial. This renders it difficult in many cases to enclose the history of a district in county compartments; but the difficulty is not so pronounced in the case of Norfolk as in that of some other counties, such as Cambridgeshire or Rutland, for example; for, notwithstanding that her annals and her fortunes coalesce to a large extent with those of East Anglia, of which she formed the predominant partner, yet Norfolk has a stirring and an important history of her own.

At the close of the prehistoric period, the district now known as Norfolk, in common with Suffolk and parts of Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire, is found in the possession of a Celtic tribe belonging to the Goidelic branch of the race, as is sufficiently proved by the names by which it was successively known to Roman writers, and by the name of the only king or chieftain of which we have record before the separate existence of the tribe was merged in the general life of Roman Britain.

Cæsar, in his description of his invasion of Britain, speaks of the tribe under the designation of Cenimagni, and of their territory as lying to the north of the Trinobantes, who occupied Essex. A hundred years later, at the time of the invasion under Claudius, the tribe is known by the name of Iceni, and the name of their King is Prasutagus. In both the earlier and later forms of the name of the tribe we may see a testimony to the importance of their position in Celtic Britain, the word being a modification of the Goidelic *ceann*, which means "head";

and by the earlier form they are connected with the Cenomanni, whom we find occupying extensive territories in Gaul and Upper Italy, while the name of their last King, Prasutagus, points to the same conclusion, containing, as it does, the Indo-European P, the preservation of which is characteristic of the Goidelic branch of the Celtic race, and it means, in all probability, "Very good raider." [1]

The Cenimagni, or Iceni, inhabiting a large and fertile district, would appear to have held a sort of overlordship over the neighbouring tribes, and it was thus easy for their outraged Queen Boadicea, the widow of Prasutagus, to gather together the vast host of 60,000 warriors who followed her standard in the last great revolt of Southern Britain against the Roman conquerors. The origin of this revolt and its disastrous consequences, in which the Iceni stand out for the first and last time on the pages of history, has been often told. Prasutagus, when dying, left one-half of his kingdom, hitherto unconquered, to the Romans, and the other half to his widow. Probably he saw that conquest was inevitable, and hoped thereby to secure better terms for his people. The insolence of the Roman soldiery, however, frustrated his object, and the story of the revolt which was raised by Boadicea to avenge the wrongs inflicted on herself and her daughters, makes one of the most graphic narratives in the pages of Tacitus and Dion Cassius. This took place in the year A.D. 62.[2]

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[1] Nicholson's *Keltic Researches*, p. 17.

[2] In the grounds of the parsonage-house at Quidenham, in this county, there is a mound which local tradition affirms to be the burial-place of the warrior Queen. It stands close to the road, near a small stream, and is fifty yards round at the base, which is surrounded by a trench. This tumulus is locally called "The Bubberies," which the people say is a corruption of Boadicea or Boudicca. It has never been explored, but is supposed to have been the site of a battle, from the large number of skulls and other human remains which are found in the churchyard close by scattered in the utmost confusion, and within coffins, some two feet below the surface. "The bones," says Canon Garnier, the late rector, in a private letter, "are very ancient, and it would almost seem as if this churchyard was once a pit into which many bodies were cast."

For nearly four hundred years afterwards peace reigned among the Romanized descendants of the ancient Iceni, and the annals of the time are blank. Two of the principal settlements of the Iceni became important Roman stations and centres of trade—Sitomagus and Venta Icenorum—and the old trackways were utilized and improved for the march of troops as well as for the transit of goods. Roman camps were established, and Roman or Romano-British landowners set up their villas, but both camps and villas were few in number considering the size of the district. I have placed Sitomagus in Norfolk because, on grounds which I have detailed elsewhere, I hold that it is to be identified with Thetford rather than with Dunwich in Suffolk, and if we seek for the chief city of Prasutagus and Boadicea, it is at Sitomagus (Thetford) that we shall find it. Venta Icenorum, too, is to be identified with Caistor, by Norwich, rather than with Norwich itself, three miles distant. It was the trading centre of the Iceni, as its name, Venta, from the Latin *vendere*, tells us, and was likewise the seat of a Roman camp, the remains of which are to be seen at the present day. The Icknield Way, the Peddar Way, along which many objects belonging to the British and Romano-British periods have been discovered, and the vestiges of Roman roads traceable by means of such place-names as Stratton, of which there is one on the southward track taken by the ninth Iter of Antoninus on the line from Venta Icenorum (Caistor) to Sitomagus (Thetford), and another, Stratton Strawless, on the track from Caistor to the great camp at Branodunum (Brancaster), enable us to trace the line of march of the legions as they passed from camp to camp, and also to follow the train of pack-mules which conveyed the articles of trade and barter from place to place.

Caistor was an important camp, as it lay at the head waters of the estuary, which in this age ran right up to its walls from the North Sea, and because it dominated

the then capital city of the district. Brancaster acquired more and more importance as time went on owing to the increasing frequency of raids on the part of the "Vikings" of that age—the Angles and Saxons from the low-lying lands of North Germany on the other side of the North Sea. Brancaster was garrisoned by Dalmatian cavalry, and was the seat of government of an officer called the *Comes Littoris Saxonici*, who was under the *Dux Brittanniarum*, or Viceroy of Britain. Other Roman camps were situated at Tasburgh, where there are extensive remains; Castleacre, overlooking the Nar Valley; Castle Rising; and Burgh, near Yarmouth, which is just over the Suffolk border, but is one of the most perfect examples of a Roman fortress, and is believed to be the station of Garianonum, established by P. Ostorius Scapula to keep in check the warlike Iceni after the conquest. Roman villas have been discovered in several localities in the county, the two latest being at Grimston and Gayton, in North-West Norfolk; but though the "finds" include the usual articles of domestic use in Samian, Upchurch, and Castor ware, and pins, brooches, and other ornaments, no fine tessellated pavements have been found such as rejoice the heart of the excavator at Brading in the Isle of Wight, Castor in Northants, the city of London, and elsewhere. In fact, to judge from their relics, the Roman landowners of Norfolk would seem to have been not among the most prosperous of their class.

In the year A.D. 410 the troubles at the heart of the empire caused the withdrawal of the legions from its outlying portions, and the last Roman soldier bade farewell to Britain. Then the low-lying lands on the East Coast fell an easy prey to the Teutonic invaders, hitherto kept in check by the Roman fleet and the strong arm of Rome; and in the course of the next century we find Norfolk, with the adjoining counties, forming one of the kingdoms of the Saxon octarchy—that of East Anglia. Many interesting remains of the heathen Angles, including proofs

that they practised cremation as well as inhumation, have been found in cemeteries belonging to this period. Whether Christianity spread to any extent during the Roman occupation is doubtful; no remains of any Christian church of that period have been discovered in Norfolk. It was to a completely heathen people that Felix, the Burgundian, in the reign of Sigebert, called the Learned, brought the message of the Cross at the beginning of the seventh century; but the message seems to have been well received, and in the course of the next century the county seems to have been fully Christianized. Felix founded the Bishopric of East Anglia at Dunwich, the capital city in that age, and is said to be buried at Felixstowe. In his time, Fursey, the Apostle from Ireland, after preaching everywhere, founded a monastery according to the Benedictine rule at Cnobbesburgh in the marshes where the Roman fortress of Garianonum had once stood.[1] This and Beodric's Worth, now Bury St. Edmunds, whither Sigebert retired, were the two first monasteries in East Anglia. In the year A.D. 673 a second Bishopric was founded at North Elmham, near Dereham, and some remains of the later Saxon church, of about the latter half of the tenth century, may still be seen there, almost buried by the Norman Motte subsequently erected. The best-known of the early kings

[1] Bede relates a remarkable vision which Fursey had, in which he was carried by angels to the confines of hell, where he saw four hearths burning destined to consume the world. The first will engulf the souls of those given to lying and deceit; the second, the souls of those who have preferred the riches of the world to the love of heaven; the third, those who have sown discord and hatred; the fourth, the wicked, and those who have spoiled the weak. Passing through the flames, which could only hurt the guilty, he beheld troops of hideous demons tormenting the damned. Finally, after showing him the abodes of the just, the angels brought him safely back to earth. It is interesting to compare this vision with the Revelation of Peter, which Fursey could not have known, and with the subsequent descriptions of Dante, on which all mediæval ideas of hell were based. Milton's conception is very different. Fursey arrived in England in 633, preached in East Anglia, passed over to France in 648, and died in Poitou in 650. Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*, Bk. iii., cap. 19; *cf.* Delapierre, *L'Enfer*, pp. 35 ff.

of East Anglia is King Anna, who was slain by Penda, the ferocious heathen King of Mercia, A.D. 655. Anna was a pious and able monarch, but he is more renowned for his daughters than for any achievements of his own. These ladies were Sexburga, who married Earconbert, King of Kent, and ruled as regent after his death of the plague. She subsequently retired to Sheppey, where she founded a nunnery, and later on she became the second Abbess of Ely; Ethelburga, who crossed the Channel and died Abbess of Brie; Etheldreda, who married Egfrid, King of Northumbria, and maintained a celibate life in spite of the marriage bond, subsequently abandoning her far northern home and becoming the foundress of Ely; and Witburga, who founded the nunnery and church at Dereham, where her Wishing Well still exists, and lay buried there until her remains were stolen in the tenth century by the monks of Ely.[1]

The annals of East Anglia were peaceful until the ninth century, when the great Viking raids commenced which transformed Norfolk into a Scandinavian province, and brought a flood of heathenism once more over the land; this was not dispelled until the Danish King, Guthrum, or Guthorm, was baptized in accordance with his treaty with Alfred the Great. It was in the year 870 that King Edmund, who had transferred the capital from Dunwich to Thetford, was defeated and slain near there by the Danish forces under Inguar and Hubba. In later days he was accounted to have suffered martyrdom, and was canonized by popular acclaim,[2] and his remains, after many vicissitudes, including the journey during which they lay in the little church at Greensted, in Essex—the only remaining example of a Saxon wooden church—were

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[1] "The Abbot and Monks of Ely stole this precious Relique and translated it to Ely Cathedral, where it was interred near her three Royal Sisters. A.D. 974."—*Inscription over her tomb at Dereham.*

[2] Canonized by popular acclaim, not by formal decree (*pace* Carlyle). —See Reyce's *Breviary of Suffolk*, pp. 283-4 (edited by Lord Francis Hervey).

finally deposited at Bury, where he had been crowned, and which after him was called Bury St. Edmunds, and enshrined immediately to the east of the spot where the High Altar of the church of the great abbey afterwards stood.

Remains of the Danish period everywhere abound, in the shape of earthworks, where bloody fights took place, and place-names, which prove how complete was the conquest; for I assign the Danish place-names to this period rather than to a pre-Roman Scandinavian occupation, to which Mr. Walter Rye would refer them.

It was at this time, too, that Norwich began to acquire that predominant position as the chief city of Norfolk which she has ever since maintained. The Angles seem to have founded a settlement in early days in the district known as Conesford (or the King's ford), of which Tombland was the centre and market-place, and where the burh-motes were held; alongside of this the Danish settlement of Westwyk, of which Tombland [1] was still the centre, grew up; later on came the Norman district of Mancroft, round the great Mound and Castle Keep; and these became the subsequent wards of the city.

Canute, as a Dane, was fond of the Danelagh, as the Danish district of his kingdom, of which Norfolk formed part, was called, and either he or Abbot Uvius, of Bury, under his direction, founded a monastery at Thetford in expiation of the murder of St. Edmund. This is now known as "The Nunnery," because in 1160, having become decayed, it was transferred to the use of the nuns of Lyng. Canute also re-founded the great Abbey of St. Benet-at-Hulme, not far from Norwich.

In the days of King Edward the Confessor, and, indeed, for a hundred years before the Norman Conquest, quite a mania for church building seems to have spread throughout East Anglia, and, as appears from the

[1] *Tomlond* = Tombland, open space. Hudson, *How Norwich Grew*, etc., p. 10, and pp. 26 and 33.

Domesday Survey, there were no less than 317 churches in the county of Norfolk alone. Judging by some which survive, such as the tower of St. Julian's, Norwich, Houghton-on-the-Hill, Dunham Magna, and others, they were in no way inferior, for the age which produced them, to any of our mediæval or more modern parish churches. Dunham particularly, with its internal arcading, its axial tower, and triangular western door (now blocked), is a very fine example of later Saxon architecture of the time of Edward the Confessor.

With the Norman Conquest in 1066 came a wave of monastic, church, and castle building. The Saxon, or, rather, Anglo-Danish, lords, landowners, and tenants, were either slain, dispersed, or reduced to servitude, and the gratitude of the victors to Providence, and their determination to make themselves secure, could be expressed in no other way. The first Norman Earl of Norfolk was Ralph de Guader, to whom were given broad lands, but he, heading a revolt in 1075, had to make way for Roger Bigod, the first representative of a family long connected with the county, to whom many religious foundations are due. The Bigods were the builders of the great keep which now surmounts the Castle Hill at Norwich, as William de Albini was of the keep at Castle Rising, and William de Warrenne of Castleacre, where the great prehistoric earthworks are now surmounted with the broken curtain-wall that enclosed his keep, which dominated the Valley of the Nar, and every stone of which has disappeared.

The Warrennes, like all the great Norman lords, possessed extensive estates and houses in other counties. Their principal seat was at Lewes in Sussex, where they erected the castle, and founded the Cluniac Priory in memory of, and for prayers to be offered for the souls of, those who fell at Hastings. Accordingly Gundrada, wife of William de Warrenne I., and step-daughter of the Conqueror, being the daughter of his consort Matilda

Norwich Cathedral, from the South-West.

by a former husband, founded at Castleacre a priory of Cluniacs as a cell to Lewes. Her example was so extensively followed during the succeeding centuries comprised in the "Ages of Faith"—*i.e.*, from about A.D. 1100 to A.D. 1400—that no less than 124 monastic institutions of all sorts, Benedictines, Cluniacs, Premonstratensian Canons, Austin Canons, Friars White, Black and Grey, including such magnificent foundations as St. Benet's, Hulme, the Cathedral Priory at Norwich, Walsingham, Castleacre, and St. Faith's, besides such smaller societies as Binham, Westacre, Bromholm, Pentney, West Dereham, Walsham, Cokesford, Creke, and Beeston, and colleges, hospitals, nunneries, and alien houses, were found existing at the Dissolution.

Meanwhile, Herbert de Losinga, the first Norman Bishop, having transferred the See from Thetford, where it had been established for a few years, to Norwich, in 1094, commenced worthily the work of church building, which was still to remain so characteristic of the county, by founding the Cathedral Church of Norwich, strictly on the model of Fécamp, of which he had been Prior in 1088,[1] within the precincts of the Priory of the Holy Trinity, also founded by him. This was a practice which remained a distinguished feature of English cathedral building, and marked it off from the Continental custom, which prevailed particularly in the province of Old Gaul, fast developing into modern France, under which the cathedral took the place of the Roman basilica, and became the centre of civic life, a position which was held, for example, in Norwich by the great civic church of St. Peter Mancroft. It was owing to the English custom, rooted in the English character, and due to the manner in which Christianity first spread in England, that there were so many conflicts between the cathedral monks and

[1] In the same year he was made Abbot of Ramsey, Hunts., and Bishop of Thetford in 1091.

the citizens which we read of in subsequent centuries.[1] Herbert de Losinga also built the great churches of St. Nicholas, Yarmouth, and St. Margaret's, Lynn, and the church at North Elmham.

The Norman work surviving in Norfolk is, however, comparatively small in amount, as is also the work of the Early English (thirteenth century) and Decorated (fourteenth century) periods, because most of the parish churches were either re-built or largely altered in the fifteenth century, when the characteristic English style, known as the Perpendicular, the work of country gentlemen and successful merchants, who furnished the money, while the local guilds of craftsmen furnished the labour, was in vogue. The finest specimens of this style in the county are undoubtedly the Marshland Churches of Tilney All Saints' and Walpole; St. Peter Mancroft, Norwich; Cromer, Fakenham, Worstead, etc., and those of Sall and Cawston between Reepham and Aylsham, and Cley and Wiveton on the sea-coast. It is to this period also that most of the fine screens remaining in Norfolk—the finest being those at Ranworth and North Walsham—belong.[2]

It was, in fact, in the fifteenth century that Norfolk entered upon the full tide of prosperity which has caused her to be rightly described as the Lancashire of Mediæval England. A curious evidence of this may be seen in the paucity of work of the Early English and Decorated periods compared with the abundance of work in the subsequent Perpendicular style, above noted. The finest Early English work in the county is that in the arcading of the chancel of the church at Burgh, near Aylsham, where Edward I., who was frequently in Norfolk, had a hunting-box; in the chancel of Blakeney Church, near Cley, where there is a beautiful east window

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[1] Baldwin Brown, *Arts in Early England*, vol. i., pp. 143, *seq.*

[2] The best example of a Norman Church in Norfolk is at Walsoken. Castle Rising is also Norman, but very little is left of the original work.

of seven lancets; and in the west front of Binham Priory Church. The finest Decorated church is that at Elsing, near Dereham, which contains the handsome brass commemorating Sir Hugh de Hastings, who died in 1347.

But our excursion into ecclesiastical topics has led us away from history proper, and it is time that we returned.

Twenty-one years after the Conquest the great Survey of England, of which we have the results in *Domesday Book*, was taken, and by that time we find that Norfolk has settled down to a quiet acquiescence in Norman over-lordship, and is, consequently, both prosperous and, as compared with the rest of the country, populous. Of the 1,392 manors or lordships into which the county was divided, 95 were in the hands of the King, and there were 63 tenants *in capite* and 435 under-tenants. The value of these 1,392 manors was almost exactly double what it had been T. R. E.—*i.e.*, in the time of Edward the Confessor—and of the total population of England, as recorded in *Domesday*, Norfolk contained nearly one-tenth.

Thetford, which T. R. E. contained 943 burgesses, at the Survey only had 720, and there were 22 empty houses; Yarmouth numbered 70 burgesses on both occasions; while Norwich, which T. R. E. had 1,320 burgesses, at the Survey contained no more than 665, and 480 bordars. But with the new era Norwich, Yarmouth, and Lynn soon began to grow and prosper, for while King and barons were contending, the towns were laying the foundations of future commercial prosperity, and were obtaining the charters which embodied the rights they were able to extort from necessitous monarchs. No doubt, too, the building of Losinga's great churches did much to promote the welfare of the towns.

During the anarchy under King Stephen many "adulterine" castles were built by the lawless nobles in different parts of the county, as they were all over England, but very little of them remains, as the majority

were demolished by order of Henry II.; but in spite of the anarchy the Church continued to prosper, and the foundations of many religious houses, such as that of Cokesford, which was first founded at Rudham by William de Chesney for Austin Canons in 1145, date from its most troubled years. Hugh Bigod, who had been Seneschal to Henry I., and held Norwich Castle, at first espoused the cause of Stephen, but being required to hand over the Castle which he had built to William de Blois, he joined the adherents of the Empress Matilda, and the city suffered and lost its liberties. Afterwards, however, he became reconciled to the King, and received the Earldom of Norfolk, and the liberties of Norwich were restored. The grant of the Earldom was confirmed by the young King, Henry II., who also granted him a long period of grace before he was called upon to give up his many unlawfully acquired castles. Hugh Bigod was, however, a notorious turncoat, and in 1173 we find him joining the rebellion of young Henry, the King's second son, against his father, and admitting some three hundred Flemish soldiers, forerunners of a great host with which Count Philip of Flanders had sworn to invade England, into his castles. At the head of these troops he marched upon Norwich, which was held for the King by the citizens, took it by assault, committed a vast slaughter of men and women, and finally sacked and fired the city. But his triumph was short-lived, for the rebellion was suppressed in 1175, and Henry's power was marked by the clemency he displayed, for Hugh Bigod escaped with a fine of 1,000 marks, and lost none of the revenues of his earldom, save for the time he was in open revolt. He was now an old man, but, notwithstanding, his restless spirit could not be quiet, so he joined the crusade, and died in Palestine in 1177.

During the latter years of Henry II., hatred of the Jews, whose numbers had been increasing since the Conquest, and whose extortions were, no doubt, largely

Cley Church, Norfolk.

responsible for the feeling, had been growing in intensity, and this found expression in frightful massacres at Norwich and Lynn, as well as at York and elsewhere, on the occasion of the Coronation of Richard I. This did not, however, prevent the granting by the King to the citizens of Norwich, on the eve of his departure for the Holy Land, of a charter enabling them to elect from among themselves bailiffs to collect a fixed annual sum in place of the previous arbitrary exactions. The Jews were finally expelled from England in 1290, and never returned till they were re-admitted by Cromwell during the Commonwealth.

The tragedy of John's turbulent reign found its end, if not actually in Norfolk, at least on its borders. Roger Bigod, son of Hugh, was one of the barons who at Runnymede extracted from the helpless tyrant the great charter and foundation of English liberties known as Magna Carta, which proclaimed in its opening clause, "*Quod Anglicana ecclesia libera sit*," a freedom which, in the end, as the most recent commentator on the charter points out, benefited the State almost to a greater degree than it did the Church.[1] This was in 1215. In October in the following year John, after having been feasted to excess by the loyal burghers of Lynn, to whom he is said to have presented the Loving Cup still possessed by the Corporation, but which is in reality of fourteenth century workmanship, and may possibly be connected with another John, King of France, and prisoner of the Black Prince at Poictiers, was seized with mortal illness, and hastily leaving the town, proceeded to the Abbey of Swineshead, in Lincolnshire. On the way he was caught in the returning tide by the Wash, and escaped with the loss of his baggage train and all his treasure, including the Crown and regalia of England—"Everything in the world that he held most dear, short of his own life,"

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[1] McKechnie, *Magna Carta*, p. 225.

going down in the quicksand. Thus somewhere on the shore of the Wash the treasure lies buried to this day, awaiting the magician's wand of some patient antiquary to bring it to light. This was a mortal blow, and some three days later John ended his troubled life at Newark.

With John's death, Louis the Dauphin, who had invaded England, and occupied Norwich Castle and other places, withdrew oversea, leaving the young Henry III. in peaceful possession of his kingdom, and Norwich reverted, with the rest, to its English possessors.

The closing years of the long reign of Henry III. were harassed by the struggles between the King and the barons, at whose head was the renowned Simon de Montfort, which culminated in the summoning of the first Parliament to which burgesses from the towns were admitted to take their places along with the knights of the shires, in 1265. It was not, however, till the Parliament of 1290 that the first members for Norfolk sat, and not till 1298 that the first representatives for Norwich were present.

In the troubles of the time Norfolk bore its part. Roger Bigod is found among the disaffected barons, and his reply to the King's threat to send reapers to reap his fields is well known: "And I will send you back the heads of your reapers." In 1265 Norwich Castle was seized for the barons, but the citizens held out for the King, partly, no doubt, in gratitude for charters confirmed, but more because of the perennial feud which was going on between them and the cathedral monks, as was the case at Bury and elsewhere, which led in 1272 to a riot, in which the monastery was attacked and partly destroyed. For this the town was put under an interdict, and many citizens were hanged, while a grand entrance-gate to the cathedral precincts, known as the Ethelbert Gate, was exacted as a penance. A Parliament was being held at Bury St. Edmunds in this year, and Henry III. came down in person to Norwich to settle affairs between

the citizens and the monks, and the anxieties caused by this business are said to have shortened his life, for he died not long after, in the same year.

It was at Castle Rising, in the mighty keep erected by William de Albini, that Edward III. incarcerated his mother, Isabella, the she-wolf of France, and there he paid her more than one visit, the most notable being in 1340, after the King and his Queen, Philippa, had been at Norwich, where they had witnessed a great tournament.

When this monarch was preparing for his French wars, in which he won the notable victory of Crecy in 1346, it was the brave men of Norfolk who largely contributed to his success; and, as showing the relative importance of the ports and towns in the kingdom at that date, it may be noted that while Yarmouth provided forty-three ships and Lynn nineteen, London only supplied twenty-four, Bristol twenty-five, Plymouth twenty-six, and Weymouth twenty.

During the fourteenth century Norfolk was fairly prosperous and contented, and progressing in the arts and crafts of civilised life, to which the woollen industry introduced by the Flemings in the time of Edward III., and of which Norwich itself and Worstead became centres, gave a large impetus. This prosperity, however, suffered a terrible set-back through the ravages of the Black Death in 1347-8, so graphically described by Dr. Jessopp in *The Coming of the Friars*, and the consequent agrarian troubles in the beginning of the reign of Richard II., in 1381.

The Black Death, which had been steadily approaching from the east for some years, burst upon England in 1347, and in the course of this and the following year it ravaged Norfolk as it did the rest of the country, more than decimating the population, and bringing desolation and ruin in its train. In Norfolk alone some 70,000 people are said to have died; it attacked all classes, and to judge by the number of institutions to benefices

in the succeeding years, and the class of men appointed to the parishes, two out of every three parish priests would appear to have succumbed, and there were no educated men left to take their places. As an old writer expresses it, "the benefices were filled with shavelings."

Two-thirds of the parish clergy in Norfolk died, and, according to the new researches, the rates were similar in all England. Dr. Jessopp tells us that in Hunstanton, a parish of some 2,000 acres, 172 tenants of the manor all died within eight months, including the parish priest; and that of these, seventy-four left no male heirs behind them, and nineteen others absolutely no blood relations to inherit their holdings.

At Harleston, near Norwich, there died fifty-four men and fourteen women out of a population of less than four hundred, and in many cases their whole families must have perished with them. At Heacham, near Hunstanton, a dispute between a husband and wife about the latter's dower was in April put down by the steward of the manor for hearing before himself and a jury of the homage at the next sitting of the court, which would occur in two months' time; but when the day came every one of the wife's witnesses was dead, and the husband also. These exact statistics from the Court Rolls are, however, perhaps hardly so eloquent as the absolute silence with which these months of pestilence are passed over in the otherwise unbroken records of many manors, showing that not only the steward, but everyone else who was capable of keeping the Rolls, had succumbed.

The eastern counties seem to have suffered more severely than any other part of England, and Norwich especially, for we find that for many years afterwards it was reduced from being the second city in the kingdom to the sixth place, with a population not more than one-third what it had been before the Black Death. The whole of England, town and country alike, probably lost from one-third to one-half of its inhabitants; East Anglia

The Guildhall, Norwich.

more than a half. England was not so populous again till the reign of Elizabeth.[1]

For a time cultivation became impossible—harvests rotted in the ground and the fields were left unploughed The disorganization of labour was complete, and must be insisted on, because it is only thus that we can understand the circumstances that led up to the Peasants' Revolt, and the course of agricultural history—for now, instead of there being everywhere a fair abundance of labourers who were either willing or could be made to work, there was everywhere a scarcity. The supply of hired labour was much reduced. Nearly all landowners had large quantities of land thrown on their hands owing to their tenants having died without leaving successors. Consequently, the labourers necessary to take the place of the tenants who had disappeared, and who had thus become indispensable, found themselves masters of the situation, and, naturally, their demands for wages increased enormously, and still they were not satisfied. Rather than comply with them, many of the landowners turned their farms into sheep-runs; but this only aggravated matters.

Consequently, by passing the Statute of Labourers in 1351, they attempted to regulate supply and demand by Act of Parliament, as has often been done since, with uniform want of success; for, though the wages they fixed were fair enough according to the standard of living in that age, yet they could not make up for the shortage of labour, and the peasants, though once more reduced to the position of serfs, knew it; and thus, after simmering for thirty years, the great revolt broke out.

The results of the plague were seen in the misery which marked the closing years of Edward's otherwise prosperous reign, and this was the main cause of the Peasant Revolt of 1381. It was the outcome of the wretched condition to which the remaining labourers had

[1] Jessopp, *The Coming of the Friars*, pp. 193 *seq.*; Traill and Mann, *Social England*, vol. ii., pp. 188 *seq.*

been reduced by the turning of large tracts of country into sheep-runs, which left them destitute of the means of subsistence. Their feelings, already roused by the teaching of Langland's great poem, *Piers the Plowman*, were further inflamed by the genuinely socialistic sermons of John Ball, the mad priest of Kent; and it needed but a spark to kindle them into a fire. This was supplied by the obnoxious Poll Tax, and the killing of one of the tax-gatherers by Wat the Tyler.

Everywhere the rioters seem to have been animated by the same ideas, and to have demanded emancipation from the powers of the great landowners, or, as they expressed it, the abolition of villeinage, reduction of rent to fourpence an acre, free access to all fairs and markets, and the establishment of a free peasant proprietary under the King himself. The leader of the revolt in Norfolk was one John the Litester, a dyer, of Worstead, who took and held Norwich; but on the approach of the King's troops under Henry le Despencer, the martial Bishop of Norwich, the insurgents retired on North Walsham, where they were finally defeated, and Litester, with many of his followers, was hanged.

The revolt was suppressed, and villeinage was not abolished—indeed, in the Isle of Ely it lingered till Tudor times, and we even read of royal manors where Elizabeth found serfs to emancipate in 1574; but the landowners must have become more and more convinced that they were playing a losing game, and the people, having once grasped at freedom, never again let it go. The Peasants' Rising of 1381 is memorable as the first conflict on a large scale between capital and labour in England, and Norfolk had borne her part in the fray.

Henry le Despencer was a type of bishop whom it is difficult to imagine in these days. Descended from Joan, daughter of Edward I., he was a warrior to the core, and found his chief pleasure in fighting. No doubt he entered with the greatest zest upon the task of subduing the rebels

of Norfolk as some set-off to the thrashing which he had received at the hands of the Commons at Lynn in 1377. Be this as it may, we find him later on heading a crusade against the anti-Pope Clement in France, where he died. The remains of the fortress which he built for himself at North Elmham, on the demesne which had remained in the hands of the bishops of the diocese after the removal of the See by Bishop Herfast to Thetford in 1075, and again on its transference to Norwich, may be seen to this day. It was during his episcopate that William Sawtre, Chaplain of St. Margaret's, Lynn, was burnt at the stake as a Lollard—the first Englishman to suffer death for his opinions under Henry IV.'s savage act.[1]

The Wars of the Roses, which wrought such havoc elsewhere, and resulted in the destruction of the old nobility, seem to have had little effect in Norfolk, for it is during this period, as already stated, that the majority of the fine churches now existing in the county were erected. Henry VI. granted a charter to Yarmouth, conferring the privilege of a mayor instead of bailiffs upon the town, and it was during this reign that the great family of Howard, whose head is the present Duke of Norfolk, first came to the front.

The fourteenth century was the golden age of the Cinque Ports, of which Yarmouth was an appanage, receiving bailiffs from Winchelsea during the herring season. The early part of the fifteenth was the golden age of the towns of Norfolk—and, indeed, of the county generally. The assessment for the county—*i.e.*, for that one which included the greatest number of small clothing towns—was greater than that of any other county, exclud-

[1] Sawtre, burnt 1401, was the first to suffer under the statute *De heretico comburendo*, 2 Henry IV., c. 15; but before then priests hadto hand over heretics to the secular power. A deacon, *temp.* Henry III., was degraded at Oxford A.D. 1222, and sentenced to the stake by the secular power; one of the Albigenses was burnt in London in 1210, and hence, probably, Camden wrote—"*Ex quo regnante Joanne Christiani in Christianos apud nos flammis sævire cœperunt.*"

ing London, which was not reckoned in Middlesex. Little places like Aylsham and North Walsham were famous, each for its own special kind of woollen manufacture. Little old-world havens, more stranded now, if possible, than the smaller Cinque Ports themselves, such as Wells and Cley and Blakeney, in comparison with which Winchelsea is a roaring mart, counted their tonnage by the thousand and their vessels by the score. There is an old tradition that the merchants of the Hanseatic League once traded with Cley in such numbers that a special portion of the churchyard was reserved for them to be buried in; and it is certain that the Cley men had a complaint to make to the King, along with the men of York, London, Colchester, Yarmouth, Norwich, Lynn, etc., against the merchant pirates of Weimar and Rostock, who had robbed their ships on the high seas. Lynn had an establishment of its own at Bergen, in Norway, itself a great outlying port of the Hansa. All who visit North Norfolk are familiar with the splendid church of Worstead, half-way between Norwich and Cromer; but how many remember that the humble thread of which our stockings are knitted was named after the place?

Henry VIII. made the pilgrimage to Walsingham, walking barefoot from the chapel of Houghton-in-the Dale to the shrine of Our Lady, which then was second only to that of St. Thomas of Canterbury in popular estimation, a few years before the great priory was overwhelmed in the universal cataclysm which overtook the religious houses, and which was due more to the necessities of that spendthrift monarch and his rapacious courtiers than to any desire for a "purifying of religion." To Norfolk belonged Catherine Howard, one of Henry's numerous Queens, and probably also Anne Boleyn, whose father was the owner of Blickling. The unhappy Amy Robsart, wife of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, the favourite of Queen Elizabeth, also claims Norfolk for her birthplace.

THE ERPINGHAM GATE, NORWICH.

ST. ETHELBERT'S GATE, NORWICH.

The reign of Edward VI. is notable in Norfolk for the rebellion of Robert Kett, who belonged to a wealthy family at Wymondham, though he is sometimes called the Tanner, in 1549. This was of the same character, and due to the same causes, as the Pilgrimage of Grace in the reign of Henry VIII., and the abortive revolt at Walsingham a little later. These all sprang from the disturbance produced in men's minds by the suppression of the monasteries and the revolution in religion brought about by the Reformation, but social discontent was also largely conducive of them, as may be seen by the demands again preferred by the rebels against enclosures, and that all "bondmen may be made free."

Kett obtained possession of Norwich, but the revolt was soon suppressed, and, with several of his followers, he was duly executed.

During this short reign Norfolk suffered, in common with the rest of the country, from the spoliation of church goods, which was carried out with ruthless severity in the endeavour to "purge" the Church and her services from all traces of "Romish superstition," by the Duke of Somerset and Archbishop Cranmer. A considerable quantity of church plate and other valuables seems also to have been appropriated by the churchwardens and other parishioners, who, no doubt, felt that, after all, they were annexing what was their own and not the King's. Many beautiful objects, too, were lost, and much stained-glass was destroyed, under the injunctions for the removal of such images as led to superstition. Several inventories have been preserved, and have been transcribed in *Norfolk Archæology*, i. 73, and vi. 361, which give details of these transactions, on which space forbids our dwelling more particularly.

With the reaction in the reign of Mary, the whole of the Edwardine legislation concerning the sacraments, uniformity, and priests' marriages, was repealed, and the ratio of deprivations in Norwich Diocese in 1554 was one

to five of the beneficed clergy. A curious illustration of the way in which one, at least, like a veritable Vicar of Bray, escaped, is to be found in the oldest register of the parish of West Rudham, a village in West Norfolk, where we read that "Peter Stancliff Vicar of ys Church was in the daies of Q. Mary enforced to put away his wife, who thereupon married to another man; but (when Queen Elizabeth came to the crown) he took her again from her second husband."[1]

Doubtless this worthy vicar did not stand alone!

Many Norfolk persons suffered at the stake during this reign, among them William Allen, burnt at Walsingham; Simon Miller, a merchant, of Lynn; Elizabeth Cooper, a pewterer's wife, of Norwich; John Rogers, of Laxfield, shoemaker; Cecily, wife of Edward Owens, of Norwich; and Thomas Hudson, of Aylsham, glover; and the memory of these acts is, without doubt, largely accountable for the fact that in the Civil Wars of the next century we find Norfolk on the side of the Parliament, and for the Puritan spirit of its people since.

Queen Elizabeth was several times in the county, endeared to her by her mother's association with it, and on one occasion, in 1578, made a royal progress to Norwich, where the loyal citizens prepared a right royal reception for her.

James I. had a hunting-box at Thetford, where, however, he was, or felt himself, so insulted by the inhabitants on the occasion of one of his visits, in consequence, apparently, of his arbitrary preservation of game, that he never entered the county again.

During the troubled times of the Civil War and Commonwealth, Norfolk, where a strong Puritan spirit had existed from the days of the Reformation, is found on the side of the Parliament, and forms one of the seven associated counties from which Cromwell drew his

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[1] Astley, *Two Norfolk Villages*, pp. 40 and 42.

Ironsides who fought and won at Edgehill and Naseby. Lynn alone, the ever-loyal, held out, under Sir Hamon Le Strange, for the King; and the siege of Lynn in 1643 forms one of the most stirring episodes in its history. A Royalist newspaper of the time, the *Mercurius Aulicus*, commended the inhabitants for that "like honest subjects and true Englishmen they have kept his lordship (the Earl of Manchester) out of their town, it being so strongly fortified that his lordship has as much hope of Heaven's gates as to enter into Lynn." The boast, however, was not of long duration, for the threat of bombardment, and the preliminary advent of "a shot of 18 lbs. weight which came in at the window over the west door of St. Margaret's Church, and took the middle pillar and great part off, and broke it in many hundred pieces," during service-time on Sunday, September 3rd, without, however, doing any damage to life or limb, led to a speedy surrender. In this same year "the virgins of Norwich," as Wallington says, hearing of the Cavaliers' outrages committed upon their sex wheresoever they got the victory, are so sensible of their reputations that "they have readily contributed so much money as hath raised a goodly troop of horse for their defence, which is called the Maidens' Troop." This was done also at Huntingdon and elsewhere in East Anglia, and is the origin of the myth that the "maidens" constituted themselves into a troop of horse.

In 1646 Charles was at Downham, and passed through part of Norfolk in the disguise of a clergyman after his flight from Oxford. In 1648 a tragic incident occurred in Norwich, which ended in a terrible disaster. A number of mutineers against the Parliament, as they were called, seized the city, and it was only after a sanguinary conflict that the revolt was suppressed, and a considerable number were executed in the Castle Ditches. As an illustration of the Puritan spirit of the county, it may be noted that during the Commonwealth the bailiffs and aldermen of Great Yarmouth made the following proposal with regard

to Norwich Cathedral. They asked Parliament to "be pleased to grant us such part of the lead and other useful materials of that vast and altogether useless cathedral in Norwich towards building of a workhouse to employ the almost sterved poor, and repairing our peeres, or otherwise as you shall think fit and sufficient." Fortunately for posterity, the request was not granted!

This Puritan spirit, also largely due, no doubt, to the independent character of the people, a trait which they owed, probably, to their Scandinavian origin, as well as to the infusion of Flemish and Huguenot blood during the Reformation period, had brought it about that the tenets of Robert Brown, the founder of the sect of "Independents," and the principles of Presbyterianism, had both spread earlier and more widely in East Anglia, and more particularly in Norfolk, than in any other part of the country. This has persisted through all changes down to the present time, causing Norfolk to be, with the exception, perhaps, of Wales and Cornwall, the greatest stronghold of Nonconformity, though now rather more of a Wesleyan or Methodist type than any other, to be found within the four seas to-day. The Quakers were also strong in Norfolk, as the well-known names of Gurney, Barclay, Hoare, and Buxton testify; and Elizabeth Fry was a Norwich woman. There was, besides, a considerable body of Unitarians in Norwich about the early part of the last century, of whom the Martineaus were the most distinguished members.

During the eighteenth century the history of Norfolk becomes altogether part of the general history of the country. One or two exciting election contests, as in 1714, between Astley and De Grey on one side, and Hoare and Earle on the other, and again in 1734, 1768, and 1780, break the monotony of affairs, and take the place of the rougher and more sanguinary conflicts of older days. The story, however, from the Revolution of 1698 down to the present time is one of the progress of farm-

King's Lynn.

Standing Cup of Silver-Gilt, enamelled, of the Reign of Edward III., commonly known as "King John's Cup."

ing and of improvement in respect of the comforts of life, in education, in wages, and in all that makes life worth living for the labouring classes, with the sole exception of the troublous period of the Napoleonic wars, when wheat rose to 120s. the quarter, and other necessaries were at famine prices.

In 1757 the Militia had been reconstituted, and Norfolk played a leading part in the reorganization of the old constitutional force of the country, which represented the train-bands of earlier times, and the origin of which is to be found in the obligation of all freemen to be ready to arm for the preservation of the peace, and the protection of the country from invasion. Norfolk contributed 960 men to the force, of whom Norwich provided 150, and Norfolk men were well to the front, not only in the campaigns which closed at Waterloo, but also in the Crimean and recent South African wars.

While on the subject of the Militia, we must not omit to call attention to a most valuable addition made by Mr. Walter Rye to the publications of the Norfolk Archæological Society in the shape of a volume of *State Papers relating to Musters, Beacons, &c., in Norfolk, from* 1626 *chiefly to the beginning of the Civil War*, which has just appeared. Not the least valuable part of the book is the Introduction, by Mr. C. H. Firth, the greatest living authority on the period. These State Papers, as Mr. Firth points out, show that the chief business of the county authorities between 1626 and 1629 was the "settling of a perfect militia," as the King phrased it, "considering militia well ordered to be the sure and constant bulwark and strength of the kingdom"; and they should be studied, not only for the light they throw on local history at a most interesting time, but also as containing hints which, *mutatis mutandis*, might well be laid to heart by some would-be army reformers in this twentieth century. The deputy-lieutenants in 1626 say: "Nothing hath more disabled the people of this

kingdom from the warlike and military abilities than the want and neglect of those manlike exercises whereunto in former times they were continually accustomed; especially of archery, running, wrestling, leaping, football playing, casting the sledge or hammer, and playing at cudgels."

The people spend their leisure in drinking, and consuming both their time and their substance in alehouses, instead of spending it in these useful sports. Henceforth, therefore, constables, overseers, and churchwardens, on Sunday after Divine Service is over, are to see that they spend the rest of their time in shooting and similar exercises; and the Sunday closing of alehouses is to be rigidly enforced.[1] How these drastic measures were carried out does not appear; but at least it is proved that the higher authorities in Norfolk heartily supported the Government in the attempt to prepare all able-bodied men to defend the country in case of invasion. It is to be hoped that a similar spirit may be revived in our day! Altogether, we agree with Mr. Firth's verdict that "no single book gives so good a picture of the militia system in the first part of the seventeenth century as this collection of documents."

A special band of volunteers was raised in Norfolk in 1797, and £11,000 were subscribed towards expenses at a preliminary meeting in Norwich, in spite of the opposition of "Coke of Norfolk," the agriculturist, who in this matter was on the side of Charles James Fox, for it was felt that the Norfolk coast lay especially exposed, and for some time there was a strong feeling of apprehension as to a threatened landing of French troops at Weybourne, an apprehension which has lately

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[1] *Cf.* Reyce's *Breviary of Suffolk*, pp. 97, 100, and 260-2. Reyce speaks of "the generall forces of our cleargie both on foot and horse back" (1618), on which Lord Francis Hervey remarks: "This is a striking testimony to the patriotism of the clergy," and slyly adds, "We may, perhaps, live to see our parish clergy accompanying the able-bodied men of their flocks on Sunday afternoons, or on other occasions, to rifle practice. The time might be worse spent"; a sentiment which we heartily endorse.

been transferred to another power; but as in the past, so in the future, the spirit of the English people will echo to the exultant words with which Shakespeare concludes his play of *King John:*

> This England never did, nor never shall,
> Lie at the proud foot of a conqueror—
> Come the three corners of the world in arms,
> And we shall shock them—naught shall make us rue,
> If England to itself do rest but true.

In conclusion, we cannot omit to mention the fact, of which every Norfolk man is proud, that for more than forty years past the county has been distinguished as the seat of a royal residence. It was shortly before his marriage to the beautiful Princess Alexandra of Denmark that Lord Palmerston arranged for the purchase of the ancient home of the Cobbes at Sandringham from its then owner, the Hon. C. S. Cowper, for £220,000, as a seat for the Prince of Wales, afterwards His Gracious Majesty King Edward VII. In 1870 the old house was entirely removed, and the present mansion, in the Elizabethan style, was erected, and large sums have been spent on the enlarging and beautifying of the estate. Ever popular with all classes of their fellow-subjects during the reign of Her late Majesty Queen Victoria, of lamented memory, the Prince and Princess of Wales were always regarded with special affection by their friends and neighbours in Norfolk, and this affection was doubly theirs when the King ascended to the throne. Elsewhere he was King of all the Britains and Emperor of India: here, at intervals, he used to lay aside the cares of State, and, surrounded by his children and grandchildren, enjoy the country life he loved so well, and be the first and foremost of Norfolk squires and the best of hosts to the guests he invited during the shooting season, as he was the best and most conscientious of landlords; while Queen Alexandra was never happier than when she was ministering to the needs of her poorer neighbours or attending to

her dogs and her model dairy in the beautiful grounds of Sandringham. Nowhere else in England was King Edward's death more lamented than in Norfolk.

Already has his successor, King George V., won the hearts of his people. Norfolk and Sandringham know him well, and also our Gracious Queen Mary, the most beloved of Queens. Long may their lives be spared to reign over a loyal, happy, and contented people, and to find in the enlivening air of Norfolk and amid the pleasaunces of their Norfolk home that rest and refreshment which neither the stately salons of Buckingham Palace nor the historic halls of Windsor Castle, nor even the Highland grandeur of Balmoral, can bestow!

Our task is done. Dr. Hunt, the President of the Royal Historical Society, says: "History is a liberal study. To an outsider (so Dr. Ray Lankester tells us) it seems a tedious enumeration of the crimes and follies of mankind. Is it not true that to those who have a fuller acquaintance with it, it is a means of strengthening the understanding, of widening men's sympathies, and of furnishing the soul with an abiding source of pleasure? It is surely no small thing to have constantly with us the memory of the words and deeds of the ablest of mankind in the past, a memory which is specially inspiriting when they are the words and deeds of men of our own nation who have made England what she is. It is surely no small thing that history can add so splendid and necessary an endowment to the palace in which the cultured soul delights to dwell as the glorious order of the great and wise."[1]

H. J. DUKINFIELD ASTLEY.

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[1] Royal Historical Society's *Transactions*, xx., 15. Dr. Ray Lankester has since explained (*Kingdom of Man*, p. 57) the sense in which he intended his remarks in the Romanes Lecture, 1905, to be taken, but it must be confessed that in his quite justifiable enthusiasm for natural science he still underrates the importance of historical study. *Cf.* Jessopp's *Coming of the Friars*, p. 178: "History! What is history but the science which teaches us to see the throbbing life of the present in the throbbing life of the past?"

SUFFOLK

SUFFOLK, owing to its geographical position, has played an important part in the early history of England. The history of the county before the seventeenth century is one of inexhaustible interest. Later, owing to the rapid growth in the more remote districts of England of those industries for which Suffolk had long been famous, the county took a place of secondary importance. Its manufactures are now few. Cut off by natural boundaries from the rest of the kingdom, it possesses a peculiar character of its own. This distinctive character is shared by its natives, and a recent novelist of repute has not failed to portray this charm in his last work. The late Seton Merriman, in his last years a resident at Melton, Suffolk, was particularly struck by the stolid piety of the natives, whose love of truth enables them to look a stranger "squarely in the eyes." He noted their strong love for their county. It was customary, he saw, for all those who left its shores or who visited the shires to come home again. They always returned at last from wide wanderings, which a limited conversational capacity seemed to deprive of all interest. Those that stayed at home learned a few names, that's all. They spoke with their tongues and their teeth, but not with their lips; and with their throats, because they were of Teuton descent. Their very intonation differed widely from that of their neighbours, the North folk. Many words used by the latter sound strange to other English ears; their words are often made to possess an unusual meaning; by a curious perversion of language *a lobster is to them a*

stoat; "an eye" is a "fleet," and not in all instances an island.

It is in East Suffolk that the character of the native is the more firmly marked and stamped. The breeze which blows from the sea over the flat stretches of sand and seaweed is the crispest, most invigorating air in the world. It is the spell of the wide marsh lands which largely affects the character of Suffolk seamen and landsmen. Politics trouble them but little, yet in the time of their country's need they shew, and have ever shewn, a bold front, and hold on to their purpose with bulldog tenacity. To men of the "shires" they are known as "silly Suffolks." But to a Suffolk man this ordinary English word bears a contrary meaning. Richard Hakluyt, the Suffolk rector of Wetheringset (1590-1616), in his preface to the second edition of *The English Voyages*, writes of "the base and *sillie* beginnings of a huge and overspreading Empire." The Suffolk historian Reyce, who was a near neighbour to Hakluyt, when alluding to the siege of Ostend (1601-1604) mentions the fact that persons dwelling twelve miles inland from the Suffolk coast "heard the Cardinal's cannon when he uncharitably raged against *so silly* an enemy." In another place he states that the Suffolk shore "is ready for foreign invasion as is confirmed by the frequent proof of the *silly* Dunkirkes." A *silly* Suffolk man is of a simple, homely disposition; but, owing to the depth of religious feeling which possesses his soul, he makes manifest in the hour of danger a bold, stubborn heart, and a strong, sturdy hand.

Reyce lived in the "highlands" of Suffolk, and could not appreciate the beauties of its shore. He knew of the Dunkirkes' invasions only by report. He dreaded the idea of a habitation by the sea coast, "where the air is not pure by reason of the winds which blow from the sea"! Yet East Suffolk has ever been more populous than West Suffolk; its inhabitants have been largely

freemen and seamen, whilst those of the West, under the influence of monastic rule and servitude, have been mainly serfs, villeins, and peasants. Tusser, a writer of the sixteenth century, and a native of Essex, who dwelt for some years at Ipswich, has written a poem in praise of Suffolk. In it he remarks that the county has "more wealth, more people, more work, more profit, less poor" than other counties of England. No one baronial lord ever claimed authority over a full, wide and extensive domain in Suffolk.

Compact villages are the exception rather than the rule in Suffolk. Open villages are more numerous. There is no great congregating of families about a church or hall. Occasionally there appear upon the side of a high-road diminutive rows of houses known as "The Street," but they stand away from the old village, and are for the most part of very recent growth.

The earliest records of Suffolk lie scattered upon the waste lands of its villages, and before they are accessible to the student of local history, investigations must be made along the old trackways, in fallow fields, and beneath ancient pasture lands. A search of this nature is necessary since the Danes, during their ravages in East Anglia, plundered the monasteries and destroyed all documents. Bede's *History of Suffolk* is worse than second-hand, and the narratives of thirteenth century monkish history are unreliable. England's earliest cartographers, too, when they attempted the plotting of the Roman roads, betrayed scanty knowledge of the county. One, an inmate of St. Albans Abbey, marked the principal highway of Suffolk as leading from Orford Castle to Norwich, Cambridge, and Grimsby; whilst another monk considered the Icknield Way to have connected Salisbury, Bury St. Edmunds, and Norwich. Other early writers considered Suffolk to have possessed but one Peddar Way, and that a pilgrim's way in the far western division of the county; whereas there were many

Peddar Ways, along which chapmen and pedlars journeyed from fair to fair with their goods; the Peddar Ways of Ipswich and Dunwich were both noteworthy tracks.

No evidence of a settlement of the Celts is visible, unless the names of Suffolk streams, such as the Stour, Ore, Blyth, Deben and Naverne, are of early British origin. The Romans have, however, left indelible proofs of their presence. The lay of the Ninth *Iter* of Antonine still remains a disputed question, although the existence of the remains of substantial villas, of massive camp-walls, and of two Stratfords, seem clearly to point out the way of the Roman road from Colchester to Burgh Castle. The sites found by the very earliest inhabitants of the district suitable for the habitations of man have remained, unto this day, selected spots for the erections of conspicuous dwellings. Hence where the excavator turns up the soil and exposes to view the remains which mark the early existence of a Roman villa, whose walls were highly decorated, and whose conveniences were all that modern man could wish for, there, too, will be found inevitable traces of the Saxon stronghold or burg, on which in after-days the Norman lord erected his castle of wood or stone, and on which, subsequently, there stood the parish church and the manorial hall. Fortunately, care has been taken to preserve some of the most interesting features of Roman Suffolk. Within the museums of Bury St. Edmunds and Ipswich may be seen valuable collections of Romano-British ornaments and pottery found within the county. As recently as 1907, a life-size bronze head, pronounced by Sir L. Alma-Tadema to be one of the finest specimens of Roman sculpture, was found buried in a marsh by the banks of the Alde, at Rendham.

The most unique and the most valuable of Roman remains in Suffolk are those which may still be seen standing *in situ*. Of these the two most important are the walls of the *castrum* at Burgh Castle in North Suffolk,

Burgh Castle.

and the brick tomb beneath Eastlow Hill, Rougham, in West Suffolk. Within this tomb was found a coffin of lead containing the body of the former occupier of a neighbouring Roman villa. Both of these venerable monuments of the past have the same massive appearance which they presented when the builders' hands left them fifteen hundred years ago. Strange it is that, while in the neighbouring counties towns are standing whose very names, such as Colchester, Grantchester, and Caister, signify the early establishments of Roman camps or forts, all like Roman nomenclatorial traces of Roman occupation in Suffolk have been swept away.

No complete chronicle of the invasion of the Angles has come down to us, yet it is clear that the progress of Anglian settlers was inland; the far greater number of local designations which are peculiar to either district—north and south of the Waveney—points to a real individuality in the folks who conquered Norfolk and Suffolk. Lying as Suffolk does between the Stour, the Waveney, and the Ouse, the construction of the Dykes on the west, and the existence of the shore of the North Sea on the east, made the inhabitants of the district an insular people. According to Abbo de Fleury, the western boundary once lay open to attack, but to ward off the frequent incursions of the enemy, a mound, like to a lofty wall, protected by a deep fosse, was thrown up. This fosse is the Devil's Ditch on Newmarket Heath.

Lying throughout various parts of the county are many unbroken signs of ditch, fosse and embankment, enclosing an area of ground within which, in remotest times, there stood, as has been already noted, villa, castle, or hall. Most of the Suffolk parishes have enclosures traditionally known as Castle Fields, yet the present condition of the sites, and the remote distance of the fields from all modern habitations, do not support the idea that a substantial dwelling once stood upon the spot. However, should the plough have upturned the soil, and

should a shower of rain have fallen upon it soon after its upheaval, numerous *fictile* fragments may be easily collected, proving that tradition always bears a vein of truth. The Castle Hards (? Yards) at Bramfield, Castle Fields at Ipswich, Bredfield, and Rendham, Castle Hills at Ashfield Magna and Hunston, and Red Castle at Pakenham, are but a few examples of the many entrenched lands which yield abundantly, upon a ploughed-up surface, fragments of pseudo-Samian ware and numerous *tesseræ* and bronze ornaments, undoubtedly of Roman origin. The existence of Roman villas within the limits of parochial bounds generally throughout the county implies the peaceful settlement of the Romans within this southern portion of East Anglia.

The Devil's Ditch, near to which (inter duo fossata sancti Eadmundi) King Edward the Elder fought a battle in the year 902, as recorded by Matthew of Westminster, formed the boundary of the kingdom, as well as of the diocese, of East Anglia.

"The Angles spread along the Yare and Orwell to march in triumph to the massive gates of Lincoln." The other estuaries and rivers of Suffolk, which in Saxon days were mighty waters and swollen streams, were also waterways used by the Angles to penetrate into the villa-settlements and to establish permanent abodes. The Romano-British occupiers of the villas were as much Welsh, or foreigners, to the Angles of Suffolk as the inhabitants of the west of the island, who fled into the fastnesses of Wales, were to the Saxons. "The Walas," says the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, "fled the Engles like fire." The stream of Angle invaders was steady, yet sure. Within a century after the Romans left the island, an Anglian kingdom was established over which the Uffingas held sway.

St. Felix, the first bishop of East Anglia (636-653), had the see of his bishopric in the city Dummoc (? Dunwich). When in Kent he visited Archbishop

Honorius, and expressed a strong desire to be sent to preach the "Word of Life" to the Angles. Christianity had been preached to the Angles of Suffolk before the days of St. Felix, for Paulinus visited the court of Redwald at Rendlesham, and there exacted the promise from the fugitive Edwin of Northumbria that he would accept Christianity upon his restoration to his kingdom. Redwald himself had been so far converted to the Christian faith as to cause the erection of a Christian altar in the temples beside the altars of the deities of his race. It is impossible to give a reliable account of the early progress of Christianity in Suffolk, for it is difficult to understand the seeming contradictions in Bede's narrative. This historian tells us that "Sigebert, brother of Eorpwald, successor of Redwold, was baptized as a Christian when he was an exile in France. On his return to East Anglia, upon his brother's death (A.D. 632), he sought to imitate the good institutions he had seen in France. He was assisted therein by Bishop Felix, who came to him from Kent, and who furnished him with masters and teachers after the manner of that country." In another place Bede mentions that Fursey, a holy man of Ireland, came into the province of the East Angles (633), and was received by King Sigebert, whom, elsewhere, he names as King of the East Saxons. Drayton (1563-1631) honours St. Felix's memory in the following lines:—

> "So Burgundy to us three men most reverend bare . . .
> Of which was Felix first, who in th' *East Saxon* reign
> Converted to the faith King Sigbert . . ."
>
> —*Polyolbion* xxiv.

The conflicting statements made concerning the missionary labours of St. Felix lend no support to the current tradition that the Burgundian apostle landed on the Suffolk shores, or to the tradition that he was buried at Felixstowe. This seaside town obtained its name from the "stow" or place where the monks of the priory of

St. Felix in Walton, a cell to Rochester Abbey, held their annual fair. Two Suffolk villages exist which are supposed to have been named after him—Flixton, in Lothingland, with the standing ruins of a church; and Flixton, in the Elmham district. Rumburgh church, when it formed part of the old priory, was known as the Church of St. Michael and St. Felix. Strange it is that the founder of the see of Norwich has no fitting memorial of his labours.

The legend of St. Fursey contains statements as difficult to fathom as those which are to be found in the legend of St. Felix. Bede makes mention of Fursey as an Irish missionary to the East Angles who was favourably received by Sigebert, the ruling prince, in 633. Overcome by infirmity, St. Fursey retired to a monastery which he had erected in a pleasant woodland district upon a fort named by the Angles "Cnobheresburg." This monastery was afterwards handsomely endowed by King Anna and his nobles. During his illness he was subject to many visions. It is generally believed that Burgh Castle was the scene of his labours and the site of his monastery.

The late Canon Raven recognised in Burgh Castle the *Gariannonum* of the *Notitia Imperii*, and strongly supported the hypothesis of the existence of a fourth wall, of which not a single brick remains to prove the correctness of his views. He accounted for the entire absence of all material which formed a west wall by the supposition that "its fragments have doubtless been dispersed over the vicinity of the camp. Some, perhaps, underlie the oozy bed of the Waveney, or even of Breydon Water. Some may be looked for in farm-buildings, in cottages, or in the walls of the parish church of Burgh Castle. Much, very likely, has been ground to powder on the roads of the Lothingland Hundred."

The early history of Suffolk is bound up with the history of its saints, men and women who, had they

lived in far more remote days, would have been deified, as were their royal ancestors—Odin, Thor, Balder, Freya—and their fellow-heroes who were also "consecrated for valour." Foremost among Suffolk saints of princely birth were St. Edmund, St. Ethelbert, St. Etheldreda, St. Jurmin, and St. Botolph; all of whom, save perhaps St. Edmund, are closely connected with East Suffolk.

Iken, near Aldeburgh, whose parish church still bears the name of St. Botolph, is identified by tradition with Ikanho—"the dismal spot surrounded by swamps where St. Botolph first built a monastery." St. Jurmin, whose relics were so eagerly sought after by the Bury monks, was also an East Suffolk saint, whose body had lain for more than three centuries at Blythburgh. Altars were reared in Bury Abbey in honour of these saints, and from them the monks gathered no small amount of gain—the gifts of pious pilgrims to the shrines of ancestral heroes.

No Suffolk saint was of so world-wide a fame as was St. Edmund. Much has been written concerning him; the greater part of these writings, however, deals with his miraculous intervention on behalf of his suffering believers. The legend concerning his death has grown more incomprehensible as it has developed from a simple statement in the early chronicles to an extensive history in the poems and narratives of his worshippers. Lord Francis Hervey, in his *Corolla Sancti Edmundi*, has faithfully expounded the marvellous growth of the legend of the King's death. The unvarnished tale of a heroic monarch's martyrdom has been sifted from the mass of legendary lore. Briefly stated, the facts of King Edmund's death, in the year 870, are as follows:—

Edmund, a native of England, became, upon the death of his uncle Athelstan, the chosen ruler of the East Angles. For ten years he governed his country in peace, but the support given by him to the northern chiefs in their contest with the Danes—Hingwar, Ubba, and

Beorn—gave the Northmen a pretext for invading his country. The struggle was sharp and fierce, and in their several fights with Anglian foemen the Danes owned that "never worse hand-play met they among Englishmen." For a time the pirates encamped at Thetford, while Edmund found refuge in a neighbouring castle, probably an early burgh-fortress erected at Eye. In a subsequent engagement at Sutton, according to Archdeacon Hermann, the King met with his death. Theodred, Bishop of London, in his will *circa* 950, mentions the old seat of his former bishopric at Hoxne, and also grants a hide of land to the "minster." This "minster" may probably be represented to-day by the extensive Saxon ruins at South Elmham, known as the "Old Minster" ruins.

Monasteries were founded in Suffolk both in early Saxon days and under Danish rule. At Sudbury a religious house was erected in honour of St. Gregory. This cottage of priests is frequently mentioned in old charters and deeds. We find in early records the more northern "bury" spoken of as St. Edmund's Bury, while the southern "bury" is mentioned as St. Gregory's Bury. The former town retained the name of its patron saint on account of the honour and wealth it acquired under abbey rule; but the latter, which took the place of Bury St. Edmunds in the *Domesday Survey* of Thingoe Hundred, gradually acquired the name South or Sudbury.

In the tenth year after King Edmund's death, Alfred of Wessex made a treaty with Guthrum the Dane, who, after baptism and the adoption of a new name, made a permanent abode at Hadleigh within the confines of East Anglia, where, according to the *Annals of Asser*, Guthrum-Athelstan was buried in the year A.D. 890. Gaimar, however, states that his body lay at Thetford. The followers of Guthrum did not expel or overpower the Angles, who absorbed the Danish settlers. After Guthrum's death the Danish rule in Suffolk was short-

lived; and the principles of heathenism were revived within the county. The termination "*by*," which marks the Scandinavian settlements in England, appears in the names of only four Suffolk parishes, Risby, Wilby, Barnby, and Ashby, and only the first three names occur among the names of the six hundred and seventy-seven Suffolk vills mentioned in *Domesday*.

The Suffolk villages were subjected to repeated attacks by the Danes after the year 1000. In 1004 Swein's fleet appeared unawares upon the coast of East Anglia. The Danes seized Norwich, and marched on to Thetford, which they plundered after a stubborn resistance. Six years later a force under Thurkill landed at Ipswich, and after a stout fight utterly defeated the Anglian army commanded by Ulfcytel. Ipswich had been plundered by the Danes in the fateful year 991, when Brithnoth, Earl of East Anglia, fell on the field of Maldon, and the Anglian host was slain to a man, save the cowards, Godric and Godwig, who sought refuge in the fastnesses of the forest.

Some of the most conspicuous memorials of the visits of the Norse pirates to Suffolk are the tumuli which border the high road from Aldeburgh to Snape on either side of the way.

The most important Saxon cemetery which has been explored in Suffolk was one placed upon sloping ground outside the borough of Ipswich, looking down upon the river Gipping. Valuable and interesting relics of the Saxon period were discovered—weapons of war, which may have been wielded against the invaders of Ipswich in the tenth century, were found lying close by most of the skeletons of the buried men. Ornaments of female attire were abundant, but the arrangement of the bodies was too regular for the interments to have been made under any other circumstances than ordinary arrangements. The remains do not appear to have been those of victims of Norse marauding invasions. The discovery

of this historic site is largely due to the energies and vigilance of Miss Nina Layard, of Ipswich.

The Angles, though oft defeated by the Norsemen, remained masters of the land. Without the ditches of Bury St. Edmunds the Norse assembly called the Thing was held upon the Thing Haugh; whilst outside the encircling ditch and ramparts of Ipswich was the Thing Stead where the local council was held. The Hundred Moots met at spots the situations of which are now to be easily recognised; they were, for the most part, elevated sites near a stream or a mere. The hill upon which the judgment of the Hundred Court was administered was often close by a much-frequented ford. From the excavated sides of Gallow's Hill at Wilford, the skeletons of malefactors who were hanged in chains in sight of the moot of the Wilford Hundred now falls into the pit below. Six Hundreds known by the names of their fords lie in East Suffolk—Samford, Carlford, Wilford, Cosford, Wangford, and Mutford; only one, Lackford, is in West Suffolk.

Near Lackford is the site of an extensive Romano-British burial-ground, where numerous excavations were carried on late in the nineteenth century by Mr. Henry Prigg, of Bury St. Edmunds. But there is a yet older and more famous burial-mound, where in early Christian times the great Council of the Church was annually held. Dr. Jessopp has formed an opinion from the examination of early charters that the site of Clovesho, where the Council met, was situated at a four-leet way in the parish of Mildenhall, twelve miles north-west of Bury St. Edmunds. The natives of Suffolk have marked the extent of their religious fervour and zeal by the erection of numerous churches—edifices of no mean structure. So strong was their religious devotion that, as an early writer states, "the religious garb was at that time in great veneration, so much so that whenever a cleric or a monk arrived he was joyfully received by all as the

servant of God. Moreover, on Sundays they would race to the church or the monasteries, not to refresh the body, but to hear God's word."

Bondsmen and villeins under Saxon rule became, for the greater part, freemen under Norman government. Before the Conquest there were French settlers in Suffolk. French knights dwelt in Bury St. Edmunds; "Franci" resided upon the coast. Early mints existed in the county; Saxon coins from the mints of Bury St. Edmunds, Sudbury, Ipswich, Blythburgh, and Dunwich have been found in various parts of England.

The only *Abbey* in West Suffolk was that of St. Edmund. It had grown prosperous under the rule of Abbot Baldwin; in 1080 its inmates numbered thirty priests and seventy-five attendants. Twenty-eight nuns received alms from the monks.

In East Suffolk there were ten Benedictine monasteries and two Cistercian houses, besides several canonries, friaries, colleges, and hospitals. There were no nunneries in West Suffolk, but in East Suffolk there were six. The support and patronage of monarchs added wealth and renown to Bury Abbey. Early Saxon kings had endowed it with extensive lands. Constance, daughter of William I. and wife of Alan, Duke of Brittany, after a married life of seven years, found a last resting-place within its walls. It was at Bury St. Edmunds that Eustace, son of Stephen, after the treaty of Wallingford, gathered a free company of malcontents and ravaged the surrounding district. The monks had received him honourably, but he plundered the monastery and ordered all the corn to be carried off to his own castle near the town. After this sacrilege he was suddenly choked whilst at dinner, August 10th, 1153.

The people of Suffolk supported the cause of Matilda: the castle of Ipswich held by the Earl Bigod was besieged by Stephen. The sites of old Saxon "burgs" were doubtless fortified timber castles in the

time of Stephen. In addition to these sites there are many others which retain mount, fosse, vallum, and bailey, undoubted proofs of the former existence of strongly defensive sites and halls, as at Offton, Lindsey, Lidgate, Denham, Haughley, Clare, Eye, Thetford and Bungay. There are yet other places which, though the traces of early fortification are not so prominent, we know from records, as well as from faint indications of entrenchments, were situations selected for the construction of Norman castles, as at Milden, Gosbeck and elsewhere. The castle of William de Ambli was Offton castle; the entrenched mount covered with wild shrubs is still visible. Lindsey Castle mound and moat are more conspicuous—the outer bailey is more marked; the summit is often cultivated. Milden Castle stood upon a piece of waste ground which lies to the left of the road leading up to Milden Hall. In 1157, Hugh Bigod, "the veteran intriguer," placed his castles of Bungay, Walton, and Framlingham in the King's hand. Bigod had been created Earl of Norfolk and Suffolk by Stephen; the pillage and plundering which followed in the footsteps of his rebel armies impressed the natives with fear and trembling. Mothers hushed the cries of their infants with his name; and the headless horseman of the night was for many centuries the roving spirit of this *vir magnificus* of Ralph de Coggeshall.

Hugh Bigod gave his support to Henry, son of Henry II., in his rebellion against his father. When the King was absent in France, his justiciar, Richard de Lucy, hurried on the completion of Orford Castle, which was commenced in 1164. He had scarcely time to throw a garrison of seventy-five soldiers into it when the Earl of Leicester landed with his Flemings at Orewell, and laid siege to Walton Castle. The attack having failed, Leicester proceeded with his forces to Haughley, and, with the help of Bigod, attacked the castle.

Castle and Castle Hills, Bungay.

Haughley Castle stood upon the summit of a lofty mound, surrounded by a moat. The entrance to the mound could only be gained by a passage through a quadrangular moated enclosure, which was itself protected by another similar enclosure on the east side. This castle was probably erected by Hugh de Montfort, Constable of the Army of William I.

Gilbert de Gant, a grandson of Alice de Montfort, daughter of Hugh, the first Constable of that name, held Haughley Castle in the days of Stephen. He warmly supported the cause of that monarch, with whom he was captured at the battle of Lincoln, 1141. Henry II., at his accession, took Haughley Castle into his hands.

When the forces of the Earl of Leicester and Earl Bigod marched against the Castle it was garrisoned by thirty men under the command of Ralph de Broc. This small garrison was unable to resist the attack made by an army of 1,400 mercenaries; the soldiers and their leaders were taken and held to ransom. The castle, which was largely constructed of timber, was burnt to the ground.

On the news that Leicester had landed with his Flemings, Richard de Lucy hastened from Berwick, and, having been joined by the Earls of Cornwall and Arundel, defeated and took prisoner the Earl and his Countess at Fornham St. Geneviève, near Bury St. Edmunds, where more than 10,000 of the Flemish mercenaries were slain, 1173. This was the last great battle on Suffolk soil; of riots and disturbances there were several, for the "inhabitants of Suffolk were of a turbulent and independent disposition." "Earl Hugh Bigod closed his uneasy career in 1177"; it was this Earl Hugh, and not Earl Roger, who, according to Ralph de Coggeshall, was present at Fornham, and supported the rebel Earl of Leicester.

For his complicity in these civil disturbances the Suffolk castles of Hugh Bigod at Bungay and Framling-

ham were destroyed. In 1294, Edward I. granted to Roger Bigod, fifth Earl of Norfolk and Marshal of England, a license to crenellate his house at Bungay; the ruins of his castle still remain. The Earl dying in 1306 without issue, the castles passed out of the hands of the Bigods.

Having joined in the disturbances of 1163, Hugh, Abbot of Bury St. Edmunds was compelled to pay a fine of two hundred marks to redeem the King's debt to the Jews, Aaron and Isaac, of that town. The year following the death of this Abbot, 1181, a boy, Robert by name, is said to have suffered martyrdom at the hands of the Jews at Bury; his body was buried in the Abbey Church.

What a blessing Jocelin the almoner would have conferred upon posterity if he had added to his narrative the story of Abbot Samson's visit to King Richard in his German prison! We hear of the Abbot's vaunted wish to release his captive monarch and there the matter ends. We are told of the offerings made by the Abbot and Convent towards the King's ransom—offerings fully paid back by the royal gift of the manor of Mildenhall, and the redemption of a gold cup; but we are not made cognisant of any real privation endured by the inmates of the house of St. Edmund at a time when hardships and distress were the lot of laymen both rich and poor.

Whilst Bury St. Edmunds was rising to a position of importance owing to the ambition of its Benedictine lord, the coast towns of Suffolk became, through the commercial activity of their inhabitants, populous and wealthy boroughs. In the reign of Richard I. the towns of Dunwich, Ipswich and Orford were endeavouring to get themselves put out of the sheriff's charge. For this purpose in 1195 Orford was fined sixty marks. This fine had not been paid in 1202, nor had a like sum due for similar reasons from the burgesses of

Ipswich been placed in the Exchequer. The granting of charters to several towns by King John has been considered a mark of his "spacious" nature, but the fact has been overlooked that in many instances the sums demanded from the burgesses of several newly-created boroughs never reached that King's hands. As late as the year 1209, John de Cornwall made a return that the men of Ipswich still owed the sixty marks, due since the year 1200, when the moot-horn had first been handed to the bailiffs of the town.

John was not remiss in bringing aid to his friends; his marches were rapid, sudden, and unexpected, and often gained him success. In 1200, at Christmas, John was at Lincoln. Thence he made a progress through the north, almost up to the Scottish border, and back through Cumberland to York, which was reached at Mid-Lent (1st March, 1201). At Easter (25th March) the King and Queen wore their crowns at Canterbury. Between these dates they were present at mass in the abbey church of Bury St. Edmunds. Again in the year 1203, after a year of conflict with Philip of France, John landed at Portsmouth, December 6th, and was at Bury St. Edmunds on December 21st. At this visit he granted to St. Edmund ten marks annually, payable from the Exchequer, for the repair of the Shrine, and at the same time obtained the loan of the jewels offered by his mother, Queen Eleanor, to the Saint. At the end of November, 1215, Louis of France despatched a hundred and forty of his knights, who, with seven thousand men, landed at the mouth of the Orwell, and marched on to London. John, previously, had regained the mastery over the whole of the eastern side of England, except a few castles in Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex.

The most dramatic incident connected with John's visits to Bury St. Edmunds must have occurred when the King informed the monks of his power to appoint

a successor to Abbot Samson, who had been dead for two years. Probably on this occasion he met the barons in or about November, 1214. After his departure the barons, on November 21st, "went all together to the church of St. Edmund the King and Martyr, and beginning with the eldest, they swore on the high altar that if the King sought to evade their demand for the laws and liberties which the charter of King Henry I. contained, they would make war upon him." Shakespeare adds a scene to conjectural history, when, in the final act of *King John*, he powerfully describes a battle before the walls of Bury St. Edmunds. The poet lends his support to the opinion of the few who believe that "Louis the Dauphin" visited the Abbey and swore "upon the altar at St. Edmund's Bury dear amity and everlasting love" to the rebel barons. It has been convincingly proved by Sir Ernest Clarke that Louis did not plunder the Abbey of the remains of its patron saint.

Early in January, 1216, the royal forces marched to St. Edmunds, and drove the insurgents who had taken refuge there to seek another shelter in the Isle of Ely. Savaric de Mauléon retired towards St. Edmunds to rejoin the Royalist leaders, when he heard that the barons were hastening to relieve Colchester. In February John was at Fotheringay. On March 12th he was at the gates of Roger Bigod's castle at Framlingham —it surrendered at once; next he moved to Ipswich; on the 14th he laid siege to Colchester.

"All the while he was harrying the open country, burning villages and plundering castles, John was making careful provision for the furtherance of trade, the security of travelling merchants, and the preservation of foreign commerce from disturbance or interruption."

It is probable that Walton Castle was the residence of both Edward I. and Edward III. when they were collecting their forces at Walton for expeditions to Flanders, in 1297 and 1338, and that the ruins noticed

THE CHAPEL, ORFORD CASTLE.

by Knight, Kirby, Grose and other antiquaries were the ruins of the outer walls of the castle. Edward I. stayed at Ipswich when his daughter Isabella was married there to the Count of Holland, January 18th, 1297.

Ipswich, in the days of the Plantagenet Edwards, was a leading commercial town on the East Coast. During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries ships from the countries of Western Europe disembarked their cargoes on its quays—wines from Spain, timber from Norway, cloth from Flanders, salt from France, and "mercerie" from Italy left its crowded wharves to be offered for sale or exchange in the narrow busy streets of the borough. Stores of fish from Iceland, bales of wool, loads of untanned hides, as well as the varied agricultural produce of the district—corn, hay, butter, cheese, poultry and meat—were exposed twice in the week on the market stalls. The merchants carried on a flourishing trade, not only in Ipswich, but also in London and Bordeaux. The wealth they accumulated raised them to become men of high rank; from some of them the most ancient nobility of the county were descended. Several burghers accompanied Edward III. in his wars with France, and were knighted for their services.

The constant demand for ships to carry out expeditions to France and Flanders was a great tax and burden upon the town. The town was further impoverished by the loss of ships at sea, as well as by "the death of leading burgesses and the departure of merchants and merchandise from the town." In the latter part of the reign of Edward III. "many mischiefs and destructions fell upon the town through the Sea." The loss of townsfolk and burgesses was greatest when the prosperity of the town was highest. By careful search amongst the records at Norwich, Dr. Jessopp has been able to show the wide extent of the ravages of the Black Death throughout East Anglia. The Ipswich Corporation records bear testimony to the truth of this

statement, for while in ordinary years the average number of wills and testaments enrolled in the borough courts was three or four, in the year 1349 no less than forty-six wills were enrolled. These were wills of the leading merchants of the town, and of men who held property within the borough.

The great riot at Bury St Edmunds in 1327 was of a political character, and was also a revolt against the exactions of an uncompromising landlord. Edward II. held his court at Bury St. Edmunds for the Christmas week in 1325; in the following year, September, 1326, Queen Isabella and Mortimer landed at the mouth of the Orwell, marched on to Bury St. Edmunds, and seized all the treasure they could find. Soon after the deposition of Edward II. an insurrection arose which spread to no less than thirteen neighbouring villages. The principal ringleader of the town rioters was a Robert Foxton, who in a former year, 1320, had lodged a complaint in the King's Court against the Abbot for trespass and assault of his brother, Adam Foxton.

On the 18th August, 1327, Thomas de Thornham with a band of outlaws invaded the town, banqueting at early dawn at Moyse's Hall. This is the earliest mention we have of this the oldest of Bury houses.

A year later, October 18th, 1328, John de Berton, Gilbert Barber, Sir William de Cricketot, Richard Freysel, armiger (subsequently prominent leaders in the French Wars), with many outlaws and Londoners, kidnapped the Abbot, Richard Drayton, and carried him off to Flanders. Although all the "outlaws" concerned in this act were excommunicated by the Pope, we find Sir Richard Freysel, knight, pleading on behalf of the new Abbot, against the Bishop of Norwich, that by royal letters patent he was exempt from episcopal jurisdiction. For this act Sir Richard Freysel was again placed under the ban of excommunication by Bishop Bateman of Norwich, and subsequently by the Pope.

Sir Robert de Ufford was the King's right hand when night and day the county was harassed by armed robbers. A band of lawless men made Stowmarket church their headquarters and thence issued to terrorize the neighbourhood. They drove Sir Richard de Amundeville from his house at Thorney. In 1344 men were riding with banners displayed, taking men, imprisoning them and holding them to ransom, perpetrating homicides, arson and other evils. Royal license was obtained for the fortifying of various manor houses at Hadleigh, Harkstead, Moulton and Mettingham. Sir Robert de Ufford was rewarded with the earldom of Suffolk for his services against the rioters. The turbulent spirits for a time quitted the country to fight in France, or to join the fleet under command of William de Ufford, who succeeded to the earldom of Suffolk in 1369. The burgesses of Ipswich at this period obtained a license to fortify the walls of their town; a small remnant of these walls still stands and is called "The Ramparts."

In 1377, the harrying of the southern coast by the French brought out the Suffolk men-at-arms and archers. Beacons were watched to send the signal of their approach throughout the county. Two years later the King demanded loans for the war. The Earl headed the list with £100; the men of Hadleigh gave £50, the burgesses of Bury 50 marks, and of Ipswich £40, while the men of Alderton and Bawdsey gave 40 marks. This was followed by the calling out by the sheriff of all able men between the ages of sixteen and sixty to resist invasion.

The Hundred Years' War educated the peasant and serf in the art of war, and imbued him with a restless spirit of discontent. A very small matter was needed to rouse the villeins to manifest their strength of numbers, and to turn upon their own lords and countrymen those arms which they had lately employed with so much success in France. The poll-tax fanned the smouldering discontent into a flame, which raged violently in the

Eastern Counties. The first victim of the rebellion of 1381 was Archbishop Simon of Sudbury. Another victim to the fury of John Ball's followers was Sir John Cavendisshe, whose house was ransacked at Bury St. Edmunds. When he attempted to escape the mob seized and beheaded him in the neighbourhood of Lakenheath.

The principal event in North Suffolk during the rebellion was the two successive assaults and plunderings of Mettingham Castle, held by Sir John Plays and Sir Robert Howard for Katherine Brews. Goods and arms to the value of £1,000 and £40 in money were secured at the first attack; in the second attack the followers of John Wrawe, parson of Ringsfield Church, gained little booty.

When the whole country was embroiled in partisan warfare, religious activity gained further impulse in the county of Suffolk. The time of civil war was a period when ecclesiastical buildings, religious houses, and hospitals sprang up in the populous centres of the county.

Monasteries were attached to parish churches, friaries were established in all the large towns (the earliest friary was the Austin friary of Clare, founded in 1248), and hospitals were erected in honour of St. James, St. Leonard, or St. Mary Magdalene. A large part of Suffolk was distributed among religious foundations, and the parish churches were served by poorly-paid chaplains. Yet, even under these circumstances, the church buildings were not neglected; in some of the most remote and thinly-populated villages may still be seen interesting specimens of church architecture of the earliest periods. From the style of the architecture of Suffolk churches it is evident that extensive building operations were in progress throughout the county during the troublous years of the fifteenth century, and during the period when monkish rule was banished the land. Among the most notable of Suffolk churches are those of Lavenham, Long Melford, Blythburgh, and Southwold.

At the same time a new nobility sprang up. The wealthy merchants founded noble houses; and, like the Springs of Lavenham, joined their fortunes with those of more ancient families. It was then that the Wingfields, Cavendishes, Drurys, Wentworths, Hoptons, Waldegraves, Rouses, and others gained the high magisterial positions which were held among them for generations. They founded resident county families dwelling in stately Elizabethan mansions, some of which, like Rushbrook Hall and Seckford Hall, still bear witness to the high social position of their early owners.

The staunch adherence to religious belief which ennobled the cause of Dr. Rowland Taylor and his fellow-martyrs of Suffolk, marked also the spirit which enabled the Sulyards, Rookwoods, Drurys, and their fellow-sufferers to endure rigorous persecution rather than to give up the religion of their forefathers. In 1602 sixty-two Catholics were detained as prisoners in Framlingham Castle. Protestantism found its strongest supporters among the artisan class, especially among those engaged in the manufacture of cloth. This manufacture had been greatly developed in the villages, where long rows of weavers' houses lined the streets. These half-timbered dwellings stand out conspicuously in Kersey, Lakenham, Bildeston, the Eleighs, and other villages once the centres of the cloth industry. Other old brick and timber houses which have stood since the days of Tudor rule form picturesque halls, like Parham Hall, Otley Hall, and Giffards Hall, or still stand as quaint-looking farmsteads, as Flemings Hall and Necton Hall, throughout the county.

Although the county favoured the Parliament against Charles I., yet this monarch had many staunch supporters who suffered for their loyalty; the country squires, the village priests, the merchants and traders found many among them who gave their all for their king. Few counties, during the days of the early Stuarts, saw so

many families quit their borders to settle in the new colonies across the Atlantic as Suffolk. With these sufferings, persecutions, and flights fled also the industries which had made Suffolk one of the wealthiest counties of England, and now, since her natives have to rely mainly on agriculture for riches and wealth, the county is not so prosperous as her best friends would wish her to be.

VINCENT B. REDSTONE.

KENT

POETS and poetasters have sung their sweetest lays in honour of Kent's fair county—"the Garden of England," as loyal Kentish men love to call their beautiful and attractive shire. Historians, too, love to dwell upon all the great events that have taken place within its borders. The history of Kent is in truth an epitome of the history of England—almost all the great scenes presented in the drama of the chronicles of England seem to have been enacted within this important and ancient kingdom, or to have been associated with it, from the time when Cæsar's legions first gazed on its white cliffs to the present day. The county is rich, too, in the remains of the prehistoric folk—of Palæolithic man, who made his primitive weapons and implements, hunted the woolly elephant, the Irish elk, etc., and left behind the evidences of his presence at Swanscombe and Greenhithe and other spots in the Thames valley and other Kentish river-gravels; of the more civilised Neolithic man, whose sepulchral piles, like Kit's Coty House at Aylesford, whose dwellings at Hayes, West Wickham and Dartford Heath, and whose polished celts and axes afford interesting objects for the study of the curious antiquary.

The relics of the Bronze and Prehistoric Iron Ages are very numerous and important. Of these much has been written in learned treatises published in the transactions of archæological societies. And here I may remark that

few counties can boast of a more learned and industrious antiquarian society than the Kent Archæological Society, whose *Archæologia Cantiana* contains a mine of wealth for all who desire to study the ancient records of this historic county.

The dawn of history arose on this fair region of ancient Britain when Cæsar set sail from the *Portus Itius*, which is usually said to be identical with Boulogne, and first saw the white cliffs of Dover, and effected a landing at Deal, as Mr. Vine demonstrates.[1] There the first contest was waged between the islanders and their formidable foes. Cæsar graphically tells the story of that landing, and of the bravery of the standard-bearer of the Tenth Legion, who, calling upon the gods for the success of his venture, leaped into the waves, exclaiming, "Leap down, soldiers, unless you wish to betray the eagle to the enemy; I at any rate shall have done my duty to the State and my general." You may still see at low water the rocks where the gallant Scæva withstood single-handed the attack of many foes, and then, wounded, trusted himself to the waves and swam back to his comrades. Soon followed that second battle, probably near Ringwould, when the Britons were practically victors, and with shattered fleet and a reduced army the conqueror retired from the inhospitable shores of Britain.

The details of his second venture are too well known to be here recorded. Gradually the Roman power extended itself, and here in Kent we have many evidences of its mighty rule. There is the great road, Watling Street, extending from Dover to London, passing through Canterbury, Faversham, Sittingbourne, Rochester, Dartford, and Greenwich. Canterbury was a great centre of roadways. One leads southward to Lympne, and others to Reculver and Ramsgate, and to Sandwich. Canterbury was known as *Durovernum*, and was protected by walls,

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[1] *Cæsar in Kent*, by Rev. F. T. Vine, 1887.

as also were Rochester, the ancient *Durobrivæ*, and Dover, then known as *Dubris*. A Roman *pharos* or lighthouse shed its gleam on the waves of the channel, and still remains at the western end of St. Mary's Church in the castle precincts. The massive walls of Reculver (*Regulbium*), Richborough (*Rutupiæ*), and Lympne (*Portus Lemanis*), erected to guard the coast, bear witness to the power of Roman sway and to the skill of Roman builders. Numerous Roman relics of art and skill—houses, cemeteries, coins—have been found in the county, and proclaim the extent of Roman colonisation and the large number of the conquerors who settled in Kent's fair county.

When the period of the decline and fall of the Roman empire set in, and the Roman legions, called to defend the heart of that empire, could no longer keep in check the turbulent Pictish tribes, the British King Vortigern invited the Saxon freebooters, who were harrying his coasts, to aid him against his northern foes. Thus the coming of the English was inaugurated; and Bede tells that the Jutes, under Hengist and Horsa, came to Kent in three long ships, and landed at Ebbsfleet, on the southern shore of the Isle of Thanet, in 449. No spot in Britain can be so sacred to Englishmen as that which first felt the tread of English feet.[1] "There is little to catch the eye in Ebbsfleet itself, a mere lift of higher ground, with a few grey cottages dotted over it, cut off nowadays from the sea by a reclaimed meadow and a sea-wall." But the scene has a wild natural beauty, and historical associations of the highest importance. There, in the Thanet isle, the invaders rested, protected by the galleys that still rode the high seas, and across the narrow strait of sea were their new British allies, thankful that the kindly strait saved them from a too close proximity to their formidable friends. The chronicles tell of the fight between the British and English at Aylesford, when the former

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[1] Green. *A Short History of the English People*, p. 7.

were defeated, Horsa slain, and Hengist and Æsc, his son,[1] obtained the kingdom. Romance wove pretty stories to account for the success of the pagan hosts, and Geoffrey of Monmouth tells of the enamoured Vortigern meeting the beautiful Rowena, daughter of Hengist, and of her pledging him in a golden goblet of wine with the words "Lauerd King wacht heil," and how Hengist gave her in marriage and received in return the province of Kent.

Whe were these war-loving hosts that conquered Kent? Bede calls them Jutes. They were of the same race as the northern Goths, one of the noblest of the European nations, and amongst them were numerous Frisians, whose ancient laws declare that "the race shall be free as long as the winds blow out of the clouds, and the world stands." The trace of old British rule is preserved in the name Kent, or Cantium, the only province of Britain that kept its ancient title. The freedom-loving Frisians bequeathed their national characteristic to their successors in the land of their adoption. Through all the changes of the Anglo-Saxon period, in feudal times and down to our own days, they preserved their liberties, their peculiar customs of inheritance such as gavelkind, and as Dryden wrote—

> Among the English shires be thou surnamed the free,
> And foremost ever placed when they shall numbered be.

It was the privilege of the men of Kent to lead the van in the national army in time of war.

There is a distinction between the inhabitants of East and West Kent. The former were known as the "Men of Kent," the latter as "Kentish Men," and it has been suggested that the division of the dioceses of Canterbury and Rochester marks the ancient boundary between the two original settlers. In Eastern Kent the Gothic tribes

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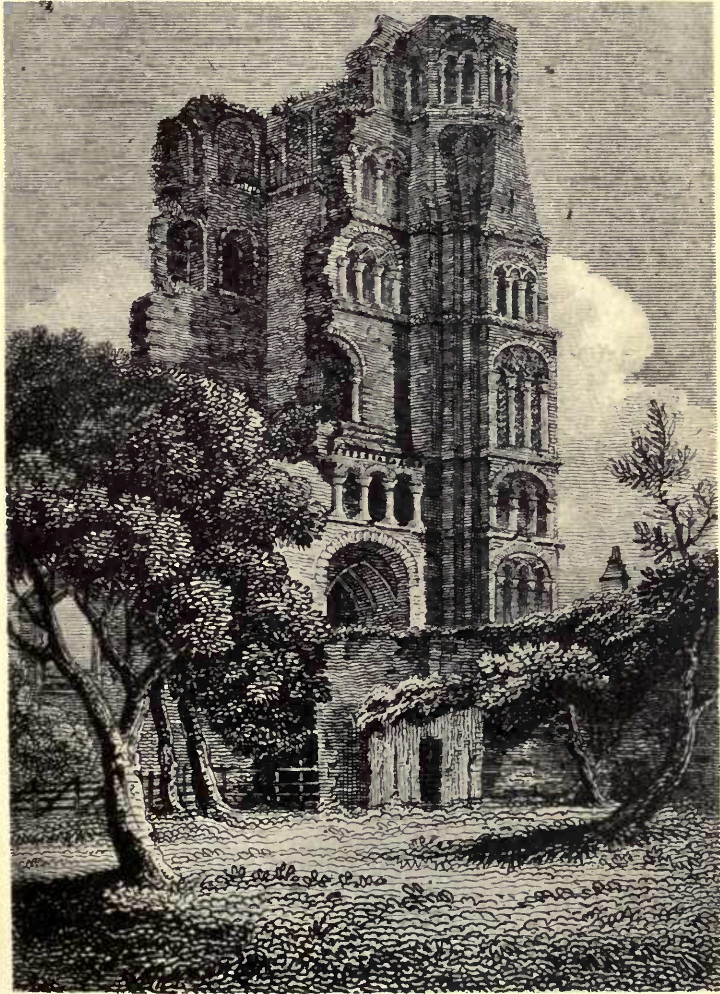
[1] *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, A.D. 455.



Ethelbert's Tower, St. Augustine's Monastery, Canterbury.

fixed their habitations, in Western Kent the Frisians made their settlements.[1]

Many relics of the Saxon age have been preserved in Kent. Saxon tombs have disclosed many a choice brooch and elaborate ornament. Runic inscriptions have been found at Dover and Sandwich, and when Christianity came to subdue the paganism of the Kentish folk, many churches were erected which are still partly preserved among the additions of later ages.

If Ebbsfleet is dear to the heart of the Englishman as the spot where Hengist landed, it is still more sacred to us on account of the advent of Augustine and his companions in 597, when they came to convert England to the Christian Faith. Æthelbert was King of Kent at that period, and a powerful ruler he was. Under his sway Kent was the chiefest kingdom in England, and Canterbury its chief city. The Saxons of Essex and Middlesex bowed before him and acknowledged Æthelbert as their overlord. East Anglia and Mercia were subject to Kent, whose king extended his sway as far as the Trent and Humber. We can see him sitting with his thanes on the chalk down above Minster, listening to the sermon of the Roman missionary. It was not the first time that he had heard the teaching of Christianity. His queen, Bertha, the daughter of King Charibert of Paris, was a Christian, and with her came her chaplains, who were allowed to use the ruined British Church of St. Martin at Canterbury for their services.

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[1] *Origin of the Anglo-Saxon Race*, T. W. Shore, p. 181, etc. My colleague, Mr. Clinch, takes a slightly different view of the matter. He states in his *Little Guide to Kent* that "a 'Man of Kent' is one born east of the Medway, and the special honour of being associated with that half of the county is supposed to be derived from the tradition that it was the men of that part of Kent who went out with green boughs to meet William the Conqueror, and obtained a confirmation of their ancient privileges. The expression, 'a Kentish man,' does not apply merely to the inhabitants of West Kent, but is used to imply a resident in Kent generally, without reference to whether his birthplace is on the east or west of the Medway."

He was not, however, converted until a year elapsed after the landing of Augustine, and then thousands of Kentish men followed his example and embraced the new faith. Æthelbert gave land at Canterbury for the building of an abbey, and assigned his palace in that city to Augustine and his monks, retiring to his new palace at Reculver. St. Augustine became the first Archbishop of Canterbury—the first of a long line of prelates whose influence in Church and State has been indeed remarkable. In every period of the nation's history the power of the occupiers of the metropolitan see is shown—a power that is no longer confined to Great Britain, but extends itself to every colony of our world-wide empire. A cathedral church was built by Augustine, but it is lost in the greater glory and beauty of its successors. Rochester, too, became a cathedral city, and a church was built there in 604, when Justus, one of Augustine's band of missionaries, became its first bishop. But troublous times fell upon the shire. Æthelbert's successor, Eadbald, relapsed into idolatry, and a reaction against the new faith followed. Bishop Justus fled to Gaul in 617, but was subsequently recalled by the King. When Egbert died his brother Lothair usurped the throne of Kent, and devastated the country, sparing neither church nor monastery. Then Ethelred of Mercia invaded Kent, spoiled the whole shire, and laid waste Rochester. King Ine of Wessex overthrew the last semblance of Kentish power. In 775 the powerful Mercian king Offa fought a great battle at Otford, near Sevenoaks, and extended his rule over the shire. Then came the Danish rovers, who ravaged Kent and spoiled the cathedrals and churches, and the land had little peace.

When Ethelred reigned in 1012 the Danish fleet came to Greenwich and laid there for several years, their army being entrenched on the high ground of Greenwich Park and Blackheath. They over-ran the country, sacked Canterbury, and brought back to Greenwich as a prisoner

Archbishop Alphege, who died at their hands a martyr. To him is the present parish church dedicated. It was woe to the Kentish men when Danish wolves were abroad.

When the Conqueror came the Kentish men preserved their freedom; perhaps they won it with the aid of the green boughs with which they welcomed him, and their spirited demand of peace with a recognition of their ancient liberties, or war. But they did not escape the domination of strong earthworks which William threw up to overawe his new subjects. At Dover, Rochester, and Canterbury there are remains of earthworks, and at Tunbridge, Leeds, Allington, Chilham, Eynesford, and Saltwood, later castles were built, which were terrifying evidences of the power of the feudal rulers of Britain.

But the Norman builders were employed in other structures, and new cathedrals at Canterbury and Rochester, and many a noble village church, were erected at this period, and in spite of subsequent restorations still bear witness to the skill of the masons of that time. Monastic houses began to multiply, and amongst the most notable were the rival houses of St. Augustine's and Christ Church at Canterbury; Aylesford Friary, the first Carmelite house in England; the Benedictine houses of Davington, East Malling (a nunnery) and Rochester; the Cistercian Abbey of Boxley; the Premonstratensian Abbeys of St. Rademund and West Langdon; and some others.

On the death of the Conqueror, the barons, headed by Bishop Odo of Bayeux, rose in favour of Duke Robert against William Rufus. They occupied Rochester Castle, and were besieged by the king. A plague broke out amongst the garrison, and the castle was surrendered to the king, and Odo banished from the realm.

By far the most important historical event in the history of the county was the murder of Archbishop Thomas à Becket at his cathedral church in 1170. Of the details of the martyrdom it is unnecessary to write

Everyone is familiar with the story. The event filled Christendom with amaze. Becket was canonized, miracles were said to have been wrought at his tomb, and then began that long procession of pilgrims to the shrine, "the holy blissful martyr for to seek," who made the old British way a pilgrim's road, and by their offerings increased the stores of the monks of Canterbury, and enabled them to perfect their cathedral. Here Henry II. endured discipline at the hands of the monks for his share in the murder, and far-reaching were the effects of that impetuous crime.

The old Watling Street, the great highway between London and the Continent, has been often trod by royal and important persons. We see Richard the Lion Heart and his band of Crusaders riding along it on their way to fight the Infidel, and many a brave troop of knights and men-at-arms rode through the county to fight on French battle-fields and secure the possessions of the English crown.

King John had much to do with Kent. We find him at Barham at the head of sixty thousand men in 1213. He was at Chilham Castle during his struggle with the Pope, and despatched from that place his adherents, the Justiciary and the Bishop of Winchester, to meet Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, at Dover, in order to demand from him certain articles of concession. Stephen Langton refused, and retired again to France. In consequence of the violation of Magna Charta by King John, the barons offered the crown to Lewis, son of King Philip of France, who accepted it and landed in Kent with a large army. The hireling soldiers of John refused to fight against their French brothers, and the country, disgusted with the king, was in favour of Lewis. Canterbury Castle submitted to him; Dover Castle, however, remained loyal to its English monarch. On the death of John, whose treasure was lost in the Wellstream, where Mr. St. John Hope has ingeniously located it, Prince Lewis

THE KEEP, ROCHESTER CASTLE.

was forced to relinquish all hopes of the English crown. An English fleet set sail from Dover, as many other fleets have done in times of national peril, and kept back the French reinforcements, which were approaching the English shore under the notorious pirate "Eustace the Monk." Then did the men of the Cinque Ports show their seamanship and bravery, as they have done in many a gallant defence of our island. The story of the Ports is one of the most fascinating in our English annals.

When war broke out again, and Simon de Montfort led the revolting barons, he assembled a large army at Barham and marched through Kent.

Landing at Dover in 1221, along the Watling Street another little army came, bent on peaceful conquest—the followers of St. Francis, the begging friars, who fixed their abodes amid the meanest hovels of the town, and strove to carry the message of the Gospel to the poor.

Crusaders have often traversed the old road on their way to the Holy Land. Edward I., on his return, came to the Castle of Tunbridge, and was sumptuously entertained. Here also his son, afterwards Edward II., resided for some time. Leeds Castle was also held by the first Edward, who often visited there. It was for many reigns the property of the queens of England, and many distinguished guests from across the seas rested there on their way from Dover to London. The castle was besieged by Queen Isabella in 1321, who had been refused admission, and ultimately surrendered to the king. It has been the home of many royal persons, the prison of many others, and in the chapel the Duchess of Gloucester was tried for sorcery by Archbishop Chichele.

Many were the incursions of the French fleet on the shores of Kent and Sussex, and gallantly did the men of the Cinque Ports guard the coast. In 1295 the foreigners attacked Dover. There was no *entente cordiale* to restrain their ravages, and again and again they came to plunder and destroy, if only they could escape the

watchful eyes of the Kentish mariners, who failed not to pay similar attentions to the towns on the French coast.

Eltham Palace welcomed King Edward II. and his bride Isabella in 1308, where they sojourned fifteen days. This old palace appears to have been a home for royal brides and a birthplace of princes. Isabella of Valois, the queen of Richard II., and Elizabeth Woodville, awaited here their coronations. Prince John, the second son of Edward II., better known as "John of Eltham," was born here, and also Philippa, daughter of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, and Bridget, the seventh daughter of Edward IV. Three Parliaments were held here in the time of Edward III., and a deputation from the House protested here against the proposed invasion of France by Richard II. Often did the old banqueting hall echo with the sounds of furious debate and witness the brilliant assembly of royal councils, and the prolonged feasts of the usual royal Christmas entertainments.

Stilled was the sound of gaiety when the Black Death swept through the shire, and carried off the labourers in their hovels, the nobles in their castles, and the monks in their monasteries. The harvest rotted on the ground, sheep and cattle strayed through the fields, and none were left to drive them. It was a terrible time of suffering, which gave birth to that peasant revolt, the first flames of which were kindled by a Kentish man, John Ball, the "mad priest of Kent," as Froissart calls him.

> When Adam dalf and Eve span,
> Who was thanne a gentilman?

was the burden of the cry which echoed through England. The first blow was struck in Kent. A tax-gatherer, who had insulted a tiler's daughter, was killed by her enraged sire. The spark ignited the gunpowder, and a mighty conflagration ensued. Kentish men rushed to arms. John Ball was in prison at Canterbury. All the men of the

city sympathised with the revolt. The gates were opened to the insurgents, the archbishop's palace and the castle sacked, prisoners released, and much private property seized. But the story of Wat Tyler's rebellion and the peasant revolt is so well known that it need not be here repeated.[1] One result of the agitation of the time, and of a foreign invasion more serious than usual, was the building in 1385 of the strong castle of Cowling by Lord Cobham. It was sorely needed to protect the coast, as French and Spanish foemen had sailed up the Thames, captured Gravesend, and burned and destroyed every town and village near the river bank.

With Cowling Castle is associated the name of Sir John Oldcastle, who married the granddaughter of the founder, and became Lord Cobham. He was a strong supporter of Lollardy, and the castle became the headquarters of that fanatical sect. Here came the zealous preachers of the new doctrines, and found protection in spite of royal decrees and episcopal prohibitions, until at length the vast revolt was crushed, and the poor lord of Cowling was captured in Wales and burned in chains on Christmas Day, 1417.

The shire was prolific in revolts and risings. Another forty years passed, when Cade's rebellion broke out. The French war had ended disastrously. The close of the Hundred Years' War saw England stripped of all the fair provinces in France which English valour had held and conquered, and only Calais remained. English folk were furious, and especially the men of Kent. There was then a large manufacturing population in the shire, men who took a keen interest in the war with France, and were disgusted at the triumph of the French. Twenty thousand men flocked to the banner of the insurgents,

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[1] A full account of the rising is given in *Memorials of Old Kent*. Though Wat Tyler was slain in London on June 15th, 1381, the commotions did not subside, and active and destructive bands traversed the county, and almost all the inhabitants were concerned in it.

under the leadership of Jack Cade, who called himself Mortimer. They marched to Blackheath. The "Complaint of the Commons of Kent" was presented to the royal council, and contained no unreasonable demands. It was rejected, and the Kentish folk defeated the royal army in a pitched battle at Sevenoaks. On to London the victorious rebels marched, slew Lord Saye in the streets of London, a graphic picture of which deed hangs in the hall of his descendant at Broughton Castle. The council became alarmed, the "complaint" was listened to, and granted. The rebels dispersed, promises were forgotten, and Cade was killed by the sheriff ere he left the county.

Just before this time was born in Kent a remarkable man who was destined to revolutionize literature—the learned printer, William Caxton. The county may well be proud of her distinguished son. After his sojourn of thirty-five years in Flanders we see him travelling along the old Watling Street with his wains bearing his precious presses and type to Westminster where he set up his shop, printed, traded, translated, and enjoyed the favour and patronage of the nobles and great men of the age. He loved his native shire, and spoke of "Kent in the Weald, where I doubt not is spoken as broad and rude English as in any place in England."

Henry VII. loved Kent, and frequently travelled through the fair county, as the accounts of his privy purse show. Canterbury often saw him, where he visited the shrine of Becket, and gave 6s. 8d. to a heretic whom he "converted."

At Greenwich we see rising the new royal palace erected by Henry VII. on the site of the priory once inhabited by the hero of Agincourt, and by Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester. This palace added new glories to Kent. Here were born Henry VIII., Queen Mary, Queen Elizabeth, and many other royal personages, and here

The Death of Wat Tyler.

Edward VI. died. Kentish palaces have added much to the history of the shire. The old Greenwich palace, which witnessed many brilliant scenes of royal splendour, was pulled down by Charles II., who built a new palace, which, by the gift of Mary, the queen of William III., is now the famous hospital for seamen.

Of the dissolution of the monasteries it is unnecessary to write, or of its disastrous results on the great abbeys and other religious houses, the churches and hospitals that abounded in Kent. That is a page in English History which we care not to read too often.

The ravings and imposture of Elizabeth Barton of Aldington (where, by the way, Erasmus once was vicar) contributed to increase the monarch's antipathy to monks. Styled the "Holy Maid of Kent," a subject of hysterical fits, the tool of two iniquitous clerics, Masters and Bocking, she made pretended revelations and uttered prophecies against the innovation in religion, the royal divorce, and the king. Her ravings were listened to, and the monks and priests spread the stories throughout England, and even Bishop Fisher, of Rochester, was carried away by the strange delusion. The "Holy Maid" and all her accomplices suffered the penalty of death, and her imposture was exposed. History tells of the shameful execution of good Bishop Fisher, which was partly caused by the wild ravings of the Kentish maid.

Henry VIII., a Kentish man, loved the shire, and he loved one of its fairest daughters, Anne Boleyn, the "little brown girl with the pert throat," daughter to Sir Thomas Boleyn, who lived at Hever Castle. Greenwich and Eltham frequently saw him. It was at Eltham that Cardinal Wolsey took the oath as Lord Chancellor, and here he gave the king his princely palace of Hampton Court, and here the "Statutes of Eltham" were devised for the better ordering of the royal household. Near here lived Margaret Roper, the daughter of one of Henry's victims—Sir Thomas More.

Again in Queen Mary's reign the Kentish men were in revolt. The cause was the dread of the Spanish marriage. Sir Thomas Wyatt led the insurgents. A battle was fought at Strood between Wyatt's followers and the king's army under the leadership of the Duke of Norfolk, when the Kentish men won, many of the train-bands of London deserting to the rebels with shouts of "A Wyatt! A Wyatt! We are all Englishmen." Six guns were captured, and soon employed in an attack by Wyatt on his brother-in-law's castle of Cowling, which was defended by Lord Cobham from eleven o'clock in the morning until five in the afternoon; but was at length forced to capitulate. For his unsuccessful defence Lord Cobham endured a short imprisonment in the Tower. The fate of Wyatt and his luckless followers is too well known to be here mentioned.

During the Marian persecutions many poor people suffered in Kent for the sake of their religion, and died bravely at the stake. In October, 1555, John Webbe, Gentleman, George Rober and Gregory Parke were burned at Canterbury. Two years later three men and four women suffered in the same city. Maidstone was also a place where martyrs were burned, and seven suffered there, amongst whom was Matthew Plaise, a weaver of Stone. Thornton, Bishop of Dover, and Archdeacon Harpsfield, were the chief inquisitors, and their examinations of the accused are set out *in extenso* in Foxe's *Book of Martyrs.* He tells also of the narrow escapes of Thomas Christenman and William Watts, of Tunbridge, and other sad stories of that unhappy time.

The wise policy of Elizabeth and her succour of both Huguenots and Flemings, brought colonies of these distressed people to Kent. The Cinque Ports afforded a refuge to the victims of Alva's persecutions, and the sea-dogs of Kent levied heavy toll on the Spanish trading vessels in the channel. Then came that

grand attempt to crush England with the Invincible Armada, and when "the feathers of the Spaniard were plucked one by one," as the galleons sailed the English seas, the sea-dogs of Kent had a good share in the plucking, and when just across the narrow straits the great Spanish ships rested off Calais, many a Kentish man took pleasure in sending those fireships among them to complete the confusion of the Dons.

Of Sir Philip Sidney and other members of his illustrious race, the history of their beautiful home, Penshurst, tells. Its venerable walls, standing out above its verdant park-land, form a magnificent memorial of those fair women and brave men who formerly lived within them, the stories of whose deeds are imperishably recorded in the golden annals of our country's history. During the Civil War Kent was very loyal to the royal cause. In the hour of gloom, when all seemed lost, there was a re-action against Cromwell and the Parliament; Kent, with Essex and Hertford, rose in revolt in 1648 against the Puritan *régime*, and off the coasts the royal standard waved on the masts of the fleet. But the effort was transitory. Fairfax and his troopers proved too powerful for the hastily levied bands of insurgents, and soon the Royal Martyr was led to execution.

There were great rejoicings at Dover when Charles II. landed there in 1660, and made his triumphal progress along the old road to Whitehall. Kentish men gave a right loyal greeting, though afterwards they had cause to sigh over his dishonoured reign. The tyranny of Charles doomed to death Kent's accomplished son, Algernon Sidney, on a charge of sharing in the Rye House Plot, and the shameful conditions of the Treaty of Dover, concluded at a meeting between the king and his sister Henrietta, Duchess of Orleans, whereby he sold himself to the French monarch, show the extraordinary political profligacy of the age. Kentish men beheld with shame

the bold mariners of Holland sail up the Thames, and the burning of the English ships of war that lay at Chatham, while the king feasted with the ladies of his seraglio, and amused himself with hunting a moth about the supper table.

Kent also was concerned in the cowardly flight of James II., who fled across the Thames one dark winter's night, landed at Vauxhall, and then set out to Sheerness, where a hoy awaited to convey him to France. At Emley Ferry, near the island of Sheppey, the boat lay. The sea was rough, and the master was afraid to start. News of the king's flight spread like wildfire, producing lawlessness and misrule. The rude Kentish fishermen thought a Jesuit or some rich man was on board the craft, and fifty of them boarded her and seized the passengers, rudely hustling the king, and appropriating his watch and money. They conveyed him to an inn, where he was recognized. Sir Edward Hales, a Kentishman, whose home was in the neighbourhood, had accompanied the king, and he was much hated by the fisher folk, who soon set to work to pillage his house and slay his deer. The king was respected by them, but was not allowed to depart. The Earl of Winchelsea, hearing of the king's plight, hastened to him with a number of Kentish squires, who placed him in a more convenient lodging. But the fishermen would not let him go, and guarded well his chamber. Piteously did he plead with them, but all in vain. At length a messenger was sent to the council of Lords, imploring aid. A troop of life guards was sent to release the imprisoned monarch. They found him in a pitiable state, and removed him to Rochester, and thence he returned to Whitehall. When William arrived in London, James was ordered to retire to Ham House; he preferred Rochester, where he was permitted to go.

History tells with shame the fright and cowardice of the king, who, in spite of the advice of his friends, resolved

to seek safety across the seas. That was a strange sight which was seen in the garden of the house at Rochester—the king stealing out at midnight, attended by Berwick, to the banks of the Medway, where a small skiff was waiting to take him to the Thames. There he boarded a smack, and was soon on the way to France, much to the joy of the Prince of Orange and his party. It was an ignominious end to an inglorious reign.

Since that period Kent does not appear to occupy a prominent place in the nation's history. The men of Kent still showed their independent spirit and fondness of rioting at the end of the eighteenth and at the beginning of the nineteenth century. At Maidstone there were riots in 1798 in connection with the trial of Arthur O'Connor, and forty years later the Boughton riots took place, headed by a fanatic named Thomas, who was shot dead by the military.

In the days of the smugglers the men of Kent were not behind their neighbours of Sussex in the fearlessness of their ways in running contraband goods, and in their conflicts with the revenue officers.

When the great Napoleon threatened England, Kentish men were alert and vigorous in preparing to resist the invasion, and along the coast arose martello towers, which were erected to defend our English shores. In the old castle of Walmer, built by Henry VIII., the official residence of the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, passed away Napoleon's most powerful enemy, the great Duke of Wellington.

Of the gallant sons and great men of Kent I have no need to write. Their names are recorded in many a page of history, and revered by their descendants. In this brief survey of Kentish history I have attempted to record only those great events which connected the shire with our national annals, and to show the important part which the men of Kent have played in the making of

English history. Brave, sturdy, independent, they have left their mark on the character of our English race.

Kent's geographical position has forced it into special prominence, and in the Garden of England have bloomed many precious flowers of chivalry and knightly prowess, of brave deeds and patient suffering, which have helped to form the garland of England's glory.

P. H. DITCHFIELD.

SUSSEX

WHEN the Roman Empire lost its admirable organization through old age, it developed a number of local differentiations, which have taken on such different names in different parts of the West as to deceive the superficial. A close examination of these areas of differentiation, however, shows something in common to them all. There is, first, this in common—that, all together, they form one great family of men. From the Grampians to the Mediterranean, and from the Atlantic to the Elbe, Italy, Gaul, Britain, Spain, Western and Southern Germany, and even the adjacent countries which these parts of the empire influenced after direct Roman rule had ceased, all form one civilization. At the least hint of external pressure, that civilization recognizes itself and its own unity.

The great area of Western Europe, thus united under the influence of Rome, has fallen, however, into very distinct aggregations, one group of which alone, and that tardily, achieved anything like homogeneity. For many centuries the sub-units into which the empire fell remained the true units of what we should nowadays call a "national" life. They are very varied in size and in density of population, but the recital of a few of their names is enough to show what one means when one speaks of them: Normandy (which has had a continuous life within precisely the same boundaries from the time of Diocletian to our own day), Brittany, Scotland, Brabant, Ireland, Navarre, the Asturias, Provence, Auvergne, Wales, England, etc.

These districts, which have but partially coalesced in some cases, and have nowhere completely[1] coalesced to form larger and completely homogeneous nations, were in turn sub-divided by local feeling and geographical necessity. Thus the five bishoprics of Normandy represented five old tribal centres, whose individuality still survives. Navarre was obviously divided into its separate valleys on either side of the hills. Brittany made nuclei of its separate harbours. But of all the provinces of the empire, as it was transformed during the Dark and Middle Ages, none produced sharper or more intense sub-divisions than South Britain.

In other provinces the boundaries are vague and sometimes arbitrary; more often districts overlap, and for miles the peasantry will call themselves indefinitely members of the one or the other district. Not so with the oldest counties of England. Here there were the separate small kingdoms; here for long flourished a local life so strong as to be almost national. Hereditary custom still survives them, sometimes (in Kent for instance) appearing as positive law, and I know not what in the air, building, and scenery which makes a man native to any county know to-day, within a very few miles, when he has traversed the boundary of it.

Among these clearly defined and highly differentiated areas none is more clearly defined or more highly differentiated than Sussex; and the modern man, especially if he have no great personal experience of the county, finds it difficult to explain why this should be, though every man certainly recognizes the individuality of Sussex as a fact.

It may not be without interest to examine what causes have given to Sussex this strong and, as it were, national character.

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[1] *E.g.*, Scotland and England are not completely coalesced, nor are Picardy and Brabant.

At first sight, to a modern man, and especially to a Londoner, no such causes are to be discovered. Excellent roads lead into the county on every side. A man can leave town in his motor and be in almost any part of the county within three hours, and, if he choose to break the law, within two. The striking features of the landscape are not boundary features (as they are, for instance, in Cheshire or in Northumberland), and such an enquirer might well ask himself by what accidents the separate character of the county arose and has been preserved.

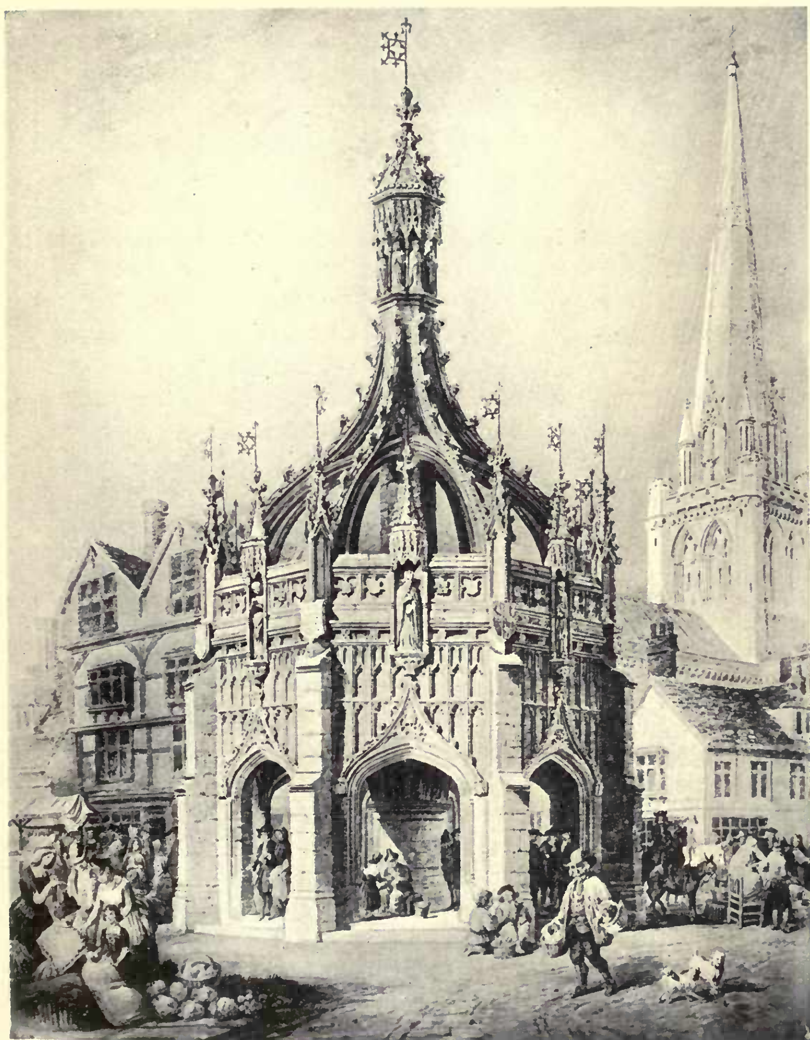
Those accidents are moral more than they are material, but the material foundation for the separate life of Sussex is clear enough when one considers the primitive conditions of the county. To the east and to the west lay the two main centres of national life in South England. Portsmouth and Southampton Water were the entry to the valley of Winchester, the capital of those who became in time the kings of the whole island; Kent was the road from the Continent to London, and the centre of ecclesiastical life. Sussex, between, formed no thoroughfare by which the one could communicate with the other.

Why was this? It was because the main highway from west to east, seeking high and dry soil with some protection against attack, was necessarily deflected along the North Downs. The Pilgrims' Way from Winchester to Canterbury, and so to the Straits, was the great avenue of South England, eastward and westward, from prehistoric times to the twelfth century. South of it, the Weald, though it was not the dense forest which some have represented it, was sparsely populated, and, what is more important, ill-supplied with good drinking-water; more important still, it was marshy and bad going for an army or a caravan. The more obvious route along the hills of the sea-coast was cut off by two features still evident to-day—in early times, of capital importance. The marshes of the Rother on the east thoroughly cut off communication from Kent; the complicated labyrinth of

tidal ways and boggy flats, which have now become Chichester Harbour and its adjacent creeks, cut off approach from the west.

It may, however, be asked, why should communication have been equally cut off from the north? The usual answer to this is to say that the Weald, "the great wood," the "Andred's Forest," prevented the passage of men. This was not the case. It was bad going, but it was not by any means so difficult to traverse it from north to south as from east to west; and this for several reasons. First, in more than one place the strip of difficult marshy land, with bad water, was thin or almost cut asunder. One could get down to Chichester, for instance, one of the nuclei of the county, by the sandy ridges of Surrey on to the sandy ridge of Midhurst, and so to the pass over the Downs at Cocking, with no bad going at all except in the Fernhurst valley. On the east, from the upper waters of the Medway, through Rotherfield, and then up and down over the isolated hills of the county, one could pick one's way with no great difficulty to Hastings itself; nor is one surprised to find Rotherfield (in the eighth century) one of the earliest places mentioned in connection with the county, while a great army was brought with rapidity, upon at least one occasion, to the valley of Brede. Even in the difficult middle part of the Wealden belt there were approaches to the south. The great and purely military way which led from Chichester to London must have been available to quite a late period, and it is probable, though not certain, that Roman roads, less carefully metalled and engineered, led from the mouth of the Adur to the capital, and from the valley of the Ouse.

Many more difficult stretches of country in Britain were habitually traversed in the Dark Ages, and the true reason for the isolation of Sussex was rather to be sought in the fact that the maritime belt of the county was for many centuries no thoroughfare—not even to the Conti-



Chichester Market Cross.

(As erected by Bishop Storey, 1499.)

nent from the Thames valley. An all-important consideration in this connection is the absence of navigable water traversing that belt. The water parting, by a curious geological process, which has been partially examined, lies in the very centre of the Weald, upon comparatively low land. The rivers to the south are short and navigable to but a short distance inland. Water carriage, which everywhere created the arteries of civilian travel upon the gradual breakdown of the Roman roads, was in Sussex very local, and to this also must be ascribed the isolation of the district.

The effects of that isolation are clearly apparent in the early history of Sussex. It is converted a century later than the rest of South England; it affords a field for no great conflict between the pirate raids of the sixth century and the Norman invasion of the eleventh. No considerable town or market arises within its boundaries; no commercial or industrial activity, save in the east the smelting of iron, and even that takes on no extension until the Dark Ages are drawing to a close.

The population of Sussex, therefore, grows and forms its early traditions in a seclusion and under a rare protection which permits its special characteristics to take deep root.

From the Norman Conquest onwards, an active life developed within a march of the sea-coast. The harbours are very considerably used; Bosham, Shoreham, Pevensey, Winchelsea, Rye, and Seaford are the principal gates of the country opposite Normandy. A series of powerful fortifications arises to defend them, and some of the greatest and wealthiest families are connected with Sussex land. But this development was gradually checked as the Middle Ages in their turn drew to a close. From the Reformation until our own time, Sussex—though, of course, to a far less extent than had been the case under primitive conditions—ceased to be a thoroughfare. The clay of the Weald again formed something of a barrier

to travel, and the commercial influences which affect South England ebbed and flowed to the west and to the east of the county. The two great roads on to London became the Portsmouth Road and the Old Kent Road. There was no one great, well-kept highway from the coast of Sussex to the capital in post-Reformation times until the development of Brighton produced what is now the broadest, the shortest, and the most convenient of all avenues from London to the sea.

Side by side with this physical isolation, and dependent upon it, grew that strong corporate tradition which still maintains the individuality of the county. It produced a type of mind and manner which refuses to be absorbed, so that the great towns which modern luxury and facility of travel have planted upon the sea-coast, and the one or two considerable agglomerations of houses which have sprung up on the railways traversing the county, have rather the aspect of colonies than of native growths. A mile outside their boundaries, and you might be a day's march away.

It might appear fantastic to point out—though it would be a true criticism—that, even under modern conditions, the physical defences of the county's individuality have their effect. The clay of the Weald still prevents an exaggeration of building that would otherwise certainly take place within so close a neighbourhood of London and of the sea. The depth for which water must be sought in the chalk, the abruptness of the hills, the marshy character of the few valleys that cut the Downs, have still a powerful effect upon travel and upon settlement. To take one curious example which still survives: if a man finds himself at Pulborough, and desires to reach the bridge of Arundel or the sea-coast at Littlehampton, a way which should be easy enough under modern conditions lies apparently open before him; at least, it lies apparently open if he visits the place in summer. A broad and perfectly even valley cuts through

the Downs and leads straight to the sea-coast, past Arundel to the mouth of the Arun. No modern road follows that obvious gateway! He has but one choice of entry; he must climb the full height of Bury Hill and go down the other slope towards the sea-plain. The valley is utilized only by the railway, and this is due to the fact that for so many centuries the water meadows were all marsh-land.

It is a final question of some interest, though no one can decide it, whether the isolation and the consequent individuality of Sussex will remain. As a matter of opinion, and only as a matter of opinion, one would be inclined to answer in the affirmative. The railways have developed at certain spots, and that quite recently, groups of buildings which are no more peculiar to the county than to the suburbs of the Metropolis; groups in which the Sussex oak is absent, the Sussex chimney unknown, and the great down fireplace has no room to spread. It may be doubted whether extensions of this kind will proceed. They always pick isolated and, what seem to the townsmen, favoured spots; they are shy of the general soil of the Weald; and it will be discovered that long residence in them shows, in their building, an ignorance of the climate of the county. They too often affect a southern outlook. Our Sussex houses, as a short examination of any district will show, stand much more commonly east and west. The thorough cultivation which the heavy soil of the Weald needs, its deep trenching, its late planting, the nature of its water supply, all render it a place still on the defence against modern influence, and the line which has been a barrier for Sussex—of a far more formidable kind it is true—during two long periods of the history of the county will, it may be presumed, remain a barrier.

Only one thing could destroy us: not the presence among us of chance settlers who have fallen in love with the place in summer-time, and then write letters com-

plaining that the silent Sussex man is "unsociable"; still less the poets who hammer out alien epithets for the Downs; not the motor-cars which will, as their nature is, run bound to the few straight and broad tracts which lead to the sea-coast. The thing that would wound us, and perhaps destroy us, would be the discovery of metal or of coal. Men of science assure us that this is impossible. Their word is extremely doubtful upon all matters, but upon this matter it is, for once, a comforting and reassuring word.

H. BELLOC.

ADDITIONAL NOTES ON SUSSEX HISTORY

MR. BELLOC'S description of the individuality of the shire must be supplemented by a brief account of its history. The student of prehistoric antiquities finds much of importance, much of a distinctive and individual character. These remains are chiefly of the Neolithic period and of the Bronze Age. Flints and earthworks have been discovered at Cissbury and in many parts of the South Downs, and show that the district was well-peopled before the Bronze-users came to Britain. The latter left evidences of their presence at Bognor, Hove, Brighton, Eastbourne and St. Leonards, where fashionable folk now go to these sea-side resorts, and they penetrated into the interior of the shire, as traces of them have been found at Battle, Waldron, East Hoathly, Handcross, Chailey, Storrington, Hardham, and Chichester. Their chief centres of population were at Brighton, Lewes and Eastbourne. A sepulchral mound at Hove yielded a rude oak coffin containing pieces of charcoal, fragments of bone, a beautifully-shaped amber cup, a bronze knife, a whetstone and perforated stone axe. The amber cup is especially worthy of notice on account of its beauty of form, ornamental lines, and smoothness of

Celtic Vessel found at Elm Grove, Brighton.

Amber Cup found at Hove.

surface. Hollingbury Hill has also yielded some remarkable treasures, including a handsome twisted torc, or collar, and four curious ornaments supposed to be bracelets. Hoards of bronze articles have been found at Worthing and Wilmington, for a description of which the reader is referred to the chapter on "Celtic Antiquities" by Mr. George Clinch in the *Memorials of Old Sussex*, as well as for an account of the relics of the Iron Age, Celtic Pottery and other prehistoric remains. These prove that long before the Romans came Sussex was peopled by an industrious, active and peaceful population.

Evidences of Roman rule are seen at Pevensey, known then as Anderida, before their days a British stronghold, and within the sheltering Roman walls the Normans reared their castle. Roman forts crown the hills of the Downland, notably at Ditchling, and Chichester was a Roman city, the Regnum of the Itineraries, with its streets intersecting at right-angles after the accustomed Roman fashion; and ten miles away at Bignor (*Ad Decimum*), on the road to London, we find the tessellated pavements of the beautiful Roman villa, where dwelt the Roman Colonial Governor of the province. There you can see the hypocausts and the tiled figures of Ganymede, the Seasons and other designs with which the Romans were accustomed to decorate their homes. A Roman basilica existed at Bosham, and the Emperor Vespasian is said to have had a palace there A.D. 69-79.

When the Saxons came under the leadership of Ælla and Cassa they made short work of the British defenders of Anderida, whom they killed in a pitiless slaughter, and then established their ascendency over the shire, making it the kingdom of the South Saxons, or Sussex. They colonised it, made clearings in the forest, fixed their settlements and farmed the land, dividing it into Hundreds or Rapes, as the Normans called them, and left an impression on the shire which time has failed to obliterate. The place-names are Saxon, the speech and dialect is

Saxon; so are the field-names and the character of the people.

> The Saxon lies, too, in his grave where the plough-lands dwell;
> And he feels with the joy that is earth's
> The Spring with its myriad births;
> And he scents as the evening falls;
> The rich deep breath in the stalls;
> And he says, "Still the seasons bring increase and joy to the world—
> It is well!"

Cissa captured the old Roman Regnum, made it the capital of his kingdom, calling it Cissancaestre, the fortress of Cissa, now corrupted into Chichester.

Christianity came to the South Saxons through an Irish monk, Dicul, who established a small monastery at Bosham, if another monk, Eappa, was not there before him in A.D. 650. During his many wanderings Bishop Wilfrid, who was shipwrecked on the Sussex coast, came to Bosham and laboured among the heathen, and turned them from darkness to light. During a second visit, in A.D. 681, he found King Adelwalh and his Queen were already Christians, who gave him land at Selsey, or Seal's Island, on which to found a monastery. He became the bishop of the South Saxons, and until the Norman Conquest Selsey remained the seat of the bishopric.

The drama of the Norman Conquest opens in Sussex, wherein its first scenes were laid. We see Harold with hawk on wrist sailing forth from Bosham Harbour to pay homage to the Duke of Normandy, and then William and his armed hosts landing at Pevensey, his march to Hastings, the bloody field of Senlac, the riveting of the chains to enslave the English. We see arising the fair Abbey of Battle as a thank-offering for the victory, and the building of Norman castles for the holding of the conquered country. Pevensey, as we have said, rose within the Roman walls of Anderida, and Chichester within the site of Roman fortifications. Besides these there were Hastings, Lewes, Bramber and Arundel, all of which are ably described by Mr. Tavenor-Perry in the

The South Downs, near Lewes.

Memorials of Old Sussex. Pevensey was granted to the Earl of Morton, the king's half-brother, and Chichester to Roger de Montgomerie, destroyed in the opening reign of Henry III. De Braose built Bramber, and Roger de Montgomerie Arundel. Lewes Castle, built by William de Warren, the Conqueror's son-in-law, the husband of Gundreda, looked upon the discomfiture of Henry III. and the capture of Prince Edward in the Barons' Wars, when the gallant Prince took refuge in the Priory (also built by William de Warren) and contrived to escape by the swiftness of his horse. The Mise of Lewes is a landmark in English history.

To Arundel came the Empress Maud in 1139, and was hospitably entertained by Adeliza, the widowed Queen of Henry I. Hither came Stephen post-haste, eager to capture her, but the Queen-Dowager would not yield up her guest, and stated that her castle should endure a siege rather than the Empress be given up to her enemies. Stephen hearkened to the plea, and the Empress Maud was permitted to return to Bristol. Richard, Earl of Arundel, and several other earls and ecclesiastics, in 1397 were accused of conspiring against Richard II. and were executed.

Bramber Castle has seen tragedies. King John, when at war with his barons, suspecting the loyalty of William de Braose, demanded his children as hostages. His spirited lady refused to "trust her children with the king, who had so basely murdered Prince Arthur, his kinsman." The family fled to Ireland, but were captured and starved to death in Windsor Castle, save the lord of Bramber, who escaped to France, and his son Reginald, who afterwards regained his castle and manors. Pevensey was often besieged. It resisted the attack of William Rufus for six days, when his uncle Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, sought safety within its walls. It withstood the strenuous onslaught of Stephen, gallantly defended by Gilbert, Earl of Clare. Simon de Montfort besieged it in vain

in 1265, and Lady Jane Pelham, during the absence of her husband, bravely defended it against a large body of insurgents who favoured Richard II. against Henry of Lancaster. Bodiham and Hurstmonceux are later fortresses which need not be here described.[1]

Besides castles the shire was studded with monasteries. We have noticed the foundation of Battle, the little Saxon house at Bosham, and the Priory of Lewes. Boxgrove Priory, near Chichester, was founded by Robert de Hayes in the twelfth century, and at Hardham, or Heringham, there are considerable remains of a priory founded by Sir William Dawtrey in 1263. Michelham Priory for Augustinian Canons was founded by Gilbert de Laigle in 1229, and was much frequented by travellers. Part of the building is incorporated in the Tudor farmhouse. Ralph de Dene in 1180 founded the Premonstratensian abbey at Otham. There was a small abbey at Bayham belonging to the same order. A Cistercian abbey, founded in 1176 by Alured de St. Martin, existed at Robertsbridge. There was an alien priory at Wilmington, a cell of the abbey of Grestein, a priory at Shulbrede founded in 1200, Dureford Priory in 1160 by Henry Hussey, a small Augustinian priory at Eastbourne, Pynham Priory founded by Queen Adeliza. At Rye there was a small house of the Austin Friars, at Winchelsea a Grey Friars' house founded about 1250, and other monastic remains at Tortington, Poling, Warbleton and Chichester. The Knights Hospitallers had a house at Poling. The shire was, therefore, well provided with religious houses, which exercised their beneficent influence on the Sussex folk, until the time came for destruction, and the monastic estates passed into the hands of a greedy monarch and his unscrupulous courtiers.

The part played by the sea in the drama of Sussex is important. The story of Rye, Pevensey, and Winchelsea tells of the receding waves which formerly laved the walls

[1] The reader is referred to *Memorials of Old Sussex*

Chichester Cathedral.

of the towns, making them flourishing ports, and now has left them high and dry and deserted. The old Winchelsea lies under the sea. The new town is some distance away, looks forlorn, and never achieved the completeness and greatness which Edward I. designed for it. The old cathedral town, Selsey, is under the waves. These Sussex ports tell of the gallantry of our English seamen, of the story of the Cinque Ports and their dependencies, and of the foundations of England's naval power.

Their proximity to the sea laid them open to other attacks besides those of the waves. During the numerous wars between France and England they were always open to attacks. In the reign of King John, Rye was captured and held by the French during the Dauphin's invasion of England. In spite of the building of its walls at the beginning of the fourteenth century, it was many times sacked and partially burnt. It would be tedious to enumerate the numerous incursions, burnings, and massacres. Winchelsea fared no better. In 1359 three thousand Frenchmen landed, and having set fire to the town, slew many of the inhabitants who were at mass, and departed with much plunder. In 1377 the Abbot of Battle rushed to the rescue, and with his men-at-arms held it for three years, thereby earning Fuller's glowing praise; but he was then defeated, and the town was again destroyed by fire.

Busy were these Sussex ports when the Spanish Armada sailed up the Straits, and many a gallant bark sallied forth to crush and wreck the tall galleons of Spain, winning honour and renown in many a brave fight.

The Queen often came to Sussex. She admired Winchelsea, and christened it "Little London." She visited Cowdray House in 1591, and was superbly entertained by Lord Montague, and, after a royal breakfast, killed deer in the park with a crossbow, and witnessed a pageant.

The Civil War was felt in Sussex, though not so severely as in some other shires. Chichester was captured by the Parliamentarian forces, some of the citizens being disloyal and sympathisers with the Roundheads. The Dean of the Cathedral was the notorious Bruno Ryves, who published the *Mercurius Rusticus*, and his account of the sacrilege wrought in the Cathedral sheds a lurid light on the mad violence of Waller's troopers. His record of their doings is too long to quote. Lord Hopton was the leader of the Royalists in the shire. He attacked and captured Arundel Castle, which was held by the Parliament, but it was suddenly retaken by Waller. For a long time it lay in ruins, until it was restored in 1815 by Charles Howard, eleventh Duke of Norfolk. Waller marched on from Arundel to Bodiham, and destroyed that fortress. He ordered his men to take away and sell all the materials of the castles of the Royalists in Sussex.

After the Restoration we hear of the Duke of Monmouth's visit to Chichester in his endeavours to win the hearts of the people, when he was received with bells and bonfires and public rejoicings. But no important events have disturbed the peace of the shire, though, if space permitted, we should like to linger in the society of the fashionable folk of the wells at Tunbridge, and visit Brighton a century ago, "when the Pavilion was the favourite resort of the First Gentleman in Europe (whose opulent charms, preserved in the permanency of mosaic, may be seen in the museum); when the Steyne was a centre of fashion and folly, and coaches dashed out of Castle Square every morning, and into Castle Square every evening,"[1] and much else took place which it were interesting to record. But alas! space is precious, and we have other shires and scenes to visit ere our pilgrimage is over.

P. H. DITCHFIELD.

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[1] *Highways and Byways in Sussex*, by E. V. Lucas.

SURREY

THE historic springs from the prehistoric. The men who left their palæolithic tools in the river-drift, when the Wey was depositing river gravel 150 feet above its present bed at Farnham, are the earliest men of Surrey whom we can discover. But we see them by a passing glimpse only, and cannot tell how their story is continued, if continued at all, into later days. Perhaps glacial cold, or other calamity, left a blank of human life between them and the Neolithic folk who have left their hut floors on Croham Hurst and Shirley Common, and scattered their implements over all the dry soils of Surrey. But with these latter people a bond of union can be recognised. Practically the parts of Surrey where remains tell us that man lived in the Neolithic age, are the same parts that were inhabited by bronze-using Celts, by Roman conquerors, by Anglo-Saxon invaders, and by Norman lords at the time of the Domesday Survey. The physical features of the country determined the sites of habitation and cultivation. The unembanked Thames spread at each high tide far over the flats on which Southern London now stands; but a range of gravel hills bounded the marshes, rising into heights as at Wimbledon, or stretching in lower terraces of dry ground as at Camberwell. Here men have always lived since there were men here at all. The palæolithic implements, found so numerously in the beds of the Thames and Wandle, have probably been washed down from this higher ground. Pile-villages may perhaps have stood in the marshes themselves. The

gravel hills cap the London clay, and behind them an outcrop of clay reaches right across the county, narrowing to a mere strip in the west. On the clay primitive remains are very uncommon, and ancient villages and Domesday manors are very few.

Similarly on the high grounds of Bagshot Sand, which cover the clay in the north-western part of the county, ancient habitation was sparsely scattered, owing to the barren nature of the soil. But prehistoric remains, notably the fortification on St. George's Hill, are considerably more frequent than on the clay, and the old villages rather more common. These lie chiefly in the little valleys of the brooks, where vegetable mould makes a better soil. But all along the skirts of the great chalk ridge which reaches across the county is a line of ancient villages, near together, from Croydon to the Wey valley. They stand invariably upon the strip of Thanet or Woolwich Sands at the foot of the chalk, and their lands reached over the chalk slopes above. On the chalk where it is wide are other old settlements. Along the southern edge of the chalk, from Farnham to Titsey, is a similar line of villages on the sand, with parishes reaching northwards on to the chalk, and southward sometimes as far as the Wealden clay. Over all this district the prehistoric remains are also common. These became scarcer on the Wealden clay to the south; and here, in the great forest of the Weald, old villages were few and so insignificant that only one of them ranks as a Domesday manor. The ancient common fields, the mark of primitive cultivation, can be shown to have existed all over the chalk and the sands on each side of it, and in connection with the villages on gravel near the Thames. They did not exist in the later occupied Weald. Substantially it is true to say that where Domesday manors are mentioned there the traces of human occupation go back to the Neolithic age, but not elsewhere. For some thousand years B.C. to A.D. 1086, the main part of the population of Surrey lived

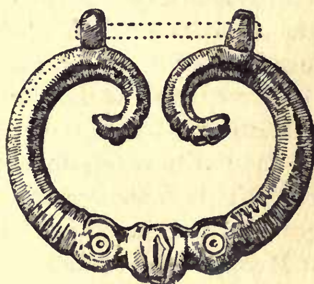
in a broad strip across the county, and in another strip above the Thames, touching the other at the eastern side of the county, with settlements up the Mole and Wey valleys connecting them. What manner or race of men they were is another story. Certainly the population changed. New settlers came up the Thames in boats, or strayed into the two ends of the dry country from Kent where there was no physical boundary except woods about Forest Hill and Norwood, and from Berkshire and Hampshire where there is no natural hindrance at all except the valley of the Blackwater. Only from the south it is not likely that population came. The Wealden Forest was inhabited only by a few settlements of charcoal-burners, huntsmen, and outlaws, till after A.D. 1086. Political connection between Surrey and Sussex is unknown till the Earls de Warenne became great men in both counties. So far as can be gathered from the notices of ancient geographers, and from the not very certain evidence of British coins found in Surrey, the people and rulers of Kent were also known in East Surrey, and the Atrebates, and their branch the Segontiaci of Hampshire and Berkshire, were powerful in West Surrey. The Regni of Sussex were beyond the forest to the south. The Roman conquerors occupied the same lands as the Britons. They penetrated into the Weald as far south as Chiddingfold, and perhaps made glass there. They had something like a small town at Kingston, and another on Farley Heath near Albury. They left extensive but scattered remains near Guildford, and at Stoke d'Abernon on the Mole raised a lofty building, one wall of which is incorporated in the present church. They lived in Southwark, and to have done so must have embanked the Thames. Fetcham, Leatherhead, Abinger, Bletchingley, Croydon, Gatton, Chertsey, Ewell, Titsey, are among the places at or near which they had houses. But they had no big towns. They improved the old trackways which came through the forest from the south

coast to the Thames valley. Besides the great Stone Street from Chichester Harbour to London by way of Ockley and Dorking, and the road from Pevensey through Godstone and Croydon, there is a paved road, traced near Ewhurst, which seems to lie in a line between Shoreham Harbour and Staines, where was a Roman bridge over the Thames; and I can say now, though I could not have said so certainly last year, there was a paved way, presumably Roman, near the line of the present Portsmouth road through Guildford. They improved some pre-existing trackways. Coins of Athens of the fifth or fourth centuries, of Metapontum in Italy, and of Syracuse of the fourth century B.C., found separately at Croydon, tell of Marseilles Greek merchants coming through from the coast before any Roman had heard of Britain. The first Roman to come through Surrey, whom we know of, was the great Caius Julius himself. Where he crossed the Thames may remain a choice subject for the wranglings of antiquaries, specially suitable for such a purpose because no one can ever certainly know. Probability points to Moulsey at the head of the tidal waters, where there was a ford; there was a ford, though a bad one, at Cowey Stakes, the old favourite spot. It is quite likely there were plenty more. The evidence for Brentford, from stakes along the bank of the Thames, is quite insufficient. Probabilities are strongly against it. Cæsar had too much wit to use a tidal ford when a short march would have taken him above the tide. When Edmund Ironsides crossed the Thames at Brentford a number of his men were drowned—and subsequently living peaceful people had too much wit to leave any ford which was really commonly used blocked with stakes. Cowey Stakes Ford was at all events not blocked by stakes. The stakes guarded the side of a dangerous passage.

How the Roman rule faded away out of Surrey remains unknown. Probably the civilised inhabitants departed, as they departed from Silchester, and perhaps

even from London, when commerce across the Channel was destroyed, and the coasts became uninhabitable from piratical ravage. Into their seats came the Germanic Suthrige, a tribe who gave their name to the English county, and left it also at Suthrey Fen in Cambridgeshire. Perhaps the Jutes of Kent at one time were in East Surrey; the Peculiars of Canterbury, such as Croydon and

BRONZE BUCKLE FOUND AT MITCHAM.



BRONZE BUCKLE FOUND AT MITCHAM.

SAUCER BROOCH OF GILT BRONZE FOUND AT MITCHAM.

Wimbledon, may possibly mean a Kentish connection. Almost certainly West Saxons strayed across the western border. Hambledon and Chiddingfold have their counterparts in Hampshire, and the Wocingas were both in Woking Hundred and at Wokingham in Berkshire. The Godalmingas and the Dorchingas were other subordinate tribelets. But the Suthrige must have had a distinct existence and old-established boundaries to mark

them off from both South and West Saxons. The great bishop's manor of Farnham would not otherwise have remained divided by the county boundary. If Farnham had not been known to be of the Suthrige it would have been in Hampshire; or if Bentley had not been known to be West Saxon it would have been in Surrey. The boundary between the dioceses of Selsey and of Winchester was marked as now between West Surrey and Sussex in a charter of A.D. 909, which is itself only a confirmation of much more ancient grants. The inclusion of all Surrey, except the Canterbury Peculiars, chiefly on the eastern side of the county, in the West Saxon diocese, marks the political relations of the tribe who occupied the district. This subordination was broken only by Mercian conquest in the seventh and eighth centuries, when the great Mercian kings ruled over all south-eastern England. But under Wulfhere of Mercia in the seventh century the Suthrige had an under king of their own, Frithwald, whose name is preserved in the much re-edited foundation charters of Chertsey Abbey. Though the charters were re-written down to the thirteenth century, his name is likely to be a genuine survival. When Egbert of Wessex destroyed the Mercian overlordship in Britain, the Suthrige are noted as one of the peoples "formerly unjustly forced from his kin." West Saxon rule was the old established arrangement. It was in their territories at Kingston that Egbert made his important agreement with Ceolnoth the archbishop for mutual support between Winchester and Canterbury, which had much to do with perpetuating the temporal headship of the former and the spiritual headship of the latter in the whole of Britain. This agreement at the Council of Kingston is the only rational explanation of the custom of Egbert's successors being crowned at Kingston by the subsequent archbishops, for Kingston was never their capital city.

Surrey suffered, like the rest of England, from Danish invasions. One great defeat was inflicted on the Danes at Ockley in A.D. 852 by Ethelwulf, the father of Alfred. But the Danes in after years marched backwards and forwards through the county, and if any Roman buildings survived the Suthrige, they were probably burnt by the Danes. In a county of forests the Anglo-Saxon churches were of wood for the most part, and perished then. The stone Anglo-Saxon buildings at St. Mary's Guildford, Fetcham, Stoke d'Abernon, and perhaps at Ashted and Godalming, must date from after Canute's accession. But it is noticeable that in three of them Roman bricks were used, a testimony to the amount of Roman ruins still lying about. In the Danish wars Canute attacked London from the river and Surrey side, and is said to have made a way for his ships round the southern end of London Bridge. It was not a difficult feat, with his big fishing boats, over the periodically flooded low land. He only needed to cut through a few banks and raised roads, and to wait for high-water. But he did not take London. No one ever took London from the Surrey side. Sweyn and Olaf failed, Canute failed. William the Conqueror burned Southwark, and then went up to Wallingford to approach London from the north. Wat Tyler's mob was let in over the bridge. Cade's men, after having been let in, foolishly retired to Southwark, and were beaten back when they tried to fight their way in again. The Bastard of Falconbridge was beaten back in 1471. Sir Thomas Wyatt could not venture to attack in 1553, and went round, in vain, by Kingston. In 1647 the Independent Army came into London over London Bridge, but they had persuaded the Presbyterian City to open the gates by blockading the Thames, menacing the north side of London, and threatening to bombard the houses on the bridge. No force ever fought its way in.

William the Norman ravaged in two lines of march through Surrey, and, as we have seen, burnt Southwark.

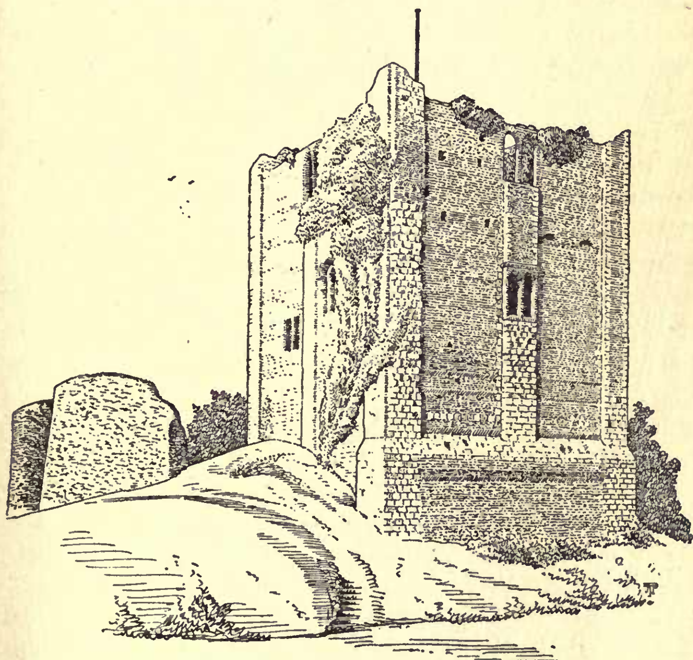
At the time of the battle of Hastings, Surrey was part of the earldom of Leofwine, Harold's brother, and Harold himself held much land in it. The thegns of Surrey sleep with their lord the earl, and with their king, on the hill at Battle. With few exceptions their manors went into the Conqueror's hands. One Englishman, Oswold of Fetcham, Wotton, and Wisley, continued to hold considerable estates. He was brother to the Abbot of Chertsey, whose monastic lands remained to his house, but his English patriotism must remain grievously suspected. One other Englishman, Azor, dead by 1086, seems to have retained some of his land. A huntsman and a goldsmith (the latter a foreigner, perhaps) also continued on their land. Odo of Bayeux, Robert of Mortain, Roger of Montgomery, William Fitz-Ansculf, William de Braose, Eustace of Boulogne, are among the great barons who received Surrey lands. But the largest single share went to Richard of Tonbridge, ancestor of the great house of Clare, Earls of Gloucester and Hertford subsequently. A systematic distribution of fiefs is hard to establish in the face of Domesday evidence. Richard had scattered manors also, but he had a great block of manors in East Surrey, near his large Kentish estates. From the earliest times his house was often in opposition to the Crown. English politics used to be hereditary, and it was as natural for a Clare to be baronial as for a Russell to be a Whig. It became advisable to plant a thorn in the sides of the house of Clare. There was a small block of manors which had come to the Crown from Edith, the Queen of Edward the Confessor. These William Rufus bestowed upon William of Warenne, already a great man in Sussex, and the nucleus of a rival interest to the lords of Tonbridge and Bletchingley was fixed at Dorking and Reigate. The Earldom of Surrey was given to the Warennes with these lands. Their castle at Reigate arose six miles from the Clare castle at Bletchingley. They were nearly as invariably king's men as their neighbours

were anti-royalist. The sheriffdom of Surrey and Sussex was frequently in the hands of the lords of Reigate and Lewes; and the administrative union of Surrey and Sussex became for the first time the usual practice. When the house of Warenne had become extinct in the male line, in 1347, their heirs, through females, the Arundels, held some of the same lands, and exercised the same authority. From an Arundel heiress, the wife of Thomas Mowbray, first Duke of Norfolk, the Howards inherited Surrey manors, and the Duke of Norfolk is now lord of the manor of Dorking in lineal descent, though the succession suffered strange vicissitudes of attainder, forfeiture, and restoration, from William of Warenne, the first Earl of Surrey, in A.D. 1089. The Surrey estates of the younger branch, Lord Howard of Effingham and Earls of Nottingham, were a matter of later grant or acquisition. The greater estates of the Clares had come to co-heiresses when the last Clare, Earl of Gloucester, fell on the field of Bannockburn, 1314. Ultimately the Staffords, Dukes of Buckingham, inherited part of them, and forfeited them to the Crown in 1521. But in the period of the Wars of the Roses all the great baronial estates in Surrey had been broken up among several people, and there was no great dominating influence to array the county for either York or Lancaster. Or rather, in the absence of any great baron, who would probably have been Lancastrian, the middle class and smaller gentry were left to follow Warwick and York, the cause of strong government, as most of the more civilised southern parts of England did.

The mediæval castles of Surrey, if not intended to keep a watch upon each other as Reigate and Bletchingley must have done, were planned to cover the approaches to London from the south, and the road from the Kentish ports to Winchester and the west. This great cross-country route, to which it is convenient to give the name of the Pilgrims' Way, though it is much older than Canterbury

pilgrimages, and though half of it at least never bore that name, so far as any one knows, till the Ordnance Survey maps were elaborated, ran from Kent past Reigate and Dorking, through Guildford to Farnham. The main highway, the *Strata Regia*, or *Via Regia* of deeds, was along the chalk downs, not the sandy track at their base from village to village which modern fancy has christened by the name Pilgrims' Way. This road was cut by others, from the coast to the Thames, at or near Farnham, Guildford, Dorking, Reigate, and Godstone. The old castles were at or near the cross roads. Farnham was the Bishop of Winchester's, Guildford the King's. Curiously there was no castle at Dorking, nor in the gap where the Stone Street goes over the chalk range. In the fourteenth century a residential castle was fortified at Betchworth, and re-fortified, by licence, in 1449. But further down the Stone Street there was once a small castle at Ockley, a Clare manor, which was dismantled early, perhaps by Henry II. It can still be traced near the church and manor house. At Reigate was the great Warenne Castle; at Bletchingley was the great Clare Castle; but south of Reigate was a place elaborately fortified by wet ditches—Thunderfield Castle—another early Clare stronghold. Nearer to the Godstone and Croydon road out of Sussex, the Bletchingley way, lay Lagham Castle of the St. Johns. Robert Aguillon embattled Addington in 1278, and Sir John Cobham fortified Sterborough, close to the Kent border, in 1344. Most of these, and they exhaust the known Surrey castles beyond moated houses or prehistoric earthworks, are only matter of antiquarian research now. They have gone, like Addington, or have left mere traces like Ockley, Lagham, and Thunderfield. Two only are considerable as ruins—Farnham and Guildford. The former has a magnificent mound; the work may be of Walkelin, the Conqueror's friend, fenced with a stone shell keep by Henry de Blois. When Henry II. "slighted" castles he did not spare Bishop Henry's castle

at Wolvesey by Winchester, and the expenses of dismantling it appear in his Pipe Roll. But there is no entry about Farnham, and a pointed omission in the *Waverley Annals* of any notice of interference with it. Apart from the keep and its immediate surroundings, Farnham is not a ruin. The bishop of to-day dines in Henry de Blois'



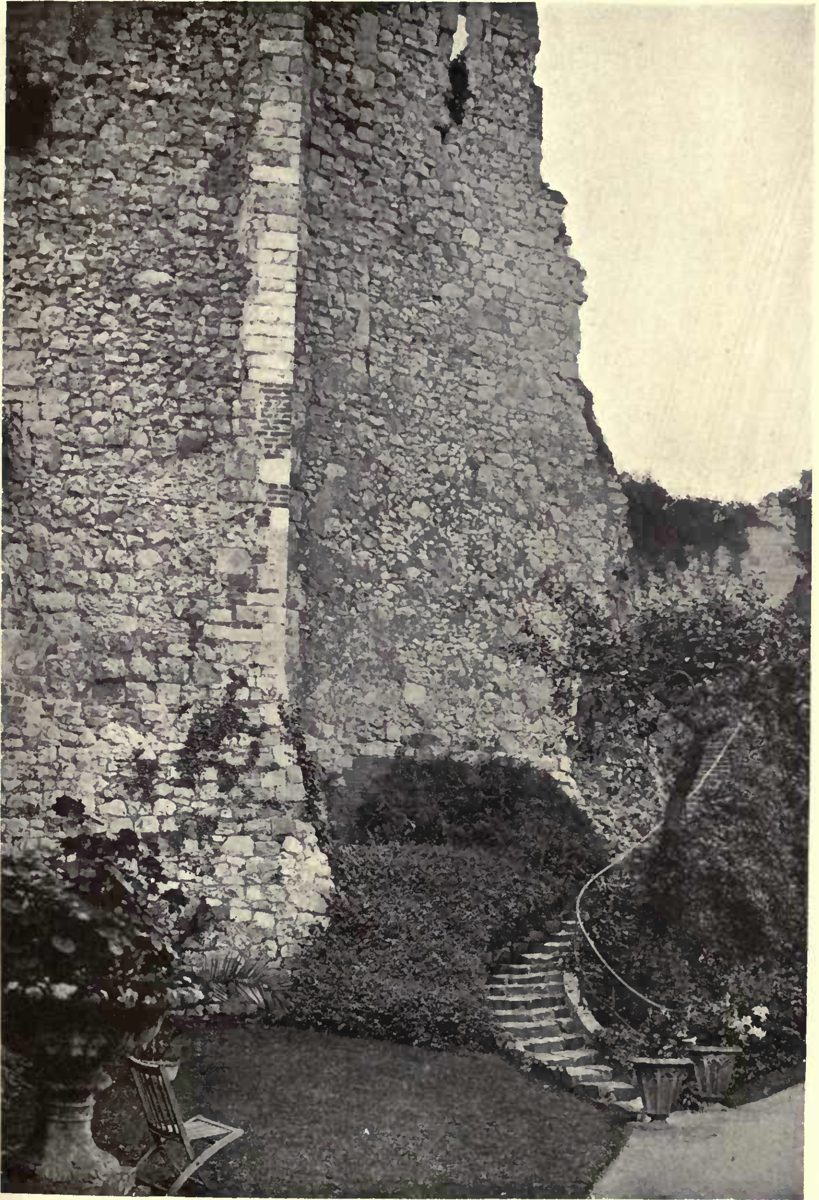
THE KEEP, GUILDFORD CASTLE.

great hall, perhaps in Walkelin's hall; though its ancient features have been overlaid by seventeenth century and later brickwork. Guildford is first named in the Pipe Roll of 1173, for repairs. The mound, with a fragment of shell keep round it, is older than that; Norman, or in its earthwork pre-Norman, with respect to the prejudices of those who believe that only Normans made such earthworks. The square keep, resting partly on the

mound, and partly on the solid ground at its foot, contains ornament older than 1173. The very extensive buildings outside the keep were a favourite abode of kings, from Henry II. to Henry III. The latter spent much money on them, building, among other things, a nursery with iron bars to save the future Edward I. and Edmund Crouchback from tumbling out. In the time of Edward III. the royal apartments in the castle were good enough to shelter a distinguished guest—Robert of Artois; but in the time of Richard II. they were badly out of repair; and when kings subsequently came to Guildford it is possible that they stayed at the manor-house in the park, which also was "puled down and decaied" in 1607. The park is now half-covered by the station and railwaymen's small houses. The remains of the castle are a public garden. When it was being laid out in the nineteenth century, there was a suggestion, happily neglected, "to pull down the unsightly ruin on the mound, and erect an elegant bandstand in its place."

The great Surrey castles were never objects of serious attack and defence, except in the war of 1216-17, when the French prince and the barons wanted to master the great road from Kent to Winchester which they commanded, and when the Earl of Pembroke wished to win it back for the side of Henry III.

Two of the old Surrey market towns, Reigate and Farnham, probably grew up as adjuncts and dependencies of their castles. Guildford was an important cross road place, when there was a ford over the river and a convenient gap in the downs for north and south traffic. Kingston was an old crossing place of the Thames. Chertsey solely existed because of the great abbey. Dorking had a somewhat similar situation to that of Guildford. Croydon was on a main road, and one of the residences of the archbishop. Bletchingley was a pocket borough of the Clares, and as such sent two members to Edward the First's parliament. Leatherhead was said in



Shell Keep, Farnham Castle.

the thirteenth century to have been the ancient capital of the county, a statement not borne out by any evidence, though a county election did take place there in the reign of James II. Southwark and the neighbouring villages existed before the Thames and London. Southwark itself became a bone of contention between the city and the county authorities. London at last annexed it, the first step in that larger annexation which has created a London county at the expense of neighbouring shires. These Thames-side places grew more populous, however, partly from the residence of great men, chiefly ecclesiastics, who found a suburban home near Westminster desirable. Bermondsey Abbey made Bermondsey. The Archbishop, the Bishop of Winchester, for a time the Archbishop of York, the abbots of Beaulieu and Battle, the prior of Lewes, and some temporal lords lived in Lambeth, Southwark, and the vicinity.

Surrey is now the special country suburb of London. The practice, which began by the Thames side, went on to cover further parts of Surrey with the great country houses of kings and great men. The kings in particular were attracted partly by the neighbourhood of the Forest of Windsor. So far back as the Domesday Survey there was land at Pirford in the King's Forest. The Bagshot sands, west of the Wey, and north of the Hog's Back, were thinly inhabited, poor land, favourable for the preservation of game. But Henry II., not content with this, afforested the whole county. This outrageous extension of royal rights was given up for money by Richard I. when he wanted funds for the Crusade. The entry of the sum received, in the Pipe Roll, gives the name of the main road along the Hog's Back as *Strata de Geldedon*, Guildown Street. It formed the southern boundaries of what was to be left in the Forest. This road, and its continuation along the downs east of Guildford, is so often the boundary of ancient parishes and manors that it clearly was a very old-established line.

Continual controversy went on about the limits of the Forest, till the time of Edward III. It was finally decided that Surrey, west of the Wey and north of the Hog's Back, was a purlieu of the Forest of Windsor. That is not forest, but a district in which the King had certain rights over game. The distinction between a purlieu and forest proper may not have always been very clear, and under the Tudors all this country was referred to as forest and treated as such. Forest courts were held in it under Elizabeth. The struggle for the extension or curtailment of forests was not only concerned with game preservation. Even a Plantagenet king was not quite so despotic a master in the country at large as he was in his forests. There were, of course, villages and cultivation in the forest. A number of royal parks were enclosed in it, or partly in it, like Byfleet Park. Woking, Henley, Bagshot, and Guildford parks were entirely in this part of Surrey, but were all parks in the Forest of Windsor. The red deer was not only in the parks, but wandered freely over all the open land, and trespassed upon cultivation. The parks and chase of the bishops of Winchester—the latter included what is now Frensham Common, and reached to Hindhead, a suggestive name—increased the number of beasts of chase. The royal forest of Woolmer and Alice Holt was close by. Further east the Earls of Warenne had a park south of Dorking, and the red deer of the Holmwood, which by the by was really the *Homewood*, as contrasted with the *Highwood*, the great Wealden forest further south, were famous. The roe deer was wild in Surrey. The partridge and bustard and black cock were indigenous. Pheasants existed in the fourteenth century. The monks of Chertsey had license in the twelfth century to hunt the hare, the fox, and the wild cat in their lands, even in the purlieu of the forest. When the more dangerous wild beasts disappeared, if anything is more dangerous than a wild cat at bay, is unknown. But Wolveshill is a name near Capel in the

fourteenth century in Dorking manor rolls, and wolves may have lingered till near the date. Cobbett saw a true wild cat near Farnham in the eighteenth century.

No wonder that the Plantagenet kings loved to lie in their Surrey manors. But royalty established itself more

WARDROBE COURT, SHEEN PALACE.

habitually still in Surrey under the Tudors. Richmond had been, under its old name Sheen, a royal seat from the time of Edward III. Henry VII. made it a more magnificent and usual dwelling-place. Henry VIII. had a mania for acquisition of land and building of houses.

He acquired Oatlands by a discreditable piece of chicanery, making Thomas Cromwell guardian of a minor owner on purpose to arrange an exchange of the ward's ancestral estate for the suppressed priory of Tandridge.

AN IMPRESSION OF NONSUCH.

There he began a magnificent palace. At Nonsuch he acquired the manor of Cuddington, pulled down manor house, church, and village, and began an even more sumptuous palace, which amazed visitors from the Continent by its variety of statuary and stucco bas-reliefs, towers,

courts, and gardens. Henry threw a number of Surrey parishes into the new chase of Hampton Court. A Tudor or early Stuart sovereign had not only houses such as Whitehall, Hampton Court, and Windsor, close to Surrey, but in the county itself had Nonsuch, Richmond, Oatlands, Byfleet, Woking, and Guildford, besides other smaller manor houses, not one of them beyond a day's ride from any of the others. The first three, and Woking, were houses on a very large scale. They had a lodge at Bagshot, another at Henley Park, a manor house at Mortlake taken from the Archbishop, one at Esher taken from the Bishop of Winchester, and one at Pirford taken from the Abbey of Westminster.

It was West Surrey which was so much honoured or burdened. The county groaned under the expense of purveyance when the Court moved from place to place, requisitioning carts and buying provisions at its own price. Lucky favourites, Weston at Sutton, Zouch at Woking, Clinton and Wolley at Pirford, Cecil at Wimbledon, and many others, reaped the benefit of a superfluity of houses to be given away or let at nominal rents. The county benefited too, probably, from a lessening of purveyance. Other leading men were settled in the county under the Tudors, partly because the Court was so often there, partly because it was near London. Such were Sir Francis Walsingham at Barn Elms, Lord Howard of Effingham in Reigate Priory, the Earl of Lincoln at West Horsley. The immediate suburbs and West Surrey were then, as now, the chief residential part of the county. In south-east Surrey the iron industry flourished, and also in the Weald all along the Sussex border. London gentlemen and nobility did not then penetrate south of the immediate neighbourhood of the chalk downs as a rule. One reason, no doubt, was the villainously bad condition of the roads on the Wealden clay. Indeed, through communication from London by Surrey into

Sussex seems to have become less as the Roman roads became worn out. After Edward I. no sovereign can be shown to have passed through Surrey into Sussex till Elizabeth made a progress to Lord Montacute's house at Cowdray. After Montfort's army marched through to Lewes in 1264 no army went through Surrey into Sussex, nor out of Sussex into Surrey. The Stone Street between Chichester and London was quite abandoned for a great part of its course in Surrey. None of the other old roads which came through the Weald were used in all parts of their course. That from Shoreham Harbour to Staines was lost altogether. The great central road on the chalk from east to west was used. The roads which came across the north-west and north-east corners of the county, from Hampshire and Kent respectively, were used. But so long as iron and timber could be dragged from the Weald to the Thames, and Defoe says that as late as his time it sometimes took over a year to convey an oak from the Weald to Deptford, it was enough. The only trade which up to the last century came straight through from the Sussex coast was that of smugglers, who rode with kegs of brandy and parcels of silk, leading pack horses. It must have been consoling to ministers, when in a panic about invasion, to find that Horsham sent in a petition to Parliament in 1750 saying that when they wanted to drive to London they had to go round by the Dover road. The French could not have got artillery up to a battle of Dorking under William III. or George II. But however impassable the Weald may have been, there were substantial farmers in it, or men who made money by iron and farming combined. The old houses, manor houses, and others, now farms, are built of magnificent oak timbers, and though wood was cheap, imply a flourishing middle class population.

There were few really old families of gentry in Surrey after the Tudor reigns. The Westons of Albury and

Ockham, not to be confounded with the Westons of Sutton, and the Gaynesfords of Crowhurst, were among the few who remained for so long. Others, like Vincent of Stoke d'Abernon, were descended in the female line from old Surrey families. The history of half or more of the manors tells of a London citizen buying, or foreclosing a mortgage, some time from the fifteenth century onwards. Religious troubles had an effect too. Weston of Sutton, Gage of Haling, Sanders of Charlwood, Fromonde of Cheam, and Copley of Gatton, were Catholic recusant families, and suffered in fortune accordingly, though only the Gages were entirely dispossessed at a stroke. The Brays of Shiere, the Mores of Loseley, the Onslows of Cranleigh and Clandon, the Evelyns of Ditton, Wotton, and Godstone, all came into the county under the Tudors from other parts of England. It is curious that Brays, Mores, Evelyns, and Onslows all successively owned the same house—Baynards, though it was the principal family mansion of none of the heads of the respective families. It still stands, old at the core, but much modernised in sham antique style by the late Mr. Thurlow, nephew to the Lord Chancellor. Sir Richard Bray, of Shiere, ruled England under Henry VII. Sir Christopher, Sir William, and Sir George More, of Loseley, ruled Surrey from Henry VIII. to James I. John Evelyn, of Wotton by birth and ultimate ownership, is not only famous in literature and science from the Civil Wars to the reign of Anne, but in Surrey left his mark by beginning the planting of trees upon the barren sands round his ancestral home. The beautiful woods of the Leith Hill district originated from him. He laid out the grounds of Wotton for his brother, and of Albury Park for Mr. Howard. But after the influence of the family of More had waned, that of Onslow became the leading political house in Surrey. The first prominent Onslow in Surrey was Sir Richard, who commanded the County Militia for

the Parliament in the Civil War. The Stoughtons were another Puritan family who became important at that time. New gentlemen's families bought estates in Surrey, and old yeoman families prospered and became gentry, receiving or assuming coats of arms. Some of these, and some other families, also sank back into the position of farmers, or lower. A deeply-rooted fiction connects certain yeoman families with the same land since the Conquest. This is never susceptible of proof before the fourteenth century. The history of most subordinate holdings or manors cannot be traced continuously since then. Many can be traced for a time, at various times, and more from the seventeenth century onwards. One point comes out certainly, that the old copyholds and small freeholds changed hands every few generations; and though the same families remained in the same neighbourhoods, it was upon different farms, and in different social positions. The longest continuous holding of the same farm by the same family which I know is from 1622 to 1824, and this family rose during that time from the position of small farmers to country gentlemen, and fell back again into the position of farmers.

The small holders were bought out in large numbers by new gentlemen between 1780 and 1830. Farms were turned into country houses, and most of the new owners were residents, who increased employment, and spread civilisation, especially in the most picturesque which had been the most barbaric parts of the county. Still more recent changes, railways, and, above all, motor cars, have turned owners too often into mere visitors. The social effect upon the comradeship of all classes of country people, upon continuous employment, and upon the sense of mutual duties, is not good. Surrey has become, and is probably destined to become more and more, a mere playground for London. Old conditions cannot be expected

Remains of Bermondsey Abbey, 1804.

to be everlasting, but we see them changing with regret. Yet as society survived, and ultimately benefited by such a tremendous revolution as that revealed in Domesday, so new and good conditions will no doubt ultimately emerge from the revolution which is noisily hurried in upon the wheels of the motor car.

H. E. MALDEN.

ESSEX

ESSEX, by reason of its position in the south-eastern corner of England, its contiguity to the Thames and to the metropolis, has had no small share in the general history—especially the earlier periods—of the country to which it belongs. Naturally a maritime county, washed on its eastern shores by the North Sea, bounded on the south by the Thames, and pierced by three tidal rivers—the Lea, the Stort, and the Stŏw—Essex is the tenth in size of the English counties, being rather smaller than Kent, and a little larger than Suffolk, between which two counties it is geographically situated. With Suffolk and Norfolk it forms the largest area of comparatively level ground in the whole of England, and in it there is but little "waste land," Essex to-day being one of the leading agricultural counties in the kingdom.

The very beginning of Essex history would take us back to early days indeed, possibly to the Pre-glacial period—of which some traces are believed to have been found in the county; certainly to "ages so remote that no approximation of date is possible." But leaving the Palæolithic and Neolithic periods—traces of which have been discovered and preserved in the county—and passing to the Bronze, Essex has proved a mausoleum of weapons, ornaments, implements, pottery, and other relics of antiquity, the existence of which throws considerable light on the dim ages to which they belonged. The shape of the barrows containing the dead, and the distinctive characteristics of the remains found within them, point to the entry of an alien race—generally

regarded as the first of the Celts to reach our shores—coming oversea from the Continent, forming in this district one of their earliest settlements, and driving the Neolithic men from the more temperate and fruitful parts of the land. It is thought by Sir John Evans that the Bronze period may have commenced here *circa* 1200 to 1400 B.C., and endured for well-nigh ten centuries, namely, 500 B.C., but some scholars put it down at a still earlier date. There can be no doubt that these early British inhabitants of this district, the Trinobantes or Trinovantes, were a powerful, numerous, and considerably civilized people, who met their Roman conquerors with bravery and some degree of military skill. There is plenty of interesting evidence as to the extent to which the Romans developed this district, placing in it their first British colony, Camalodunum (Colchester), creating one great road across the whole length of the county, building their camps, forming their stations, and after such bloody struggles as that which finally broke the power of the Iceni, settling down alongside the ancient Britons they had conquered.

Upon the evacuation of Britain by the Romans in 410, our island presented an inviting field to those northern tribes who were roving about various parts of Europe, notably the Angles, the Jutes, and the Saxons. Of these invaders the Angles obtained possession of the eastern district, which was called East Anglia, and to them fell the honour of giving their name to all England—at first called Angle land, or, in French, "Angleterre." Successive hordes of the northern tribes invaded different parts of the coast, and ultimately eight kingdoms were formed, called the Anglo-Saxon Octarchy, the kingdom of East Saxony, or Essex, being probably founded A.D. 527, and occupied by the men whose name it still bears, the East Seaxa. It is admittedly difficult to be entirely exact concerning the arrival of the East Saxons; indeed, Lappenberg, in his *History of England*

under Anglo-Saxon Kings, remarks that no territory ever passed so obscurely into the hands of an enemy as the north bank of the Thames, where the kingdom of the East Saxons comprised the counties of Essex and Middlesex. Of affairs in this part of Britain generally during the fifth and sixth centuries we have very little information. We know, however, that London was selected as the capital of the new kingdom, thus depriving Colchester of the proud and important position it had held for nearly four centuries under the Roman dominion. Erkenwin, who is by some accounted to have been the first ruler of the Saxon kingdom, died in 587, and was succeeded by his son, Sledda. In the reign of Sæbyrht, his successor, the light of Christianity began to shine through the gloom of Paganism—not, it is believed, for the first time, however. Upon this point Dr. Cox, in his *Ecclesiastical History of Essex*, says:—"With regard to the religious condition of the district afterwards known as Essex, previous to any English settlement therein, it is scarcely possible to state anything more definite than that early Christianity must have had a considerable hold during the latter part of the Roman occupation. Of the numerous legendary metropolitans of London of the British Church, only two have any substantial foundations, namely, Restitutus, who attended the Council of Arles in A.D. 314, and Fastidius, who was a Bishop of Britain in A.D. 431."

During Sæbyrht's reign he embraced the Christian faith, Mellitus being appointed by St. Augustine to preach the Gospel to the Pagans of the East Saxon kingdom. But under Sæbyrht's successors, Mellitus was driven out, the new religion banished, and Paganism again prevailed. It was not until 643, when Sigebert the Good was king of the East Saxons, that Christianity was once more and finally restored, Cedd, the brother of St. Chad, being sent from Northumberland to preach and baptize in Essex. Returning to Bishop Finan at Lindis-

SKETCH MAP
OF
ROMAN ESSEX.
Roman Walled Towns
Recorded finds of Roman Remains
Churches with Roman Tiles
Roman Main Roads
Suggested Continuations & Branches
of Roman Main Roads
Occurrence of the term Street
Important Earthworks
Suggested Sites of Stations
County Boundry
English Miles.
CAMB'S.
SUFFOLK
HERT'S.
KENT
Icknield Way.
Royston
Ipswich
Harwich
Camulodunum.
(Colchester.)
Walton
Clacton
Mersea Isl.
Othona
(Bradwell)
Canonium.
(Kelvedon.)
Coggeshall.
Braintree.
Halstead
Dunmow. Stane
Street.
Wool Street
Braughing
Harlow
Epping
Ongar
Chigwell
Caesaromagus
(Near Chelmsford)
Maldon
Heybridge
Southminster
Billericay
Rayleigh
Durolitum
(Romford)
Icknield Street
Ermine Street
Wanstead Park.
Ilford
Barking
Canvey Isl.
Shoebury
R. Thames
G. M. 1907 AD.
Saffron Walden Museum.

farne with a good report of his missionary labours, Cedd was consecrated bishop of the East Saxons, amongst whom he subsequently worked with evangelistic vigour, ordaining clergy, building churches, and in every way strengthening and extending Christianity throughout the kingdom. According to the Venerable Bede, the principal centres of Cedd's authority were at Ythancestir and Tilbury. The former has been identified with the site of the Roman fortress of Othona, near Bradwell-juxta-Mare, where the ancient chapel of St. Peter-on-the-Walls, "a pre-Conquest church built of Roman materials," still exists. Tilbury, or "Tilaburg," Cedd's other and more monastic centre, assumes to-day an importance other than ecclesiastical. During the period of the several kingdoms, until their union under Egbert, Christianity was re-established, Earkenwald, who was consecrated bishop of the East Saxons in 675, exercising vast influence for good upon his flock in Essex.

Towards the middle of the ninth century the Danes, for some time settled in the north, descended into Essex, and, overcoming its inhabitants, rapidly made it one of their strongholds. Frequent conflicts between Saxon and Dane culminated in the emphatic victory of the latter at "Assandune"—possibly Ashingdon, near Rochford—in 1016, when Essex came under the domination of Canute, the Danish king. The Saxon supremacy was restored in 1041, under Edward the Confessor, at whose death, in 1066, the throne was seized by Harold, Governor of Essex, son of Earl Godwin, and last of the Saxon kings. The tragic and disastrous end of this brief reign is well known. For Essex there is a note of deep personal interest surrounding the ultimate disposal of the body of the vanquished king:

> . . . Whom death, and not the Norman Duke
> Had conquered; him the noblest and the last
> Of Saxon Kings; save one the noblest he;
> The last of all.

Memorial to Centurion of the XXth Legion, Colchester.

From the monk of Malmesbury down to our own great historian of later times, Freeman, the belief has been firmly held that the body of the slain king, after it had been for a brief while interred in the sands of the sea-shore, was brought to Waltham Abbey, and there buried within the stately church "which he let himself rear." A careful study of the numerous authorities, ancient and modern, who have dealt with this much controverted matter, certainly tends to confirm this belief.

The subsequent period, dating from the day when Harold's crown and kingdom were wrested from him by the victorious William of Normandy, was a momentous one for Essex, as, indeed, for the whole of England. Crowned on Christmas Day, 1066, William I. would not reside in London until a new fortress—the Tower of London—had been built for him. He therefore retired to Barking Abbey, and there received the homage and allegiance of several English nobles. From this moment England afforded the strange spectacle of a native population—not by any means easily overawed—with a foreign sovereign, a foreign nobility, and a foreign hierarchy. The King was a Norman despot, having no Saxon blood in his veins; the bishops and principal abbots were Normans; and, after the death of Watheof, every earl and powerful vassal of the crown was Norman—prodigal indeed, but rapacious and oppressive. That great and exhaustive survey of England taken by William I. A.D. 1086, and known as the *Domesday Book*, dealt in a special and detailed way with the county of Essex, and affords a valuable picture of local circumstances and conditions at that period. Mr. Horace Round's admirable study and painstaking exposition of that portion relating to Essex opens this storehouse anew.[1] Reference to the *Domesday Book* shows that some ninety landowners of Essex were deprived of their lands by

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[1] *Victoria County History of Essex*, i., p. 333.

the Conqueror, the spoils of the county—lands and slaves attached to them—being handed over to various Norman nobles, conspicuous among whom was the King's brother, Odo, "the mitred plunderer," Bishop of Bayeux, who succeeded in obtaining close on forty of the Essex lordships. "In Essex," Mr. Round observes, "as in other counties, the Survey teems with proofs of this grasping prelate's encroachments on the lands of others." He seems to have clutched the holdings of a multitude of small men rather than the possessions of any great English landowners. To awe the conquered people, and to secure safety for themselves and their possessions, the Norman lords built great fortress-residences or castles, of which a few massive fragments still remain, as at Colchester and Hadleigh. Not castles only, but numerous churches, monasteries, and other religious houses, sprang up throughout the county at this period; indeed, about two-thirds of our Essex churches are computed to contain evidence of Norman work, while the Eastern Counties, as a whole, are richer in Norman remains than any other part of England. Remembering the nomenclature of so many places in this county, with their suggestive suffixes, often so reminiscent of Domesday lords, we must agree with Mr. Round that probably the imprint of the Norman Conquest is found more clearly in Essex than in any other English county.

With the Conquest undoubtedly there came a considerable development of civil and ecclesiastical government throughout England, and, for Essex in particular, a greater measure of freedom both from outside attacks and from internecine strife. Moreover, the influx of many husbandmen from Flanders, France, and Normandy tended to improve agricultural methods and to develop our lands. East Anglia was a wild uncultivated region of heaths, bogs, and swamps, Essex being largely forest; the majority of the people were the tenants and slaves, or *villeins*, of their lords, who

had absolute power over them; while money was nearly ten times its present value. All the cultivators of the land were bondmen, and could be sold, with their wives and children, by the lords.

Passing to the thirteenth century, we come to a period when the comparative freedom attained under the Plantagenet dynasty contrasts strikingly with the tyranny which prevailed during Norman rule. Early in this century Essex was the scene of strife resulting from the quarrels between King John and his barons, the castles of Colchester and Hedingham being besieged and captured by Louis, the French Dauphin, whom the barons had summoned to their aid. The desire for greater freedom, which animated the barons in the twelfth century, and secured the Magna Charta for our land, slowly but surely permeated the lower classes, leading up to the great and terrible stroke for freedom commonly known as "Wat Tyler's Rebellion," which is intimately associated with Essex. In the third year of his troublous reign (1380), Richard II., needing money to prosecute his wars with France and Scotland, imposed a poll-tax of "three groats per head on every male and female of fifteen years of age, except beggars." This new and strange impost, which was farmed out to collectors in each county, caused grave discontent among the lower classes of England, and led to the famous rebellion of 1381. One John Ball, who styled himself "St. Mary's priest of York, and now of Colchester," had thoroughly prepared Essex for the insurrection, preaching equality for all, and inveighing throughout the county against the insolence of one class in assuming superiority over another. Thus incited, the men of Essex rose simultaneously with their brethren of Kent, and, mustering in their thousands, marched through Romford and Stratford to Mile End, taking up a position on the north side of the Thames, while the Kentish rebels assembled in a vast multitude at Blackheath, awaiting

the promised interview with their king. What followed is a matter of history—the disappointment of the Kentish insurgents, their attack on London, and the ghastly excesses committed by them in their rage. Meanwhile, the Essex rebels appear to have remained quietly at Mile End, where the king and queen met them, listened to their petitions, and granted them full and free pardon. The men made no impossible requests, but contented themselves with asking for the abolition of slavery, a fixed rent instead of the services of villanage, freedom to buy and sell in all market towns, and a general pardon. These requests granted, the mob dispersed. When they had done so, however, the king recalled his proclamation, and marched an army into Essex to suppress the revolt, which had grown to serious proportions. "The disaffected, on their side, mustered in vast force at Billericay, where they unanimously resolved to retain their half-fledged freedom or die in the conflict. A distracted and undisciplined mob, however, was no match for mailed knights and men-at-arms, and when the King's force came up they were surrounded, smitten down, and scattered in all directions. . . . A court was opened at Chelmsford for the trial of the offenders, and it is stated that five hundred persons, who repaired to that town and threw themselves at the King's feet, obtained pardon; but the county wore the aspect of a common slaughter-house. Cruelties of the most horrible description were accompaniments of the executions. Men were half strangled at one corner of a street, and then taken to be hanged at another. In this way some were 'hanged four times at the corners of towns.'" Thus was this rebellion quelled by such drastic methods as we in these days can with difficulty conceive. More than thirty years later Mile End was again the camping ground of Essex men thirsting for freedom, but upon Cade's defeat they dispersed without achieving their object. In spite of these reverses, however, the tyranny of centuries was

slowly, but none the less certainly, being broken down, a great and powerful agent in this direction being the creation of a middle class, or body of yeomen, whose uprising was due to the political necessities of the times and the changed conditions of the country.

The fifteenth century, with its contending dynasties, and correspondingly great and far-reaching changes for the country generally, concerned Essex closely from the religious standpoint. The county early began to be prominent in the annals of Nonconformity, and during the first part of the fifteenth century several Essex men suffered martyrdom for their religious beliefs, which were held to be contrary to those of the Church of Rome. The annals of Nonconformity in Essex relate many instances, including the burning of Thomas Bayley, "a valiant disciple and adherent of Wycliffe," in 1430, and of Richard Wyche, priest of Hermetsworth, on Tower Hill in 1440. In the religious struggles of the following centuries, Essex amply proved its pre-eminence in earnest and determined Protestant Nonconformity; out-rivalling even Northamptonshire in this direction. David's *Annals of Evangelical Nonconformity in the County of Essex* (1863), and the less exact but more highly coloured narrative of Fox's *Book of Martyrs*, furnish fuller evidences of Puritan Nonconformity, and the punishment meted out to it, than we can give. The full storm of the Marian persecution fell upon Essex. When, upon Bonner's reinstatement, the celibacy of the clergy was enforced, eighty-nine of the Essex clergy were deprived of their benefices, only one contemptible cleric, Hodgkin, of Laindon, consenting to separation and public penance as a means of rehabilitation. He was rewarded with the living of St. Peter's, Cornhill. At Coggeshall, Horndon-on-the-Hill, Braintree, Maldon, Colchester, Rayleigh, Manningtree, Harwich, Rochford, Ardleigh, Stratford, and Saffron Walden in the county, and at Smithfield, Essex men, priests and laymen, yielded up

their lives in defence of their religious belief, and were for the most part burnt at the stake. In Brentwood—where William Hunter, the brave young silk weaver, met his death in 1555—Colchester, and at Horndon-on-the-Hill, tablets commemorate the revolting persecution which, under the name of our most holy religion, wreaked such horrible vengeance upon Essex men. As Dr. Cox observes, in no other part of England were the horrors of the Marian persecution brought so home to the people at large as in the county of Essex. The number of victims belonging to Essex was seventy-two, and its prominent share in the long struggle against the claims of the Church of Rome is the most striking feature in the ecclesiastical history of the county.

It is unnecessary here to do more than mention the dissolution of the religious houses (A.D. 1538), the effect of which was necessarily more keenly felt in Essex than in many another county of England. Although the remains of these foundations are few indeed to-day, the part these establishments played in the history of the county was important and considerable. In addition to the dissolution of the monasteries and the confiscation of their property, the subsequent transference to the Crown of the chapels, chantries, and colleges of the land brought about tremendous changes in Essex. And of more general consequence than any, perhaps, because its results admitted of few exceptions, was "the great pillage" of the parish churches which took place under Edward VI., at a moment when, as Dr. Jessopp says, "the lust of gain in the spirit of Cain was master of the situation, and men in high places, of high birth, and even of high culture, found the spirit of the age too strong for them." The tremendous havoc which was wreaked during those eventful six years of the boy-king's reign was responsible for the irretrievable loss of priceless treasures from the ancient churches and parishes of Essex. To mention only one example. Before the

close of the reign of Edward VI., every church bell in the county was assigned to the young King's use, not a single bell being exempted from this demand, except that of the almost ruined church of Fobbing.

With the accession of Elizabeth (1558) there was still persecution for conscience sake, submission to the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity by the clergy being insisted upon on peril of deprivation. The eventful ejections and sequestrations for refusing to subscribe were far greater in Essex than in any other part of the diocese of London, twenty-six incumbents being deprived at once, and others later. Recusants, too, were hunted out and punished, imprisonment and exile being inflicted upon them, and sometimes even severer punishment. The record of days when "priest-harbouring" was counted worthy of such an awful punishment as the *peine forte et dure* (Widow Wiseman, 1598) is a humiliating story, and one which we would gladly forget but for the morals which it so impressively conveys. The sickening catalogue of afflictions, imprisonments, confiscations, maimings, burnings, and the rest, belonging to the Marian and Elizabethan reigns, is the best corrective to any who to-day may be tempted to indulge the spirit which prompted such things of old.

The striking figure of Elizabeth is perhaps one of the most prominent in the whole history of Essex, from which it stands out boldly during the critical days of the attempted invasion of our shores by the King of Spain. In 1579, almost twenty years after her accession to the English throne, Elizabeth, riding on horseback, made a tour of the Eastern Counties, and, being very favourably impressed with the hospitality she received, tarried long in the houses of the Essex nobles. Undoubtedly Her Majesty was entertained with much pomp and a certain degree of splendour. At Colchester, for example, whither the Queen proceeded on Sept. 1st, 1579, the bailiffs and aldermen received her, riding

upon "comely geldings, with foot-clothes in damask or satin cossacks or coats, or else jackets of the same, with satin sleeves in their scarlet gowns, with caps and black velvet tippets." The Queen received much, and gave little in return. Nevertheless, her popularity was very great, especially in the Eastern Counties. "Whenever she came she was received with enthusiasm. The people were prepared to submit to her will, and to die in her defence. When the country was menaced by the Spanish Armada, even the Roman Catholics enrolled themselves as volunteers in the army. . . . The people of Essex, expecting the enemy to land on their coast, furbished up their old arms, and all the able-bodied men, even youths, applied themselves to practise with the matchlock and the pike. Colchester supplied three ships of war, all well manned by hardy sailors. Maldon contributed a small war craft, filled with sons of the sea. Arrangements and preparations for defence were made along the eastern coast."

But it is Tilbury and its ancient fort that is for ever most intimately associated with the memory of the great threatened invasion, for there the great camp of defence was formed, where the heavy guns of Tilbury fort could command the Thames, and thither the Queen came, riding her charger, and addressed her soldiers in words which made such apt and impressive appeal to her "faithful and loving people." To Tilbury thronged the levies from all parts of England, until around the blockhouse erected there by Henry VIII. was gathered a vast multitude of armed men, Catholic and Protestant, Papist and Puritan—22,000 foot and 1,000 horse—all united in the hour of national danger to defend their country and their Queen. The temper of the vast army at Tilbury has been thus described by Stow:

"It was a pleasant sight to behold the soldiers as they marched towards Tilbury, their cheerful countenances, courageous words and gestures, dancing and leaping

THE BALKERNE GATE, COLCHESTER.

wheresoever they came, and in the camp their next felicity was hope of fight with the enemy; where at times divers rumours were of their foe's approach, and present battles would be given them; then were they joyful at such news, as if lusty giants were to run a race."

The issue of the threatened invasion is too well known to need recounting. Of the vast and hastily formed camp of defence at Tilbury no trace remains, but the memory of those stirring happenings which called it into being forms one of the most impressive in our long and eventful history. During the later years of Elizabeth's reign, Essex suffered heavily from the plague which raged so awfully throughout England, and in 1604, the opening year of James I., Colchester experienced the force of its dread power. Later, this city was similarly visited, four thousand seven hundred and thirty-one of its inhabitants being swept away before it in 1665 and 1666. The reign of the first James, with its years of famine, its dread plague, and deep-laid plots, was not a happy one for Essex. Two of its principal sons, Lord Grey and Lord Cobham, were implicated in Sir Walter Rayleigh's conspiracy against James, and the letter which led to the discovery and frustration of the Gunpowder Plot was addressed to an Essex landowner, Lord Monteagle, of Great Hallingbury Hall. This Catholic nobleman promptly disclosed the warning to the Secretary of State, thus saving the Protestant family and the Protestant Parliament from a terrible fate.

Although fairly prosperous in the early days of the Stuart dynasty, Essex was far from contented. The levy of "ship money" by Charles I. in 1634 aroused the strongest feeling in the county, which was expected to contribute £8,000. Colchester, having first refused, eventually paid a portion of its share; Maldon, £80; Harwich, £20; and Thaxted, £40. In matters of faith and religion, Essex, truly termed "the headquarters of Puritanism," was ill-disposed to acquiesce in the measures

laid down by Charles I. and his strong-willed prelate, Laud, in whose diocese of London the county was at that time included (1625-1633). Upon the elevation of Laud to the primacy, his further efforts to secure conformity aroused deep resentment, and about this time several notable Puritan preachers—Hooker, John Eliot, Thomas Shepard, John Wilson, John Norton, and others—fled to America from Essex in order to escape Laud's clutches. The High Court of Commission appointed to enforce uniformity of worship in every place, caused the arrest of a pronounced Puritan, John Bastwick, an Essex man, and a physician at Colchester. He was first fined £1,000, then excommunicated and imprisoned, and eventually, by order of the Star Chamber, had his ears cut off in the pillory in Palace Yard. In this way did the unwise monarch create martyrs of his opponents, and excite that wave of indignation which eventually brought about his own tragic downfall.

During the Commonwealth period, notable Essex Puritans like "Master Steven Marshall of Finchingfield, and Master Obadiah Sedgewik of Coggeshall," were prominent both here and in London in their efforts to reform or abolish many things with which they did not agree. The first-named cleric was the chief promoter of the Presbyterian system, which succeeded the downfall of royalty and the overthrow of the episcopate. So venerated was he in his party, that at his death he was buried in Westminster Abbey—only, however, for a time, his bones being cast out again at the Restoration as unworthy of so honoured a resting-place. Strange and distressing scenes were enacted at this time in many an Essex church. The vicar of Leyton, for instance, adopted the military uniform in church, and preached in a buff coat instead of a surplice. Strife was waged between the rival factions in matters religious. And just as the bitterness and persecution of the Marian reign was rivalled by that which was displayed under

Elizabeth, so now, when opportunity arose, the narrow bigotry and fierce tyranny of Laudian days was easily matched by the sturdy defenders of religious freedom. "A Testimony of the Ministers in the Province of Essex to the Truth of Jesus Christ, and to the Solemn League and Covenant," sent up to their brethren in London in 1648, contains some genial sentiments. For example, these worthy men state their determination to "preserve and transmit that Sacred Despotism, as much as in us lyeth, unto all posterity." Desiring to "deal tenderly with the tender consciences of Dissenting Brethren," they proceed to declare that "from our soules we doe utterly detest and abbhor as all former cursed doctrines of Popery, Arminianism, and Socinianism, so likewise the damnable Errors, Heresies, and Blasphemies of these present evil times, whether of Anti-Scripturists, Familists, Antinomians, Anti-Trinitarians, Arians, Anabaptists, and whatsoever is found contrary to sound doctrine and the power of Godliness." As a conciliatory expression of tender dealing in matters of conscience, the whole document is instructive. So, too, is "The Agreement of the Associated Ministers of the County of Essex," put forth about ten years later, in the hope of restoring "the Churches Peace," wherein the "Orthodox" ministers declare that language fails them to depict the extent and growth of "damnable Heresies and vilest practices, often also attended with hellish blasphemies."[1] As Dr. Cox observes, although the form of religious toleration had its rise in the days of the Commonwealth, "it was a tender bloom, that merely extended its mercies to Independents and Baptists, in addition to orthodox Presbyterians, for members of the Church of England, as well as those of the Church of Rome, and Socinians and Quakers, were more or less actively persecuted." In fact, a study of the ecclesiastical history of Essex, where

[1] *King's Pamphlet*, e. 953, 2.

the force of intolerant and bigoted persecution was so cruelly exercised by parties that successively gained the ascendancy, is an admirable corrective of undue partisanship in regard to the several schools of religious thought which have so long existed. The fierce contention of rival factions which was exhibited during the Commonwealth, doubtless proved how unfit they were to carry on the civil government of the country, and thus prepared the way for the restoration of the monarchy in 1660. This event was hailed with gladness in Essex, Sir Harbottle Grimston, one of the members for the county, voicing the feeling of his supporters in a fulsome speech at Whitehall Banqueting House. The consequences of the Restoration, however, were serious for many an Essex incumbent, a very large number of Essex benefices being rendered vacant by the ejection of ministers under the Act of Uniformity (1662). Shortly after his restoration, Charles II. cast longing eyes upon Audley End, which speedily became a royal residence, while New Hall was the seat of General Monk, the famous Duke of Albemarle.

A striking illustration of the ignorance and superstition that prevailed in Essex in days not long prior to those of the Restoration, is furnished by the career of Matthew Hopkins, the witch-finder, a native of Manningtree. This wretched impostor, trading upon the credulity and ignorance of times when a belief in witchcraft was very generally held, assumed the title of "Witchfinder General," travelling the Eastern Counties regularly in pursuit of his disgusting profession. His favourite methods of satisfying himself concerning his unfortunate victims are too revolting to relate. In one year he haled twenty-five poor old women before a special court at Chelmsford, charged them with being witches, and secured the execution or death of all save one. In another year he is credited with having brought sixty unfortunate creatures to the stake; and, altogether, he was responsible for the cruel death of hundreds before

he himself ended his career of murder and money-making at the hands of an enraged populace in Suffolk in the middle of the seventeenth century.

During subsequent reigns, Essex has ceased to play any very important part in history, though the records of days when a Napoleonic invasion was thought to be imminent, or, later, of the struggles associated with such legislation as the Reform Bill of 1832, show the county aroused to activity and excitement in common with the whole of England. When war broke out between England and France, volunteers, as well as supplementary militia, were enrolled in large numbers in Essex; and at the resumption of the Napoleonic war, after the Peace of Amiens, there was renewed activity, the Parliamentary returns of 1803 showing a total establishment of 6,335 foot in the county. Indeed, Sir William Hilary's force of 1,700 men, raised when the French invasion was expected in that year, was, it is said, the largest private force in the kingdom.

Ecclesiastically, much has happened during the last half-century. From the earliest founding of the see of London at the beginning of the seventh century, Essex came under its jurisdiction, the county forming one of the four archdeaconries into which the diocese was divided. Colchester was created a suffragan bishopric by Act of Henry VIII. (1534), a clerical pluralist, William Moor, rector of West Tilbury and Bradwell, and vicar of Witham, being its first occupant (1536-1540). After a lapse of over two centuries, this bishopric was revived, and Dr. Blomfield, son of Bishop Blomfield, of London, appointed to it in 1882. In 1846, however, the county of Essex, saving nine parishes, was cut off from London and made to form part of the see of Rochester, an episcopal residence for the Bishop of Rochester being provided at Danbury. When, in 1863, the nine parishes previously omitted were transferred to the Rochester diocese, the whole county passed under the spiritual

direction of a bishop south of the Thames! So things remained until, in 1875, an Act was passed creating the new bishopric of St. Albans, and allotting to it the whole counties of Essex and Hertford. This arrangement has continued up to the present, when, the required endowment having been raised, Parliamentary consent is being sought to the formation of a distinct see of Essex, the seat of which, it has been decided, shall be the historic town of Chelmsford.

A. CLIFTON KELWAY.

MIDDLESEX

AMONG all the counties of England there is, perhaps, not one which seems to possess less individuality, or that is less known as a territorial entity, than the one which contains the great capital of the British Empire. The smoke-cloud of the vast city has so overspread its fields that the country can scarcely be distinguished from the town; or, to change the metaphor, as the light of Mercury is lost in the blaze of the sun's glory, so the dazzle of London has obscured Middlesex.

Middlesex, old in the annals of the State, yet the youngest born of the counties, only received its complete and corporate independence when, by the Local Government Act of 1888, the city sheriffs—one of whom bore the title of Sheriff of London and Middlesex—were relegated to city duties only, and when the County Council of London, with a territory, like a vast modern *promoerium* round the ancient city, carved out of the surrounding country, was established. The portion of Middlesex left—a mere scantlet after London had secured all that it wanted of it—became the new county; but no sooner was its complete independence secured than, partly perhaps on account of it, a new set of circumstances occurred which have already gone far to obliterate its rural aspect, and to make it appear, after all, to be but a suburb of the great city. Coincident with the new Act, tramlines began to be extended through the outlying districts to the county boundaries, with the unfortunate result that the principal roads, which were of insufficient width for the new class of traffic, had to be widened;

the picturesque house fronts in the villages through which they passed were destroyed, the suburban gardens were covered with rows of commonplace shops, and the long lines of elm trees and the hedgerows, which formed so distinguishing a feature of the Middlesex highways, were cut down. Even worse has been the destruction of the countryside aspect of the land bordering on the roads. The cheapened travelling brought the opportunity to the speculating builder, and large districts, which a few years ago were well-timbered parks and open spaces, are now covered with serried ranks of the cheapest villas. The old village inn, with its indescribable quaintness, has given place to the uninteresting red-brick beer-shop, the plate-glass windows of which reflect across the railed-in and regulated village green the restored or rebuilt church. Such is modern Middlesex in the making; but it is pleasant to know that many memorials of its bygone history yet remain to us, and to be able to recall to memory many others which have, unfortunately, passed away almost under our own eyes.

The appearance of the county on the map is familiar to every one; it occupies a rough parallelogram extending from east to west twenty-one miles, and from north to south twelve miles, with considerable protuberances at the east end towards the north, and at the west end towards the south. On three sides it is surrounded by water. On the south the Thames, tidal through a large part of its course, flows, with many sinuosities, from west to east; and the rivers Lea and Colne, rising in the higher ground well to the north of the county, flow southwards into the Thames at the east and west ends respectively. The northern frontier is not so distinctly defined, but a broken range of low hills, appearing to be of some altitude when compared to the country to the south of them, roughly marks the boundary. The general face of the county may be described as an undulating plain falling gently southwards to the Thames, and

broken here and there with almost isolated hills, such as Harrow, Highgate, and Hampstead, and the whole of the surface is intersected with numerous small rivers and streams, which, following the contours of the land, flow south into the larger river. Of these the most important by far is the Brent, and westward of it the smaller rivers known as the Crane and the Exe or Ash, while eastward of it are a number of small streams flowing through Chelsea, Westminster, and London, of which little more than a tradition survives, since they have been long since arched over and built over, and find their way by artificial courses into the Thames.

At the earliest dawn of history in this country Middlesex appears to have been an almost uninhabitable waste. All the northern and eastern parts of the county were covered with dense forests, south of which was a belt of heath and scrub, except along the margins of the rivers, where the tidal waters spread themselves over a wide area of marshes. Out of these marsh lands, along the main stream of the Thames, arose slight mounds and banks of drift gravel on which the earliest settlements in the county seem to have been made; but the land behind them was intersected by backwaters and rills, flushed at every tide, the marks of which may still be traced along the northern side of the river where not obliterated by modern buildings. The much discussed question of whether the Celtic London stood on the north side of the Thames and within the confines of Middlesex may, perhaps, never be satisfactorily answered, but the balance of opinion just now seems to be against this view, and to point out as a more likely site some islet in the marshes of the "Surrey side." Accepting, then, this theory as correct, we must suppose Middlesex to have been at the time of the Roman invasion a vacant no man's land lying between the surrounding and hostile tribes; and we can thus see how it was that Cæsar had to cross its almost trackless forest and go

so far afield as Verulamium to find a foeman worthy of his steel.

During the four hundred years of the Roman occupation, the aspect of the county was considerably changed. After the foundation of the colony of Augusta, four main roads were made, branching out from the city to the east, north, north-west, and west, cutting through the forest land; and a large part of Middlesex, which formed the principal part of the *pagus* of the new colony, was divided out among the colonists and brought to a great extent under cultivation. Mr. Montague Sharpe, in his little book, *The Roman Centuriation in the Middlesex District*, shows by a very detailed map, founded on actual remains discovered *in situ*, or from other indications, the boundaries of a large number of the *centuriæ*, or divisions, together with numerous by-paths and private roads, traces of which may yet be found in various parts of the county. As these divisions were always of a more or less rectangular form, the roads preserved fairly straight directions, occasionally taking sudden right-angled turns so as to pass by one enclosure that slightly overlapped the adjoining one; and evidences of this peculiarity are still perceptible in a large number of by-roads in the county. By these colonists a large part of the county was brought into agricultural use, the areas of the forest and heath were very much reduced, and this to such an extent in the opinion of Mr. Sharpe that he says, "Prior to the break up of the Romano-British civilization, the general aspect of the country side within the cultivated portion of Middlesex presented much the same appearance as it did fourteen centuries later in the early Victorian days."

During the long Saxon period, so large a portion of which was either occupied with internecine quarrels or with the defence of the country against the Danes, the land of Middlesex, except in the immediate vicinity of London, fell out of cultivation, and Nature once more

resumed her sway. The forests spread again over the cleared lands, the main roads became choked and overgrown with vegetation, and by the time of the Norman Conquest the northern part of the county must have reverted to much the same condition as it was a thousand years before. But the great western road from Stratford through London to Staines seems to have been kept open, and all the district south of it and along the river side preserved its open character. Indeed, many of the riparian villages which had sprung up on the gravel mounds assumed a relative importance, which they did not maintain in after times.

The forest which spread over the northern and eastern parts of the county formed the southern portion of what was known as the "Great Forest of Middlesex," and which, at the close of the Saxon era, covered more than one-third of the whole area of the shire. The principal trees seem to have been oak, beech, and hornbeam, with doubtless a thick undergrowth of shrubs, which formed a shelter for the wild animals and birds with which we know the forest abounded. The oak still flourishes throughout the county, and its memory is preserved in Acton, a place of oaks; and the roads are frequently lined with them, as may be seen along the road to Cranford, just off the main Bath road. The deer, wolves, wild boar, and wild cattle found in the forest had to be kept down by hunting, and in Saxon times they were driven into enclosed parks formed in the forest to retain them for the purposes of sport, the two principal parks being at Enfield and Ruislip. Besides the fiercer and larger beasts, there was an enormous quantity of foxes, hares, and rabbits, as well as swans, pheasants, partridges, and woodcock. The forest was not disafforested until 1218, in the reign of Henry III.; and though by this Act the forest laws were repealed, much of it remained in scattered patches about the county almost into the last century.

The forest of Staines stretched from Brentford to the mouth of the Colne, and was separated from the northern one by the belt of heaths which included those of Hampstead and Hounslow. It was of a much more open character than the great forest, and contained a great deal of swampy ground, such as Sunbury Heath, and was probably of a later growth. For the benefit of the deer with which it abounded, it had been largely planted with sweet chestnut, a tree which flourished in many parts of the county, as at Chiswick, where, in the eighteenth century, the Earl of Grantham planted a great many on his estate at Grove Park, the fruit of which yielded a considerable profit. Staines Forest was disafforested in 1227, and its woodland character must have disappeared at an early date, as the villages which grew up within its borders soon became of importance.

As the forests gradually passed away and the population of the villages increased, much of the land, especially in the southern parts, was brought under cultivation, although the soil naturally is anything but fertile. All the part of Middlesex which borders on the river is alluvial, consisting of sand and gravel, resting generally on clay and chalk; but the copious supply of manure easily obtained in the neighbourhood of a great city has produced an artificial soil, so that the whole area was converted into luxuriant market gardens and orchards of apple, pear, and plum to supply the needs of London; and these, in turn, are rapidly giving way to the ever-encroaching suburban streets.

The rights which the Saxon City of London claimed and exercised over Middlesex it inherited with its succession to the Roman Augusta, and these rights, though modified and varied, were claimed until the end of the last century. They were, perhaps, first interfered with by Offa, when he had made Essex subservient to Mercia, and regarded London as included within it, and his interference took the form of granting large

An Oak-lined Road at Cranford.

portions of the forest of Middlesex to the Abbot of St. Albans, although he does not appear to have attempted to prevent the citizens from exercising their undoubted right of hunting and coursing therein. Offa and his successors gave other portions of land in the southern part of the county to St. Peter of Westminster, so that we find by the time of the Conquest a large proportion of the land of Middlesex, which had belonged to the Roman Colony, had been alienated to these two ecclesiastical establishments. Another event of importance in the history of the county was the treaty made in 886 between Alfred and Gunthrum, which made the river Lea the boundary between the Saxons and Danes. It was thus, for the first time, formally separated from Essex, and obtained the distinctive name and character of a county, but without the usual county privileges, and it still remained under the control and government of London. At the battle of Hastings the men of Middlesex were under the command of Ansgar, the son of Ethelstane, the son of Tofig, who was the Sheriff, or Portreeve, of London, and who had been described in Edward the Confessor's great charter to Westminster Abbey as "Esgar the Minister." When, after the Norman Conquest, the citizens made their terms with William, and received his charter, the position of the county to the city was not interfered with, and is summed up by Professor Freeman in these words: "The shire of Middlesex is let to the men of London and their heirs to hold in farm of the King and his heirs. And to this day (1888) Middlesex keeps the character of a subject district. It has neither a sheriff chosen by the men of the shire, nor yet one appointed by a common sovereign. The subject shire has to submit to the authority of a sheriff chosen by the ruling city."

With the completion of the Norman Conquest, the importance of London in relation to the rest of the country considerably increased, and this hastened the

development of Middlesex. It led also to the clearance of the woodlands, which not only permitted the spread of the villages, but modified to a great extent the physical aspect of the county. A glance at the accompanying sketch-map will show how numerous were the rivers and streams; and when a large proportion of the land

SKETCH MAP OF MIDDLESEX, SHOWING THE NATURAL AND ARTIFICIAL RIVERS.

was covered with forest trees the rainfall must have been considerable, and not only were the water-courses filled, but the low-lying lands next the Thames were frequently flooded. But so great was the diminution in the volume of the streams, resulting from these clearances, that eventually artificial channels had to be opened, connected

with the larger rivers to supply the lack, and these artificial streams form a feature somewhat peculiar to this county. The first of the streams to be reinforced was the river Crane, which rises in the high land about Pinner and Harrow, where it is first known as the Yedding brook. After passing under Cranford Bridge, where it first assumes its name of Crane, it takes a circular course across Hounslow Heath, and, skirting Twickenham, falls into the Thames at the back of Isleworth eyot. A little above Twickenham the abbess and convent of Syon possessed a water-mill, the site of which may be marked by the present disused oil mills, which suffered from an insufficiency of water, to remedy which they cut a canal some five miles long from one of the arms of the Colne and connected it with the Crane, and thus increased its volume. The point of junction is by the Hounslow Powder Mills, where the water spreads out into a considerable lake, which, closely surrounded as it is with foliage, makes in summer time a favourite haunt for the painter. As the convent, however, possessed another mill nearer to Isleworth, which the Crane did not serve, they cut a second canal, some two miles long, from that river to a position lower down the Thames, and athwart it to this day stands a flour-mill. One of the possessors of Syon House, subsequent to the Dissolution, lengthened this canal so as to supply the ponds in Syon Park, and all the canal from the Crane to the park now passes under the name of the "Duke's River."

A much larger work, formed to increase the water supply of Hampton Court Palace, was the canal known as the "Longford River," from the name of the place whence it issues from the Colne, which was made by Charles I. When Wolsey first built the palace he provided a very complete supply of fresh spring water, brought in lead mains under the bed of the river from Coombe, in Surrey; and although this supply was ample for drinking purposes, and has, in fact, only been disused

within the last few years, it was manifestly insufficient for the fountains, ornamental waters, and other purposes necessary when the house became a royal residence. Accordingly, in 1638, Charles issued a commission to consider how the waters of the Colne could be brought over Hounslow Heath into the park " for the better accommodation of the Palace and the recreation and disport of His Majesty."

There seem to have been some disused water-courses running in the direction required, with which an old outlet from Bushey Park by Hampton Wick may have been connected, and the task was found to be an easy one. A canal eleven miles long and twenty-one feet wide was formed, with an overflow into the Thames opposite to Molesey, at the comparatively small cost of £4,102. Many of the residents of Hanworth, Bedford, and Hampton, through whose lands the canal passed, objected to it, and during the time of the Rebellion attempted to stop it up by throwing in refuse and letting down the bridges; but Cromwell, when he went to reside at the palace, had it cleaned out and repaired. It is still running, and not only fills the canals, but supplies the fountains and the drinking-water of the inhabitants.

The " New River," the most important artificial water-course within the county, except the modern traffic canals, although first authorised by Queen Elizabeth, was not begun until 1609, when Hugh Middelton took the matter in hand and completed it in 1613. Although passing through Hertfordshire and Middlesex, it was made solely for the benefit of London, and its history belongs to that city; but it may be mentioned as having this distinction among city financial schemes, that it ruined its promoters and enriched its shareholders.

Middlesex contains no royal residence, for Hampton Court is a palace only in name, and Kensington is really in the city of Westminster, although a few years ago, in the re-arrangement of boundaries, it was for some

sentimental reason included in Kensington parish. Many of our sovereigns have resided, at one time or another, in different parts of the county, and there were palaces or royal manors at Enfield, Isleworth, Stepney, Hampton, Chelsea, and Hanworth; but, except Hampton Court, none of these have been occupied since the days of the Tudors. More remarkable even than this is the utter absence of castles outside the limits of London; and the Tower was not built so much as a castle for the defence of the city, but to overawe the citizens. In the royal licenses to crenellate, granted between the years 42 Henry III. and 19 Edward IV., the county is only twice mentioned outside the cities of London and Westminster, and these are in 1 Edward II., when leave was granted to Johannes de Benstede to fortify his mansion of Rosemont at *Eye juxta Westmonastes*, which was the manor-house of Ea, or Ebury, in the modern Pimlico, and 21 Edward III., to Humfrey de Bohun for his manor-house of Enfield.

Although Middlesex was rich in village church architecture, its monastic establishments outside the two cities were very few, and they have left behind them no picturesque ruins. Of these by far the richest and most important is the convent of Syon, and there were the two nunneries of Kilburn, which was a cell to Westminster, and St. Leonard's, Bromley. Bentley Priory was founded for Austin Canons by Randulf de Glanvil in 1171; at Hampton was a commandry of Knights Hospitallers; at Hounslow was an establishment of the Maturins, or Friars of the Holy Trinity; and at Brentford End, in Isleworth, was a foundation under the title of *Ecclesia omnium angelorum*, which was a small fraternity of religious men.

Until the passing of the County Councils Act, Middlesex, having no corporate existence, had no claim to any armorial bearings, but some, at one time or another, had been assigned to it in a wholly unauthorised

way. Thus, in vol. iii. of Coxe's *Magna Britannia et Hibernia*, is an engraving of such a coat, which is neither more nor less than that of the extinct See of Westminster. Mr. Fox-Davies quotes, however, the arms given by Berry as those in common use, as "gules, three seaxes fesseways proper, pommels and hilts to the dexter, or." Unfortunately, the newly constituted council did not apply for permission to use these or any arms, but engraved them on their official seal, with the difference that they reversed the seaxes by turning them upside down.

Such is the outline of the story of the county, but another and more concise history, given by Dr. Peter Heylyn in his *Help to English History*, written during the Stuart period, is worth quoting. He says: "Middlesex is a part of the Trinobantes lying upon the banks of the river Thames. A county not so large as others, but far more remarkable for sumptuous houses, well-built villages, a fertile soyle, and temperate air; and which addeth most unto it, for the great cities of London and Westminster, which are seated in it, and for the constant Residence of the Court, the Receptacle and aboad of the Kings of England, who have made this County happy above others with their Royal Mansions, Whitehall and Hampton Court, Somerset House and St. James, still in the possession of the Crown; Enfield and Hanworth, aliened now, have either been the chief aboads or retiring places of our Kings and Princes. In which regard the Kings of Engl., anciently (as Camden notes it) vouchsafed the title of *Middlesex* unto none, neither Duke, Marquesse, Earl, nor Baron, although I know not by what popular error the citizens of London reckoned the Lord Mayor Elect for Earl of Middlesex. Which, whatsoever ground it had, hath now none to stand on, that title being not long since bestowed on Lionel, Lord Cranfield, Lord Treasurer of England, created Earl of Middlesex, September 17th, 1622."

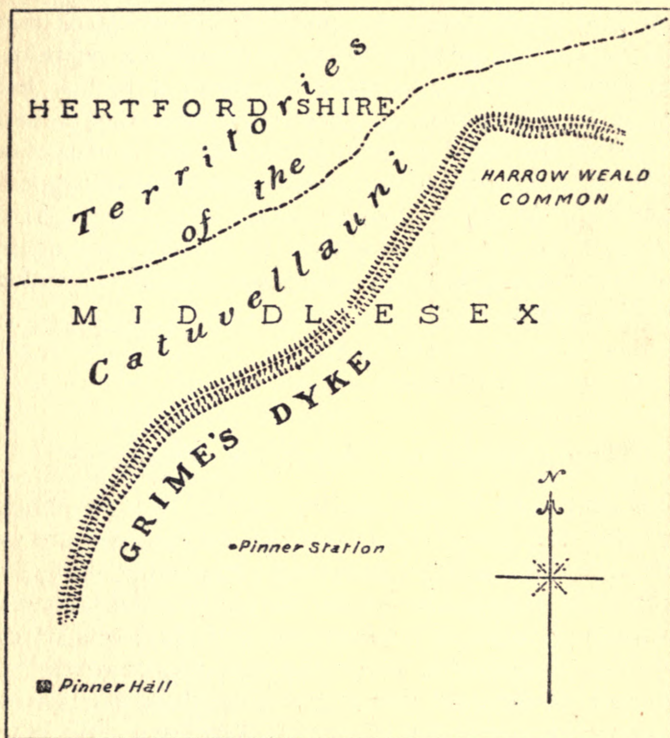
Small as Middlesex is, it contains within itself three complete county organisations of lords lieutenants, sheriffs, and councils, the lieutenancy of the City of London being in commission. The Acts of 1888 and 1899, which brought these divided authorities into being, were obviously only an attempt at a compromise, as the great City Corporation was unwilling, or unable, at that time, to take the position which its wealth, its organisation, and its prestige so eminently fitted it to fill; but it is to be hoped that, at some not distant day, a new Act, which the rapid growth of the suburbs is even now calling for, may replace the Lord Mayor in the paramount position with which history and long usage have associated his office, and make the sheriff once again what he was for a thousand years past—Sheriff of London and Middlesex.

J. TAVENOR-PERRY.

SOME ADDITIONAL NOTES ON MIDDLESEX

MIDDLESEX, one of the smallest of the English shires, can boast of a longer continuous history than almost any other, extending nearly 2,000 years. Possessing within its borders the capital city of the Empire, no other county can compare, either in the importance of the events which have transpired and in the great people who have resided within it, or the part that it has played in the history of the country, with the county of Middlesex. We have to omit from our survey the great city, which is too large to be treated of here, and confine ourselves to the county. As its name implies, it is the remains of the kingdom of the central, or middle, Saxons. Of the prehistoric people who dwelt here, some relics have been found—a large number of flint implements in various parts, and also bones of the elephant, hippopotamus, deer, etc., at Old Brentford, and elk horns at Chelsea Hospital.

The Trinobantes held the land in the British period, who had as their neighbours on the west the Catuvellauni, a powerful race, whom we have met with in Hertfordshire and Buckinghamshire. The important tribal boundary, the Grime's Dyke, divided the two races, extending from



PLAN OF GRIME'S DYKE.

Brockley Hill to the woodland of the Colne Valley, and thence to the Brent, and down the Brent to the Thames.

When the Romans came they captured London, and then proceeded on their way across the Thames. It is not certain where Cæsar crossed the river. Some assert

that it was at Halliford, at Cowey Stakes, about a furlong west of Walton Bridge, and others contend for Old Brentford, which opinion Mr. Montague Sharpe supports. Cæsar found the Britons arrayed against him on the northern bank of the river, who had defended the bank in front of them with sharpened stakes, fixed in the bed of the river beneath the water. Bede, relying on the statement of Northelm, states that the stakes were there in his time; but this is not convincing, and authorities seem to conclude that Old Brentford was the place where the crossing was made. But Roman remains have been found at Shepperton, near Halliford, at the Middlesex end of the ford, and a Roman cemetery discovered.

King's Cross Station seems far removed from ancient history, and yet Battle Bridge, in its vicinity, is the site of one of the fiercest conflicts in British history, when the outraged Queen of the Iceni, brave Boadicea, whose statue, with the lines,

> Kingdoms Cæsar never knew
> Thy posterity shall sway,

now adorns Westminster Bridge, gallantly fought against the Roman legionaries commanded by Suetonius Paulinus. An earthwork at Harmondsworth, destroyed in 1906, is said to be Roman. Coins, urns, and tiles have been found at Enfield, a sepulchral urn at Hampstead, and gold coins and ornaments at Bentley Priory.

When the Saxons came they made clearings in the forest and established settlements by the river, and for some time the district now known as Middlesex was attached to Essex, the country of the East Saxons. It may be concluded that the country could not have been distinguished by the name Middlesex until Essex and Wessex had been formed. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* only once mentions Middlesex, and that as late as 1011, when it is noticed as a district overrun by the Danes.

Christianity found its way into the shire in early days. There were some British Bishops of London, but the Saxon Conquest had destroyed all British Christianity. An old manuscript states that the Middle Saxons received the true faith under their elderman Peada in 653. But Mellitus, the companion of St. Augustine, was Bishop of London, and a church had been built there in 610. The inhabitants, however, had reverted to Paganism, and had to be reconverted. This was effected by Sebbe, King of Essex, and by St. Erkenwald, the fourth Bishop of London, who in 691 received a grant of the manor of Fulham, which, with the exception of a few years during the Commonwealth period, has remained ever since in the possession of the see. Chelsea is noted as a place for synods and councils in the Saxon period. An important synod was held in 785, and there was probably a royal residence there in early days. The Danes ravaged the country, as was their wont. They were at Fulham in 879, where they formed a camp and wintered on the site of the present palace; and Sir Arthur Blomfield conjectures that they dug out the moat which still surrounds the grounds. Edmund Ironside fought against them at Brentford in 1016. By the time of Edward the Confessor most of the present towns and villages were in existence. The pious King gave Chelsea to Westminster Abbey. Domesday reveals the fact that there was no great forest in the county. The Crown lands were small, the best wooded districts being Enfield and Harrow. The former was owned by Geoffrey de Mandeville, and the latter by the Archbishop of Canterbury. The Norman and Plantagenet Kings used to spend some time in the shire. King John kept his greyhounds at Harrow, and probably came to hunt with them. Henry III. dates a document there, and during his time the royal forest was disafforested, and some of the wealthy London citizens took the opportunity of purchasing lands and building on them. Fitz Stephen, the

monk of Canterbury, and secretary of Thomas à Becket, describes the densely crowded thickets, and the stags, fallow deer, boars, and wild bulls that were to be found there before Henry disafforested his royal chase. St.

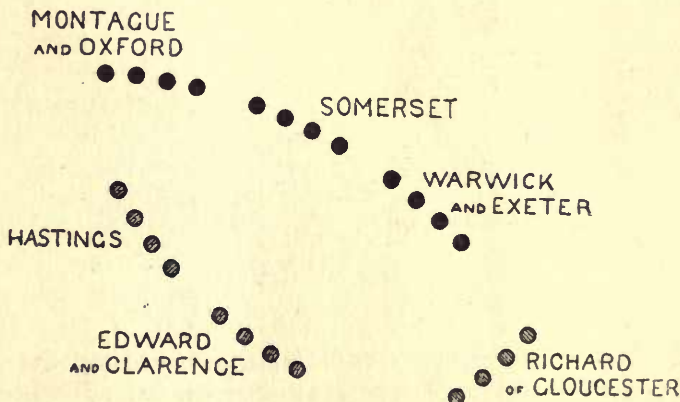
RICHARD NEVILLE.
(*From the Warwick Roll, Heralds' College.*)

Thomas of Canterbury was at Harrow, a country house belonging to the see, on at least three occasions—when, as a young man, he was admitted into the household of

Archbishop Theobald; and then when he was himself Archbishop of Canterbury, and emissaries from Rome came to wait on him; and, lastly, when the shadow of death had fallen upon him a few days before his martyrdom. To the same place came his successor, Boniface, fleeing from the wrath of the men of London on account of his shameful treatment of the prior of St. Bartholomew's, Smithfield.

Kempton manor-house was an occasional royal residence, and both Edward II. and Edward III. stayed there.

The Wars of the Roses left an indelible impression on Middlesex, and the battle at Barnet is, on account of its far-reaching results, one of the most important ever fought on English soil. It decided the issues of the contending parties, and placed the Yorkist dynasty on the throne. The great Earl of Warwick, Richard Neville, "the King-maker," had placed Edward IV. on the throne. Slighted and humiliated by the thankless youth, he turned his arms to support the rival house of Lancaster. We need not describe the battle. The Earl came marching through Dunstable and St. Albans, and encamped his weary soldiers on Gladsmoor Heath. Edward had



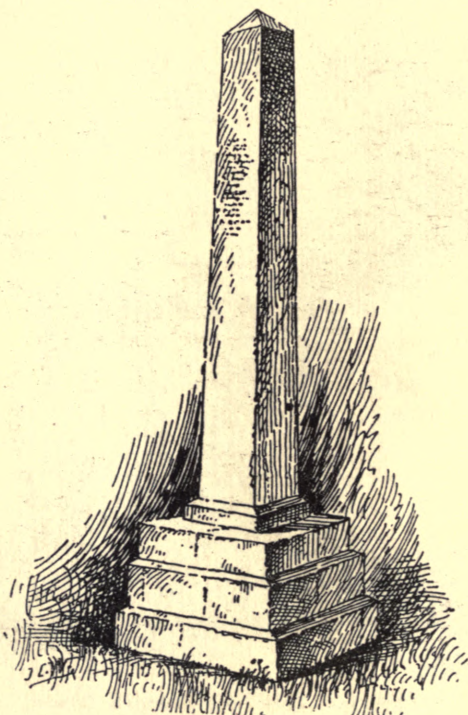
SKETCH PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF BARNET.

gained London and the support of the citizens, and marched out to meet his foe. The fight was fought on Easter Day, April 14th, 1471. The accompanying map shows the position of the forces and their leaders. A fog enveloped the field of battle. The Earl of Oxford mistook friend for foe. Somerset did the same. The

TRADITIONARY SITE OF WARWICK'S DEATH.

cry of "Treason" was raised. "Warwick had again joined the White Rose," they cried. Oxford and Somerset fled, Montague and Exeter were slain, and Warwick was left alone to fight. He died bravely, surrounded by the enemy. A dead trunk of an elm, covered with clinging ivy, marks the place where the hero died, and an obelisk commemorates the battle.

The story of Syon (or Sion) Monastery is one of the most interesting pages in the history of the county. Founded within the manor of Isleworth in 1414 by Henry V. for the Order of St. Augustine as reformed by St. Bridget, it shortly became the favourite house of royal personages and nobles. There were sixty nuns or sisters, an abbess,



MONUMENT ON THE FIELD OF BARNET.

thirteen priests, four deacons, and eight lay brothers. The numbers correspond with the seventy-two disciples of our Lord and the thirteen Apostles. The rules of the order were very strict and the discipline severe. The site was found to be too confined in 1431, and Henry VI. granted the abbess and convent leave to begin new build-

ings on a site near the Thames. A little later eighty tons of stone were conveyed from Caen for the new works. At the end of the century, Cecily Duchess of York, wife of Richard Duke of York, and mother of Edward IV., was the prioress, and the nuns were usually drawn from the higher ranks of society. But it shared the fate of other monasteries at the Reformation. Henry VIII. was especially angry with the "ladies of Sion," because they declined to support his proceedings of divorce with Katherine. They became the victims of the vile slanders promulgated by a notorious wretch Layton and his coadjutor Legh, who were hired to defame them. Their confessor, Reynolds, was executed at Tyburn for refusing to acknowledge the King's supremacy. The nuns migrated to Flanders, but were restored to Sion in Mary's reign. Under Elizabeth the house was again closed, and the nuns fled to Lisbon, where the house of Sion remained until 1861, when the sisters returned to England, and are now settled near Chudleigh in South Devon. Sion, therefore, possesses a continuity of existence which is indeed remarkable.

The unhappy Queen of Henry VIII., Katherine Howard, was a prisoner in Sion House before her execution, and in 1547 the body of the tyrant rested there on its last journey to Windsor. The buildings and estate were granted by Edward VI. to that arch-spoliator of Church property, Protector Somerset, who out of the materials built for himself a grand new palace, which he did not long enjoy. After his execution it was granted to John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, and here that dramatic scene occurred when the Duke and others persuaded poor Lady Jane Grey, his daughter-in-law, to accept the crown of England. It continued to be associated with many events in the nation's history.

Retracing our steps and returning to the reign of Henry, we see him hunting in Bushey Park, which he enclosed within brick walls; and he had a hunting lodge

at Hanworth, which, Camden states, "he made his chief place for pleasure, having the Thames in prospect, and a delicious champaign about it, as well as two good parks on each side, the one called Kempton, and the other Hanworth Park, where he had the diversion at all times of the buck or hare." His last queen, Katherine Parr, who survived him, resided here with her second husband, Sir Thomas Seymour; and here the Princess Elizabeth spent her young days, where "Queen Elizabeth's garden" is still shewn.

We see, too, arising the princely palace of Hampton Court, reared by Cardinal Wolsey, and as a propitiatory offering, when his fall was inevitable, presented by him to the King. Another prominent personage of the tumultuous reign lived in the county, Sir Thomas More, who built for himself a house at Chelsea ere he was doomed to death by the ruthless King.

In Queen Elizabeth's days Middlesex abounded in pleasant parks and places. Norden sounds their praises and names ten belonging to the Queen—St. James', Hyde, Marylebone ("Mariburne," afterwards Regent's Park), Hanworth, Kempton, Hampton Court (2), Enfield (2), and Twickenham. Besides these there were many in private hands. Osterley was granted to the famous city merchant, Sir Thomas Gresham, who sumptuously entertained Her Majesty there. She also visited Sir Francis Bacon in 1592 at Twickenham Park, where a row of neat villas marks the site of the mansion. James I. was devoted to hunting. He had a hunting lodge at Broomfield, and often chased the deer in his other parks. We have an association with the Gunpowder Plot in the house of White Webbs Park, where the conspirators used often to meet, the place being a rendezvous for Father Garnet and other Jesuits. Within the county met that famous ecclesiastical council, the Hampton Court Conference, which resulted in a revision of the Prayer Book,

the publication of the Canons of 1604, and the authorised translation of the English Bible.

Many great names flash across our view. Sir Walter Cope was rearing his beautiful house in Kensington, Holland House, which passed by the marriage of his daughter to Sir Henry Rich, created in 1624 Earl of Holland. Laud was located at Fulham, devising schemes for the benefit of Church and Nation, harassed continually by Puritan opposition and revilings. Milton often sojourned at Harefield Place, and wrote there his "Arcades" for an entertainment given by the Countess-Dowager of Derby. But the sounds of war rudely disturbed such fanciful scenes. Brentford becomes a scene of war. The King marches from Oxford on London, passing through Reading, and meets at Brentford a force of Parliamentarian troops. There is a sharp fight, and the Royalists are victorious. Patrick Ruthen, Earl of Forth, fights valiantly, and is designated Earl of Brentford. But at Turnham Green the Cavaliers meet a formidable army under Essex, and are compelled to fall back on Oxford without fighting. No other battle was fought within the county during the Civil War, but we see the unhappy monarch at Harrow on his flight from Oxford on April 27th, 1646, and the royal children were lodged at Sion House in 1647, and the King confined at Hampton Court, whence he was permitted to visit them.

The pageant passes. King Charles is dead. Many of the estates of Royalists are confiscated. General Fairfax, wearied of war, resides at Holland House, and there come Cromwell and Ireton to talk over state affairs, and retire into the middle of the park so that no one shall hear their consultations, but Cromwell has to shout very loudly, as Ireton is very deaf. Poor Earl Holland has been executed. First a Royalist, then a Parliament man, and finally a Royalist again, he was condemned by Cromwell, and his ghost still haunts Holland House. The house was given back to his widow before the

Restoration, who in the days of the prohibition of stage-plays delighted to please her guests and defy the government by having masques and plays in her home. Sir William Waller, his warfare ended, bought Osterley Park, and resided there until his death in 1668. We have a memory of the Restoration in the entrance gateway at Dyrham Park, a tall central arch between Tuscan columns surmounted by a large vane. This is said to be the original triumphal arch erected in London by General Monk on the occasion of the entry of Charles II. in 1660. Another memorial is the reflection of a vicious court in the streets of Chelsea, the abode of Nell Gwyn, and the frail beauties who inhabited Cheyne Walk and Paradise Row; and the walls of Sion House could tell of the doings of his profligate court which assembled there when the Plague frightened the King and his mistresses away from Whitehall in 1665. At Chiswick House, afterwards the seat of the Earl of Burlington, lived the feeble James, Duke of Monmouth, before his infamous rebellion; and at Chelsea arose that Hospital, the foundation of which is a redeeming feature of the life of the monarch

> Who never said a foolish thing
> And never did a wise one.

Many are the characters in later days who have reflected honour or notoriety on the county. We see Joseph Addison at Holland House, with his countess-wife, the widow of Lord Holland and Warwick, finding no peace in his wedded life. At Wrotham Park the unfortunate Admiral Byng, the victim of political cowardice and the baseness of the Government, erected for himself in 1754 a fine mansion, which was nearly destroyed by an angry mob during the riots that followed his trial and disgrace. At Gunnersbury was living at this time the Princess Amelia, who entertained in courtly style, and had for her frequent guest Horace Walpole,

who in his lively letters often refers to his visits. At the beginning of the last century there were two houses which were remarkable for the brilliance of the guests who frequented them—Holland House and Bentley Priory. At the former Lord Holland and his wife, the divorced wife of Sir Godfrey Webster of Battle Abbey, entertained in lavish style, and there assembled Charles James Fox and Canning, Sheridan and Tierney, Horner and Lauderdale, Grey and Melbourne, Moore, Luttrell, Byron, Frere, Fitzpatrick, Talleyrand, Rogers, Lucien Bonaparte, and a host of others, who reflected honour on their age. At Bentley Priory, the seat of the Marquis of Abercorn, about the same time, were entertained all the leading fashionable, political, artistic, and literary men of the period. Among them were Addington, Canning, Pitt, Lord Liverpool, the Duke of Wellington, Sir Thomas Lawrence, and Sir Walter Scott. Here Louis XVIII., on his way to the throne of France, met the Prince Regent, the Emperor of Russia, and the King of Prussia. Such were some of the personages who reflected honour on the little county. Now the ever-growing city is absorbing the fair face of the shire in its maw. The parks are all being destroyed and built upon, and it is difficult to conceive that Kensington, Brompton, Paddington, and Islington were ever detached villages, and that a coach used to take three hours to flounder through the ruts from the village of Paddington to London, and that Lord Hervey, in country retirement at Kensington, could have ever complained that owing to impassable roads he was isolated from his friends in London.

The learned Editor of the *Memorials of Old Middlesex* states that Middlesex lacks individuality. But there is one peculiarity to be noticed. In many of the manors around London the custom of Borough-English or junior right was prevalent. The rule is not the same in all the manors. Borough-English decrees that in case of a man dying intestate, his youngest son

shall inherit, and not the eldest. This survives to the present day. The custom of gavelkind decrees that the inheritance, in case of intestacy, shall be partible—*i.e.*, divided amongst the sons and daughters, that the widow shall have half of the estate as dower, and that a child shall have right to "aliene by feoffment" at the age of fifteen years. At Islington and Edmonton Borough-English is the rule, the benefit being confined to the youngest son; but at Ealing, Acton, and Isleworth it is extended to the brothers and male collateral heirs, and in a great number of instances to females as well as to males. This is gavelkind. So in the same county we have the two curious customs in force, and this leads to conjecture as to the origin of the early inhabitants. There are those who contend that the custom of Borough-English proves a Slavic origin, and that gavelkind points to a Jutish immigration. If that be so, we may conclude that the original settlers in Middlesex were Jutes (or Goths and Frisians), with a mixture of Wends. But this discussion would lead us too far afield, and the problem may be left for the study and ingenuity of the reader to solve.

P. H. DITCHFIELD.

HERTFORDSHIRE

ONE of the earliest notices of Hertfordshire that we have is the capture of the city of Verulamium (or Verulam), now St. Albans, by the British Queen Boadicea in the year A.D. 61. We know that at that period the counties of Hertfordshire and Essex were peopled by the tribe of warlike Britons known as Trinobantes, who laid the foundations of Londinium (London); while the neighbouring counties of Norfolk and Suffolk were inhabited by the Iceni. The reader will have no difficulty in remembering that in 61 the Queen of the Iceni, Boadicea, raised her wild but powerful tribe in revolt against their Roman conquerors. Dion Cassius describes Boadicea as being of "the largest size, most terrible of aspect, most savage of countenance, most harsh of voice, having a profusion of yellow hair, which fell down to her hips, and wearing a large golden collar, a parti-coloured floating vest drawn close about her bosom, over this a thick mantle connected by a clasp, and in her hand a spear." Tacitus does not describe her at all.

Taking advantage of the fact that the Roman Governor, Suetonius Paulinus, was absent in Anglesea, the Iceni, Trinobantes, and adjacent tribes leagued together, and collected in arms to the number of a quarter of a million men. Their attack was directed against the three populous cities of Camalodunum (Colchester), Londinium, and Verulamium. The first-named place, which was garrisoned by Roman veterans, and contained a statue of Victory dedicated to the Emperor Claudius, was assailed first. "Ill omens" preceded the attack, among which may be mentioned the fall of the statue of

Victory without any visible cause, and "fearful howlings" heard in the temple. These occurrences were probably contrived by the Druids.

After a siege of several days, Camalodunum was carried by assault, and its people were put to the sword without distinction of age or sex. When, all too late, Petilius Ceréalis came to oppose the victorious Britons with the Ninth Legion, six thousand strong, the Romans were utterly routed. The Britons next turned their attention to Londinium, which was even then a place of importance, and was thickly populated. It was barely twenty years since the Romans had begun to build towns and fortresses in Britain, yet Verulamium was already a municipal city. In building, the Romans generally chose sites on which "the natives had planted their stockades and their hill forts, or carried on a small commerce by the vessels that sailed up the great estuaries of the Thames and Colne." At this period the Colne—one of Hertfordshire's most picturesque rivers to-day—was continually in flood, it is said.

The army of Boadicea slaughtered the inhabitants of Londinium, and razed that city to the ground. An equally savage massacre took place at Verulamium. In the words of Tacitus, "they would neither take the vanquished prisoners, nor sell them, nor ransom their lives and liberties, but hastened to massacre, torture, and crucify them, as if to avenge themselves beforehand for the cruel punishments which the future had in store for them." It is to be feared that some at least who were friends of the Britons perished in this indiscriminate butchery. As many as seventy thousand men, women, and children perished in those three cities, and it was not until the following year that Suetonius was enabled to march against and crush the Britons.

Queen Boadicea was by no means the only British leader who opposed the Roman cohorts in Hertfordshire. Their resistless advance was gallantly contested by the

The Shrine, St. Albans Abbey.

celebrated Cattuellani tribe, the heroic Cassivalaunus, from whom the name of Cassiobury, Lord Essex's splendid seat at Watford, is supposed to be derived. This fierce resistance to the Roman conquerors has left portions of the county rich in early British remains. The most noteworthy of these, Grim's Dike, commences near St. Albans (Verulam), indicating the existence of a big British camp at that centre. But Hertfordshire is noted for its Roman not less than for its British remains, as exemplified in the well-known Roman roads—Ermin Street, Icknield Street, and particularly Watling Street. They are intensely interesting remains. "All is silent," as Dr. Bruce has picturesquely said, "but dead indeed to all human sympathies must the soul of that man be who, in each broken column, each turf-covered mound, each deserted hall, does not recognise a voice telling him, trumpet-tongued, of the rise and fall of empires, of the doom and ultimate destiny of man." Of the three great Roman arteries, Watling Street enters Hertfordshire near Elstree, and leaves it south of Dunstable. The Ermin Way traverses the county from south-west of Theobalds to the vicinity of Royston, while the Icknield Way, entering Hertfordshire just north of Lilley, continues its course into Cambridgeshire via Royston.

After the Roman occupation, we have little further record of Hertfordshire until A.D. 303, when the martyrdom of St. Alban occurred, to be commemorated by repentant Saxon Offa, King of Mercia, to whom we owe the real beginnings of what is now the magnificent fane known as St. Alban's Abbey. Under the Saxon Heptarchy, part of Hertfordshire was included in the kingdom of East Saxony (A.D. 527) and part in Mercia (A.D. 582). Then came the long wars between Saxon and Dane, which carried fire and sword into every quarter of England.

A battle was fought in Hertfordshire in 896 between Alfred the Great and the Danes, the details of which

are extremely vague. But even allowing that the old chroniclers invariably number their slain by thousands, never by hundreds, this must have been a very severe battle. Alfred had swept the country clear of these freebooters (as it seemed), and was resting after his labours, when fresh hordes appeared on the scene—hordes who acknowledged no leadership and had no ideal save plunder. Having marched through Gloucestershire, they entrenched themselves at Boddington, whence they were speedily driven by the Saxon army. But so numerous were they that even so they had strength sufficient to split up into a number of formidable bands. Alfred wisely decided to give chase to the largest of these forces, which went plundering and burning into Hertfordshire.

It was in the "approaching harvest time" of 896, and it was imperative that Alfred should prevent these robbers from gathering the corn. He came up with them in the locality of what we now call Watford, and here the decisive action was contested. The reader can imagine that the Danes—fighting, as it were, with halters round their necks—made a desperate resistance. But Alfred's prowess told, and the Danish raven again was vanquished. Many were slain, and the few survivors escaped on board the fleet of Sigefort, a Northumbrian Dane. King Alfred now pursued them on to their own element—the sea—captured twenty ships, and afterwards hanged the prisoners at Winchester. Next year he restored thorough tranquillity to the kingdom.

On the accession of Edward the Elder, he fortified the towns of Hertford and Witham (A.D. 910). We are told that these fortifications were superior to earthworks, being constructed of stone. Certain it is that they assisted to keep Hertfordshire and Essex free from foreign foes for a period of one hundred years.

A hundred and fifty years slipped away. Hastings was fought and won by the Norman hosts, and the

Conqueror settled in England. After that great victory, while marching on London with the flower of his army, finding that the Saxon Earls, Edwin and Morcar, were stirring up the Londoners to resist him, William the Conqueror suddenly crossed the Thames at Wallingford and entered Hertfordshire. By this masterly movement he threatened to cut off the two nobles from their earldoms, and William issued orders to the Norman soldiery to begin burning and plundering; whereupon the principal nobility and prelates, headed by Aldred, Bishop of York, hastened to Berkhamsted, and there did homage to the invader.

It was the month of December, 1066. In the picturesque language of old Camden, the Saxons yielded —*victori Normanno multa et magni pollicenti*—to the Norman Conqueror, on his promising many things and of great value. Berkhamsted has unquestionably been a rare place for regal conferences in bygone days.

In the period immediately following the Norman Conquest, Hertfordshire witnessed divers stirring and stormy scenes. Its three powerful fortalices of Hertford, Berkhamsted, and Bishops Stortford all saw spilling of blood during the civil wars of King John's unhappy reign. Stortford Castle was destroyed by John, while the castles of Berkhamsted and Hertford fell into the hands of the Barons. More pleasing and less lurid is the recollection that about this period Hertfordshire gave to Rome the only Englishman who has ever filled the chair of St. Peter—the great and good Nicholas Breakspeare of Abbots Langley, better known as Pope Adrian IV. It was this Pope who gave his *imprimatur* to Strongbow's invasion of Ireland in 1172; it was Strongbow's great-grandson, Earl of Pembroke, who fell to earth at Ware, pierced to the heart by the steel-clad lance in what should have been a friendly tourney.

To a slightly later period belongs the beautiful Holy Cross at Waltham, one of the memorials erected by

England's sorrowing King on the funeral journey of the good Queen Eleanor. In the rose garden at Langley—the birthplace of Edmund de Langley—took place the famous scene between Richard's Queen and the gardener, so familiar to every student of Shakespeare, in which she learns of the success of Bolingbroke. Shakespeare makes the gardener in *Richard II.* break to the Queen the news of Bolingbroke's success and the King's discomfiture. It is the gardener who, speaking in the Duke of York's garden at King's Langley, philosophically says:

> Go, bind thou up yon dangling apricocks,
> Which, like unruly children, make their sire
> Stoop with oppression of their weight.
> Give some supportance to the bending twigs.
> Go thou, and like an executioner,
> Cut off the heads of too-fast growing sprays,
> That look too lofty in our Commonwealth:
> All must be even in our government.
> You thus employed I will go root away
> The noisome weeds, that without profit suck
> The soil's fertility from wholesome flowers.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Poor Queen! so that thy state might be no worse,
> I would my skill were subject to thy curse—
> Here did she fall a tear; here in this place
> I'll set a bank of rue, sour herb of grace:
> Rue, even for ruth, here shortly shall be seen,
> In the remembrance of a weeping Queen.[1]

St. Albans was the scene of a formidable riot in 1265, the year of the struggle between King Henry III. and Simon de Montfort. Gregory de Stokes, the Constable of Hertford, was beheaded by the men of St. Albans, and his head stuck over the city gates. For this St. Albans had to pay to the King a fine of a hundred marks—about £1,500 of our present currency. "The townsmen," naïvely says a modern writer, "were at this time in a very excitable condition."

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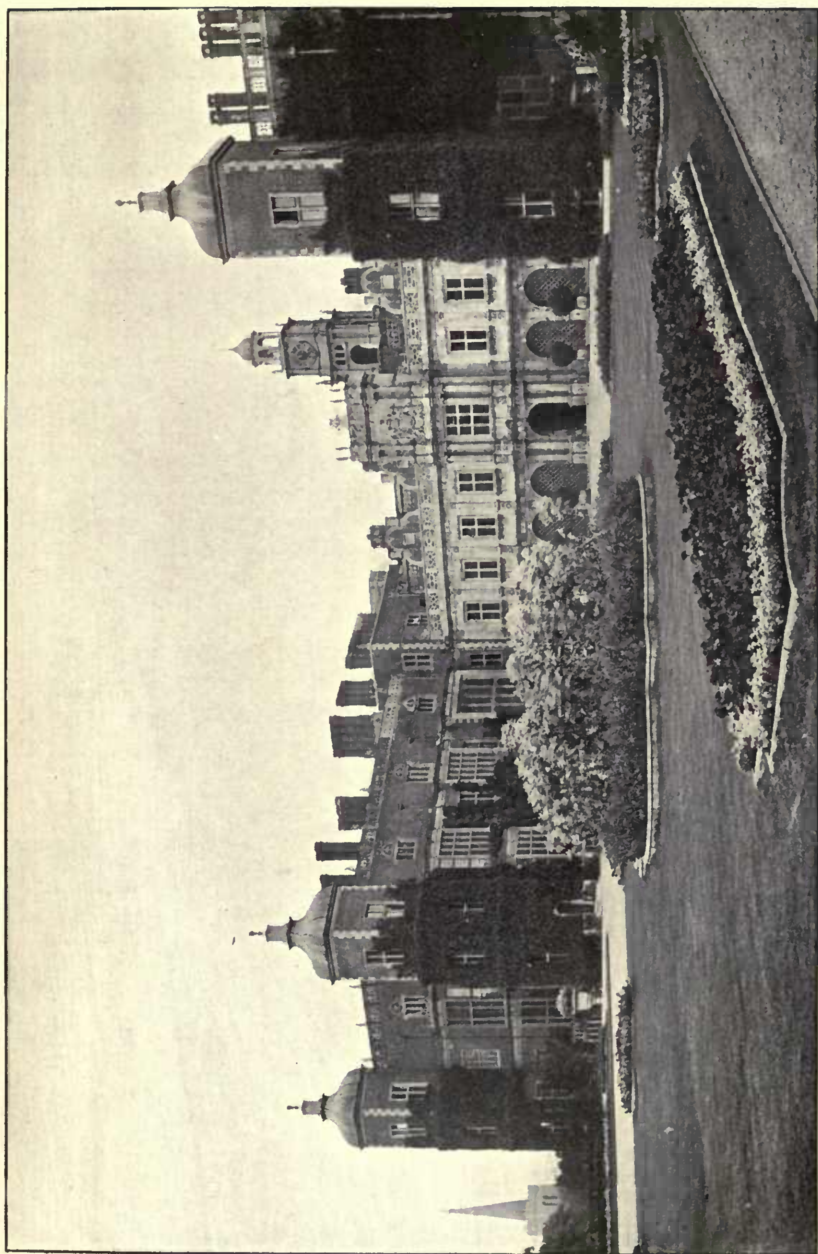
[1] *Richard II.*, Act iii., Scene 4.



About A.D. 1380, the internal troubles that eventually led to the deposition and death of poor Richard II. affected Hertfordshire greatly. "The townsmen," we are told, "appealed in vain to the King and his justiciars, and waylaid the Queen on her passage to the Abbey to lay their complaints before her. When the widespread popular discontent found vent in the Wat Tyler and Jack Straw risings, the men of St. Albans were only too ready to join in them. In 1381, with one William Grindecobbe as leader, the townsmen rose on the abbot and forced from him a formal discharge from 'all services and customary labours,' and the surrender of various muniments and deeds of service. The townsmen put themselves in communication with the rebel priest, John Ball, and Walsingham gives a curious letter which Ball sent to the town. It was directed to John Nameless, John the Miller, and John Carter, and 'biddeth him that thei ware of gyle in borugh and stondith togiddir in Goddis name, and biddeth Peres Ploughman go to his worke and chastise well Hobbe the robber, and taketh with you Johan Treweman and all his felaws, and no mo.'"

> Johan the Miller hath ygrownde, smal, smal, smal,
> The Kingis sone of hevene shall pay for alle.
> Be ware or ye be wo,
> Knoweth your frende fro youre foo,
> Haveth ynowe, and saythe *Hoo:*
> And seketh pees, and holde therynne.
> And so biddeth Johan Trewman and all his felawes.

This revolutionary outbreak was suppressed by Richard II. in person, and John Ball was taken to St. Albans, and there hanged, drawn, and quartered in the market-place. "Four of the chief burgesses, and about eighty of less mark, were committed to prison, but eventually pardoned." Every concession made by the abbot was revoked, and on St. Margaret's Day "all the Commons and the County" over fifteen years of age

were made to appear before King Richard in the Great Hall of the Abbey, and take the oath of allegiance and fealty.

Next we come to the fifteenth century and the Wars of the Roses—a period of surpassing interest in Hertfordshire history. No fewer than three great battles of that unhappy time were contested on this county's soil—the battle of St. Albans, the battle of Barnard's Heath (also known as the second battle of St. Albans), and the crowning triumph of the Yorkist cause at Barnet Field in 1471. The field of Barnet was for the most part fought on a tract of ground which, by some strange freak, is included in the county of Middlesex, and therefore belongs to the records of that shire.

Many of the Kings of England have visited St. Albans, and, after the battle of Poictiers, King John of France was a prisoner in the abbey.

The original Moor Park, near Rickmansworth, was erected by George Nevil, Archbishop of York, and brother of the famous "king-making" Earl of Warwick. Here the archbishop—who may, I think, be justly criticised for pitching his domestic tent so far from his diocese—frequently (one account which we have before us says "constantly") entertained King Edward IV., who granted him the "Manor of Moor." It was during one of these numerous visits into Hertfordshire that Edward narrowly escaped being assassinated or kidnapped. The archbishop died in 1476—of grief, as is supposed, for having been committed to the Tower by the ungrateful Edward in consequence of the disaffection of the Earl of Warwick, his brother—for which, surely, His Grace of York was not responsible. The Manor of the Moor continued to be held by the Crown until the reign of Henry VII., who sold it to the Earl of Oxford, the latter having led the van of Richmond's army at Bosworth Field. The last great historic figure associated with the history of Moor

Park is the sternly pathetic one of Cardinal Wolsey, whose saddle is preserved there.

In Tudor times Queen Elizabeth frequently journeyed into Hertfordshire to be the guest of the Earl of Essex at Cassiobury, and also to visit Theobalds, where "the Queene laye at Lord Burghley's charge sometimes three weeks and a month together." To Theobalds also came her successor, James I., who used it as a royal residence; while Hatfield—the birthright of the Cecil family, and one of Hertfordshire's noblest possessions—really dates from the days of Elizabeth's illustrious Chancellor.

It is asserted that Oliver Cromwell slept at the Old White Horse Hostelrie, near St. Albans, where, in the nave of the venerable abbey, it is authenticated that "Old Noll" quartered his buff-clad and sour-visaged troopers; and a few miles away, in Cheshunt's old palace, died Richard Cromwell, weak son of a great sire. He lingered here for some time after relinquishing his brief and feeble tenure of the Protectorate, to die in an obscure retirement, where none save a few cronies deemed it expedient to visit him.

In the Basing House at Rickmansworth dwelt for a time William Penn and his wife, and Penn scratched his name on one of the windows, with the date "1676." In 1675 Richard Baxter preached at Rickmansworth, and entered into a warm religious controversy with Penn, of which Baxter's own considerably biassed account says:

"The country about Rickmansworth abounding with Quakers, because William Penn, their captain, dwelleth there, I was desirous that the poor people should for once hear what was to be said for their recovery, which, coming to Mr. Penn's ears, he was forward to a meeting, where we continued speaking to two rooms full of people, fasting, from ten o'clock till five: one lord, two knights, and four conformable ministers, besides others, being present, some all the time, some part. The success gave me great cause to believe that it was not labour lost."

With the Restoration of the House of Stuart in the person of Charles II. came the "Rye House Plot," of which the scene was the celebrated Rye House on the river Lea. It is by no means the least important of the many contributions made by this county to England's history.

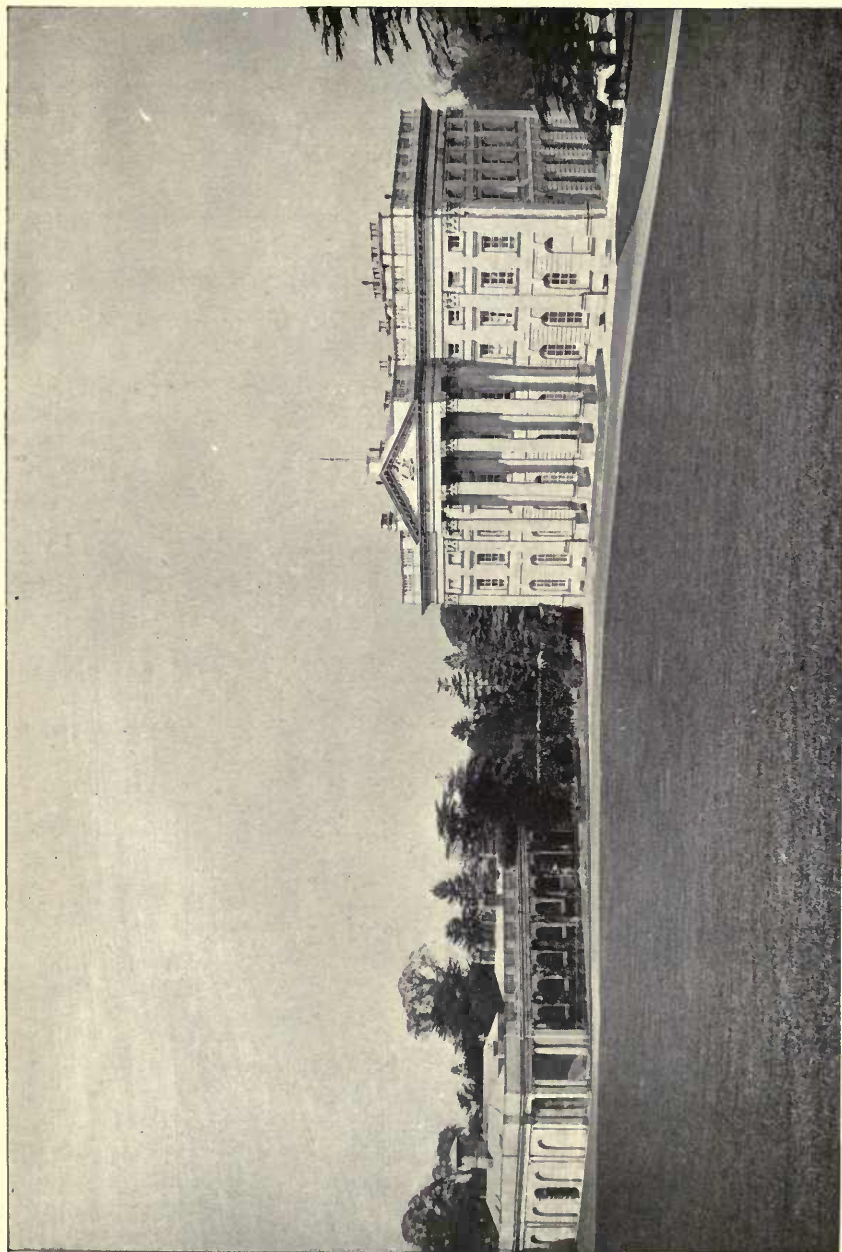
Hertfordshire is able to claim two famous eighteenth century poets in Dr. Edward Young, the author of *Night Thoughts*, and William Cowper. The latter was a Hertfordshire man by birth, while Edward Young, though not born within the confines of the shire, penned his *magnum opus* on Hertfordshire soil.

We find dear old Izaak Walton moralising upon matters piscatorial as he prepares to cast his magic rod into one of the well-stocked streams of this familiar fishing country. Thus, then, the *Compleat Angler*:—

> *Piscator:* You are well overtaken, gentlemen; a good morning to you both; I have stretched my legs up Tottenham Hill to overtake you, hoping your business may occasion you towards Ware, whither I am going this fine fresh May morning.
>
> *Venator:* Sir, I for my part shall almost answer your hopes; for my purpose is to drink my morning's draught at the Thatched House in Hodsden, and I think not to rest till I come thither, where I have appointed a friend or two to meet me.

That "friend or two" live again, let us hope, under the style and title of the Old Waltonian Angling Club, who fish one or two of the streams of Hertfordshire, at the same time that they fittingly immortalise—if any such immortalisation were needed—"Old Izaak's" connection with the county that we love.

Coming to the nineteenth century and the Victorian era, Hertfordshire sheltered from time to time at least four Prime Ministers of England in Melbourne, Palmerston, Disraeli, and Salisbury. But of these, the late Marquess of Salisbury belonged more essentially to the county herself, by right of his birth and home at Hatfield, the cradle of the Cecil family. Diplomacy during the



same period was represented by Lord Clarendon at The Grove, Watford, and by the Earl of Lytton at Knebworth. In Bulwer Lytton, however, literature had a greater representative than had statesmanship, and few Hertfordshire people can read without a thrill of pardonable pride in the county of their birth those memorable scenes in Bulwer Lytton's *Last of the Barons*, wherein he depicts with such wealth of local detail the last stand and death of Warwick the king-maker on Barnet Common.

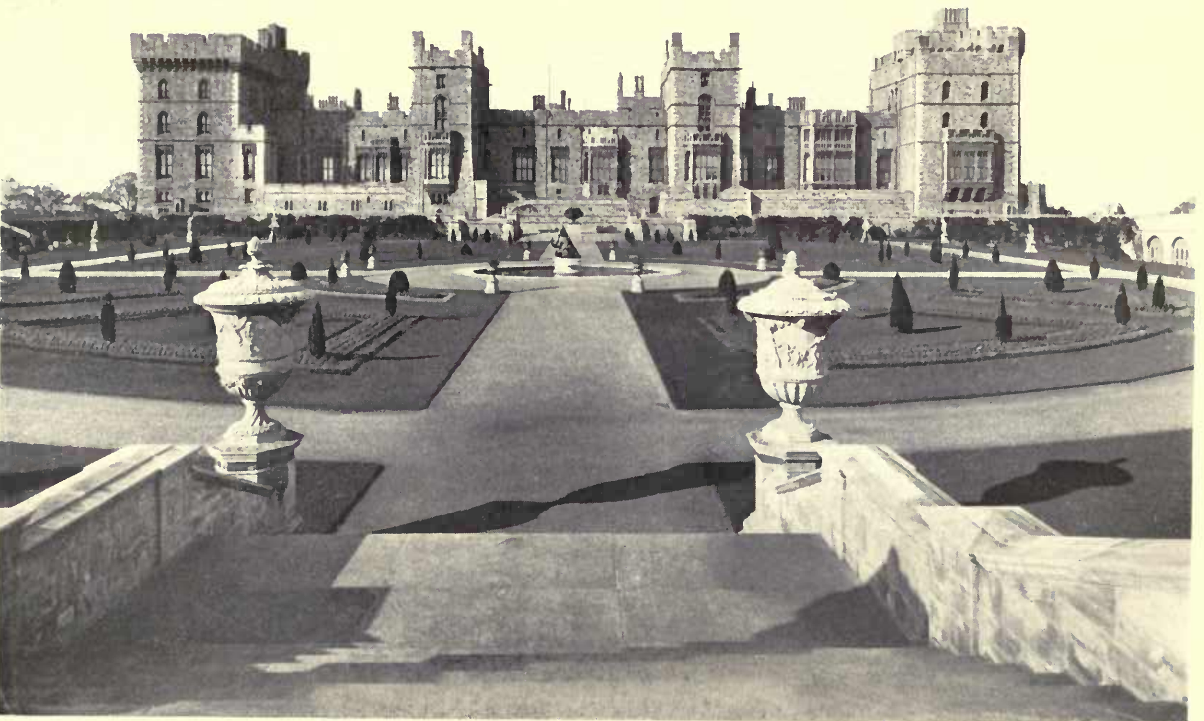
George Eliot, too, resided at Rickmansworth while more than one of her immortal romances was in the making; and close to the same spot one of the greatest soldiers of the Victorian epoch, Lord Clyde (Sir Colin Campbell), spent part of the brief autumn of his days. Our county likewise claims Gerald Massey, the poet in whose work some critics have discovered merits not unworthy to rank with the Swinburnian muse. And last, but scarcely least, we have to make mention of the Baron de Rothschild, of Tring Park, which his taste and the power of his wealth united to transform into a veritable fairyland and palace of delight, even though it was already one of the most charming spots on the Hertfordshire borderland.

PERCY CROSS STANDING.

BERKSHIRE

BERKSHIRE has played an important part in the annals of our country, and has been the scene of many stirring events in English history. For eight hundred years it has enjoyed the proud distinction of being the Royal County. Windsor Castle, the ancient home of the Kings and Queens of England, is within its borders, and it has shared the fortunes and misfortunes of the Royal House. Indeed, its proud distinctive title may be traced to a period more remote than that of the building of the castle by the Norman and Plantagenet kings. Alfred the Great was born in Berkshire, at Wantage, and there were royal palaces in Saxon times at Faringdon and Old Windsor. Here the Confessor King often resided. Here the Conqueror hunted the tall stags, which he loved "as though he were their father." Hence from Saxon times to the present day Berkshire has deserved its royal title, and has been pre-eminently the county which kings delight to honour. The last royal Edward sleeps with his sires in the Chapel of St. George within the Castle walls, and there King George V. and our gracious Queen Mary love to dwell when the cares of State are laid aside for some brief moments.

The history of Berkshire is, indeed, the history of England. Successive waves of conquerors passed over our hills and vales, and have left their traces behind them in the names of hamlets, towns, and villages, or in barrows or earthworks. In Celtic times the greater part of Berkshire was held by the powerful family of



East Terrace, Windsor Castle.

the Segontiaci; eastern Berkshire was inhabited by the Bibroci; whilst on the south dwelt the Atrebates, a tribe of the Belgäe, mentioned by Cæsar, who migrated into these parts from Gaul and drove the Celts northward. Silchester, the famous Roman city, the Pompeii of England, in Hampshire, just over the Berkshire border, was their capital before it was captured by the Roman legions; and the walls, which seem to defy the attacks of time, were built along the Atrebatian earthworks. Very numerous are the remains of these ancient inhabitants of Britain in various parts of the county. There are the old roads and trackways, the most important being the Ridgeway, running along the Ilsley Downs, forming part of the Icknield Street, which connected the east and west of Britain. The road is flanked by fortresses of earth at various places along its course, and barrows mark the burial places of the heroes of these tribes. The chief of these are Letcombe, Uffington, Lowbury, Churn Knob, and Scutchamore Knob. The so-called "King Alfred's Bugle Horn," near Kingston Lisle, a large stone pierced with natural holes, is really a Celtic memorial. Its trumpet note can be heard for miles, and was used by the British tribes to summon their scattered bands together when danger threatened. And Wayland Smith's Cave, immortalized by Sir Walter Scott, and supposed to be the burying-place of a Danish chieftain, is probably a British cromlech. In other parts of Berkshire, especially on the high ground between the Thames and the Kennet, there are many traces of the ancient inhabitants of our country.

When the tide of the Roman conquest flowed over Britain, the old inhabitants of the county soon felt its force and yielded to the storm. Their lands then formed part of the Roman province of Britannia Prima. Instead of incessant tribal wars and rude barbaric manners, the conquerors established peace and civilisation. Silchester became the centre of their rule in this part of the country,

and instead of pit dwellings and rude huts of the natives they erected their stately villas and their forums and basilicas, the ruins of which, after a burial of many centuries, have now been disinterred. This city lies, as we have said, just beyond the confines of Berkshire.[1]

The patient work of excavation, conducted by the Society of Antiquaries, has been in progress for the last sixteen years, and the Roman relics and treasures there discovered are stored in the Reading Museum.

The amphitheatre, where Roman gladiators fought, and where, doubtless, as at Rome during the Decian persecution, Christians were doomed to death—"butchered to make a Roman holiday," is very near our borders. Silchester was the centre of our system of Roman roads.

Other Roman towns in this district were Spinæ (Speen, near Newbury), Thamesis (probably Streatley), and Bibracte (possibly Wickam Bushes, near Easthampstead). A road ran from Silchester to Ad Pontes (Staines), and another from the same place to Spinæ. Romano-British remains have been found in abundance at Wallingford, Compton, Reading, and other places, and Roman villas at Maidenhead, Hampstead, Norris, Frilsham, and elsewhere. With the Romans also came Christianity, and at Silchester have recently been discovered the remains of what is probably the most ancient ecclesiastical building in the country, the forerunner of the many beautiful churches which adorn our county.

But dark days were in store for our British ancestors, enfeebled by Roman luxury, when the legions were withdrawn to protect the centre of the empire, and they were left to shift for themselves. The fierce Saxon poured into the land—a happy hunting ground for adventurous warriors—and with fire and sword destroyed the towns and villas which the Romans had left. Calleva, or Silchester, soon fell a prey to the ruthless conquerors;

[1] An account of Roman Silchester is given in the Hampshire volume of the *Memorials of the Counties of England*.

but modern investigators seem to think that the city was not destroyed by fire and sword, but died a lingering death by the slow process of gradual decay. Some of the Celts were driven westward, and found a secure retreat in the fastnesses of Wales and Cornwall, where the British Church lived on and waited the advent of better days.

The Saxons hated walled towns, which they regarded as "graves of freedom surrounded by nets," and loved to make clearings in the forests and form agricultural settlements. In no part of England have they left more enduring marks of their presence than in Berkshire. The names of our towns and villages are nearly all Saxon, and mark the spot where these powerful families formed their settlements. We find Raëdingas at Reading, the Wokings at Wokingham, the Ardings at Ardington, the sons of Uffa at Uffington, the Farringas at Faringdon, and scattered all over the county are the *fields* and *hams*, and *steads* and *tons*, which denote a Saxon origin. The name of the county, too, is decidedly Saxon, and is probably derived from *Bearruc*, signifying wood, which occupied a large part of the *scire*, or shire.[1] It formed part of the important kingdom of Wessex, and soon became the battlefield of opposing tribes. Offa, King of Mercia (A.D. 756-796), wrested that portion which borders on the Thames from King Kinewulf, after the battle of Bensington. In the time of Egbert (A.D. 800), Wessex recovered its territory, and established its superiority over the other kingdoms of the Saxon Octarchy, its ruler becoming the first Bretwalda or monarch of England. In the time of Ethelred I., the brother of Alfred the Great, a Berkshire hero, born at Wantage, came the black raven of the Danes, and on the chalk hills many a fierce fight was fought between

[1] There have been many other fanciful interpretations, *cf. Berkshire Place-names*, by Professor Skeat.

the old and new invaders. At length, after the Danes had fought at Englefield, "the field of the Angles," and had captured Reading, and were moving westward to ravage the whole country, Ethelred and his immortal brother, Alfred, drew up their Saxon hosts at Æscendune (the Ash-tree Hill), and slew the Danish King Baëgsceg, and put his yellow-haired warriors to flight. This great battle checked the conquering career of the Danes, who, though they made several incursions into the county, and set on fire Reading and Wallingford, gained no permanent footing in its valleys. The exact site of this victory has been vigorously disputed. It may possibly be identified with Ashdown, near Lambourne, where the curious turf monument, the white horse cut on the adjoining hill, is supposed to commemorate the valour of the Saxons. In all probability it was there before the Saxons made Britain Angle-land, and was the work of the prehistoric people who reared Stonehenge, and left many other traces of their presence.

Ashmole states that when England was united under King Alfred, another division was made, and when the office of High Sheriff, or Vice Comes, was instituted, Berkshire and the adjoining county of Oxford were put under the authority of the same person.

In the war with the Danes during the reign of Ethelred II., Berkshire was again laid waste by fire and sword, and the barbarous invaders burnt Reading, Wallingford, and other places in 1006. They destroyed, too, with ruthless hands, the numerous churches and monasteries which, since the conversion of the Saxons to Christianity, had been erected in the towns and hamlets. Their conversion was accomplished by the preaching of Berin, or Birinus, who, with a company of faithful monks, arrived in Berkshire about A.D. 636. He was received by King Kynegils, Oswald of Northumbria, his son-in-law, and other princes at Churn Knob, and convinced his hearers of the truth of Christianity. The

Reading Abbey.

King and his Court were baptised at Dorchester, which became an important centre of missionary enterprise. The earliest monastic house was the famous Abbey of Abingdon, founded by Heane, its first prior, and nephew of Cissa, Viceroy of Kentwine, who was a great benefactor to the monastery. Here, also, Heane's sister founded a nunnery, dedicated to St. Helen, which was removed to Wytham. The abbey, in spite of being burned by the Danes, became very rich and prosperous. At Reading, Elfreda founded a nunnery in expiation of the murder of her step-son, and almost every village had its parish church. In the time of the Norman Conquest there were as many as 1,700. At Sonning there was a bishop's palace. Camden, Leland, Godwin, and Heylin speak of the Bishops of Sonning, and Florence of Worcester, when enumerating the bishops of the See of Ramsbury, styles the *Episcopi Sunningenses.* It appears that the great diocese of Bishop Birinus embraced Hants, Wilts, Berks, Dorset, and Somerset. In 705 this was divided, and King Ina constituted two sees, Winchester and Sherborne. In 909 another division was made. Winchester and Sherborne were separated into five dioceses, viz.: Winchester, Ramsbury, Sherborne, Wells, and Crediton, Berkshire being included in the see of Ramsbury, and it would appear that the Bishops of Ramsbury had a seat or palace at Sonning, and were styled sometimes Bishops of Ramsbury and sometimes Bishops of Sonning. In the time of Bishop Herman, Sherborne and Ramsbury were united, and by synodal authority in the reign of William the Conqueror the episcopal seat was fixed at Old Sarum. Thus Berkshire became part of the Salisbury diocese, and remained so until 1836, when it was transferred to the see of Oxford. As a memorial of the Bishops of Sonning, the manor was in the possession of the Bishops of Sarum for a long period, until the time of Queen Elizabeth, where they often resided.

Soon the peaceful hamlets of Saxon folk were rudely disturbed by the advent of the Norman invaders, and Saxon writers lament over the sadness of the times, when English lands were bestowed upon the followers and favourites of the Conqueror, who reared their mighty strongholds everywhere, "filled with devils and evil men," who plundered the English, confined them in dungeons, and were guilty of every kind of cruelty and crime. At Wallingford, William received the submission of Archbishop Stigand and the principal barons before he marched to London. There arose the strong castle, built by Robert D'Oyly, and others were erected at Windsor, Reading, Newbury, and, later, at Faringdon, Brightwell, and Donnington. The histories of the castles at Wallingford and Windsor would require volumes for their complete elucidation. Many books have been written on Windsor, and their number is still increasing. Messrs. Tighe and Hopkins (2 volumes) perhaps tell the story best, and Mr. Hedges is the great authority on the history of Wallingford. Donnington endured an exciting siege during the Civil Wars; the others were speedily destroyed.

The foundation of the famous Abbey of Reading was the chief event for Berkshire in the reign of Henry I. —a magnificent building, one of the richest and most powerful in the kingdom. It was commenced in 1121. A royal charter was granted in 1125, conferring upon it important privileges, and the great church of the abbey was consecrated by Archbishop Becket in 1164. Here the embalmed body of King Henry I. was buried, and subsequently the eldest son of Henry II. found here a last resting-place. Here many stirring events in the annals of English history took place; here Parliaments were held and royal festivals, and many exciting conclaves sat to discuss the disputes of kings and barons and papal legates. It was one of the greatest abbeys in England. The abbot was a mitred abbot. The abbey

buildings—now, alas! in ruins—were some of the finest in England. It had a grand church as large as Westminster. It was richly endowed with wealth and lands. Royal marriages were celebrated. John of Gaunt married Blanche of Lancaster in its minster, kings held their court within its walls, and many of the great events in English history are connected with Reading Abbey.

The wars between Stephen and the Empress Maud devastated the county. As each side gained the supremacy they proceeded to take vengeance on the supporters of the vanquished, and the land was filled with fightings and bloodshed. Brian Fitzcount, the lord of Wallingford Castle, espoused the cause of the Empress, and his fortress afforded her a secure retreat when she fled from Oxford, dressed in white, across the ice-bound river. Faringdon Castle was captured by Stephen and completely demolished. Around that castle and the fortresses of Windsor, Reading, Newbury, and Wallingford the war raged. Poor unfortunate prisoners, for the sake of ransom, were hanged by their feet, and smoked with foul smoke. Some were hanged by their thumbs, and knotted strings were writhed about their heads till they went into the brain, and others were placed in foul dungeons, where adders and snakes and toads were crawling. The whole county was reduced to a howling wilderness by this relentless and long-continued war, until at length the county was wearied of fightings and plunderings, and peace was declared.

When John rebelled against his brother, Richard I., he seized Wallingford and Windsor Castles, but they were taken by the barons and bishops in the King's interest, and placed in the hands of Queen Eleanor until King Richard's return. The strength of these two fortresses rendered them important as military stations in the troubles which took place during the latter part of the reign of King John, and also during that of

Henry III. Reading was the scene of many stormy meetings of the barons and bishops opposed to the faithless John, and it was at Lodden Bridge that they assembled their forces and marched on Staines; and on the Isle of Runnimede, just beyond our Berkshire borders, they compelled the faithless King to sign the Charter of English liberties.

But John was ever faithless. He appealed to the Pope against the obligations of the Charter, and the French invasion followed. Windsor and Wallingford were the centres of his raids, whereby he strove to satisfy the demands of his foreign mercenaries. His constable, Ingelard, held Windsor, and was attacked by the Count de Nevers, one of Louis' leaders, but without success. William the Marshal was the Regent during the opening years of the young King's reign—a stormy one in English history. The two castles were centres of activity in the Barons' wars. Simon de Montfort captured Windsor in 1263, and secured Wallingford, which became the prison of Richard of Cornwall, the King's brother, his son, and Prince Edward. The King's party attacked Wallingford, but Simon declared that he would send out Prince Edward to them from a mangonel if they did not depart. The battle of Evesham soon closed the career of the redoubtable Simon, and the King celebrated his triumph at Windsor in 1265. His brother received back Wallingford, and when Edward I. was crusading, Edmund of Cornwall, son of Richard, became Regent of the kingdom.

During the Edwardian wars in Wales, Scotland, and France, Berkshire furnished many brave soldiers to fight in the royal army. Wallingford was concerned with the troubles of Edward II.'s reign, and had the doubtful honour of being given to his favourite, Piers Gaveston, on whose marriage a grand tournament was held there, wherein the host showed his upstart ways, and incurred the wrath of the assembled barons. On his death Queen

Town Hall, Abingdon

Isabella received a grant of the honours of Wallingford and St. Valery. In all the troubles of the miserable reign of the second Edward, the two castles played their part. In the time of Edward III. the county enjoyed a welcome peace, and Windsor saw the inauguration of the famous Order of the Garter, and the rebuilding of the castle under the skilful hand of William of Wykeham.

Little occurred of importance until the battle of Radcot Bridge was fought in the reign of Richard II., A.D. 1389, when Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford, was defeated by Henry, then Earl of Derby, and de Vere plunged his horse into the Thames and escaped. The unhappy child-queen of Richard II., Isabella of Valois, after the dethronement of her husband, attempted to restore his rights by force of arms. Her forces assembled at Sunninghill, and marched to Wallingford and Abingdon, but the efforts of her friends were in vain. The power of Henry was too strong for the unhappy child-wife, who fell a prisoner into his hands. She was kept for some time a prisoner at Sonning. Thither came the Earls of Kent and Salisbury, after their unsuccessful attempts to capture Henry of Lancaster at Windsor, and comforted the child-queen with the vain hope that her husband was safe, that Henry was practically a prisoner in the Tower, and that all was well. In the Wars of the Roses the county happily had little share.

Turning from the records of civil strife, we read of the great rejoicings (already referred to) at Reading on the occasion of the marriage of John of Gaunt with Blanche of Lancaster, which took place in the great church of the abbey. The festivities lasted fourteen days, and tilts and tournaments were held daily. During the reign of the Edwards, the trade of the country increased. In the west the farmers produced their rich fleeces, and the clothiers of Reading, Abingdon, and Newbury plied their looms and became wealthy.

Thomas Carr is said to have flourished in Reading in the time of Edward I. The famous John Winchcombe (otherwise Smallwood), better known as "Jack of Newbury," and Sir Thomas Dolman, of Shaw House, were men of note in the sixteenth century. When this last gentleman and good clothier began to aspire to social rank, and built himself a beautiful mansion, his neighbours were jealous and concocted the rhyme—

> **Lord have mercy on us miserable sinners,**
> **Thomas Dolman has built a big house, and turn'd away all his spinners.**

In the fifteenth century, the plague raged frequently in London, and, in consequence, several Parliaments were held at Reading. At one of them, in 1439, a new order of nobility, that of "Viscount," was constituted. In the reign of Henry VIII., when many changes stirred the heart of England, we find Wolsey building his memorial chapel of Windsor, of which he was so soon deprived. We see the King hunting in the Forest of Windsor, and being strangely troubled in mind and conscience with regard to the lawfulness of his first marriage with Catharine of Arragon, when he had seen and loved the fairer Anne. Later, we see the unhappy divorced Queen taking refuge at Easthampstead, mourning over the fickleness of men.

A gallant band of Berkshire men went to fight the Scots at Flodden Field, the good clothier, "Jack of Newbury," furnishing a goodly company, who won for themselves eternal glory in the famous ballad, "The archers of Newbury."

These were the fiery times of trial and persecution. According to Fuller, Newbury was one of the first places to receive the doctrines of the Reformation, and then, in 1518, one Christopher the Shoemaker was burnt at the stake for heresy, and later, in 1566, Julius Palmer and two others suffered in a similar manner. In the mean-

time, a covetous King and greedy courtiers had set their eyes on the rich monasteries in England, and the noble abbeys of Reading and Abingdon, and the lesser houses at Bisham, Donnington, Wallingford, and other places, soon met their doom. Hugh Farringdon, the last abbot of Reading, and two of his monks, were hanged. The last abbot of Abingdon, Rowland de Pentecost, fared better, and was allowed to retire on a pension to the manor-house of Cumnor. The effect of the dissolution of the religious houses was very disastrous. Agriculture languished, wheat became scarce and costly, the cloth trade declined, the poor suffered greatly from the loss of employment which the monasteries formerly afforded, and of the alms which the monks freely bestowed. Windsor saw the disgrace of the shameless Protector Somerset, arch-spoiler of church lands, and it was there that the Windsor Commission met under Cranmer to draw up the first English Book of Common Prayer.

During the alarm of the Spanish Armada, Berkshire furnished a grand contingent of brave men to defend our shores, and the justices of the peace were busy cutting down timber for "the use of Her Majesty's navy." Again in 1595 there was much activity, Bearwood and Sonning Parks furnishing loads of timber for ships, and the county sending vast stores of meat and malt and 3,000 men.

In 1573 was born at Reading the famous William Laud, who became Archbishop of Canterbury, and exercised great influence in both Church and State. His father was a Reading clothier, and in his prosperity he did not forget his native town and county, bequeathing many charities. He used to stay with his friend, Sir Francis Windebank, at Hurst, and twice preached at the parish church.

No important historical events occurred in the annals of the royal county until the outbreak of the Civil War. The Kings and Queens of England often resided at

Windsor, hunted in the great forest, made royal progresses through the chief towns, and sojourned at the Abbey of Reading, now used as a Palace. Edward VI. was received with much state by the Mayor of Reading at Coley Cross in 1552. Queen Mary and her worthless husband were welcomed with much ceremony in 1554, when the mace was presented to her. Elizabeth came nine times to Reading, and had a royal seat appointed for her in the church of St. Lawrence. The first of the Stuart Kings honoured the town with a visit, and his Queen stayed at Caversham House, where a mask was performed for her edification. In 1625, on account of the Plague, Charles I. resided at Reading, where the Michaelmas term was kept, and the Courts of Chancery, King's Bench, and Common Pleas were held in the abbey buildings.

Then followed one of the most disastrous periods of our county's history. In 1642, the High Sheriff of Berkshire refused to obey the King's command. The town of Reading was fortified, and King Charles passed through the town on his way to Oxford, his headquarters. Garrisons for the King were established at Faringdon, Abingdon, Wallingford, Greenwell House, Reading, Newbury, Donnington, and Hungerford. Windsor was held by the Parliamentarians. Many of the people of Reading espoused the cause of the Parliament, and left the town because the mayor and other chief men supported the King.

The war in Berkshire began in 1643 with an attack on Reading by the Roundheads under Major Vavasor. The Royalists attempted to relieve the siege, but were beaten back at Caversham Bridge, and retired to Oxford. The town was captured by the enemy, and the West of England became the seat of war. Then followed the first battle of Newbury. The Royalists were practically beaten, and the gallant Lord Falkland was slain. Essex, the leader of the

Donnington Castle, Newbury.

Parliamentarian forces, marched on London, harassed by Prince Rupert's horse near Aldermaston. Reading was abandoned to the King, and placed under the command of Sir Jacob Astley. In 1644, the war at first raged chiefly in the North of England. Then Reading and Abingdon were captured by Essex, and all Berkshire, except the castles of Donnington and Faringdon, was in his hands. The cause of the Parliament in the West was not so prosperous. The King's plans had been successful. The garrisons of Donnington, Newbury, and Basing had been relieved; but then followed the second battle of Newbury, which ended in the retreat of the Royalists. Then several marches through the country were made, and the royal forces, after going to Bath and Oxford, came again to Donnington, and thence went by Lambourne to Wantage and Faringdon, and finally to Oxford.

The whole of Berkshire was in a deplorable condition. The necessities of war were so great, the supplies needed for the victualling of such large armies were so heavy, that scarcely "a sheep, hen, hog, oats, hay, wheat, or any other thing for man to eat" were left. Soldiers on both sides foraged for supplies, and seized with ruthless hand everything they could find. Peaceful citizens were captured for the sake of ransom, and no goods could be conveyed safely along the roads without their owners paying large sums to the leaders of foraging parties who intercepted them. Numerous skirmishes took place in the campaign of 1645 without much advantage to either side. At last the skill of Fairfax and Cromwell proved too strong for the Royalists, and Bristol and Oxford fell. Donnington Castle, under the gallant Sir John Boys, was the last fortress in Berkshire to yield, and he and his brave soldiers marched out with all the honours of war, having earned the admiration of both friend and foe.

Thus ended the Civil War in Berkshire. The King, now a prisoner, was allowed to stay at Caversham House with his children; but soon the end came, and the fatal scaffold at Whitehall ended the career of the unhappy monarch. The sequestrators in Berkshire did their work thoroughly; estates of Royalists were duly confiscated, the clergy ejected from their livings, and the Puritan rule freely established.

Shouts of joy welcomed the restoration of the monarch in 1660. In Reading there were great rejoicings, and a stage was set up in the market-place for the purpose of issuing the royal proclamation, and the King's arms were engraved on the mace. The revolution of 1688 caused some commotion in Berkshire. In the cellars of Lady Place, at Hurley, many anxious meetings were held, which resulted in the advent of the Prince of Orange. Lord Lovelace, its owner, was one of his principal adherents, and he and his twenty followers were the first to strike a blow for William. It was entirely unsuccessful, and a prison cell at Gloucester rewarded his rashness. At Hungerford, William met the King's commissioners, and then marched on Newbury, some of his forces being also present at Abingdon. Some fighting took place at Hungerford between the Irish troops of King James and the soldiers of William, who were entirely victorious. Reading also was the scene of fighting. The Irish soldiers quartered there threatened to massacre the inhabitants, who requested succour from William. A body of three hundred men were sent to their relief, and a sharp engagement took place in the market-place, in which the Prince's troops were victorious. The anniversary of the "Reading fight" was celebrated with great rejoicings for many years. There was some slight opposition to the progress of William's troops at Twyford and Maidenhead, but ere long London was reached and William was proclaimed King. There were not a few who sighed after the exiled sovereign, and

The Cloth Hall, Newbury.

many who could not reconcile it with their consciences to take the oath of allegiance to the new King. Shottesbrooke manor-house was the resort of many famous non-jurors, amongst whom were Bishop Ken, Robert Nelson, Francis Cherry, Dr. Gradey, and Henry Dodwell.

From this period the course of our county's history runs smoothly on, and is absorbed in that of England. Each ruined keep and moss-grown pile, each village green and scattered hamlet, has a history all its own, often buried beneath the weight of years, and little heeded by the present race of pilgrims.

As we visit these shrines of an older age we recall the memories of bygone times that cluster round the revered spots of Berkshire. And as we muse upon her glorious past, we shall hold in pious memory the valour of her sons who have writ her name so large in history, and strive to retain untarnished the honour and good name of the Royal County.

P. H. DITCHFIELD.

HAMPSHIRE

THE history of every English county largely depends upon, and might even, to some extent, have been foretold from, a careful study of its natural features. But of few, if any, of the counties is this so plainly true as of Hampshire. In England early history naturally looks only to the South and the East; the North and the West were the dark recesses of retreat. And the position of Hampshire in the very centre of the long southern coast-line, directly facing the country which was now an enemy and now a fellow-subject, as the case might be, deeply indented with two noble land-locked inlets leading into well-watered valleys, and having both these harbours further protected by an island flung as if by design across their entrance—such a county was evidently destined from the first for the most prominent place in the rise of English naval supremacy.

But a study of the map will carry us further than this. After the outline comes the geology. A glance at a geological chart will show that—leaving out some small areas—the map is roughly divided into two broad bands of different colours. To the north is a wide strip of chalk, forming the noble line of rolling downs that stretch from Wiltshire into Sussex. South of it is a broad space, mainly of Bagshot sand, which also fringes the chalk-line on the north, in the doubtful borderlands of Hampshire and Surrey, and in both parts grows abundance of pines and firs. The county is thus divided into upland and lowland, as, indeed, most counties are, but no others so impartially.

But Hampshire has been much more favoured by nature than its neighbours on either side. Wiltshire is altogether cut off from the sea by the projecting arm of Dorset, to which it might seem to have had a natural claim, and has no lowland except a few patches. In Sussex, the chalk downs trending southwards run so near to the sea that there is scarcely room for agricultural land below them. But in Hampshire, the little rivers which form the estuary wind their way through secure and fertile valleys, with ample spaces both for corn-land and pasture, and beyond them the lower slopes of the downs are formed of loamy soil. Hence the general result is a woodland county, well fitted for oak, fir, beech, and yew; with, happily, no mineral wealth of any sort to attract the desolating miner, yet not a savage woodland like the ancient forests of the counties beyond the Thames, but having wide pastoral spaces between, well protected by the ridge of the downs on the north, and sloping towards well-protected harbours on the south, looking out towards the Continent. Here, then, we seem to have in germ the history of Southampton and Portsmouth, of the secure yet accessible capital of Winchester, of William's choice of the New Forest, and even of the modern rise of health-giving Bournemouth, and the fast-growing residential district on the Surrey border.

THE PREHISTORIC PERIOD

We need not linger over this vast space of time, since the Hampshire remains, though interesting enough, are not nearly so important or so numerous as those of Wiltshire. Some stone and bronze weapons and a few other objects are preserved in the Museum of the Hartley University College at Southampton. Barrows, as in most counties of chalk downs, are numerous. The long barrows of the older race are not common; such as remain are mostly in the neighbourhood of Andover. These are

now assigned by archæologists to the Neolithic period and to a dark, long-skulled non-Aryan race, now represented in Europe by the Basques, Lapps, and Finns, who poured into Europe from the north-east.

After them, and mostly in the Bronze Age, came a branch of the great Celtic race, now generally called Goidels or Gaels, round-skulled, fair-haired, and accustomed to bury their dead in round barrows. Great numbers of these still remain all over the county, in spite of continual danger from the plough, probably at least three hundred. In some places they are set in conspicuous groups of seven—one such is close to the railway between Burghclere and Litchfield, and another on Stockbridge Downs; while on Beaulieu Heath and in parts near Petersfield they are almost as thick as graves in a churchyard.

In the Iron Age came an invasion of other Celts, now generally called Brythons, and considered to be ancestors of the Cymry or Welsh. Later still, and not very long before the Roman occupation, were the *Belgae*, who have left their name on the Roman capital, *Venta Belgarum* (Winchester). They are generally regarded as Celts, with a strong Teutonic infusion.[1] Many of the round barrows presumably belong to the latter rather than the earlier Celts, but the races were, no doubt, gradually fused. The Hampshire barrows have never been thoroughly explored like those of Wiltshire, and weapons, which are the easiest mark of distinction, are rarely found in these at all.

The prehistoric *camps* or earthworks of the county are very remarkable, and have been more thoroughly examined than the barrows. Some of these are of quite astonishing size. They cannot have been meant for permanent occupation, because, besides the fact that hardly any probable traces of this have been found in them,

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[1] Cæsar, *Bell. Gall.*, ii. 4; *plerosque Belgas esse ortos ab Germanis.*

no such large population as they are adapted for could have got a living out of the bare chalk downs. Hence arose the interesting system of *terrace cultivation.* Terraces at Woodcot, Wallop, and Somborne have been noted, and there is another near St. Mary Bourne.[1] In a county of fertile river-valleys walled in by downs, the purpose of these great camps is almost obvious. They correspond to the peel-towers of the north, only that they were a refuge for the tribe instead of a family. Walbury, the largest of them, which stands just on the dividing line between Hampshire and Berkshire, is nearly half a mile long and a third of a mile wide, and could easily have sheltered the whole probable population of the district—say, ten thousand souls at most—as a temporary camp of refuge. There are several others over the valley of the Test. One of the finest, that of Old Winchester hill, which towers above the valley of the Meon at a height of 650 feet, has been thought to be the Roman *aestiva castra*, or summer encampment, and certainly was of Roman occupation, but it is more probable that the Romans only adapted it from a refuge-camp of the earlier race.

THE ROMAN OCCUPATION

The recorded history of the part of England that now is Hampshire begins with the Roman occupation in the reign of Claudius, A.D. 43, under the command of Aulus Plautius. The famous earlier invasions under Julius Cæsar in 55 and 54 B.C. affected only the south-eastern part of the island, and left but little permanent trace. But under Vespasian, afterwards Emperor, who was second in command to Plautius, Hampshire was brought more or less into the condition of a Roman province. There were two considerable towns, *Calleva Atrebatum* (Silchester) and *Venta Belgarum* (Winchester); new roads,

[1] *Proc. Wilts. Archæolog. Soc.*, xii., p. 192.

always the first care of the Romans, connecting with the important centres of the kingdom; fortified stations at *Clausentum* (Bittern) and *Portus Magnus* (Porchester); and *villae*, or country-houses of great landowners, in considerable numbers. These are to be found dotted all over the country, except in the New Forest and the wild district west of Silchester. A large proportion of the pavements and other remains belong to the more easily worked lowland country in the neighbourhood of Andover.

THE JUTISH AND WEST SAXON OCCUPATION

The Roman garrisons were finally withdrawn from Britain about A.D. 410, and our island relapsed into a state about which very little will ever be known. It is not till the introduction of Christianity, more than two hundred years later, that Anglo-Saxon history begins to rest on anything like trustworthy literary records. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* was not begun till after the middle of the ninth century; and though it most likely incorporates some genuine historical traditions, it is almost impossible now to separate these from the legends in which they are embedded. At any rate, we are told, and we cannot contradict it, of an invasion of Southampton Water by Saxons under Cerdic and Cynric in 495 and several subsequent years. The invasion of the Jutes from Jutland is assigned to the year 514, under two shadowy leaders, Stuf and Wihtgar. The Jutes, according to a definite statement of Bede,[1] occupied, besides Kent and the Isle of Wight, "a part of the province of the West Saxons opposite to the Isle of Wight," about the Hamble river. A detachment of this settlement, probably the earliest comers, became the Meonwaras of the singularly secluded valley of the Meon. The struggle between Teuton and Briton lasted over many years, but

[1] *Hist. Eccles.*, i. 15.

Winchester, from St. Giles' Hill.

a decisive conflict was bound to come. This took place at last, according to the *Chronicle*, at *Cerdicesford*, which is fairly satisfactorily identified with Charford, on the Avon, near the Wiltshire border, in the year 519. Cerdic and his son Cynric there led a new Saxon army, assisted probably by the allied Jutes of Southampton Water and the South Saxons of Sussex; "and sithen from that day have reigned the kingly family of West Sexe."

THE RISE OF SOUTHAMPTON

The rise by successive stages of the little tribe of pirate Gewissas into the kingdom of Wessex, the kingdom of all England, and finally the world-wide British Empire, is the most startling illustration of the Parable of the Mustard-seed to be found in all history. It is to be noticed, however, that the triumph of Cerdic and his Teuton allies over the Britons does not apparently make Winchester a capital city for many generations. The Teuton pirates had no need of a capital in our sense; Winchester, which had probably never been actually destroyed, but had, like Silchester, only gradually decayed from the withdrawal of the Romans, was still merely an inland fort. The rise of the county and kingdom is for the present connected, not with Winchester, but with Southampton, this being at once the natural sea-port and trading centre, and also a meeting-point for the kindred and apparently friendly tribes of Jutes and Gewissas, both of whom had settlements by the shores of the Southampton Water.

THE NAME OF THE COUNTY

We now come to the interesting problem, why what we generally call "Hampshire" is not "Meonshire," as it perhaps would have been if the Jutes had been stronger than the Gewissas; nor "Wessex," as might have been

expected from the analogy of Sussex and Essex; nor "Wintonshire," as would have been natural if Winchester had been the capital from the first—but historically always, and in legal parlance still, "the county of Southampton"? The name is additionally awkward now that the town of Southampton is itself an administrative county.

The first question answers itself. The second is far more difficult. It is certainly curious that, while "Sussex" and "Essex" still survive, the name of the greater Wessex should have fallen out of use. The reason may, perhaps, be found, as Mr. Grant Allen suggests, in the expansive instinct of the Wessex men, the true ancestors of the English. The South Saxons and East Saxons stayed where they had settled. The West Saxons, on the contrary, were continually pushing out further northwards and westwards over Berkshire, Wiltshire, and Dorsetshire, until the land of Wessex was a considerable kingdom, needing many sub-divisions or *shires*. The shire of the fountain-head was then naturally named, like most other shires, from its principal town, which then was "Hantune," or Hampton, whatever the true etymology of this name may be; and this answers the third question. The name of the shire of Hampton first occurs in the *Chronicle* in an entry under the year 755, giving a decree of the Moot of the West Saxons, which restricted to it the government of a feeble king, Sigeberht, while the rest of the now large kingdom of Wessex was entrusted to more vigorous hands. But it is generally agreed that it must have been given to the district before the revival of Winchester in the seventh century, to which we are coming. The now usual abbreviation, Hampshire, does not seem to go back much beyond the reign of Henry VIII. It will thus be seen that Hampshire is not only the original Wessex, as containing its *stamm-haus* in England—to use a convenient German word—but also its chief trading centre and the city of its kings. It is, therefore,

somewhat to be regretted that Mr. Hardy should, by his constant use of the name in his celebrated series of novels, have created a popular idea that "Wessex" applies rather to the annexed Dorsetshire and Wiltshire than to their original mother-state, Hampshire.

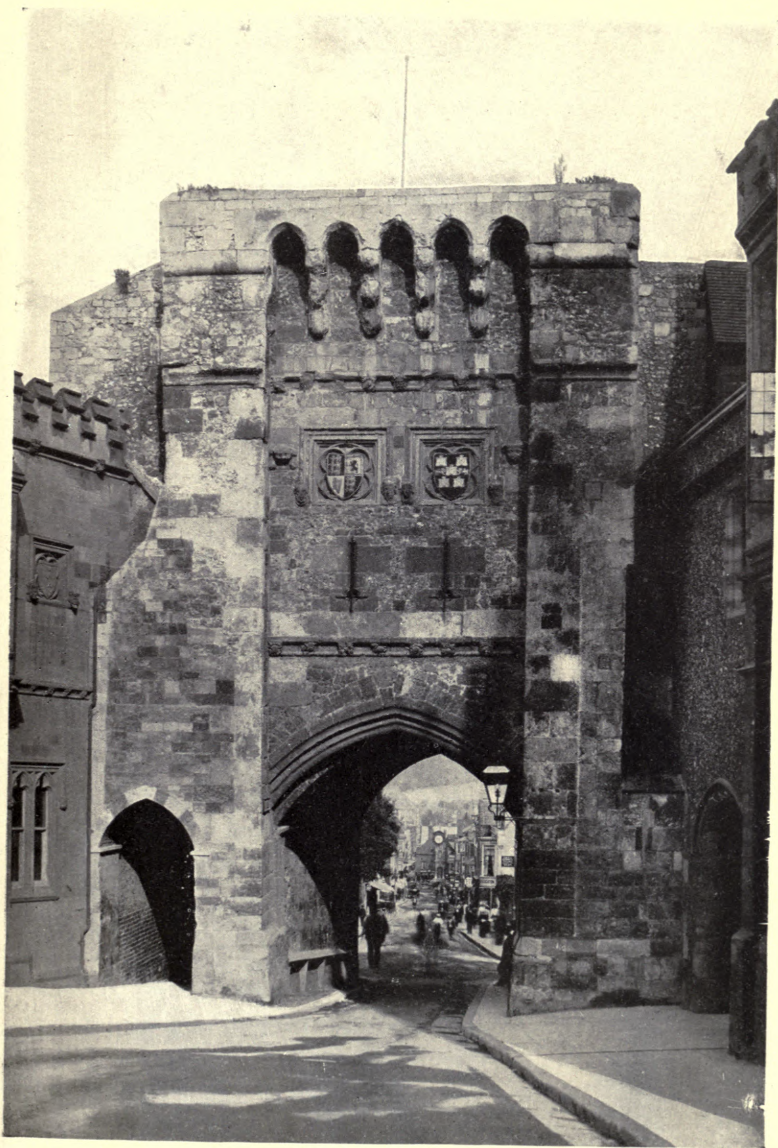
THE REVIVAL OF WINCHESTER

The great rise of Wessex, and of Hampshire as the leading part of Wessex, are closely connected with the rise, or rather the revival, of Winchester. After the departure of the Romans, the city had dwindled into a mere fort. But the existence of the great walls, injured probably, but still capable of strong defence, made the West Saxons abandon their national custom of dwelling in scattered "hams" or villages, now that they were in a most dangerous forest country, where at any time they might have to fight for their lives. Still, Winchester was the great fortress of the settlement and nothing more, until Christianity had spread thus far after the landing of St. Augustine. The first mention of Winchester in the *Chronicle* is under the year 643, when the young King Cenwealh, a zealous convert, laid the foundations of the Old Minster (the present Cathedral) on ground already given by his father, Cynegils. But this, though a great monastic church for the time, was not the Cathedral. The first Wessex bishop, St. Birinus, had his "bishop-stool," or *cathedra*, fixed for him at Dorchester-on-Thames, in Oxfordshire, probably as being nearly in the centre of the great diocese if Mercia should be torn in half and divided between Cynegils and Oswald of Northumbria. It was not until 686 that the fifth bishop, Hædda, transferred his "stool" to the great monastery church at Winchester, which thus became the episcopal as well as the royal city. From that date it may be considered to have superseded Southampton as the capital of Wessex.

Wessex now began to grow apace, and Winchester naturally to increase in importance, though apparently not in size, together with it. First the Jutes had to give way to the stronger Teutonic branch; and their settlements in the Meon valley and the Isle of Wight, which had been temporarily handed over to the South Saxons (after a conquest by Wulfhere, King of Mercia), were reconquered and annexed by a very vigorous prince, Caedwalla. How Wessex gradually recovered all the West of England, which had slipped for a while out of its grasp, and how it gradually absorbed South Saxons, East Saxons, and Kent alike, belongs rather to the general story of England than of Hampshire. It may suffice to say here that the struggle with the Danes naturally enforced the already strong tendency towards a drawing of England together under whichever might be the dominant kingdom at the time, and that kingdom was Wessex. The accession of the great Ecgberht in 802 marks an epoch for England as well as for Hampshire, for he claimed the title of "*rex totius Britanniae*," whereas until his accession Wessex had been almost in vassalage to the powerful Offa of Mercia.

The highest point, however, was not reached until a little later, in the glorious reign of the greatest of English kings, Alfred, grandson of Ecgberht. Alfred's father, Æthelwulf, though a monk in the Minster until his accession to the throne, had utterly defeated an invading host of Northmen, who came by way of the Thames, at Aclea[1]—"the oak meadow"—and thus made Wessex the champion of England against the Danes. Wessex was a much more difficult region to attack than Lincolnshire or London, and after eight years of persistent fighting, the Danes found it worth their while to make

[1] "Aclea" has commonly, since Manning and Bray's History, been identified with Ockley, under Leith Hill. But in the ninth century "Surrey" was a far wider area than now, and Mr. C. Cooksey (*Hants. Field Club Papers*, vol. v.) has shown good reasons for making it to be Oakley, near Basingstoke.



The West Gate, Winchester.

the famous Peace of Wedmore, in Somerset, by which England was pretty equally divided between Alfred and Guthrum of Denmark. Winchester thus became the capital of all England that was not included in the "Dane-law." This was a proud position indeed to have reached, and the good people of Winchester are—very rightly—by no means inclined to forget it. Alfred is justly regarded as the tutelary hero of the city. A noble statue of him, by Hamo Thornycroft, R.A., stands lofty and conspicuous with shield and sword, at the eastern end of High Street; and it is not without significance that in the Public Gardens close by is serenely seated the superb statue of Queen Victoria by Alfred Gilbert, perhaps the very best work of modern English sculpture. A thousand years of distinguished history for the city is recalled by these two contrasted figures.

Winchester, again, was not only the strongest city, the royal residence, the seat of the principal bishopric, and the usual meeting-place of the Witan, but also the leader in learning. In Wolvesey Palace was a school of learning and art. It was here that King Alfred began, and for many years even wrote with his own hand, the *English Chronicle*, the first great history-book of the English, the mother of a magnificent line of literature. Meanwhile the city was growing in splendour, as it was then understood. The group of the three great minsters —the Old Minster, now the Cathedral; the New Minster, founded by Alfred, almost adjoining it on the north; and the Nun's Minster, a little eastwards, near the modern Town Hall—must have been one of the most striking groups then to be seen, not only in England, but in all Europe.

THE DANISH KINGDOM

The division of England between West Saxon and Dane could not in the nature of things be anything more

than a temporary arrangement. The Danes, owing to the distance of their base, were continually losing ground, and under more Alfreds Wessex must have become England. But in the reign of Æthelred "the Un-redy," —the boy of no counsel—things began to slip back again to the former state, and the senseless massacre on St. Brice's Day of the Danes settled in England, who were numerous and powerful, brought about a Danish re-conquest. Under the strong Swein, or Swegen, and his still greater son, Cnut, Wessex again became the royal part of a kingdom that now was really one, and Winchester the capital of all England. The school-room story of Cnut rebuking the courtiers is assigned to the Western shore at Southampton, and the bones of Cnut himself are said to be in one of the six beautiful mortuary chests that stand on the side screens of the choir of the Cathedral.

THE NORMAN CONQUEST

The Danish kingdom soon came to an end, as the Wessex kingdom had come, by the succession of incompetent young monarchs. After the troubled reign of Edward the Confessor, whose name is more associated in memory with Westminster than with Winchester, came the Norman Conquest, which, though it began in Sussex, affected Wessex more directly than the rest of England, and Hampshire more than any other county. Winchester, again becoming the principal royal residence and seat of Government, was more thoroughly Normanized than any other city. The new buildings included a new royal palace—part of one gateway-pier of which probably still survives under the archway leading from High Street into the Close—and a grand new Cathedral Church, almost as long as the present enormous one, of which the nave, under its Perpendicular casing, and the unaltered tower and transepts stand to this day.

THE NEW FOREST

But the way in which the Norman Conquest left its mark most permanently impressed upon the county was in the strict reservation as a royal hunting domain of the wild district beyond the Southampton Water, still famous throughout all England as the New Forest. Much utterly baseless legend has been persistently asserted about this afforestation, even by great historians. The place was not selected with ruthless cruelty, but because, being an almost uninhabited district, it involved less disturbance in afforestation than any other part of Southern England would have done. The cruelty consisted almost wholly in the carrying out of the savage forest laws against poachers, who had been accustomed to hunt where they pleased, and naturally were not inclined to spare the deer. The worst atrocities even of these were not due to the Conqueror, but to his son. Still, the laws roused so much resentment that it is no wonder that the mysterious death of William Rufus in the Forest was looked on as an act of Divine vengeance.

DOMESDAY BOOK

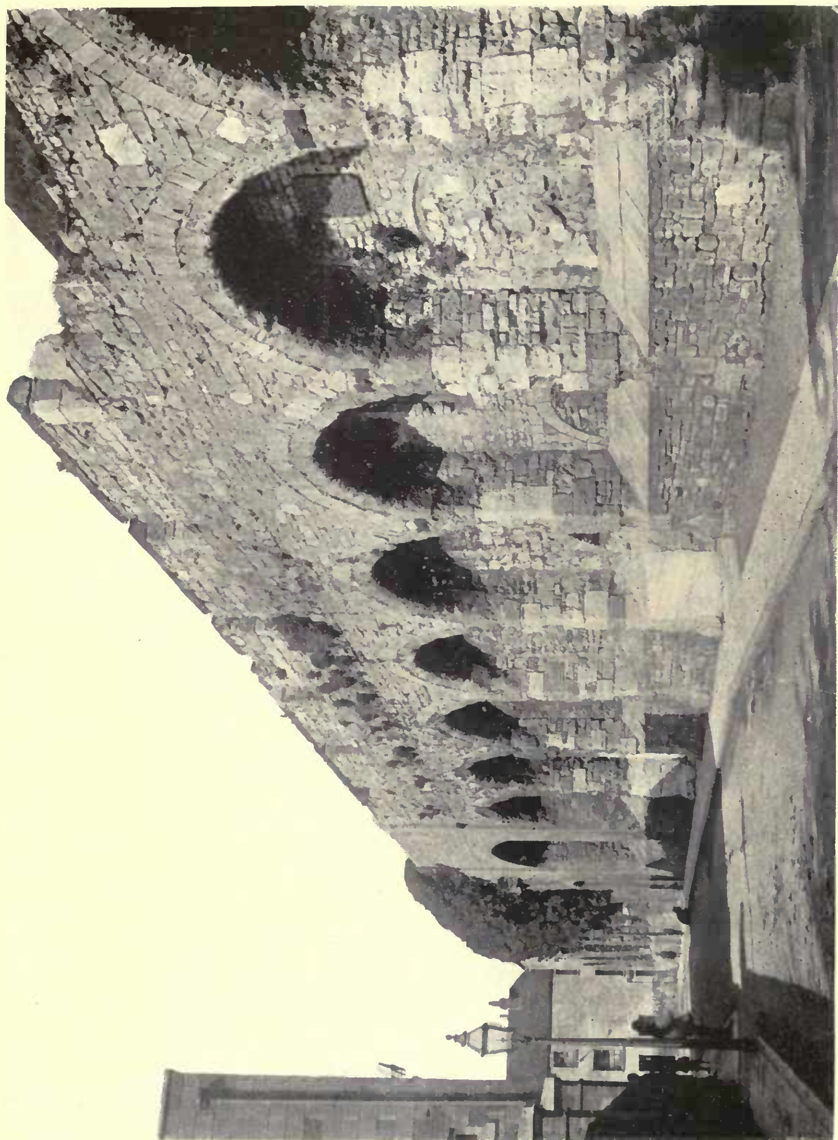
The celebrated Domesday Book of the Survey, made under the Conqueror, is more closely connected with Hampshire than with any other county. It was compiled at Winchester; it was kept at Winchester until Westminster became the most frequent meeting-place of Parliament; and it calls itself "The Book of Winchester." This makes it all the more curious at first sight that Winchester is the only town except London not included. London, no doubt, required a separate treatment, but Winchester can hardly have been large enough for this to be the reason. It is more probable, I would suggest, that it is precisely because the Book was compiled there, so that all the facts were ready to hand at any time.

This gap was supplied by another census of the city under Henry I., about forty years later.

WINCHESTER UNDER BISHOP HENRI DE BLOIS

Hitherto there has been hardly anything but a course of unbroken growth and prosperity to record, but in the black time of anarchy and Civil War that succeeded the death of Henry I., Winchester underwent the greatest misfortune in her whole history, and that, too, principally through the ambition and unscrupulousness of her powerful Bishop, Henri de Blois, nephew of King Henry I., and younger brother of King Stephen. He aimed at making his already powerful see still more powerful, and very nearly succeeded, had it not been for the death of his friend the Pope, in getting Winchester raised into an Archbishopric with seven Suffragans. It might thus quite possibly have outstripped Canterbury. He was the greatest builder that the diocese ever had until William of Wykeham. The Old Minster (the Cathedral) was but newly completed, so that he added little, except, probably, the remarkable font. But he almost rebuilt Wolvesey as a castle for fighting instead of a residence for a bishop; he founded the famous hospital of St. Cross, and built much of its beautiful church; he began the great Episcopal Castle of Farnham, which, though not quite inside our county, is closely connected with it; and he built at least two other Episcopal residences—Merdon Castle, near Hursley, and Bishop's Waltham.

In 1141, de Blois, who was always changing sides, took up the cause of Stephen, and strongly garrisoned Wolvesey in his interest. Winchester Castle, at the other end of the city, was, on the other hand, secured by the Provost for the Empress Matilda, who was herself brought thither from Oxford. The result of this extraordinary struggle between the two castles—*Si rixa est ubi tu pulsas,*



ego vapulo tantum—was nothing of importance for the claimants to the throne, but was very nearly the destruction of Winchester. Twenty churches, it is said, were burnt; but, if so, they must have been very small and of little interest. A much greater loss was the Nun's Minster, and greater still, the New Minster, better known as Hyde Abbey, because it had been, only in the last reign, transferred from the close neighbourhood of its rival, the Old Minster, and rebuilt with much magnificence on less swampy ground in Hyde Meadow. The entrance gateway is still standing not far from the South-Western Railway Station. It must have taken Winchester many years even to seem like recovering from the siege. It has been, however, far more fortunate than most cities of its antiquity and importance, never having had again but once to experience an actual siege. This was in 1645, under Cromwell himself, but after Cheriton resistance was useless. The Castle was destroyed, with, happily, the exception of the beautiful Great Hall; but, on the whole, comparatively little mischief was done.

The county, indeed, played a larger part than the city in the Civil War. The celebrated siege of Basing House awakened frantic enthusiasm at the time, and has always been of the highest interest as a display of English doggedness and loyalty, though practically it was of no great importance. But the battle of March 29th, 1644, on the east side of Cheriton village, eight miles from Winchester (it is also known as "Alresford fight"), between the Earl of Forth and Lord Hopton for the King, and Waller for the Parliament, was far more important as laying Winchester open, and considerably affecting the Royalist plans. "That day," says Clarendon, "broke all the measures, and altered the whole scheme of the King's counsels." Hampshire, however, has never been a cockpit of war like many of the Midland counties.

THE DECLINE OF WINCHESTER

The siege of 1141 may, perhaps, be considered as marking the turning-point after which Winchester began to go down-hill. The cause, however, lay, of course, far deeper than the mere destruction of buildings or wealth. It was the overshadowing growth of London as the great trading centre, and of its neighbour-city, Westminster, as the permanent seat of Government. Many interesting events of history, of course, still occurred at Winchester. In the Chapter House King John was absolved by Stephen Langton after the Interdict. Henry III. was born in the city, and received his usual name from it though his connexion did it little but mischief. Parliaments still sometimes met here, notably the one of 1255, which passed the "Statutes of Winchester." Here, too, in 1487, was born the Prince Arthur, who, if he had lived, would have spared us a Henry VIII., though whether for the better, Heaven only knows. In the Cathedral Henry IV. married Joan of Navarre, and Queen Mary was married to Philip of Spain. In the Castle in 1603 that iniquitous trial and sentence of Sir Walter Raleigh took place, which was used fifteen years later as a means of bringing him to the block. Charles II. began a new palace, designed by Wren, the last few remnants of which are built up in the barracks. St. Giles's Fair, once nearly the greatest in Europe, continued for centuries to be of considerable importance, especially for the sale of cloth. But the day of Winchester as a capital was over, and the event of the greatest real importance in its later history was the founding of the famous College by Bishop William of Wykeham, at the end of the fourteenth century, not because Winchester was a great city, but that it might be under the peaceful shadow of his great Cathedral Church.

SOUTHAMPTON AND PORTSMOUTH

Portsmouth is a place of far more recent importance than Southampton or Winchester. It was, indeed, a sea-port town with a charter as early as 1100, but the ship-building dock did not come much into prominence till four hundred years later. Now it is one of the greatest naval arsenals in the world, and, together with the vast shipping centre of Southampton, makes Hampshire chief among our naval counties.

So we come back to the point where we began, with a study of the prehistoric map. Hampshire is still the great woodland county, with more forest than all the other counties of England put together. And the two great natural harbours that form the most marked feature of its outline have always been, and still are, the main determining influences of its history.

G. E. JEANS.

WILTSHIRE

EVERY lover of his county is apt to claim for it virtues which it may, or may not, possess, but it is no exaggeration to say that Wiltshire is peculiarly rich in interesting remains of past ages. This fact is greatly due to the vast stretches of downland undisturbed by the plough or other methods of cultivation; and these downs are covered with camps, barrows, and earthworks, and strewed with implements of those early inhabitants who lived on the high ground at a time when Britain was largely forest and swamp.

One of these memorials of ancient Britain is Silbury Hill, near Avebury, which is probably the largest artificial mound in Europe. It is in the shape of a truncated cone, 125 feet high. Its solid contents are somewhere about 13,558,800 cubic feet, and its base circumference 1,657 feet. Its original purpose is still vague; so also is its date. The fact that the Roman road turns to avoid it proves that it was anterior to the Roman conquest. Some authorities think that 1500 or 2000 B.C. is not an exaggerated date at which to fix its construction. It is undecided whether it was formed for religious worship or as a barrow where some great chieftain was buried; indeed, it may have served the same purpose as the Pyramids. In the fourteenth Welsh triad it is written that the three mighty labours of the Island of Britain were "erecting the stone of Ketti, constructing the works of Emrys, and heaping the pile of Cyvrangon." Now, the stone of Ketti has been determined as a great cromlech in Glamorganshire, the work of Emrys is Stonehenge;

STONEHENGE.

The uprights of the Outer Circle on the left are those that fell

why, therefore, should not the pile of Cyvrangon be the hill of Silbury?

Besides the mysterious erections of stone in different parts of the county, interesting relics of the past are to be found in the dykes, which probably were boundary lines of British tribes. An early Celtic race, the Goidels, were a pastoral people of nomadic habits. The next invaders of this country were the Brythons, who had already begun to practise a primitive form of agriculture, and who, landing on the south, pushed the Goidels north and west, and constructed dykes for the boundaries of their land to serve as a protection against the depredations of flocks and herds, and also to be used for defence in war if necessary.

Bockerley Dyke is in the extreme south; only a fragment remains in Wiltshire, though it can be traced further to the south.[1] Its bank is towards the east. All traces of the dyke to the north have disappeared, but a few miles north-west the names of Bockerley Hill and Bockerley Coppice occur in the neighbourhood of many ancient British remains. Its name is a matter of conjecture; it may be derived from the Welsh Bwrch—a wall or rampart, or, as some authorities think more likely, from the Welsh Bwg—a ghost (as we say a bogey, or, in Lancashire, a boggart).[2] The old popular idea was that earthworks of this description were the work of the Evil One, such as Devil's Dyke, etc.

The old dyke can be traced almost across the county, east and west. Its fosse is to the north, and its probable date about 200 B.C. All along its course are British remains of great antiquity.

Wansdyke, the greatest of all Wiltshire dykes, at one time may have stretched from the Bristol Channel through Somerset and Wiltshire to the Berkshire border.

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1 Pitt-Rivers's excavations proved it to be Romano-British.

2 *Wiltshire Dykes*, by Canon Jones, in *Wilts. Arch. Mag.*, 1874.

Wansdyke is a corruption of Woden's dic'. Wanborough was originally Woden's burgh, and Woden was the god of boundaries. Popular tradition says that the dyke was constructed by the devil on a Wednesday. It is not earlier than the Roman period; whether later, we cannot tell. Drayton says of it that—

> A mighty mound sith long did he remain
> Between the Mercian rule and the West Saxon reign.

Not so important are the Grimsdykes. The one south of Salisbury can be traced east and west, and by the help of references to it in various charters as far as Grinstead, or, as it was originally called, Grimestead.

There was also a Grimsdyke north of Salisbury. At one place it runs through the suburb of Wilton, which is called Ditchampton, from its proximity to the ditch or dyke.

Grimsdyke may mean boundary ditch, or it may have some reference to its connection with "grim things"—*i.e.*, devils. The date of these dykes may be placed somewhere about the fourth or fifth century A.D.

The Welsh triads speak of Amesbury as being the site of a great monastery where there were 2,400 saints—100 for every hour of the day and night in rotation. In the middle of the fifth century it was probably the great monastery from whence the blessings of Christianity flowed over the country round.

Amesbury is associated with the early legend of the British King Arthur. Some historians even suggest that Ambrosius, whose chief stronghold was at Old Sarum, might have been the original of this hero of romance. Whether the story of Arthur is all legend or founded on fact, it is not out of place to mention that there is a tradition that Queen Guinevere did penance

> There in the holy house at Almesbury.—*Tennyson*

Indeed, Amesbury was a place of much importance in early times, and in Domesday Book it is mentioned as paying no taxes.

The Romans visited the west in the reign of Claudius, and conferred much benefit on the inhabitants by reason of the roads they constructed.

If the downs are the most characteristic feature of Wiltshire,[1] the great camps and other earthworks are among the most characteristic features of the downs. In the days of the later Stone Age and Bronze Age, when the lowlands were covered with impenetrable stretches of forest and morass, the inhabitants of Wiltshire lived on the higher ground. For their security, the tribes built the great camps which crown the highest points of the chalk escarpment. Only a very few like Ringsbury are to be found beyond the districts covered by the chalk. These strongholds—no two of them alike, varying greatly in size and shape according to the formation of the ground and the necessities and resources of the builders—have been assigned to Romans, Saxons, and Danes, and though they may have been occupied occasionally by one or other of these races, their origin is to be sought long before Roman or Saxon or Dane set foot in Britain. They seem to have been places of refuge rather than permanent habitations. The line of chalk escarpment where it enters Wiltshire on the north-east is marked by a series of these camps, set on the most commanding points at intervals of only a few miles from one another—Lyddington, the great fortress of Barbury, Oldbury, Oliver's Castle at Roundway, Bratton, on the edge of Pewsey Vale, the twin strongholds of Battlesbury and Scratchbury above Warminster, Knook Castle, and Yarnbury, with its triple ditches, forming a strong line of fortresses. The camps, strengthened doubtless by wooden stockades, formed excellent defences; but

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[1] Note by Rev. E. Goddard.

each camp depended on its own strength alone for the safety of the people whose refuge it was in time of need.

Wherever there is a line of chalk escarpment rising from a valley, there we find a line of camps. Along the Avon Valley are Chisenby and Casterley, Vespasian's Camp at Amesbury, Ogbury, above Durnford, and Old Sarum, greatest of all. On the north side of the Pewsey Vale, Rybury and Martinsell. There are also Sidbury, an isolated point at Ludgershall; Chlorus's Camp, near the Hampshire border; and on the south edge of the county, Castle Rings, Winkelbury, Castle Ditches, with Chiselbury guarding the ridge above Compton Chamberlayne.

Of later earthworks of the time of the Norman Conquest, whose precise date, whether before or after the Conquest, has been the subject of much recent controversy, only a few examples are to be found in Wiltshire, of which the most important is "The Moot" at Downton, much altered in recent times.

The Roman roads in Wiltshire radiate from Old Sarum—the Roman station *Sorbiodunum*. From these imposing earthworks a road runs north to Marlborough, another north-east to Silchester, another east to Winchester, and one south-west to Dorchester, passing through the little village of Stratford-sub-Castle, whose name shows that the street here crossed the ford, and goes on to Badbury. The fifth road runs west, and runs through Groveley. This road is difficult to trace, and although Hoare gives a map of it, he confesses himself at fault occasionally.

A Roman road runs from Marlborough across north Wiltshire to Bath. The Wansdyke has been built on it at one place. It is this road that turns to avoid Silbury Hill, and it may still be traced across the county.

Wiltshire was the scene of many fierce struggles between the Saxons and the Britons, as the latter were pushed slowly westward.

Wilton House

In the *Saxon Chronicle*, under the year A.D. 508, stands this entry, which has given rise to much discussion:

"Now, Cerdic and Cynric slew a British King whose name was Natan Leod, and five thousand men with him. Then, after that, the land was called Natan-leaga, as far as Cerdic's ford."[1]

The fighting continued, and in 552 Cynric came over the downs to Sorbiodunum, and made himself master of Salisbury Plain. Four years later Cynric and Ceawlin were victorious over the British at Barbury Hill, and in 591 the *Saxon Chronicle* tells of a great slaughter of British at Wanborough. More than fifty years later the King of the West Saxons fought at Bradford-on-Avon, but the *Chronicle* does not state who his opponents were. Later, a great struggle began between the Kings of Wessex and Mercia, the latter being defeated at Wanborough, and again in a more decisive battle at Ellendune 821.

St. Aldhelm, the Wessex saint, though more often associated with Dorset than Wilts, was for thirty years Abbot of Malmesbury, and in 705 founded a monastery at Bradford-on-Avon. It was at the Witanagemote held at Bradford that Dunstan was elected Bishop of Worcester. Dunstan, who became, later, Archbishop of Canterbury, held in the year 976 a synod at Calne, of which synod strange things are told. The meeting related to the grievance the priests imagined themselves to have against the monks, because the latter held benefices. During the synod the floor gave way, and the assemblage was precipitated below and more or less seriously injured, with the exception of Dunstan, the floor beneath his chair remaining firm. As he was the chief supporter of the monks, this incident was looked

[1] There never was a British King of that name, and it has been explained that Natan-leod might be a title of honour, the first part of the word from the Welsh nawt—a sanctuary—and, although "leod" is not in the A. S. dictionaries, it is used in A. S. poems in the sense of Prince.

upon as a miracle in their favour. It has also been suggested that Dunstan, fearing the issue would go against his party, had caused the beams supporting the floor to be sawn through.

Wiltunscire is first mentioned by that name about the time of Alfred's accession, taking its name from Wilton, the chief town of the tribe Wilsaetas, which was also one of the most important places in Wessex and a royal residence of Saxon kings. Before that it may be perhaps identified with Caervillium, capital of the British King Caervillius.

After its occupation by Anglo-Saxon kings, Wilton became the seat of a religious house for seculars in 773, for Benedictine nuns under a prioress in 800, and an enlarged monastery under an abbess in 871.

Wulftrude, the abbess of Wilton, 968-1000, had been abducted by King Edgar, and their daughter was St. Edith of Wilton, who some day became Abbess of Wilton at the age of fifteen. Her early death was foretold by St. Dunstan at the consecration of a chapel in honour of St. Denis that she had built. Miracles were worked by her remains, and she became the patron saint of the abbey.

The Bishopric of Wilton was created about 909, and the title is applicable to both the town and county. The bishops had their seats at Ramsbury, Sonning, or Wilton, until Bishop Hermann united the see to that of Sherborne, and removed his seat to Old Sarum, where he died about 1078.

It was during the eighth and ninth centuries that the Danes raided England, and it was in 871, towards the end of May, that one of these enigmatic contests took place at Wilton, in which the Danes were put to flight, and yet encamped upon the field of battle.[1]

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[1] *The Life and Times of Alfred the Great.* Rev. C. Plummer.

This was Alfred's first encounter with the Danes as King, the battle taking place a month after Ethelred's death. Possibly Alfred's victory was followed up by a disorderly pursuit, which gave the Danes an advantage. Both sides must have suffered severely, and peace was made for a time afterwards.

Seven years later the Danes returned in force and went northward to Chepynham, or Chippenham,[1] and made it their headquarters for harrying expeditions, their object being to catch Alfred at home, he having a residence there; and it was at Chippenham that his sister was married to the King of Mercia.

With the advent of the Danes to Chippenham, Alfred went into retirement in the Isle of Athelney, whence he emerged a few months later with renewed vigour, and moved with his men to Brixton Deverill, near Warminster.[2] It was evidently a preconceived movement, for he was immediately joined by levies from Somerset, Wiltshire, and part of Hampshire, and the very next day he continued his march to Leigh, or probably to Edington, and meeting the Danes under Gunthrum at Ethandune, defeated them, the vanquished submitting to the terms of the Peace of Wedmore, or Chippenham.

In 1003, under Svend (or Sweyn), the Danes burnt Wilton, and, coming to Sarum, treated it in the same manner. In 1011 Svend and Canute again visited Wilton, and levied contributions from the inhabitants. An Anglo-Saxon army had assembled near Corsham, where Ethelred the King lay sick, but the treachery of Ealderman Edric caused it to be dispersed without battle being offered to the invaders. About 1016, Edmund Ironsides, then King of the Anglo-Saxons, met Canute in battle near Malmesbury, the issue of which battle seems to have been indecisive.

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[1] *On the History of Chippenham.* Rev. J. E. Jackson.
[2] *The Life and Times of Alfred the Great.* Rev. C. Plummer.

Both William the Conqueror and William Rufus held councils at Sarum, but the first is far the most important. It is known as the Great Gemote (1086), and at it appeared not only the chief tenants, but the sub-tenants, as says the Chronicles: "There came to him . . . all the landowning men there were all over England, whosesoever men they were, and all bowed down before him and became his men, and swore oaths of fealty to him."

Stephen and Maud seem to have made Wiltshire one of the chief battle-grounds for fighting out their rival claims, and the castles continually changed hands, as first one party and then the other became the strongest temporarily.

Bishop Roger, the warlike Prelate of Salisbury, who had been Henry's Chancellor, garrisoned his castles of Malmesbury, Sarum, Devizes, and Sherborne, in the name of the Empress Maud. He was taken prisoner by Stephen in 1139, together with his nephew, Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln, and his son, Roger, who had succeeded him as Chancellor.

Another nephew, Nigel, Bishop of Ely, was holding Devizes Castle,[1] in which was also the younger Roger's mother, Matilda of Ramsbury; the surrender of the castle was the price demanded and paid for her son's life and her husband's safety.

In 1141, Stephen arrived at Wilton and began to fortify the abbey, but was interrupted by the arrival of Robert, Earl of Gloucester, and the King of Scotland, who drove him from the town. During the remainder of the Civil War the castles changed hands with monotonous rapidity. In 1233 Hubert de Burgh was kept a prisoner in Devizes Castle; later, Edward I. made it the starting point of his expeditions against the Welsh

[1] The name The Devizes has been the subject of some speculation; the castle was evidently near the boundary, and was formerly called the Castle of the Vies. To this day the country people speak of it as "Vise."

AVEBURY.

in 1281. Leland speaks of it in his time as being in a ruined state, but having yet "divers goodly towers in the outer wall."

In the year 1164 a commission met at the Royal Manor of Clarendon, near Salisbury, and there the famous Constitutions of Clarendon were drawn up, which constitute one of the great charters of English liberty. The ruins of the Royal Manor can still be seen in the Park. After the battle of Poictiers, 1357, a royal hunt took place at Clarendon, where three kings—Edward of England, John of France, and David of Scotland—rode side by side.

During Jack Cade's rebellion an insurrection broke out in Wiltshire, and Ayscough, Bishop of Salisbury, whose connection with the King had made him unpopular, fled for safety to Edington. He was attacked there, dragged from the church where he was celebrating Mass, and stoned to death on a neighbouring hill, on the plea that he was always absent with the King, Henry VI., as his confessor, and kept no hospitality in his diocese. Edington deserves notice for its fine church, built in 1352-1361 by William of Edington, a native of the place, who became Bishop of Winchester and Lord Treasurer of England. Fuller relates of him that during his tenure of the latter office, "he caused new coins (unknown before) to be made (groats and half-groats), both readier for change and fitter for charity. But the worst was *imminuto nonnihil pondere* (the weight was somewhat abated). If any say that this was an unepiscopal act, know, he did it not as Bishop, but as Lord Treasurer." Later he became Lord Chancellor, and founded at Edington a monastery of Bonhommes, at the request of the Black Prince, there being only one other house of this Order in England—Ashridge, in Buckinghamshire.

After Cade's rebellion there is not much of moment in the history of the county till the Reformation, which entailed the dissolution of religious houses, and the

consequent transfer of property. Of some of these houses, like Edington and Wilton, there is little or no trace; but of several, notably Lacock, Bradenstoke, Malmesbury, Monkton Farleigh, and Kington St. Michael, there are considerable remains.

The Abbey of Wilton had been rebuilt by Edward the Confessor's wife, the Lady Edith, "she pressing on the work in pious rivalry with her husband," who was building Westminster Abbey. To Wilton the widow of Edward the Confessor retired, and lived in semi-regal state. It seems a little uncertain if Christina, the sister of Edgar Atheling, was Abbess of Wilton or not. Freeman states that she took the veil in the Abbey of Romsey and became abbess there.

Edith, the Atheling's niece, the wife of Henry I., is said to have been educated at Wilton Abbey, but Romsey seems a very probable alternative to this suggestion. At the Conquest, Wilton was one of the most important royal towns; this can be estimated from its taxation, and Henry I., who, as part of his policy, had granted municipal charters to London and Winchester, gave the same to Wilton about the year 1100, granting it all the privileges of the two former towns.

The Abbesses of Wilton, also those of Barking, St. Mary's, Winchester, and Shaftesbury, by virtue of their office ranked as Baronesses, and in 1306 the Abbess of Wilton was summoned to Parliament at Westminster. Just before the Dissolution of the Monasteries, Henry VIII. had a curious correspondence with Anne Boleyn, refusing to allow a favourite of hers to be nominated Abbess of Wilton. "I wolde not," he writes to Wolsey, "for all the gold in the worlde clog your conscience nor mine to make her a ruler of a house which is of so ungodly a demeanour."

At the Dissolution the abbey lands were granted to Sir William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke (brother-in-law of Queen Catharine Parr), but nothing is now left of

the famous abbey, which in its day was one of the greatest in England, except one small building near the stables, which was known as "The Court of the Bellhouse." The town of Wilton had fallen from its high estate, and become of secondary importance to the much younger town of New Sarum.

Leland, himself a Prebend of Salisbury, tells us that at one time there were twelve churches in Wilton, and the identification of their sites has proved his correctness.

Between Wilton and Salisbury the site of a tourney ground is still shown, where a mimic battle took place in 1194.

After the dissolution of the Abbey, Wilton was still held high in royal favour. Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth visited it, and it was during his visits to Sydney's sister, Pembroke's mother, that Sir Philip Sydney composed his *Arcadia.* James I. held court at Wilton, where Shakespeare and his company performed before him—the first folio of Shakespeare was dedicated to the two noble brothers, the Earls of Pembroke and Montgomery; while Aubrey tells us that Charles I. "loved Wilton above all other places."

At Wilton[1] also was St. John's Priory, Ditchampton, which was founded in 1189 by Hubert, Bishop of Salisbury, and seems to have been connected in some way with the Knights Hospitallers. It was not dissolved at the Reformation, being considered in the light of a charitable rather than a religious institution. Consider-

[1] The revocation of the Edict of Nantes, 1685, brought to England many skilled weavers. Some of these workmen settled in Wilton, and established a carpet manufactory, which proved so successful that it had to be protected from rival factories by a charter granted by William III., in 1701, forming these skilled artisans into a corporate body. Their motto is, "Weave trust with truth." The factory enjoyed the patronage of the ninth Earl of Pembroke, who brought workmen from Flanders to assist in developing the local trade. In 1835, the looms and drawings of the Axminster manufactory were transferred to Wilton. The factory, after many vicissitudes, is at present—owing to the patronage of Lord Pembroke—in a flourishing condition.

able remains are still extant, including the chapel, where services continue to be held by the Prior.

The Benedictine Abbey of Amesbury was founded *circa* 980 by Elfrida to expiate the treacherous murder of her stepson at Corfe. The nuns were expelled for dissolute living by Henry II., and the abbey given to the Nunnery of Fontevrault.

King John conferred important privileges on the abbey. Mary, daughter of Edward I., took the veil there in 1283, and in 1287, Eleanor, wife of Henry III., took the veil, and died in Amesbury Abbey, 1292. The abbey was dissolved in 1540, and bestowed on Protector Somerset, a Wiltshire man. Later on, when in the hands of the Queensberrys, it became the residence of the famous Duchess—

> Kitty, beautiful and young,
> And wild as colt untamed.—*Prior.*

Another interesting monastic relic in Wiltshire is Monkton Farleigh, originally the site of a priory of the Cluniac Order, founded about 1125. The buildings that remain are kitchens, cellars, offices, and the well-house. There are also indications of the chapel, the refectory, two very fine lancet windows standing complete, and the foundations of domestic offices and probably dormitories. The well-house has an exquisitely groined roof, and dates from about 1250.

Unlike most monastic erections, Bradenstoke Priory stands on a hill. It was built in 1142 by Walter d'Evreux, of Salisbury, and has been continuously occupied ever since. The great hall, vaulted undercroft, and massive walls, still stand in good preservation. The Priory, which was under the rule of the Black or Austin Friars, was dissolved in 1539. The adjoining earthworks were probably used by Britons, Romans, and Saxons in succession.

Stanley Abbey is now totally destroyed, and, like other sacred edifices, formed a quarry for the neighbour-

Colonel John Penruddock.

hood, where its carved stones may still be found in barns and other buildings. The abbey was founded by the Empress Maud in 1151. The buildings were started on the hill at Lockswell, but the monks soon moved down to the rich land below. The buildings of the abbey took nearly a century to complete.

The abbey was suppressed in 1537. The present owner holds a very extensive collection of charters relating to the abbey, including those granted by Maud, Henry II., Richard I. (one dating from Messina, Sicily, in 1191), John, Henry III., and others.

At Kington St. Michael, on the Priory estate, stand some remains of a Benedictine house, and stone coffins have been dug up in the terraced garden. At Ivychurch, Alderbury, was an Augustinian Priory founded by Henry II. This, too, stood on a hill, but very little of the monastic building remains.

After the Reformation, the great landmark in the history of Wiltshire, as of so many counties, is the rebellion, of which Clarendon, a Wiltshire man, was the historian. During the Civil War, Wardour was besieged and taken by Sir Edward Hungerford, garrisoned by Ludlow, and retaken by the Royalists. In September, Essex was attacked and defeated on Aldbourne Chase by Charles I. and Prince Rupert; the next year Malmesbury surrendered to Waller, but was speedily retaken, and Waller defeated at Lansdown, and a few days later at Devizes by Colonel Wilmot. In 1644, Sir William Balfour and his Parliamentary forces plundered Salisbury. At the end of the same year important developments took place in the west, and the King arrived at Salisbury.

Waller was at Andover, and it was supposed that the King and Prince Maurice, who was at Wilton, would join forces and march on Andover. The rendezvous was fixed for seven in the morning at Clarendon, and the King was there punctually, but Prince Maurice, for some

reason never satisfactorily explained, was four hours late, and Waller received news of the advance in time to retreat.

In 1645 the opposing forces under Goring, Waller, Fairfax, and Cromwell met and skirmished in Wiltshire, first one party and then another occupying the principal towns. After the battle of Naseby, Fairfax passed through Marlborough and Amesbury on his way to Salisbury, and later in the same year Cromwell caused Langford House (now Longford Castle) to surrender. About this time armed bands of clubmen were organized in the western counties to withstand the violence of soldiers of both parties.

There are many houses which claim to have sheltered Charles II. after the fatal battle of Worcester. He spent one night at least at Heale House, near Durnford;[1] indeed, it was from Heale that final arrangements were made for his flight to France. The Royalist rising under Colonel Penruddocke took place in 1654, during the Commonwealth period. This rising had been planned for March 12th, on which day sixty men met at Clarendon and marched to Blandford, where they collected over one hundred more, then returning towards Salisbury to await reinforcements from Hampshire. Early on the morning of the 13th they entered Salisbury, led by Sir Joseph Wagstaffe and Colonels Penruddocke, Grove, and Jones, and practically took possession of the town. They apprehended the Lord Chief Justice and his fellow Judge of Assize, and the High Sheriff, and Wagstaffe ordered them to be hung, but Penruddocke protested successfully.

Having proclaimed Charles II., the insurgents proceeded through Blandford, Sherborne, and Yeovil to South Molton, where they were attacked by Captain Coke and the Exeter garrison and routed. Colonels Penruddocke and Grove were among the prisoners, and

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[1] Heale House has been practically rebuilt since that period.

both were executed at Exeter. Such was the short futile Rising of the West.

Edmund Ludlow, a noted Parliamentarian general, born in the parish of Maiden Bradley, was a Wiltshire man, and so was also the famous Edward Hyde, who took his title from the Manor of Clarendon, near Salisbury.

It was at Salisbury that the forces of James II. assembled, and it was there that Lord Churchill, afterwards better known as the Duke of Marlborough, deserted the King. Shortly afterwards, William, Prince of Orange, made a triumphal entry into Salisbury, and on his way to London held a conference at Hungerford, and thence retired to Littlecote, the old house of the Darrels and Pophams in Wiltshire, where, on December 9th, 1688, the Commissioners dined.

Since the reign of William III., Wiltshire has been happy in having little or no history, but passing mention may be made of Old Sarum, which, although merely an earthen castle, with perhaps three cottages near by, returned two members of Parliament. It was one of the rotten boroughs disfranchised by the Reform Bill, 1832. William Pitt, afterwards Earl of Chatham, at one time sat as member, his father having purchased the burgage of Old Sarum.

In brief, the history of Wiltshire is mainly a thing of the ancient years, and as the history of the country has increased in importance, that of the county of Wiltshire has decreased, until at the present time she sleeps in peace, untroubled by the turmoils of the world at large.

MARGARET K. S. EDWARDS.

DORSET

THE physical features due to the geological formation of the district now called Dorset have had such an influence on the inhabitants and their history that it seems necessary to point out briefly what series of stratified rocks may be seen in Dorset, and the lines of their outcrop.

There are no igneous rocks, nor any of those classed as primary, but, beginning with the Rhætic beds, we find every division of the secondary formations, with the possible exception of the Lower Greensand, represented, and in the south-eastern part of the district several of the tertiary beds may be met with on the surface.

The dip of the strata is generally towards the east; hence the earlier formations are found in the west. Nowhere else in England could a traveller in a journey of a little under fifty miles—which is about the distance from Lyme to the eastern boundary of Dorset—cross the outcrop of so many strata. A glance at a geological map of England will show that the Lias, starting from Lyme Regis, sweeps along a curve slightly concave towards the west, almost due north, until it reaches the sea again at Redcar, while the southern boundary of the chalk starting within about ten miles of Lyme runs out eastward to Beechy Head. Hence it is seen that the outcrops of the various strata are wider the further away they are from Lyme Regis.

Dorset has given names to three well-known formations and to one less well known: (1) the Portland beds, first quarried for building stone about 1660; (2) the Purbeck beds, which supplied the Early English church

builders with marble for their ornamental shafts; (3) Kimmeridge clay; and (4) the Punfield beds.

The great variety of the formation coming to the surface in the area under consideration has given a striking variety to the character of the landscape: the chalk downs of the North and centre, with their rounded outlines; the abrupt escarpments of the greensand in the neighbourhood of Shaftesbury; the rich grazing land of Blackmore Vale on the Oxford clay; and the great Heath (Mr. Hardy's Egdon) stretching from near Dorchester out to the east across Woolwich, Reading, and Bagshot beds, with their layers of gravel, sand, and clay. The chalk heights are destitute of water; the streams and rivers are those of the level valleys and plains of Oolitic clays—hence they are slow and shallow, and are not navigable, even by small craft, far from their mouths.

The only sides from which in early days invaders were likely to come were the south and east; and both of these boundaries were well protected by natural defences, the former by its wall of cliffs and the deadly line of the Chesil beach. The only opening in the wall was Poole Harbour, a land-locked bay, across which small craft might indeed be rowed, but whose shores were no doubt a swamp entangled by vegetation. Swanage Bay and Lulworth Cove could have been easily defended. Weymouth Bay was the most vulnerable point. Dense forests protected the eastern boundary. These natural defences had a marked effect, as we shall see, on the history of the people. Dorset for many centuries was an isolated district, and is so to a certain extent now, though great changes have taken place during the last fifty or sixty years, due to the two railways that carry passengers from the East to Weymouth and the one that brings them from the North to Poole and on to Bournemouth. This isolation has conduced to the survival not only of old modes of speech, but also of old customs, modes of thought, and superstitions.

It may be well, before speaking of this history, to state that the county should always be spoken of as "Dorset," never as "Dorsetshire," for in no sense of the word is Dorset a shire, as will be explained further on.

We find within the boundaries of the district very few traces of Palæolithic man: the earliest inhabitants, who have left well-marked memorials of themselves, were Iberians, a non-Aryan race, still represented by the Basques of the Pyrenees and by certain inhabitants of Wales. They were short of stature, swarthy of skin, dark of hair, long-skulled. Their characteristic weapon or implement was a stone axe, ground, not chipped, to a sharp edge; they buried their dead in a crouching attitude in the long barrows which are still to be seen in certain parts of Dorset, chiefly to the north-east of the Stour Valley. When and how they came into Britain we cannot tell for certain; it was undoubtedly after the glacial epoch, and probably at a time when the Straits of Dover had not come into being and the Thames was still a tributary of the Rhine. They were in what is known as the Neolithic stage of civilisation; but in course of time, after this country had become an island, invaders broke in upon them, Aryans of the Celtic race, probably (as Professor Rhys thinks, though he says he is not certain on this point) of the Goidelic branch. These men were tall, fair-headed, blue-eyed, round-skulled, and were in a more advanced stage of civilisation than the Iberians, using bronze weapons, and burying their dead, sometimes after cremation, in the round barrows that exist in such large numbers on the Dorset downs. Their better arms and greater strength told in the warfare that ensued: whether the earlier inhabitants were altogether destroyed, or expelled or lived on in diminished numbers in a state of slavery, we have no means of ascertaining. But certain it is that the Celts became masters of the land. These men were some of those who are called in school history books "Ancient Britons"; the Wessex folk

Part of the Olga Road Tessellated Pavement, Dorchester.

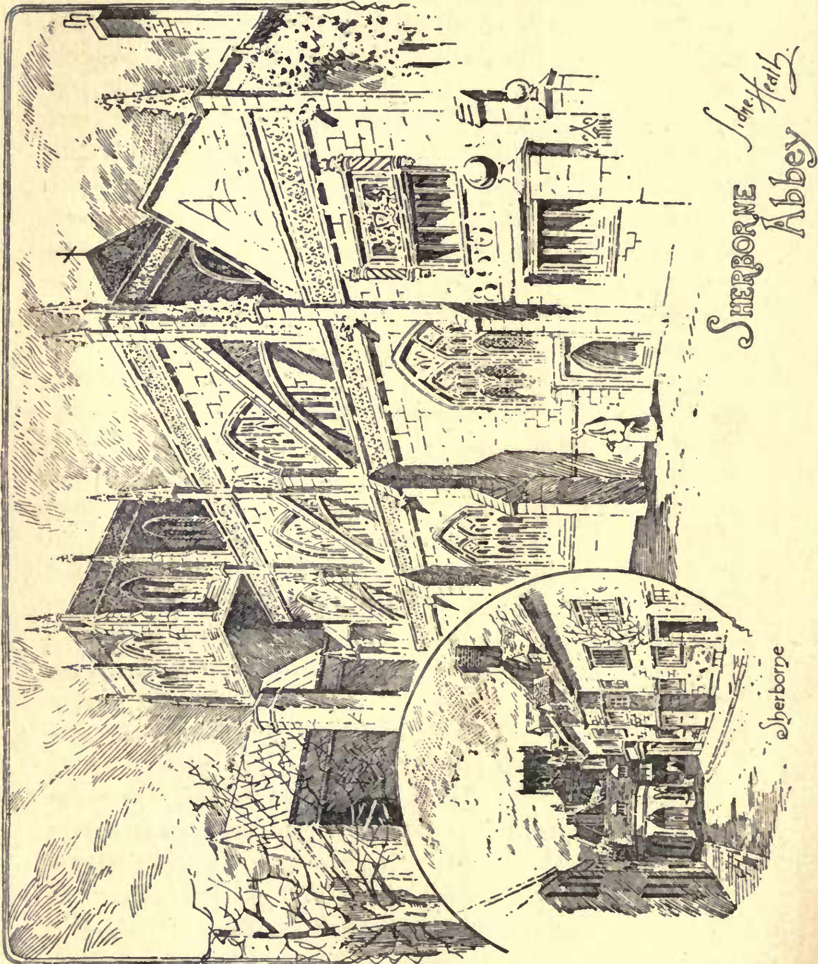
in after days called them "Welsh"—that is, "foreigners"—the word that in their language answered to βάρβαροι and "barbari" of the Greeks and Romans. What they called themselves we do not know. Ptolemy speaks of them as "Durotriges," the name by which they were known to the Romans. Despite various conjectures, the etymology of this word is uncertain. The land which they inhabited was, as already pointed out, much isolated. The lofty cliffs from the entrance to Poole Harbour to Portland formed a natural defence; beyond this, the long line of the Chesil beach, and further west, more cliffs right on to the mouth of the Axe. Most of the lowlands of the interior were occupied by impenetrable forests, and the slow-running rivers, which even now in rainy seasons overflow their banks, and must then, when the rainfall was much heavier than now, have spread out into swamps, rendered unnavigable by their thick tangle of vegetation. The inhabitants dwelt on the sloping sides of the downs, getting the water they needed from the valleys, and retiring for safety to the almost innumerable encampments that crowned the crests of the hills, many of which remain easily to be distinguished to this day. Nowhere else in England in an equal area can so many Celtic earthworks be found as in Dorset. The Romans came in due course, landing we know not where, and established themselves in certain towns not far from the coasts.

The Celts were not slain or driven out of their land, but lived on together with the Romans, gradually advancing in civilisation under Roman influence. They had already adopted the Christian religion: they belonged to the old British Church, which lived on in the south-west of England even through that period when the Teutonic invaders—Jutes, Angles, Saxons—devastated the south-east, east, north, and central parts of the island, and utterly drove westward before them the Celtic Christians into Wales and the south-west of Scotland. Dorset

remained for some time untouched, for though the Romans had cleared some of the forests before them, and had cut roads through others, establishing at intervals along them military stations, and strengthening and occupying many of the Celtic camps, yet the vast forest —" Selwood," as the English called it—defended Dorset from any attack of the West Saxons, who had settled further to the east. Once, and once only, if we venture, with Professor Freeman, to identify Badbury Rings, near Wimborne, on the Roman Road, with the Mons Badonicus of Gildas, the Saxons, under Cerdic, in 516, invaded the land of the Durotriges, coming along the Roman Road which leads from Salisbury to Dorchester, through the gap in the forest at Woodyates, but found that mighty triple ramparted stronghold held by Celtic Arthur and his knights, round whom so much that is legendary has gathered, but who probably were not altogether mythical. In the fight that followed, the Christian Celt was victorious, and the Saxon invader was driven in flight back to his own territory beyond Selwood. Some place Mons Badonicus in the very north of England, or even in Scotland, and say that the battle was fought between the Northumbrians and the North Welsh: if this view is correct, we may say that no serious attack was made on the Celts of Dorset from the east. According to Mr. Wildman's theory, as stated in his *Life of St. Ealdhelm*—which theory has a great air of probability about it—the Wessex folk, under Cenwealh, son of Cynegils, the first Christian King of the West Saxons, won two victories: one at Bradford-on-Avon in 652, and one at the "Hills" in 658. Thus North Dorset was overcome, and gradually the West Saxons passed on westward through Somerset, until in 682 Centwine, according to the English Chronicle, drove the Welsh into the sea. William of Malmesbury calls them "Norht Walæs," or North Welsh, but this is absurd: Mr. Wildman thinks "Norht" may be a mistake for "Dorn," or "Thorn," and that the

Celts of Dorset are meant, and that the sea mentioned is the English Channel. From this time the fate of the Durotriges was sealed: their land became part of the great West Saxon kingdom. Well indeed was it for them that they had remained independent until after the time when their conquerors had ceased to worship Woden and Thunder and had given in their allegiance to the White Christ; for had these men still been worshippers of the old fierce gods, the Celts would have fared much worse. Now, instead of being exterminated, they were allowed to dwell among the West Saxon settlers, in an inferior position, but yet protected by the West Saxon laws, as we see from those of Ine who reigned over the West Saxons from 688 to 728. The Wessex settlers in Dorset were called by themselves "Dornsæte," or "Dorsæte," whence comes the name of Dorset. It will be seen then, that Dorset is what Professor Freeman calls a "ga" —the land in which a certain tribe settled—and differs entirely from those divisions made after the Mercian land had been won back from the Danes, when shires were formed by shearing up the newly recovered land, not into its former divisions which the Danish conquest had obliterated, but into convenient portions, each called after the name of the chief town within its borders, such as Oxfordshire from Oxford, Leicestershire from Leicester. The Danes did for a time get possession of the larger part of Wessex, but it was only for a time: the boundaries of Dorset were not wiped out, and there was no need to make any fresh division. So when we use the name Dorset for the county we use the very name that it was known by in the seventh century. It is also interesting to observe that Dorset has been Christian from the days of the conversion of the Roman Empire, that no altars smoked on Dorset soil to Woden, no temples were built in honour of Thunder, no prayers were offered to Freya; but it is also worth notice that the Celtic Christian Church was not ready to amalgamate with the Wessex Church,

which had derived its Christianity from Papal Rome. However, the Church of the conquerors prevailed, and Dorset became not only part of the West Saxon kingdom,



but also of the West Saxon diocese, under the supervision of a bishop, who at first had his bishop-stool at Dorchester, not the Dorset town, but one of the same name

on the Thames, not far from Abingdon. In 705, when Ine was King, it received a bishop of its own in the person of St. Ealdhelm, Abbot of Malmesbury, who on his appointment placed his bishop-stool at Sherborne: he did not live to hold this office long, for he died in 709. But a line of twenty-five bishops ruled at Sherborne, the last of whom—Herman, a Fleming brought over by Edward the Confessor—transferred his see in 1075 to Old Sarum, as it is now called; whereupon the church of Sherborne lost its cathedral rank.

The southern part of Dorset, especially in the neighbourhood of Poole Harbour, suffered much during the time that the Danes were harrying the coast of England. There were fights at sea in Swanage Bay, there were fights on land round the walls of Wareham, there were burnings of religious houses at Wimborne and Wareham. Then followed the victories of Alfred, and for a time Dorset had rest. But after Edward was murdered at "Corfesgeat" by his step-mother Ælfthryth's order, and the weak King Ethelred was crowned, the Danes gave trouble again. The King first bribed them to land alone; and afterwards, when, trusting to a treaty he had made with them, many Danes had settled peacefully in the country, he gave orders for a general massacre—men, women and children—on St. Brice's Day (November 13th), 1002. Among those who perished was a sister of Swegen, the Danish King, Christian though she was. This treacherous and cruel deed brought the old Dane across the seas in hot haste to take terrible vengeance on the perpetrator of the dastardly outrage. All southern England, including Dorset, was soon ablaze with burning towns. The walls of Dorchester were demolished, the Abbey of Cerne was pillaged and destroyed, Wareham was reduced to ashes. Swegen became King, but reigned only a short time, and his greater son, Cnut, succeeded him. When he had been recognised as King by the English, and had got rid of all probable rivals, he

governed well and justly, and the land had rest. Dorset had peace until Harold had fallen on the hill of Battle, and the south-eastern and southern parts of England had acknowledged William as King. The men of the west still remained independent, Exeter being the chief city to assert its independence. In 1088 William resolved to set about to subdue these western rebels, as he called them. He demanded that they should accept him as King, take oaths of allegiance to him, and receive him within their walls. To this the men of Exeter made answer that they would pay tribute to him as overlord of England as they had paid to the previous King, but that they would not take oaths of allegiance, nor would they allow him to enter the city. William's answer was an immediate march westward. Professor Freeman says that there is no record of the details of his march; but naturally it would lie through Dorset, the towns of which were in sympathy with Exeter. Knowing what harsh and cruel things William could do when it suited his purpose, we cannot for a moment doubt that he fearfully harried all the Dorset towns on the line of his march, seeking by severity to them to overawe the city of Exeter.

In the wars between Stephen and Maud, Dorset was often the battle-ground of the rival claimants for the throne. Wareham, unfortunate then, as usual, was taken and re-taken more than once, first by one party, then by the other; but lack of space prevents the telling of this piece of local history.

King John evidently had a liking for Dorset. He often visited it, having houses of his own at Bere Regis, Canford, Corfe, Cranborne, Gillingham, and Dorchester. In the sixteenth year of his reign he put strong garrisons into Corfe Castle and Wareham as a defence against his discontented barons.

In the wars between his son, Henry III., and the Barons there was fighting again in Dorset, especially at Corfe. Dorset, among other seaside counties, supplied

ships and sailors to Edward III. and Henry V. for their expeditions against France.

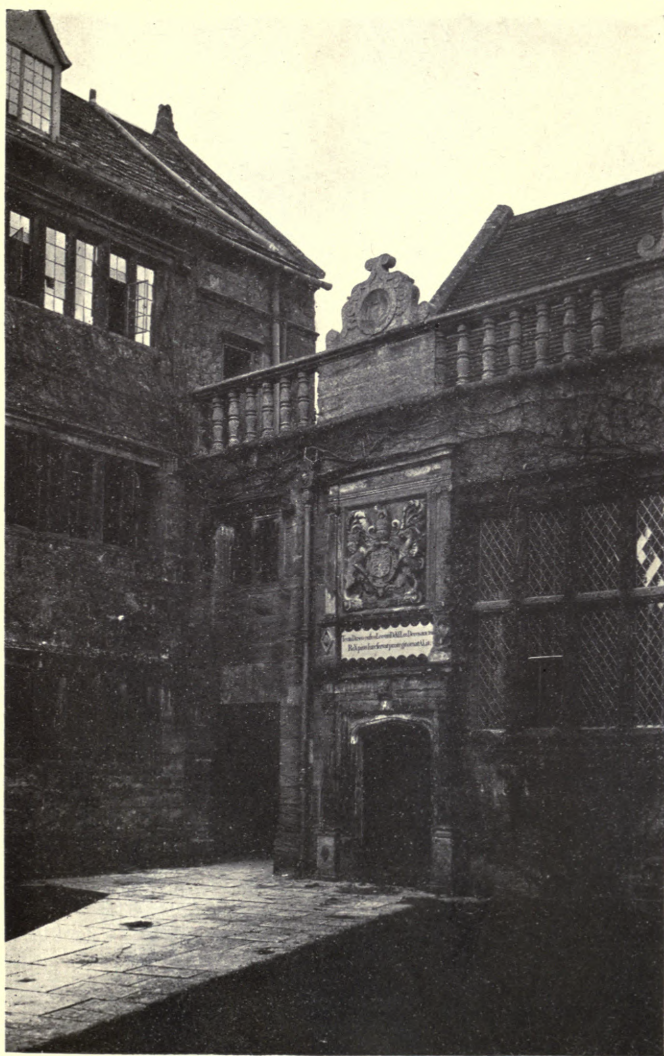
The Wars of the Roses seem hardly to have touched the county; but one incident must be mentioned: On April 14th, 1471, Margaret, wife of Henry VI., landed at Weymouth with her son Edward and a small band of Frenchmen; but she soon heard that on the very day of her landing her great supporter, though once he had been her bitterest enemy, Warwick the King-maker, had been defeated and slain at Barnet. This led her to seek sanctuary in the Abbey at Cerne, about sixteen miles to the north of Weymouth; but her restless spirit would not allow her long to stay in this secluded spot, and she started with young Edward, gathering supporters as she went, till on May 4th her army was defeated at Tewkesbury, and there her last hopes were extinguished when King Edward IV. smote her son, who had been taken prisoner, with gauntleted hand upon the mouth, and the daggers of Clarence and Gloucester ended the poor boy's life.

We hear nothing of resistance on the part of Dorset to the Earl of Richmond when he came to overthrow Richard III. Probably, as the Lancastrian family of the Beauforts were large landowners in Dorset, Dorset sympathy was enlisted on the side of the son of the Lady Margaret, great-granddaughter of John of Gaunt.

Like all the rest of England, Dorset had to see its religious houses suppressed and despoiled; its abbots and abbesses, with all their subordinate officers, as well as

their monks and nuns, turned out of their old homes, though let it in fairness be stated, not unprovided for, for all those who surrendered their ecclesiastical property to the King received pensions sufficient to keep them in moderate comfort, if not in affluence. Dorset accepted the dissolution of the monasteries and the new services without any manifest dissatisfaction. There was no rioting or fighting as in the neighbouring county of Devon.

Dorset did not escape so easily in the days of the Civil War. Lyme, holden for the Parliament by Governor Creely and some 500 men, held out from April 20th to June 16th, 1644, against Prince Maurice with 4,000 men, when the Earl of Essex came to its relief. Corfe Castle and Sherborne Castle were each besieged twice. Abbotsbury was taken by Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper in September, 1644. Wareham, also, was more than once the scene of fighting. In the north of Dorset a band of about 5,000 rustics, known as "Clubmen," assembled. These men knew little and cared less for the rival causes of King and Parliament which divided the rest of England; but one thing they did know and greatly cared for: they found that ever and again bands of armed horsemen came riding through the villages, some singing rollicking songs and with oaths on their lips, others chanting psalms and quoting the Bible, but all alike treading down their crops, demanding food, and sometimes their horses, often forgetting to pay for them; so they resolved to arm themselves and keep off Cavaliers and Roundheads alike. At one time they encamped at Shaftesbury, but could not keep the Roundheads from occupying the Hill Town; so they, to the number of 4,000, betook themselves to the old Celtic camp of Hambledon, some seven or eight miles to the south. Cromwell himself, in a letter to Fairfax, dated August 4th, 1645, tells what befell them there:



The Entrance to Sherborne School.

"We marched on to Shaftesbury, when we heard a great body of them was drawn up together about Hambledon Hill. I sent up a forlorn hope of about 50 horse, who coming very civily to them, they fired upon them; and ours desiring some of them to come to me were refused with disdain. They were drawn into one of the old camps upon a very high hill. They refused to submit, and fired at us. I sent a second time to let them know that if they would lay down their arms no wrong should be done them. They still—through the animation of their leaders, and especially two vile ministers[1]—refused. When we came near they let fly at us, killed about two of our men, and at least four horses. The passage not being for above three abreast kept us out, whereupon Major Desborow wheeled about, got in the rear of them, beat them from the work, and did some small execution upon them, I believe killed not twelve of them, but cut very many, and put them all to flight. We have taken about 300, many of whom are poor silly creatures, whom, if you please to let me send home, they promise to be very dutiful for time to come, and will be hanged before they come out again."

From which we see that "Grim old Oliver," who could be severe enough when policy demanded it, yet could show mercy at times, for throughout this episode his dealings with the Clubmen were marked with much forbearance.

Charles II., after his defeat at Worcester, September 3rd, 1651, during his romantic wanderings and hidings before he could get safe to sea, spent nearly three weeks in what is now Dorset, though most of the time he was in concealment at the Manor House at Trent, which was then within the boundaries of Somerset, having only recently been transferred to Dorset. This manor house belonged to Colonel Francis Wyndham. Hither on

[1] One of these was the Rev. Mr. Bravel, Rector of Compton Abbas.

Wednesday, September 17th, came Jane Lane, sister of Colonel Lane, from whose house at Bentley, Worcestershire, she had ridden on a pillion behind one who passed as her groom, really Charles in disguise, with one attendant, Cornet Lassels. Jane and the Cornet left Trent the next day on their return journey, and Charles was stowed away in Lady Wyndham's room, from which there was access to a hiding-place between two floors. His object was to effect his escape from one of the small Dorset ports. Colonel Wyndham rode next day to Melbury Sampford, where lived Sir John Strangways, to see if either of his sons could manage to hire a boat at Lyme, Weymouth, or Poole, which would take Charles to France. He failed in this, but brought back one hundred pounds, the gift of Sir John Strangways. Colonel Wyndham then went to Lyme to see one Captain Ellesdon, to whom he said that Lord Wilmot wanted to be taken across to France. Arrangements were then made with Stephen Limbrey, the skipper of a coasting vessel, to take a party of three or four Royalist gentlemen to France from Charmouth. Lord Wilmot was described as a Mr. Payne, a bankrupt merchant running away from his creditors, and taking his servant (Charles) with him. It was agreed that Limbrey should have a rowing-boat ready on Charmouth beach on the night of September 22nd, when the tide was high, to convey the party to his ship and carry them safe to France, for which service he was to receive £60. September 22nd was "fair day" at Lyme, and as many people would probably be about, it was necessary that the party should find some safe lodging where they could wait quietly till the tide was in, about midnight. Rooms were secured, as for a runaway couple, at a small inn at Charmouth. At this inn on Monday morning arrived Colonel Wyndham, who acted as guide, and his wife and niece, a Mrs. Juliana Coningsby (the supposed eloping damsel), riding behind her groom (Charles). Lord Wilmot, the supposed bridegroom, with

Colonel Wyndham's confidential servant, Peters, followed. Towards midnight Wyndham and Peters went down to the beach, Wilmot and Charles waiting at the inn ready to be called as soon as the boat should come. But no signs of the boat appeared throughout the whole night. It seems that Mrs. Limbrey had seen posted up at Lyme a notice about the heavy penalty that anyone would incur who helped Charles Stuart to escape, and suspecting that the mysterious enterprise on which her husband was engaged might have something to do with helping in such an escape, she, when he came back in the evening to get some things he had need of for the voyage, locked him in his room and would not let him out; and he dared not break out lest the noise and his wife's violent words might attract attention and the matter get noised abroad. Charles, by Wyndham's advice, rode off to Bridport the next morning with Mistress Coningsby, as before, the Colonel going with them; Wilmot stayed behind. His horse cast a shoe, and Peters took it to the smith to have another put on; and the smith, examining the horse's feet, said: "These three remaining shoes were put on in three different counties, and one looks like a Worcester shoe." When the shoe was fixed, the smith went to a Puritan minister, one Bartholomew Wesley, and told him what he suspected. Wesley went to the landlady of the inn: "Why, Margaret," said he, "you are now a maid of honour." "What do you mean by that, Mr. Parson?" said she. "Why, Charles Stuart lay at your house last night, and kissed you at his departure, so that you cannot now but be a maid of honour." Whereupon the hostess waxed wroth, and told Wesley that he was an ill-conditioned man to try and bring her and her house into trouble; but, with a touch of female vanity, she added: "If I thought it was the King, as you say it was, I should think the better of my lips all the days of my life. So, Mr. Parson, get you out of my house, or I'll get those who shall kick you out."

However, the matter soon got abroad, and a pursuit began. Meanwhile, Charles and his party had pressed on into Bridport, which happened to be full of soldiers mustering there before joining a projected expedition to capture the Channel Islands for the Parliament. Charles's presence of mind saved him. He pushed through the crowd into the inn yard, groomed the horse, chatted with the soldiers, who had no suspicion that he was other than he seemed, and then said that he must go and serve his mistress at table. By this time Wilmot and Peters had arrived, and they told him of the incident at the shoeing forge; so, losing no time, the party started on the Dorchester road, but, turning off into a by-lane, got safe to Broadwinsor, and thence once more to Trent, which they reached on September 24th. On October 5th Wilmot and Charles left Trent and made their way to Shoreham in Sussex. But they had not quite done with Dorset yet; for it was a Dorset skipper, one Tattersal, whose business it was to sail a collier brig, *The Surprise*, between Poole and Shoreham, who carried Charles Stuart and Lord Wilmot from Shoreham to Fécamp, and received the £60 that poor Limbrey might have had save for his wife's interference.

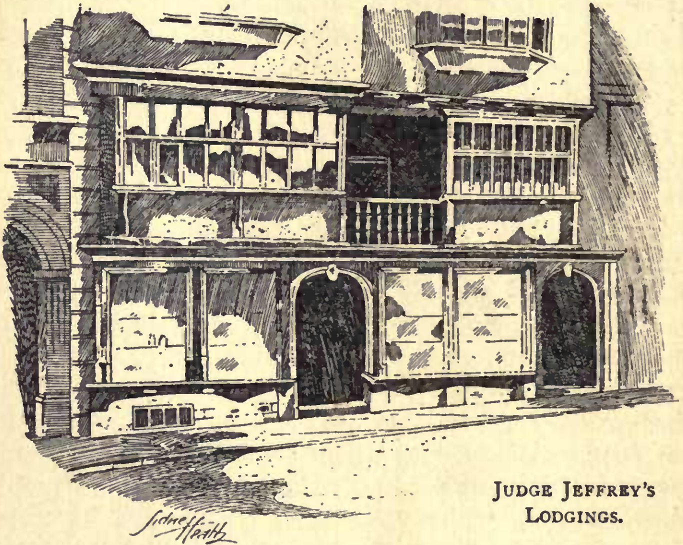
Dorset was the stage on which were acted the first and one of the concluding scenes of the Duke of Monmouth's rebellion in 1685. On June 11th the inhabitants of Lyme Regis were sorely perplexed when they saw three foreign-looking ships, which bore no colours, at anchor in the bay; and their anxiety was not lessened when they saw the custom house officers, who had rowed out, as their habit was, to overhaul the cargo of any vessel arriving at the port, reach the vessel but return not again. Then from seven boats landed some eighty armed men, whose leader knelt down on the shore to offer up thanksgiving for his safe voyage, and to pray for God's blessing on his enterprise. When it was known that this leader was the Duke of Monmouth the people welcomed him, his

blue flag was set up in the market place, and Monmouth's undignified Declaration—the composition of Ferguson—was read. That same evening the Mayor, who approved of none of these things, set off to rouse the West in the King's favour, and from Honiton sent a letter giving information of the landing. On June 14th, the first blood was shed in a skirmish near Bridport (it was not a decisive engagement). Monmouth's men, however, came back to Lyme, the infantry in good order, the cavalry helter-skelter; and little wonder, seeing that the horses, most of them taken from the plough, had never before heard the sound of firearms.

Then Monmouth and his men pass off our stage. It is not for the local Dorset historian to trace his marches up and down Somerset, or to describe the battle that was fought in the early hours of the morning of July 6th under the light of the full moon, amid the sheet of thick mist, which clung like a pall over the swampy surface of the level stretch of Sedgemoor. Once again Dorset received Monmouth, no longer at the head of an enthusiastic and brave, though a badly armed and undisciplined multitude, but a lonely, hungry, haggard, heartbroken fugitive. On the morning of July 8th he was found in a field near Horton, which still bears the name of Monmouth's Close, hiding in a ditch. He was brought before Anthony Etricke of Holt, the Recorder of Poole, and by him sent under escort to London, there to meet his ghastly end on Tower Hill, and to be laid to rest in what Macaulay calls the saddest spot on earth, St. Peter's in the Tower, the last resting-place of the unsuccessfully ambitious, of those guilty of treason, and also of some whose only fault it was that they were too near akin to a fallen dynasty, and so roused the fears and jealousy of the reigning monarch.

Everyone has heard of the Bloody Assize which followed, but the names and the number of those who perished were not accurately known till a manuscript of

forty-seven pages, of folio size, was offered for sale among a mass of waste paper in an auction room at Dorchester, December, 1875.[1] It was bought by Mr. W. B. Barrett, and he found that it was a copy of the presentment of rebels at the Autumn Assizes of 1685, probably made for the use of some official of the Assize Court, as no doubt the list that Jeffreys had would have been written on parchment, and this was on paper. It gives the names of 2,611 persons presented at Dorchester,



JUDGE JEFFREY'S LODGINGS.

Exeter, and Taunton, as having been implicated in the rebellion, the parishes where they lived, and the nature of their callings. Of these, 312 were charged at Dorchester, and only about one-sixth escaped punishment. Seventy-four were executed, 175 were transported, nine were whipped or fined, and 54 were acquitted or were not captured. It is worth notice that the percentage of those punished at Exeter and Taunton was far less than

[1] *Proceedings of the Dorset Nat. Hist. and Antiquarian Field Club*, vol. v., p. 99.

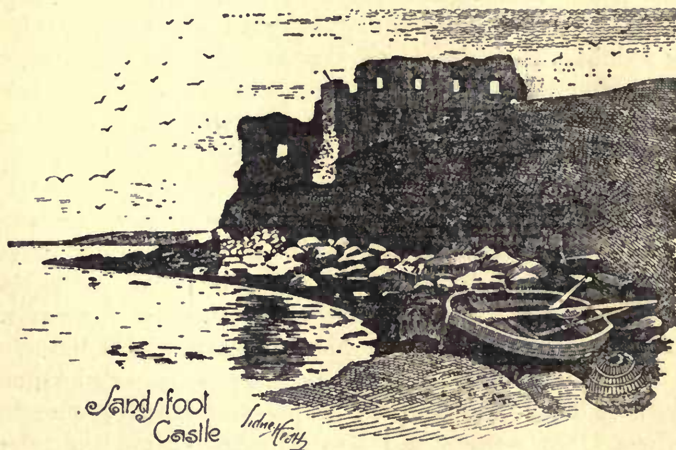
at Dorchester. Out of 488 charged at Exeter, 455 escaped; and at Taunton, out of 1,811, 1,378 did not suffer. It is possible that the Devon and Somerset rebels, having heard of Jeffreys' severity at Dorchester, found means of escape. No doubt many of the country folk who had not sympathized with the rebellion would yet help to conceal those who were suspected, when they knew (from what had happened at Dorchester) that if they were taken they would in all probability be condemned to death or slavery—for those "transported" were really handed over to Court favourites as slaves for work on their West Indian plantations. It is gratifying to know that it has been discovered, since Macaulay's time, that such of the transported as were living when William and Mary came to the throne were pardoned and set at liberty on the application of Sir William Young.

Monmouth was the last invader to land in Dorset; but there was in the early part of the nineteenth century very great fear among the Dorset folk that a far more formidable enemy might choose some spot, probably Weymouth, on the Dorset coast for landing his army. Along the heights of the Dorset downs they built beacons of dry stubs and furze, with guards in attendance, ready to flash the news of Napoleon's landing, should he land. The general excitement that prevailed, the false rumours that from time to time made the peaceable inhabitants, women and children, flee inland, and sent the men capable of bearing arms flocking seaward, are well described in Mr. Hardy's *Trumpet Major.* But Napoleon never came, and the dread of invasion passed away for ever in 1805.

In the wild October night time, when the wind raved round the land,
And the back-sea met the front-sea, and our doors were blocked with sand,
And we heard the drub of Dead-man's Bay, where bones of thousands are
But knew not what that day had done for us at Trafalgar.[1]

[1] *The Dynasts*, part i., p. 179.

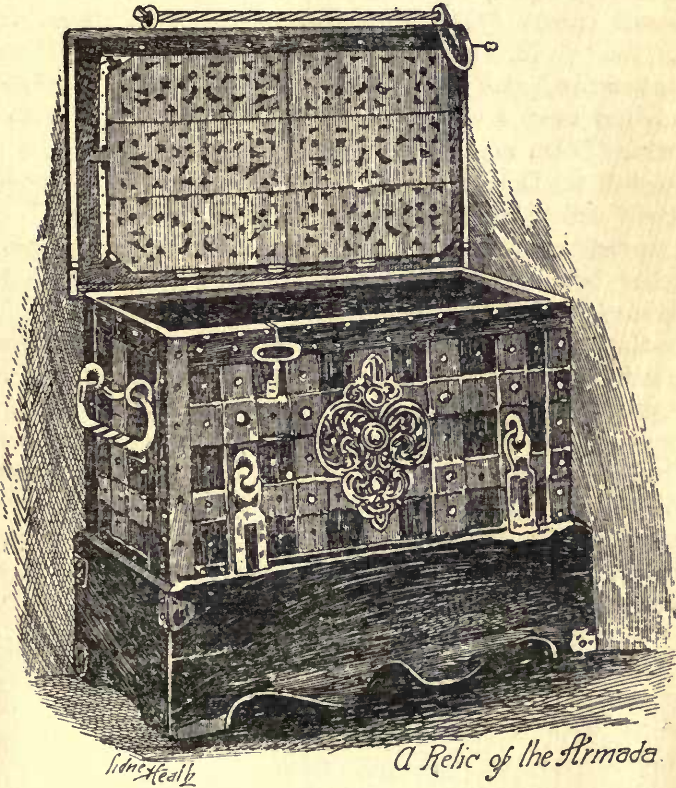
The isolation of Dorset, which has been before spoken of, has had much to do with preserving from extinction the old dialect spoken in the days of the Wessex kings. Within its boundaries, especially in "outstep placen," as the people call them, the old speech may be heard in comparative purity. Let it not be supposed that Dorset is an illiterate corruption of literary English. It is an older form of English; it possesses many words that elsewhere have become obsolete, and a grammar with rules as precise as those of any recognised language. No one



Sandsfoot Castle

not to the manner born can successfully imitate the speech of the rustics who, from father to son, through many generations have lived in the same village. A stranger may pick up a few Dorset words, only, in all probability, to use them incorrectly. For instance, he may hear the expression "thic tree" for "that tree," and go away with the idea that "thic" is the Dorset equivalent of "that," and so say "thic grass"—an expression which no true son of the Dorset soil would use; for, as the late William Barnes pointed out, things in Dorset are of two classes: (1) The personal class of formed things, as a

man, a tree, a boot; (2) the impersonal class of unformed quantities of things, as a quantity of hair, or wood, or water. "He" is the personal pronoun for class (1); "it" for class (2). Similarly, "thëase" and "thic" are the demonstratives of class (1); "this" and "that" of



A Relic of the Armada.

class (2). A book is "he"; some water is "it." We say in Dorset: "Thëase tree by this water," "Thic cow in that grass." Again, a curious distinction is made in the infinitive mood: when it is not followed by an object, it ends in "y"; when an object follows, the "y" is omitted:—"Can you mowy?" but "Can you mow this

grass for me?" The common use of "do" and "did" as auxiliary verbs, and not only when emphasis is intended, is noteworthy (the "o" of the "do" being faintly heard). "How do you manage about threading your needles?" asked a lady of an old woman engaged in sewing, whose sight was very dim from cataract. The answer came: "Oh, he" (her husband) "dô dread 'em for me." In Dorset we say not only "to-day" and "to-morrow," but also "to-week," "to-year." "Tar'ble" is often used for "very," in a good as well as a bad sense. There are many words bearing no resemblance to English in Dorset speech. What modern Englishman would recognise a "mole hill" in a "wont-heave," or "cantankerous" in "thirtover"? But too much space would be occupied were this fascinating subject to be pursued further.

National schools, however, are corrupting Wessex speech, and the niceties of Wessex grammar are often neglected by the children. Probably the true Dorset will soon be a thing of the past. William Barnes' poems and Thomas Hardy's Wessex novels, especially the latter, will then become invaluable to the philologist. In some instances Mr. Barnes' spelling seems hardly to represent the sound of words as they are uttered by Dorset, or, as they say here, "Darset" lips.

THOMAS PERKINS.

SOMERSET

TO a traveller, Somerset has much the same attractions as Holland. True, it is not all flat, yet the typical scene is ever the turf-clad moor, with its long "rhines" and invariable willows. That is the Somerset on which one looks down from the central peak of the Glastonbury Tor, with Mendip in the far dim vista. The broad pleasance of Taunton Dene, worthily named the Garden of England, and the happy hunting-grounds of Exmoor and Quantock, are also integral parts of the county; and east and south, round Yeovil and round Chard, are many lovely nooks, not to mention the superb beauty of the Avon. Still, the region of the peat and the gorges of Cheddar stand out distinct and individual. They are the heart and midriff of the land; in an imaginative sense, they make Somerset—once a fief of the sea.

If we turn from the natural to the animal kingdom, we shall be rewarded with discoveries of transcendent interest. To-day the red deer of Exmoor are the only large game that yet run wild in England, but the spade has brought to light abundant remains of fauna now wholly extinct or relegated to the tropics. That in prehistoric times herds of wild horses roamed over the plains of Somerset, making this the Argos of Britain, awakens little surprise, but the revelation of the hyæna den near Wookey is fairly amazing. It is hardly conceivable that there was ever a period when, in Britain, and in Somerset, the lion, the bear, the rhinoceros, the gigantic ox, the reindeer, the Irish elk, and the huge woolly mammoth were at large. And with them was man.

Compared with the teeth and claws of his fierce enemies, his natural means of defence how absurdly inadequate! Even his artificial weapons of bone, chert, and flint, his bows and his arrows, seem not very promising aids in his encounters with the big brutes which beset him on every hand. But he was acquainted with the use of fire, and the knowledge helped him to survive. The savages of that remote past were not of our race—they were neither Celts nor Saxons; and since then Somerset has been engulfed by the waves.

The Glastonbury lake-village is a relic of much later date, and has yielded manifest tokens of a comparatively high civilisation, which are stored, as they are harvested, in the local museum. The construction of those dwellings is believed to have preceded the Roman invasion by not more than a century or two, but the state of culture to which the fen-dwellers attained was in no way affected by Græco-Roman influences. It was indigenous—purely their own.

The legend of Bladud forms a pleasing exordium to the story of Bath, but, needless to say, cannot be seriously regarded by the historian, who will pay far more attention to the considerable traces of Roman occupation to be found in or near the Stall Street of that fashionable city. The large rectangular bath first discovered in 1754, and completely excavated in 1882, the inscribed sepulchral monuments that erst bordered the Fosse way from Devonshire or the Via Julia from South Wales—such are right objects of curiosity, and Bath has yet other memories of the Roman time.

The coming of St. Joseph of Arimathea to Glastonbury is a venerable myth, which no well-disposed person cares to disturb; but its historical foundation is so painfully slight that, if we believe, it is because we wish to believe, not because there is a tittle of honest proof.

The earliest invasion of Britain by the Romans was that conducted by Julius Cæsar in 55 B.C., but it was

not formed into a province until A.D. 43, when Claudius Nero was Emperor. For nearly four centuries the country remained subject to Roman domination; then the pressure of the Barbarians on the north-eastern frontiers of the Empire compelled the retirement of the eagles, and the civilized and Christian Britons had to defend their hearths against a multiplicity of foes—Picts, Scots, and English. It was in 449 that Hengest and Horsa, at the call of the distracted islanders, led their adventurous brethren to the conquest of Britain.

Of the conflicts which ensued, and from time to time were renewed, until the Britons as a race were exterminated, absorbed or banished to the recesses of Wales and Cornwall, the most generally famous are the wars wherein King Arthur waged twelve pitched battles against the Pagan hordes, and, if report be true, assailed the unfortunate Romans as well.

> Amazement runs before the towering casque
> Of Arthur, bearing through the stormy field,
> The Virgin sculptured on his Christian shield.

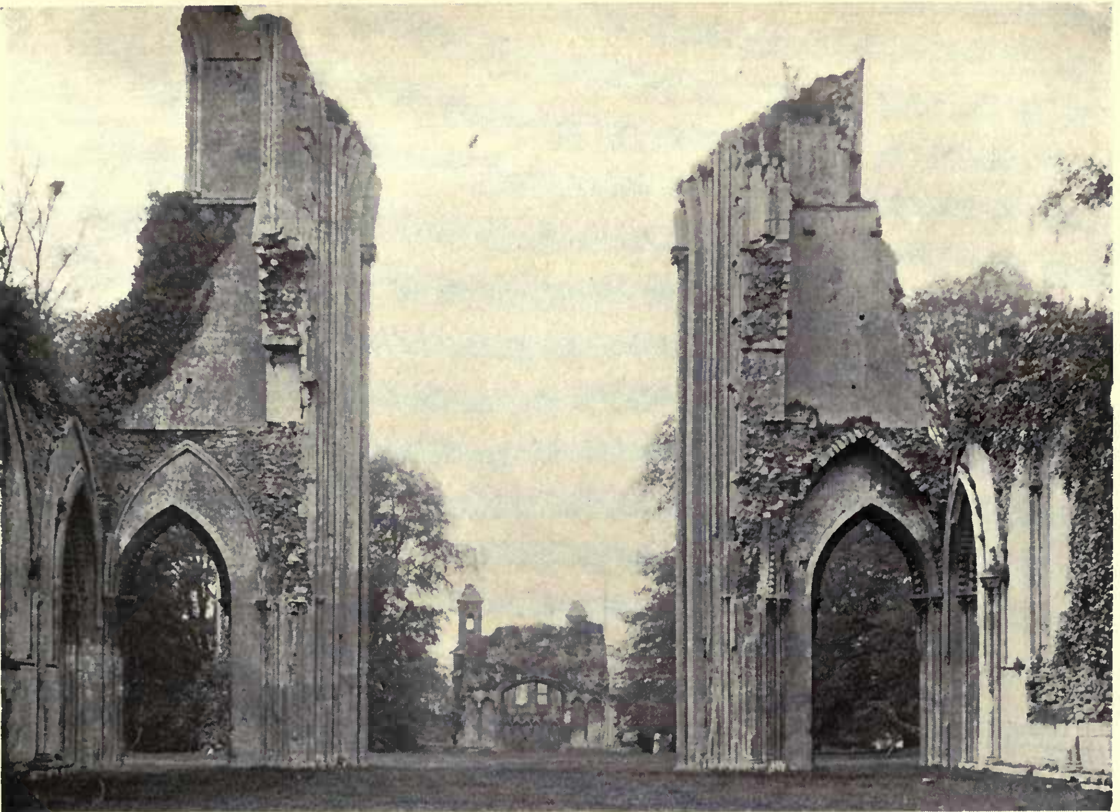
The date of Arthur is uncertain. If he lived at all, it was most likely in the fifth and sixth centuries of our era. Probably he did live; doubtless his exploits have been magnified, his personality idealised by a rout of bards, poets, and romancers, but *an* Arthur—not necessarily the Arthur that we know—is quite within the limits of reasonable acceptance. The *Saxon Chronicle*, indeed, is silent regarding him, but contains the significant statement that Cerdic and his followers were thwarted in their attempts to take possession of Somerset. Now Camelot and Avalon, two important centres of Arthurian traditions, are commonly identified with Cadbury and Glastonbury, and thus it is a fair inference that the Britons, who presented this stern front, were captained by the great Celtic hero of the post-Roman period.

It will be news to many in Somerset that Mr. A. Bilderbeck, in a brochure marked by considerable ingenuity and

learning, seeks to demolish Somerset's claims in this direction, tracing the whole fantasy to the "lies"—surely a harsh expression!—to the "lies" of William of Malmesbury, and transferring the scenes of Arthur's exploits to his beloved Lancashire. That he presents his case with real north-country "grit" and ability is undeniable, but the arguments in favour of Somerset are at least as cogent; and as most of the details of Arthur's career are purely romantic and mediæval, it seems hardly worth while, for the sake of illusory gain, to quarrel with established traditions. Gain to the world, I mean; but even to the County Palatine it would be something like usurpation to appropriate honours accorded for so many centuries to Somerset. If any of Arthur's battles can be accounted real, it is that of Badon Hill, and Badon Hill has, with much probability, been identified with Badbury Rings in Dorset. The fact that Welsh historians of the thirteenth century confused this battle with the capture of Bath sixty years later is no evidence either one way or the other.

Bath was taken by Ceawlin in A.D. 577, and the region between the Avon and the Axe was annexed to the kingdom of Wessex. The following century witnessed a momentous change in the conversion of the Saxons to the Christian faith, the religion of their adversaries. Unfortunately, the Roman mission, headed by St. Augustine, proclaimed doctrines and observances differing from those of the ancient British Church, and, as in these matters the tendency of human nature is to accentuate distinctions rather than seize on vital points of union, the introduction of Christianity did not produce so beneficent an effect as might have been anticipated.

In the middle of the seventh century Cenwealh established the bishopric of Winchester, and Cenwealh was the very king who completed the conquest of Somerset by driving the Welsh from the Axe to the Parret. Freeman, indeed, maintains that the work was accomplished with



Glastonbury Abbey.

the minimum of disturbance to Christian foundations like that at Glastonbury, but this has been reasonably doubted. Wars, especially wars of conquest, of necessity involve sweeping and violent changes, and it was perhaps not until the reign of King Ine (A.D. 688-726) that the land recovered from its wounds. Ine founded the bishopric of Sherborne, to which Somerset was assigned, and the first bishop, Aldhelm, has been claimed as a native of the county. Ine fixed his residence at South Petherton, but is better remembered as fortifying Taunton, where his first great council was held. The place was afterwards seized by rebellious Athelings, but recaptured by his heroic queen, Ethelburga.

On Ine's abdication Wessex fell temporarily under the sway of the Mercian King Ethelbald, whose defeat at Burford in 752 was largely due to the impetuous valour of a Somerset standard-bearer, who bore the Golden Dragon of Wessex into the thick of the fray.

In the following century Egbert was not only King of Wessex, but lord paramount of England. His right to the pre-eminence was contested by the King of Mercia in a battle at Ellandune, in Wiltshire; but, with the support of a gallant alderman of Somerset, one Hun, he succeeded in vanquishing his enemies. Egbert died in 837. During his latter years he had to meet and defeat the intrusive Danes, with whom he fought several actions; and the conflict thus begun was continued by Ethelwulf and his son Alfred, who was born in 849 at Wantage.

Somerset is, in a peculiar sense, the land of Alfred, since it was on the Isle of Athelney, at the confluence of the rivers Parret and Tone, that the greatest of English kings raised a fort for holding his adversaries at bay until the moment for leading his devoted subjects to the decisive victory of Edington. Some question exists as to whether this was the Somerset Edington or a village of the same name in Wiltshire; probably, how-

ever, it was the former. In any case, the treaty of Wedmore, which spelt peace for several generations of West Saxons, was a Somerset frith; and most of the incidents which preceded it, including the well-known episode of the cowherd's wife and the cakes, took place within the limits of the county.

Alfred's son and successor, Edward the Elder, was the founder of the see of Wells, where a church had been built by King Ine, the founder or restorer of Glastonbury Abbey; and the abbot of this monastery was designated as the first to have become St. Athelm, since, at the battle of Brunanburh, in which King Athelstan defeated the Danes, that monarch, having lost his sword, prayed to God and St. Athelm, and in reward for his piety found another in its sheath.

The most celebrated among Somerset churchmen is Dunstan, who occupied the archiepiscopal chair, and who, before that, was Abbot of Glastonbury, in or near which town he first saw the light in 925. The greatness of Dunstan is unquestioned, but, as is the case with Wolsey and Laud, his ecclesiastical policy, and even his personal character, by no means command universal approval. Dean Hook hardly knows what to make of him. Though he dubs him an "able statesman" and a "bold reformer," he finds him at the same time a "delirious dreamer," a "monomaniac," and a "ventriloquist." He was implacably severe to the married clergy, and terribly inhuman to violators of Church law, but he was a great administrator, and figures in private life as an Admirable Crichton.

In 976, Edgar, Dunstan's pupil, was crowned at Bath with imposing splendour, which seems to have left a lasting impression on the minds of the inhabitants. In the reign of Henry VIII., Leland could write: "They pray in all ceremonies for his soul, and at Whitsunday tide, at which time folk say that there Edgar was crowned, there is a King elected at Bath every year in joyful

remembrance of King Edgar and the privileges given to the town by him." This old custom served to excuse the infinite follies of the Pump Room, when to Beau Nash, as King of Bath, the habitués made humble obeisance.

Dunstan died in 988, the year in which Watchet was harried by the Danes. His successors, Ethelgar and Sigeric, were both Somerset men, and the latter counselled Ethelred the Unready to buy off the Vikings, who were becoming extremely troublesome. The futile and fatal character of such advice was clearly realised by Alphege, another Somerset Archbishop, who strenuously resisted the imposition of Danegelt, and paid the penalty for his patriotism with his life, being captured and assassinated by the pirates in 1002. The kingdom was now divided, Canute holding one part and Edmund Ironside the other. On the death of Edmund, Canute became King of the entire realm, and a touching incident of his reign is his visit to his "brother's" tomb at Glastonbury.

The connection between the last of the Saxon Kings and Somerset is particularly close. Harold was the son of Godwin, Earl of Wessex, and both were banished by Edward the Confessor for refusing to punish certain Englishmen who had revenged a Norman murder by slaying a score of that nation. Godwin passed to the Continent and Harold to Ireland. On his return, the younger noble touched at Porlock with his flotilla of nine vessels and appears to have requisitioned supplies. At any rate, a sanguinary quarrel took place between his followers and the men of the place, and when he left the haven he loaded his ships with cattle and other provisions, making no compensation. Furthermore, as Earl of Wessex, Harold had a controversy with Bishop Giso of Wells concerning the manors of Banwell and Congresbury, so that with some West Country people he can hardly have been popular.

However, in 1066, on the death of Edward the Confessor, he was chosen by the council of the nation

to succeed him; but, as all the world knows, the will of the nation was not destined to prevail. Before marching to the stricken field of Senlac, Harold knelt to pray in the Abbey of the Holy Cross at Waltham, which he had himself built for the reception of a black marble cross dug up at Montacute, in Somerset, an estate of his standard-bearer, Tofig. It may be added that in the Bayeux tapestry, Harold is depicted with the flag of the Golden Dragon waving over him—that flag which was the proud symbol of Wessex from the days of the glorious King Ine.

In 1068, Montacute was granted by the Conqueror to his brother Robert, and in the same year Harold's son and master of the horse, Eadworth, having swooped on the coast of Somerset with his two brethren, was slain in fight. The survivors re-embarked in their vessels, and are heard of no more. Meanwhile, there were disorders in Church as well as State; and Thurstan, a Norman who had supplanted Egelnoth as Abbot of Glastonbury, was the author of a bloody outrage against the Saxon monks, reluctant to part with the old familiar Gregorian tones. Norman soldiers were let loose upon them, and some of Thurstan's flock were butchered whilst clinging to the altar. Then, with the courage of despair, the churchmen turned upon their assailants, killed two of them, and ejected the remainder from the minster.

As will be remembered, Robert was the darling of the Norman nobles, and when the Conqueror was no more, William II. sought English help in order to maintain himself on the throne. In the fratricidal struggle, Bath was burnt by the insurgents, and Ilchester, which declared for the King, was beleaguered by Robert Mowbray, Earl of Northumberland, but he did not succeed in taking it. The rebellion died down, and then William struck an important bargain with his physician and chaplain, John de Villula, selling him at much less than its value the Bishopric of Wells. It happened, how-

Entrance Gate, Bishop's Palace, Wells.

ever, that the favourite preferred to make Bath his see, and covenanted with his sovereign to pay him five hundred marks, by means of which he acquired abbey and baths, rights of customs and tolls, and the profits accruing from the mint. This simoniacal transaction did not augur well for the diocese of the first Bishop of Bath and Wells, but John de Villula acquitted himself excellently, and to him was due the restoration of the abbey and the dwellings that had suffered, two years before his elevation, by the firing of the city.

In the Civil War between Stephen and the Empress Matilda, Richmond Castle, adjoining East Harptree, was held by Sir William of that ilk for the lady against Stephen, who marched into Somerset with a view to capturing it. The garrison imprudently sallied out, and before the soldiers could re-enter the fortress, Stephen's adherents, who were numerically superior, swarmed up, set fire to the gates, scaled the walls, and took possession of the stronghold. Another fort held in favour of Matilda was Dunster Castle, at that time the property of the Mohuns.

The murder of Thomas à Becket is attributable in part to Somerset men. Brito was of Sampford Brett, and Reginald Fitzurse resided at Williton. But that is not all. In 1210, Woodspring Priory, the ruins of which may yet be seen in the neighbourhood of Weston-super-Mare, was dedicated to St. Mary the Virgin and St. Thomas the Martyr. It was erected by a descendant of William de Tracy, one of the assassins, apparently in expiation of the crime, and a grand-daughter of Brito came forward as a benefactress. The seal of the prior was a cup, and, curiously enough, in 1852 there was discovered at Kewstoke Church, only two miles from the priory, a wooden cup, and on it were marks of human blood. This has been thought to be the identical cup used to catch the blood that dripped from Becket's

wounds; at any rate, the devotees may have been taught to regard it in that light.

William Lord Briwere, who conveyed to Germany the ransom of Richard Cœur de Lion, founded also Bridgwater Castle and a Hospital of St. John for poor priests at Eastover, but nothing now remains of those buildings. The great architectural feat of the early thirteenth century was the rebuilding of Wells Cathedral by Bishop Jocelyn, whose brother, the more famous Hugh, reared that of Lincoln.

It is worthy of a passing note that in the reign of King John the ruler of the King's navy was William de Wrotham, Archdeacon of Taunton, who, with the help of Geoffrey Luttrell, of Dunster Castle, superintended all the arrangements. Although a priest, he seems (unlike many of his civilian successors) to have been expert in the technique of naval construction.

Another Somerset worthy, who came rather later and figures in Fuller's pages, is Sir Matthew Gournay. He greatly distinguished himself in the French wars of Edward III. and the Black Prince; and it speaks volumes for his constitution that he not merely survived the hardships of those campaigns, but lived to the patriarchal age of ninety-six. His monument is still preserved at Stoke-sub-Ham, where he founded a castle and a church.

During the Wars of the Roses, Stoke Courcy (or Stogursey) Castle was taken and burnt by the brother-in-law of the King-maker, and the rebellion of Perkin Warbeck was productive of a number of stirring scenes in Somerset. At Taunton Castle a tax-gatherer who had taken refuge there was dragged forth and slaughtered; and at Wells, Lord Audley was induced to become the leader of the insurgent host. The royal commander who beat him at Blackheath—Lord Daubeny—was also of Somerset origin, and one of the ablest and most gallant generals of the age. Henry VII. in person accompanied Daubeny on his march to the West, and

was entertained for one night at the Deanery of Wells. On nearing Taunton the Pretender was informed of the advance of the royal army, and, losing heart, fled to the New Forest.

The great minister of Henry VIII., Cardinal Wolsey, was, in the time of his youth and obscurity, a schoolmaster at Limington, and at the Lopen Play, a rustic *fête* in an adjacent village, entered so completely into the spirit of the occasion as to become gloriously drunk. The case was reported to the first Sir Amyas Poulett, of Hinton St. George, who corrected the parson by placing him in the stocks. Wolsey never forgot this affront, and when in the plenitude of his power, summoned Sir Amyas before him, and made him a prisoner on parole in his own town house. After five years of this bondage, the gallant knight hit upon a happy device, which was to decorate his gateway with the chancellor's coat of arms. Touched by this sign of penitence and submission, Wolsey relented. The grandson of Sir Amyas, who won his knighthood on the field, was appointed to keep guard over the beautiful but ill-fated Mary Queen of Scots during her captivity in England.

The acts for the suppression of monasteries brought about the downfall of a number of religious houses in Somerset, including Bruton Abbey; Cleeve Abbey, near Watchet; Hinton Abbey, near Bath; Muchelney Abbey; Stavordale Priory, near Charlton-Musgrove; and Barlynch Priory, near Dulverton. Bath Abbey escaped, but not as the home of any order of monks. Many of the monasteries succumbed without protest or penalty, but not so Glastonbury Abbey, one of the most famous conventual institutions in the country. There the abbot, Richard Whiting, a man respected for his talents and of blameless life and conversation, was dragged on a hurdle to the Tor, and hanged, drawn and quartered in the sight of his own townspeople. The possessions of the abbey were confiscated; the abbey itself despoiled.

By such detestable cruelty and vandalism, Henry VIII. and his minister, Cromwell, covered themselves with eternal infamy.

One of the manors belonging to the abbey—Mells—was purchased by Thomas Horner, the hero of the nursery rhyme, and the deed of conveyance is still retained by the head of the family, who is at present Sir John F. F. Horner.

The King's School at Bruton, which was founded in 1549 by Richard Fitzjames, Bishop of London, Sir John Fitzjames, Lord Chief Justice of England, and John Edmondes, is an example of the Edwardian seminaries, which went some way to fill the void caused by the extinction of those centres of learning and refinement, the mediæval monasteries.

From Bruton, when invasion threatened in 1587, came the flattering report, signed by a Government official: "I must needs say that Somersetshire is a county second to none for serviceable men and willing and dutiful minds"; and a few months before the appearance of the formidable Armada the same observer testified: "The truth is, it is a most gallant county for men, armour, and readiness. They may well guard Her Majesty's person, if she had occasion to use them."

The first intimation of the approach of the "invincible" fleet reached the Council from Somerset in the form of a missive dated "Wellington, July 22nd, 1588." It was addressed by Sir John Popham to Lord Burleigh, and enclosed was a letter of a Bridgwater mariner, who declared that he had sighted the Spaniards off the coast of France, and they were making full sail for England. Popham inscribed the packet: "Haste, haste, I say—haste, posthaste, haste!" But he had no sort of fear. "The country I find everywhere ready and willing; our strength is so united that our enemies can never prevail against so gracious a Queen."

Interior of St. Joseph's Chapel, Glastonbury Abbey.

In Somerset the great Civil War began with the expulsion of the Royalists from Wells, where the leaders quartered themselves in the Bishop's Palace. The Parliamentarians, headed by Sir Edward Hungerford and Sir John Horner, were in the immediate vicinity to the number of about sixteen thousand, and their guns were trained on the Palace. After the first few shots had been fired, the Cavaliers evacuated the city; but, notwithstanding this initial reverse, the Royalists for a time held the upper hand, and in the stubborn battle of Lansdown, near Bath, won a notable victory, which, however, cost them their chivalrous chief, Sir Bevil Granville.

In 1645, Robert Blake, Somerset's greatest son, appeared on the scene, and matters soon wore a different aspect. Nunney Castle fell, then Bridgwater, then Taunton, where Blake was opposed to a compatriot, Ralph, Lord Hopton. The struggle came to an end with the capitulation of Dunster Castle. There again Blake was in command of the Parliamentarians, but met with rather less than his usual success. Francis Wyndham, equally indomitable, would only surrender on condition that the garrison was allowed to march out with the honours of war.

Forty years later the county was destined to witness fresh horrors. In the summer of 1680 the Duke of Monmouth visited Somerset, and was everywhere received with enthusiasm. Recollections of this triumphal progress seem to have determined his subsequent action, and in 1685 he re-entered its borders, not as a peaceful guest, but at the head of an army, with which he proposed to dispute the succession to the throne. Landing at Lyme on June 11th, he reached Taunton on the 18th, when he was presented with flags by young maidens, and proclaimed king in the market-place. From Taunton he proceeded to Bridgwater, and, on the invitation of the Mayor and Aldermen, took up his quarters at the Castle. Hardly a gentleman of note had joined him, and his

force consisted mainly of raw levies, poorly armed. Already failure stared him in the face.

Leaving Bridgwater, Monmouth led his men to Glastonbury, where some of them encamped in the grounds of the old abbey, through Wells to Shepton Mallet, and thence to Norton St. Philip. At the George Inn, which quaint hostel is yet standing, he informed his officers of his intention to attack Bristol, and the next day marched to Keynsham. A fire broke out in the docks during the night, but Monmouth did not avail himself of the confusion to deliver his promised assault; and on the following day a troop of Lifeguards, under General Oglethorpe, rode through Monmouth's ill-trained cavalry, which showed no ability whatever to resist them.

The Duke took this lesson to heart, and after a hasty visit to Bath, where the garrison declined his summons to surrender, made his way back to Norton St. Philip. Here he succeeded in repelling Feversham's advanced guard, but, without attempting any further stand, marched the next day to Frome, where he met with no support, and some of his principal officers deserted him. Monmouth himself had thoughts of escaping to the Continent, but just then the tidings reached him that the men of the marshes had risen and were pouring into Bridgwater. Once more he directed his course to that town, and from the tower of the parish church turned his telescope on the royal troops encamped on Sedgemoor.

Misled by reports of indiscipline and drunkenness, Monmouth resolved to attack them; and on July 6th, before daybreak, his army was crossing the "rhines." The first volley from the King's forces sent his cavalry flying, but the infantry stood their ground well. However, lack of ammunition proved fatal, and Monmouth, seeing that the day was lost, rode from the field. Still the men fought on, but with the arrival of the royal artillery all was over. Lord Churchill (afterwards the great Duke of Marlborough) held an important command

in the King's army, and to his dispositions the victory was largely due.

The triumph of legitimacy was disgraced by the horrible barbarities of "Kirke's Lambs" and the judicial murders of Judge Jeffreys; and on the Royalist side the only redeeming features in the collapse of the "Dissenting rebellion" were the humanity of Bishop Ken, whose cathedral the rebels had profaned, and the noble refusal of Sir Francis Warre, of Hestercombe, Member of Parliament for Bridgwater, to extort a ransom for the maids of Taunton. When the Prince of Orange landed at Torbay in 1688, this brave gentleman was one of the first to give in his adhesion; and another Tory who joined the avenger of blood was Sir Edward Seymour, a kinsman of the Duke of Somerset. Only one small skirmish marked the advance of the invaders. This took place at Wincanton, where a party, commanded by a lieutenant named Campbell, in quest of baggage horses, fell in with a body of Irish troops under Sarsfield. Being outnumbered by four to one, the detachment would doubtless have fared badly, but after the enemy had carried one hedge the rumour spread through their ranks that the entire army of the Prince of Orange was before them. This led to their speedy withdrawal.

It is needless to extend this disjointed, yet more or less continuous, sketch of county history, which now merges into national chronology, but, by way of conclusion, it seems only fitting to indicate very briefly some additional claims of the Summer Land to our notice and reverence. The beauty and variety of its church towers cannot fail to impress the most casual beholder, whilst Wells Cathedral, though one of the smallest, is also one of the most perfect of its order, especially when we take into account its accessories—the Chapter House, the Bishop's Palace, the Cloisters, etc. The Tudor manor-houses, such as Chew Court, Clevedon Court, and Montacute House, constitute another

charming element, and it may be doubted whether any county in England can outrival, or even rival, Somerset in the attractions of its domestic architecture.

The county is not specially strong in *belles lettres*. Samuel Daniel and Edward Dyer are poets of unquestioned excellence, and as such appeal to cultivated taste, but they do not belong to the highest circle of inspired bards, and to the mass of men their names are almost, if not quite, unknown. The same cannot be said of Chatterton, who was born in the Somerset quarter of Bristol, but the "marvellous boy" was essentially imitative, and owes his fame not so much to his talents as to his frauds and the tragedy of his end. Hartley Coleridge, a somewhat sickly genius, never attained nor deserved a tithe of his father's fame, but many of his poems, especially his sonnets, assure him a permanent place in classic English literature. Philosophy is more at home in Somerset, which can boast of Roger Bacon, John Locke, Ralph Cudworth, and Walter Bagehot; and in fiction it is represented by no less a writer than Henry Fielding. In the field of history the most prominent name is that of A. W. Kinglake. Neither art nor music is much indebted to Somerset, but travel and adventure have made several sons of Somerset illustrious. Tom Coryate is the prince of pedestrians, and Speke and Parry are among the heroes of discovery. Lastly, Admiral Blake and the Hoods have won imperishable laurels on the element which Britain traditionally holds in fee.

F. J. SNELL.

DEVONSHIRE

NO county of England is richer in historic associations and romantic memories than Devonshire, whose sons have proved themselves on many a stubborn day as brave as its daughters are proverbially fair. We may go further, and say that no English shire is richer, and only a few as rich, in those prehistoric remains which will always exercise a weird fascination over cultivated minds that would hold it sin to be incurious as to the beginnings, or, rather, the age-long development, of man upon the earth. The great mausoleum of these remains is Dartmoor, with its menhirs, its logans, its cromlechs (or dolmens), its circles and avenues, and its famous clapper-bridge; but all over the county are specimens of the typical round barrow, encrusted with hoar legends, and possessing, in addition, their strict scientific interest. The legends attach themselves to the individual barrows; the scientific problem is concerned with the almost unvarying form and type. Briefly, it may be stated that the Devonshire round barrow is a late variety of the cairn; the long barrow, which is numerously represented in the neighbouring county of Dorset, being older and corresponding to the long-headed race which preceded the round-headed Kelts in the occupation of Britain. The difference is between the Stone Age and the Bronze Age, to which the round barrows belong and bear witness. To the Stone Age are assigned the chambered round barrows, the so-called giants' graves, and the stone kists of Lundy Island.

Roughly contemporary with the typical round barrows are those mysterious remains in the great central waste, to which allusion has already been made. Just as false systems of astrology were elaborated before the dawn of clear scientific knowledge, so during the eighteenth century a complete hagiology was constructed respecting these remains, which has become untenable in view of more rigorous historical, philological, and anthropological investigation. In other words, the accepted interpretation of these moorland wonders connected them more or less definitely with Druidism. The prism of imagination presented those hierarchs in crimson hues. If their functions included inhuman sacrifices, they themselves were far from being deficient in dignity. What says Southey in *Caradoc?*

> Within the stones of federation there
> On the green turf, and under the blue sky,
> A noble band—the bards of Britain—stood,
> Their heads in rev'rence bow'd, and bare of foot,
> A deathless brotherhood.

But whether as priests or mere medicine men, the existence of Druids in Devon has yet to be proved. Drewsteignton derives its initial syllable not from them, but from Drogo; Wistman's Wood comes not from *wissen*, but is more probably *uisg-maen-coed* disguised in modern garb. And as for those basins on the summits of the Dartmoor tors, they are purely natural. So the whole delightful edifice which Polwhele was at such pains to build up, and which Mrs. Bray described to the sympathetic Southey, topples down, or, rather, vanishes into thin air, leaving not a wrack behind.

While the Druids, both locally and generally, belong rather to the region of myth than of solid history, the Romans are an indisputable fact in both senses. Still, their advent in the West Country is not free from obscurity. One thing seems fairly certain, namely, that they did not establish themselves in Devonshire by their

usual method of conquest. Exeter, however, was a thoroughly Roman city, and traces of the Imperial race are to be found in local names, such as Chester Moor, near North Lew, and in the ruins of Roman villas, as at Seaton and Hartland. The siege of Exeter by Vespasian is one of those fictitious events which, by dint of constant reiteration, work themselves into the brain as substantial verities. The place that Vespasian attacked was not Exeter, but Pensaulcoit (Penselwood), on the borders of Somerset and Wilts. Probably the Romans were content with a protectorate, under which the Britons were suffered to retain their nationality and their native princes.

The Saxons, though known as "wolves," certainly appeared as sheep or in sheep's clothing in their earliest attempts to settle in the county. They lived side by side with the Britons, notably at Exeter, where the dedications of the ancient parishes testify to the juxtaposition of British and Saxon. Here, also, it was that the West Saxon apostle of Germany, St. Boniface, was educated in a West Saxon school. But this state of things was not to last. In 710, Ine, the King of the West Saxons, vanquished Geraint, Prince of Devon, in a pitched battle; and although there is no reason to think that he extended his borders much to the west of Taunton, the work of subjugation thus begun was continued by Ine's successors, primarily by Cynewulf (755-784); and since, in 823, the men of Devon were marshalled against their kinsmen, the Cornish, at Gafulford, on the Tamar, the Saxon conquest must by that time have been complete. Still the victors were not satisfied. In 926, as we learn from William of Malmesbury, Athelstan drove the Britons out of Exeter, and, constituting the Tamar the limit of his jurisdiction, converted Devon into a purely Saxon province. The immense preponderance of Saxon names in all parts of the county proves how thoroughly this expropriation of the Kelts was carried into effect. The

theory held by Sir Francis Palgrave, amongst others, that the conquest of Devon was accomplished by halves, the Exe being for some time the boundary, rests upon no adequate grounds, neither evidence nor probability supporting it. In due course the whole county was mapped out into tithings and hundreds, in accordance with the Saxon methods of administration, and the executive official was the portreeve.

Parallel with the record of Saxon conquest runs the story of Danish endeavours—stubborn, long-protracted, but, on the whole, less successful—to secure a footing and affirm the superiority. In the first half of the ninth century, the Vikings, in alliance with the Cornish, were routed by Egbert in a decisive engagement at Hingston Down, when, according to a Tavistock rhyme—

> The blood that flowed down West Street
> Would heave a stone a pound weight.

During the latter half of the same century the Danes were again active, and in 877 made Exeter their head-quarters. Seventeen years later they besieged the city, which was relieved by Alfred the Great, who confided the direction of church affairs in the city and county to the learned Asser, author of the *Saxon Chronicle.* In 1001, the Danes, having landed at Exmouth, made an attempt on Exeter, when the Saxons of Devon and Somerset, hastening to the rescue, were overthrown in a severe encounter at Pinhoe, and the piratical invaders returned to their ships, laden with spoil. The following year was marked by a general massacre of the Danes at the behest of Ethelred, and, to avenge this treacherous slaughter, Sweyn (or Swegen) swooped, like a vulture, on the land, and, through the perfidy of Norman Hugh, the reeve, was admitted within the gates of Exeter. As usual on such occasions, red ruin was the grim sequel; but in after days, when the Danish dynasty was in secure possession of the throne, Canute cherished no malice by

reason of the tragic horror inflicted on his race, but conferred on Exeter's chief monastery the dignity of a cathedral.

In a secular as well as in a religious sense, far the most romantic episodes of Saxon rule in Devon centre around the old Abbey of St. Rumon, Tavistock, the largest and most splendid of all the conventual institutions in the fair county. Ordulf, the reputed founder, was no ordinary mortal. He looms through the mist of ages as a being of gigantic stature, whose delight it was, with one stroke of his hunting-knife, to cleave from their bodies the heads of animals taken in the chase, and whose thigh-bone, it is said, is yet preserved in Tavistock Church. But if he had something in common with Goliath and John Ridd, Ordulf was likewise, and very plainly, cousin-german to Saint Hubert, for, having been bidden in a vision, he built Tavistock Abbey, to whose site his wife was conducted by an angel. An alternative version associates with him in this pious work his father, Orgar. However that may be, the edifice was destroyed by the Danes in the course of a predatory expedition up the Tamar to Lydford. This was in 997. It was rebuilt on a still grander scale, and bore the assaults of time until the days of the sacrilegious Hal, when it was suppressed and given to William, Lord Russell.

So much for the Abbey. Now for the secular romance, which yields a striking illustration of Shakespeare's warning:—

> Friendship is constant in all other things
> Save in the office and affairs of love:
> Therefore all hearts in love use their own tongues
> Let ev'ry eye negotiate for itself
> And trust no agent; for beauty is a witch
> Against whose charms faith melteth into blood.

Orgar, the father of Ordulf, had a daughter named Elfrida, the fame of whose loveliness came to the ears

of the King. Edgar, being unwedded, despatched Earl Ethelwold to Tavistock on a mission of observation, and the courtier was empowered, if report erred not, to demand her in marriage for his royal master. Ethelwold came and saw, and was conquered. Although much older than the fair lady, he fell in love with her, and gained her assent and that of her father to their union. This he could do only by concealing from them the more advantageous offer of royal alliance. With equal duplicity he kept from the King not only the knowledge of his bride's surpassing beauty, but the bride herself, being assured that her appearance at court would be fatal. However, in no long time the truth leaked out, and Edgar set out for Dartmoor, ostensibly to hunt. Ethelwold, in desperation, now made full confession to his wife, whom he charged to disguise her charms, but the vain and ambitious woman, angered at his deceit, displayed them the more, and the King, resolved on Ethelwold's death, actually slew him at Wilverley, or Warlwood in the Forest.

After the departure of the Romans, and before the final absorption of Devon by the Saxons, there are signs that the Kelts of South-West Britain were in intimate touch with their brethren on the other side of St. George's Channel. At any rate, the Ogham inscriptions found in the neighbourhood of Tavistock testify to the missionary enterprise of the Island of Saints during the latter part of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth centuries after Christ. For most purposes, the centre of county life has from the first been Exeter, but to this rule there was at one time an important exception, which was not Tavistock, but the little town of Crediton, situated on a tributary of the Exe. An old rhyme has it—

Kirton was a market town
When Exeter was a fuzzy down.

Little can be said for this view on general historic grounds, but from the standpoint of ecclesiastical Anglo-

Saxondom, Crediton had a decided claim to the preference, for was it not the birthplace of Winfrid (St. Boniface), and the seat of the Anglo-Saxon bishops from the year 909 until 1050, when Leofric, for fear of the Danes, transferred the see to Exeter? This Prelate was installed by Edward the Confessor and Queen Edith, who, holding him by the hands, invoked God's blessing on future benefactors.

If the Ogham stones of Dartmoor attest the zeal of Keltic Christianity, Coplestone Cross, a richly-carved monument near Crediton, is a reminder of the early days of Saxon piety, when such crosses were erected as shrines for the churchless ceorls. Coplestone, also, was the name of a powerful race known as the Great Coplestones, or Coplestones of the White Spur, who claimed, but apparently without reason, to have been thanes in Saxon times. In the West Country, no distich is more popular or more widely diffused than the odd little couplet—

> Croker, Cruwys, and Coplestone,
> When the Conqueror came, were all at home.

The invincible William knocked at the gates of the Western capital in 1066, and was at first refused admission. If it be true, as Sir Francis Palgrave held, that Exeter was a free Republic before Athelstan encircled it with massive walls, the *genius loci* asserted itself with dramatic effect when the Conqueror demanded submission, and, in the words of Freeman, "she, or at least her rulers, professed themselves willing to receive William as an external lord, to pay him the tribute which had been paid to the old kings, but refused to admit him within her walls as her immediate sovereign." Dissatisfied with this response, William besieged the city, which held out for eighteen days, and then surrendered on conditions. Exeter, it may be observed, was at this time one of the four principal cities of the realm, the other members of the quartette being London, Winchester, and York.

The capitulation was followed by the building of Rougemont Castle—not a moment too soon, for ere it could well have been completed, the sons of Harold led an assault on Exeter. This was repulsed without much difficulty by the Norman garrison, but the Saxons showed themselves still restless in the West. The army of Godwin and Edmund fought with fruitless valour on the banks of the Tavy until, three years after the opening of the struggle, Sithric, the last Saxon abbot of Tavistock, betook himself to the Camp of Refuge at Ely, to be under the protection of the noble Hereward.

Exeter, to which one always returns, stands out prominently among English towns on account of its many sieges. Old Isaacke, happily a much better chronicler than poet, testifies as follows:

> In midst of Devon Exeter city seated,
> Hath with ten sieges grievously been straitned.

This is sure proof of the immense value attached to the possession of the place in troublous times, and prepares us for the conspicuous part taken by both county and city in the centuries that succeeded the establishment of Norman rule. The first Norman governor was Baldwin de Redvers, whose grandson, another Baldwin, declared for Matilda when civil war broke out between her party and Stephen's. The citizens, on the other hand, espoused the cause of the King, and were subjected to all sorts of barbarities, until the approach of a vanguard of two hundred horse compelled the retreat of the garrison into the castle. After a three months' siege, water failed, and the doughty defenders were forced to yield.

Edward I. held a Parliament at Exeter, and his great-grandson, the famous Black Prince, must have been well acquainted with the city, as he passed through it more than once *en route* to Plymouth, whence he sailed to France on the glorious expedition which ended at Poictiers. Its relations with the Black Prince reveal to

us how much the county has receded in practical importance since mediæval times. Plymouth, indeed, maintains her place—she is as great now, perhaps greater, than she was then; and Dartmouth—charming Dartmouth—is still far from obscure. Nevertheless, it is idle to claim for the ports of Devon, as a class, the relative standing they once enjoyed, when, according to the *Libel of English Policy*, Edward III., bent on suppressing the pirates of St. Malo—

> did dewise
> Of English towns three, that is to say,
> Dartmouth, Plymouth, the third it is Fowey;
> And gave them help and notable puissance
> Upon pety Bretayne for to werre.

And when Chaucer has to depict a typical mariner, he begins with the words—

> A schipman was ther, wonyng far by weste;
> For ought I woot, he was of Dertemouth.

—obviously because of Dartmouth's national reputation. Topsham, formerly the port of Exeter, is a truly startling instance of decline, since as late as the reign of William III. London alone exceeded it in the amount of its trade with Newfoundland. On the other hand, Bideford never possessed all the importance that Kingsley attributes to it, though relatively of much greater consequence in ancient days than at present. It is a curious fact that Ilfracombe, that popular watering-place, sent six ships to the siege of Calais as compared with Liverpool's one; Dartmouth contributing thirty-one and Plymouth twenty-six.

Dartmouth was fiercely attacked by the French in 1404 under the leadership of Du Chastel, and was gallantly defended. This event is memorable on account of the active part taken by the women, who, Amazon-like, hurled flints and pebbles on the French, and thus expedited their departure.

The Black Prince was the first Duke of Cornwall, and the stannaries or tin-bearing districts of Devon and Cornwall, which in Saxon and Norman times had been a royal demesne, passed to this valiant prince and his successors. The old Crockern Tor Parliament would furnish material for a fascinating chapter in the romance of history, but the present sketch is necessarily too brief to admit of much discussion. Its regulations certainly did not err on the side of leniency. "The punishment," says Mrs. Bray, "for him who in days of old brought bad tin to the market was to have a certain quantity of it poured down his throat in a melted state." The most important event in the annals of Chagford, one of the stannary towns, is the falling in of the market-house on Mr. Eveleigh, the steward, and nine other persons, all of whom were killed. This sad disaster, which occurred "presently after dinner," is the subject of a rare black-letter tract, entitled, *True Relation of the Accident at Chagford in Devonshire.*

Going back to the Wars of the Roses, the West of England for the most part supported the Lancastrian cause. In 1469, Exeter was besieged for twelve days by Sir William Courtenay, in the interest of Edward IV., and in the following year Clarence and Warwick repaired to the city prior to embarking at Dartmouth for Calais. When, however, Edward IV., seated firmly on the throne, appeared in Exeter as *de facto* sovereign of the realm, the citizens, forgetting past grudges, provided such a welcome for the monarch, his consort, and his infant son, that he presented the Corporation with the sword of state still borne before the Mayor. The city had given him a hundred nobles. Just twice that sum was the loyal offering to Richard III. when, in 1483, he arrived at Exeter soon after the Marquis of Dorset had proclaimed the Earl of Richmond king. A gruesome incident marked this visit, for Richard, that best-hated of English rulers, caused his brother-in-law, Sir Thomas

St. Leger, to be beheaded in the court-yard of the Castle. The name, Rougemont, jarred on his superstitious nature, the reason being its similarity to Richmond. The point is referred to by Shakespeare in the well-known play:

> When last I was at Exeter
> The Mayor in courtesy showed me the castle,
> And called it Rougemont; at which name I started,
> Because a bard of Ireland told me once
> I should not live long after I saw Richmond.

In 1497, that bold adventurer, Perkin Warbeck, claimed admission within the walls, which, so far as the citizens were concerned, would have been readily granted. The Earl of Devon and his son were less accommodating, and, after Warbeck had set fire to the gates, succeeded in beating off his attack. The Pretender's next appearance in the city, where the King had taken up his quarters, was in the character of a prisoner. Henry's conduct towards his rebellious subjects was worthy of a great prince, and affords a marked contrast to the brutality that characterised the suppression of the next revolt and the still more notorious savagery of "Kirke's Lambs." When brought before him, "bareheaded, in their shirts, and halters round their necks," he "graciously pardoned them, choosing rather to wash his hands in milk by forgiving than in blood by destroying them."

As is well known, the Reformation was not the popular event in England that it was in Scotland, and the introduction of the Book of Common Prayer in lieu of the Mass was the torch which, in 1549, set the western shires —Cornwall, and Somerset, and Devon—in a blaze. The opposition, started at Sampford Courtenay by a pair of simple villagers, soon came to include leaders of the stamp of Sir Thomas Pomeroy and Sir Humphrey Arundel, who barricaded Crediton, the rendezvous of their party. The interests of the Crown were befriended by Sir Peter and Sir Gawen Carew, who, though utterly unscrupulous and barbarous in their methods of warfare,

failed to arrest the insurrection. Presently, no fewer than ten thousand rebels commenced the investment of Exeter. At this serious juncture, the Lord Lieutenant of the county (Lord Russell) took the helm of affairs, and ultimately raised the siege, the city in the meantime being reduced to terrible straits through famine. But the rebels suffered too. In all, four thousand peasants fell in the Western Rising. A dramatic episode was the execution of the Vicar of St. Thomas's, who was hanged in full canonicals on his church, where his corpse remained suspended till the reign of Edward's successor, when the Roman Catholics regained, for a season, the upper hand.

The geographical position of Devonshire suggests, what is also the fact, that the county had a considerable share in the colonization of the Western Hemisphere. The first port in Devon to send out ships to America for the purpose of establishing settlements was Dartmouth. In this enterprise, Humphry and Adrian Gilbert, who were half-brothers of Sir Walter Raleigh, and whose seat, Greenway, was close to Dartmouth, took the lead. The pioneer expedition, which took place in 1579, was productive of no result; but in 1583, Humphry Gilbert seized Newfoundland, the present inhabitants of which are largely of Devon ancestry. This navigator, though brave and skilful, rests under an ugly imputation, which we must all hope is baseless. According to some, he proposed to Queen Elizabeth the perfidious destruction of the foreign fishing fleets which had long made the island their station.

During his homeward voyage Humphry was drowned, and the manner of his death is depicted in an old ballad:

> He sat upon the deck;
>   The book was in his hand.
> "Do not fear; Heaven is as near
>   By water as by land."

Adrian Gilbert interested himself in the discovery of the North-West Passage, but neither of the brothers did

Plymouth Hoe.

much more than secure for Dartmouth a principal share in the Newfoundland trade, for many and many a year one of the chief props of Devon commerce.

Of far greater practical significance, as a centre of maritime adventure, was Plymouth. Hence sprang William Hawkins, the first of his nation to sail a ship in the Southern Seas. Hence sprang his more famous son, Sir John Hawkins, the first Englishman that ever entered the Bay of Mexico, and who spent the bribes of Philip of Spain in defensive preparations against that tyrant's fleet. Here was organized the Plymouth Company, founded for the colonization of North Virginia, after the failure of Sir Walter Raleigh (who, like Sir Humphry Gilbert, had made Plymouth his base) to form a settlement. The efforts of the Plymouth Company were at first not very felicitous, but in 1620 it received a new charter, and although its schemes were absurdly ambitious and fell ludicrously short of realization, and although it was administered for private ends rather than in a large spirit of enlightened patriotism, still the mere existence of the company must have tended to promote the flow of men and money to the new plantations beyond the seas.

In the great Civil War the towns generally were in favour of the Parliament, but Exeter, on which city Elizabeth had conferred the proud motto, *Semper fidelis*, appears to have been Royalist in sympathy. As, however, the Earl of Bedford, the Lord Lieutenant, held it for the opposite party, it was besieged by Prince Maurice, to whom it surrendered in September, 1643. In April, 1646, it was recovered by the Roundheads, but ere this many interesting events had come to pass. In May, 1644, Queen Henrietta Maria had arrived in the city, and there, on June 16th, was born the Princess Henrietta Anne, afterwards Duchess of Orleans. Just at this moment the Earl of Essex made his appearance, and the Queen was fain to escape alone, leaving her infant in the charge

of Lady Moreton and Sir John Berkeley, who arranged for her christening in the font of Exeter Cathedral. Her portrait by Sir Peter Lely, which adorns the Guildhall, was the gift of Charles II., who, in 1671, thus testified his appreciation of the city's good services. The donor himself had been the guest of the Corporation in July, 1644, when his royal father had received from the civic authorities a present of five hundred pounds.

Looking further afield, Devonshire was the theatre of many stirring events in that fratricidal struggle. It was in 1642 that the High Sheriff, Sir Edmund Fortescue, of Fallapit, at the instigation of Sir Ralph Hopton, called out the *posse comitatus*, and so precipitated a conflict. Sir Ralph himself, with the aid of Sir Nikolas Slanning, assembled a force of some two or three thousand men, with which he captured, first, Tavistock, and then Plympton, afterwards joining Fortescue at Modbury, where a mixed army of trained bands and levies was soon in being. The next proceeding was to have been an attack on Plymouth, but Colonel Ruthven, the commandant of that town, sent out five hundred horse, which, after a feint at Tavistock, dashed through Ivybridge, and delivered a sudden assault on Modbury. In a moment all was over. Exclaiming, "The troopers are come!" the trained bands fled in confusion, while the rest of the army, who knew nothing about soldiering and had no love for the cause, went after them, save for a few friends of the sheriff, who helped him to defend the mansion of Mr. Champernowne. When this was fired the movement collapsed, and the Roundheads, who had lost but one man, effected a good haul of county notabilities, including the High Sheriff, John Fortescue, Sir Edmund Seymour, and his eldest son, Edmund Seymour, M.P., Colonel Henry Champernowne, Arthur Basset, and Thomas Shipcote, the Clerk of the Peace. About a score of these worthies of Devon were placed on board ship at Dartmouth, and transported to London.

This initial success of the Roundheads was soon qualified by reverses. Ruthven, having marched into Cornwall, was encountered by Hopton at Braddock Down, and sustained a crushing defeat. In February, 1643, Hopton laid siege to Plymouth, but Fortune again veered, and the Royalists were forced to retire in consequence of a second defeat at Modbury. Attempts were made to bring about a *pax occidentalis*, by which both parties were to forswear further participation in the unnatural strife, but they proved abortive. Encouraged by the defeat of the Earl of Stamford at Stratton, a Cornish army advanced northwards on the disastrous march which resulted in the overthrow of Lansdown, near Bath, and involved the loss of four leading Royalists—Sir Bevil Grenville, Trevanion, Slanning, and Sidney Godolphin—the last of whom fell in a miserable skirmish at Chagford.

Later in the year, Prince Maurice exerted himself to reduce Plymouth, but although the Cavaliers fought well, the garrison, equally brave and perhaps more pious, drove them back to the cry of "God with us!" Among the besiegers was King Charles himself; but not even the presence of royalty could alter the situation, and he and Maurice presently withdrew from the scene of operations. The siege was not ended till the spring of 1645, in the January of which year Roundheads and Cavaliers occupied the same relative positions as Britons and Boers in the memorable fight at Wagon Hill. Even after this terrible repulse, the Cavaliers did not quite abandon hope, and several small actions took place; but the advent of Fairfax in 1646 led to a precipitate retreat, and the Cavalier strongholds—Mount Edgcumbe and Ince House—gallantly defended throughout, had to be given up.

The last place in Devon to be held for King Charles was Salcombe Castle, and the person who held it was the very Sir Edmund Fortescue who was High Sheriff in 1642, and in that capacity threw down the glove to

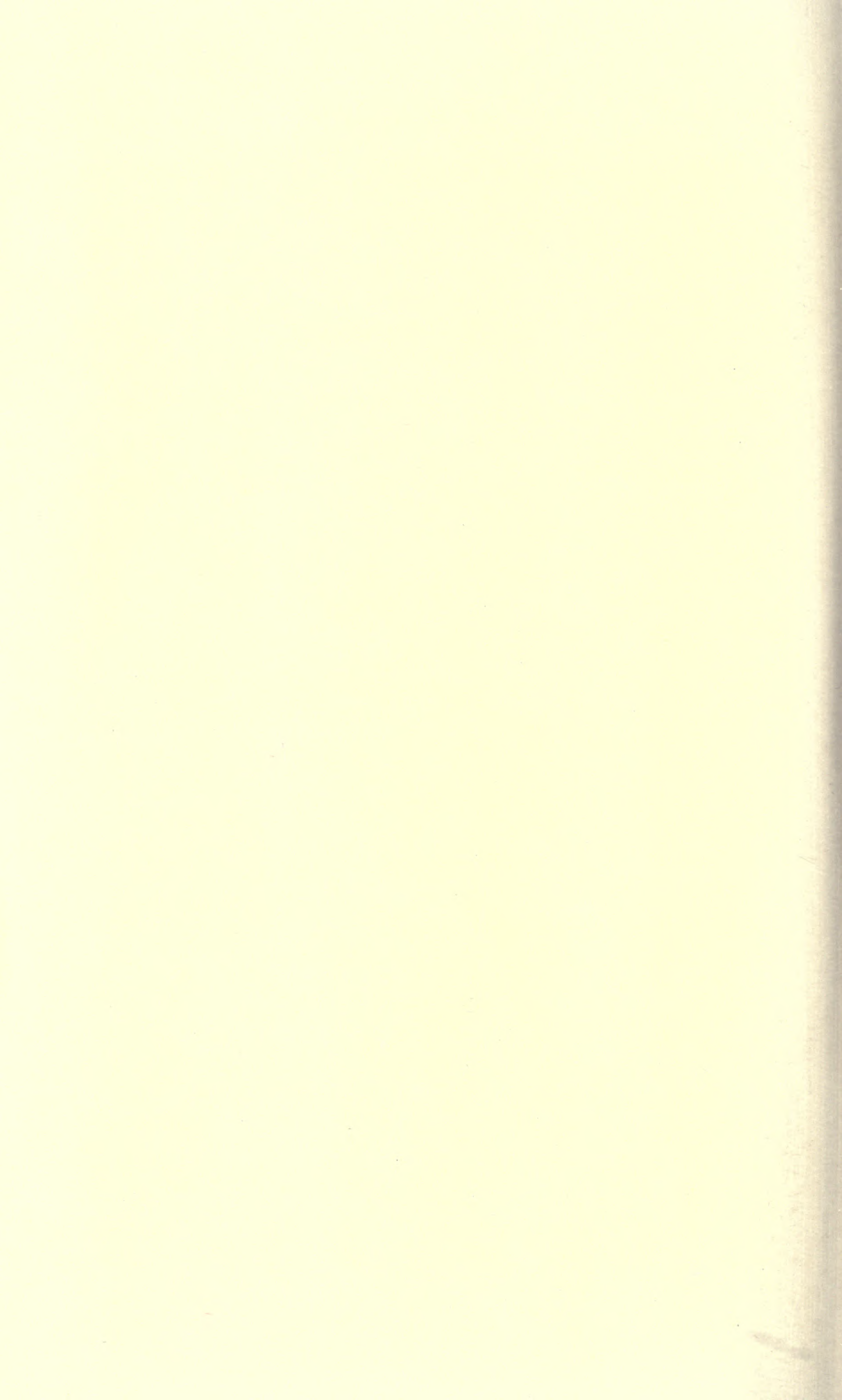
his opponents. The "Old Bulwarke" was not a promising fort, but it stood a siege for four months, when the garrison were allowed to march out with the honours of war. Among other articles of surrender, it was stipulated that John Snell, Vicar of Thurlestone, who had acted as chaplain to the garrison, should be allowed quiet possession of his parsonage. This condition was not observed. However, Parson Snell was not forgotten after the Restoration, as he was appointed Canon Residentiary of Exeter, in which position he was succeeded by his sons. By the 7th of May, the date of the surrender, the cause of King Charles was *in extremis;* and accordingly Fort Charles, as Sir Edmund had renamed the castle, was fully justified in capitulating. The key of the castle is said to be still the treasured heirloom of the hero's representative.

An abortive Cavalier rising took place in Devonshire in 1655. Penruddock and Groves, the leaders in the affair, for which they suffered death at Exeter, were both Wiltshire men; but this rising, which might have antedated the Restoration by five years, was initiated by the proclamation of Charles II. at South Molton, of which town in Devonshire George Monk, to whom the Merry Monarch owed his crown, was a native.

Devon men took an active part in the Monmouth Rebellion; and, in common with its neighbours, the county experienced the judicial atrocities of the notorious Jeffreys. A "bloody assize" was opened at Exeter on September 14th, 1685, when twenty-one rebels were sentenced, thirteen of whom were executed. Thirteen more were fined and whipped, and one was reprieved. A feature in this assize was the publication of 342 names, all belonging to persons who were at large when the business closed. These comparatively fortunate yeomen had escaped the search of the civil and military powers, and were tenants of the open country, living in copses and haystacks as best they might.

However, vengeance was not long delayed. In 1688

The Landing of William III. at Torbay.



the Prince of Orange landed at Brixham, and marched to Exeter by way of Chudleigh. The account of an eye-witness, printed in the *Harleian Miscellany*, gives the impression that his entry into the city, as a spectacle, was somewhat barbaric. The pageant included two hundred blacks from the plantations of the Netherlands in America, with embroidered caps lined with white fur, and crested with plumes of white feathers; and two hundred Finlanders or Laplanders in bear-skins, taken from the beasts they had slain, with black armour and broad, flaming swords. The troops were received with loud acclamations by the people at the west gate, and their conduct was excellent. Meanwhile, the position of the authorities was far from enviable. In vulgar parlance, they were in a "tight place," not knowing which way the wind would blow, and being desirous of maintaining the reputation of the city for unswerving loyalty. The Bishop and the Dean adopted the safe, if not too heroic, method of flight, while the Mayor, with more dignity, commanded the west gate to be closed, and declined to receive the Prince. The poor priest-vicars, no less faithful at heart, were intimidated into omitting the prayer for the Prince of Wales and employing only one prayer for the King. On the ninth, notice was sent to the canons, vicars-choral, and singing lads that the Prince would attend the service in the Cathedral at noon, and they were ordered by Dr. Burnet to chant the *Te Deum* when His Highness entered the choir. This they did. The Prince occupied the Bishop's throne, surrounded by his great officers, and after the *Te Deum*, Dr. Burnet, from a seat under the pulpit, read aloud His Highness's declaration. The party then returned to the Deanery, where William had taken up his quarters.

The Prince of Orange was in Exeter for three days before any of the county gentry appeared in his support, and, naturally, the members of his suite began to feel disconcerted. Presently, however, the gentlemen of Devon

rallied to his standard, and, in compliance with a proposal of Sir Edward Seymour, formed a general association for promoting his interest. A notable arrival was Mr. Hugh Speke, who, it is said, had been personally offered by King James the return of a fine of £5,000 if he would atone for his support of Monmouth by acting as spy on the Prince of Orange, and had bravely refused. The Mayor and Aldermen now thought it high time to recognise the change in the situation, and observe a greater measure of respect towards one who, it seemed likely, would soon be their lawful sovereign. The Dean, too, hastened home to give in his adhesion to the Prince; and William left Exeter with the assurance that the West Country, which could not forgive the Jacobite massacre, was heart and soul with him, and that elsewhere the power of his despotic father-in-law was rapidly crumbling.

In a second letter, reproduced in the *Harleian Miscellany*, we are informed that there had been "lately driven into Dartmouth, and since taken, a French vessel loaded altogether with images and knives of a very large proportion, in length nineteen inches, and in breadth two inches and an half; what they were designed for, God only knows." Possibly for a purpose not wholly unlike that which inspired the unpleasant visit of some of the same nation to Teignmouth in 1690, when they fired the town. It appears that the county force had been drafted to Torquay with the object of resisting a threatened landing from the French fleet, which was anchored in the bay. Certain French galleys, availing themselves of the opportunity thus afforded them, stole round to Teignmouth, threw about two hundred great shot into the town, and disembarked 1,700 men, who wrought immense damage in the place, already deserted by its inhabitants. For three hours there was pillage, and then over a hundred houses were burnt. A contemporary named Jordan, recounting the circumstances, cannot restrain his righteous indignation. "Moreover," says he, "to add

sacrilege to their robbery and violence, they, in a barbarous manner, entered the two churches in the said town, and in a most unchristian manner tore the Bibles and Common Prayer Books in pieces, scattering the leaves thereof about the streets, broke down the pulpits, overthrew the Communion tables, together also with many other marks of a barbarous and enraged cruelty; and such goods and merchandise as they could not or dare not stay to carry away they spoiled and destroyed, killing very many cattle and hogs, which they left dead behind them in the streets." This, the last, invasion of Devonshire cost the county £11,030, the amount at which the damage was assessed, and which was raised by collections in the churches after the reading of a brief. French Street, Teignmouth, conserves by its name the memory of this heavy, but happily transient, disaster.

With the seventeenth century ends the heroic period of Devonian history. From that time it figures merely as a province sharing in the triumphs and distresses of the country of which it forms part, but having no special or distinctive record. The most exciting era was, without doubt, the Napoleonic age, when the dread of a new French invasion was terminated only by the glorious victory of Trafalgar. A memorial of the French wars is the prison on Dartmoor, erected at the beginning of the nineteenth century for the large number of French prisoners. In 1812 no less than 6,280 men were confined there. It is still a prison, but little of the old French prison remains, and English convicts have taken the place of the old prisoners of war.

In conclusion, it may be mentioned that Sidmouth was the early home of her late Majesty Queen Victoria. Her father, the Duke of Kent, died there in 1820, and the west window of the church was erected as a memorial of this son of George III., whose visit to Exeter in the preceding century gave such delight to the county.

F. J. SNELL.

CORNWALL

CORNWALL possesses certain distinctive features which separate it from the other shires of England. Long after the rest of the country had been reduced to submission by Roman and Saxon invaders, it retained its Celtic race, its Celtic language and customs. It was the earliest known portion of the British Isles, and probably a thousand years before the birth of Christ, Phœnician or Iberian or Gallic traders visited the shores of the western shire, and conveyed its precious product, tin, to the markets of the world. Herodotus, who wrote 445 B.C., states that tin was brought to Greece from the islands of Cassiterides. Aristotle of Stagira (345 B.C.) states that the ocean flows round the earth, and in this ocean are two islands, and those very large, called Britannic Albion and Ierne, which lie beyond the Celte. Polybius of Arcadia (130 B.C.) also refers to the Britannic Isles and the working of tin, and Diodorus Siculus describes the people who dwelt in the Promontory of Britain, which is called Bolerium. "They are singularly fond of strangers, and, from their intercourse with foreign merchants, civilised in their habits. These people obtain the tin by skilfully working the soil which produces it: this being rocky has earthy interstices, in which, working the ore and then fusing, they reduce it to a metal; and when they have formed it into cubical shapes, they convey it to a certain island lying off Britain, named Ictis: for at the low tides, the intervening space being laid dry, they carry thither in waggons the tin in great abundance. Hence the merchants purchase the tin from the natives and

carry it across into Gaul, and finally journeying by land through Gaul for about thirty days, they convey their burdens on horses to the outlet of the river Rhone." Many other quotations might be given to show the extent and the antiquity of the Cornish trade in tin. The ordinary trade route in the time of Diodorus Siculus seems to have been through the Isle of Wight, but the early merchants who came by way of the Straits of Gibraltar probably sought the Cornish estuaries for their tin. It may be added that the secrets of this trade, the routes followed, and the source of the supply were zealously guarded. The Gaelic and Phœnician merchants refused to disclose to strangers the mystery of their trade. The people of Massilia, Narborne, Corbelo, the principal marts in Gaul, did the same. So when Cæsar wished to gain information about Britain, they all professed entire ignorance, and refused to assist in the invasion of those who were of the same race and allied by friendly relations.

Of the early inhabitants of the county we have many relics, dating back to Neolithic times. Discoveries in recent days have thrown much light upon our knowledge of these early races. Stone circles, pit-dwellings, the spoils of the excavations of barrows, reveal much. We find an abundance of flint flakes and axe-heads formed of greenstone, aphanite, and granite. The most important discoveries have been made in the extreme west—west of a line drawn on the map connecting St. Ives, Redruth, and Falmouth. Hut-circles and clusters have been found at North Hill, just west of Launceston. The bee-hive huts show great ingenuity of construction, and are very interesting. Two of these remain at Bosporthennis and Ding Dong in Madron. Courses are laid overlapping each other until the roof meets in the centre. These are about fifteen feet in diameter and five feet in height. In a country where copper and tin are abundant we should expect to find many relics of the Bronze Age, but hitherto not many have been discovered. Some very

interesting gold ornaments have been found—a golden gorgey near Penzance, now in the British Museum; another at St. Juliot, two at Harlyn, and a gold cup at Rillaton of the Bronze Age, and several others. There are many barrows, principally of the circular type.

The Megalithic monuments in Cornwall are very numerous, in spite of much vandalism and destruction. Stone pillars and dolmens have been broken up for mending roads, or used as gate-posts or building walls, but, happily, many remain. There are dolmens, or table stones, at Trethevy and Chywoon Quoit, near Morvah. These were ancient burial-places, the body being placed beneath the topmost stone, and the whole covered with earth. Subsequent denudation has removed the soil, and left the dolmen standing alone. Menhirs, or single stones, are numerous, and Hole stones; and there are no less than thirteen stone circles, of which the most wonderful are at Boscawen-ûn, Tregaseal, and Wendron. We must not omit to record the numerous underground chambers, such as the large example at Halligey, near Trelowarren, which is ninety feet long, six feet high, and three feet six inches broad, or that at Bodinner, in Sancreed, or that at St. Eval. There are also many caves, examples of which may be seen at Chapel Enny, Chysauter, Boscaswell, and Trewarlreva. These caves have been used by many refugees in times of war and danger, and as late as the seventeenth century afforded shelter to fugitive Royalists in the great Civil War.

The Roman conquest of Britain extended not to far-off Cornwall. We have no written records of the Romans in this western land, and few traces of them can there be discovered. During the period of the Roman occupation of Britain the people were probably Pagan, and history is silent as to when and how Christianity found its way into Cornwall. A wild legend of the tin-workers states that Joseph of Arimathea was engaged in the tin-trade, and travelled between Phœnicia and the

Cassiterides, and brought with him the Holy Child Jesus. But somehow or other the Gospel message found its way into Cornwall, where it was sown on most fruitful soil. It is a land of saints, of whom little is known besides their names, which are for the most part restricted to its borders. We have in Cornwall, St. Piran, St. Neot, St. Nectan, St. Morwenna, St. Juliot, St. Eval, St. Ervyn, and a host of others, who tell of the deep religious character of Cornishmen. The number of the early Christian monuments in Cornwall testifies to the wide extent of Christian teaching. At the present time there are no less than 340 stone crosses, besides a dozen that are known to have disappeared, and probably countless others which are not known. In addition to these, there are twenty-two rude pillar-stones that bear Christian emblems, the "XP" inscriptions being the most common, besides six ornamental crosses and three cross-shafts. It is probable that the first message of the Gospel was conveyed from Ireland, though Cornish Christianity was more closely connected with Brittany and South Wales than with the Emerald Isle. The names of Irish saints here date from A.D. 450 to 550. Then the Welsh mission seems to have been fruitful, and Welsh saints are conspicuous from A.D. 550 to 682, when the Armorican phase began, and lasted to A.D. 931, when "West Wales," as Cornwall was named, became absorbed into the English system.

Like the Romans, the Saxons did not penetrate far into the Cornish land. There are few Anglo-Saxon remains. Romance tells of the mighty deeds of Arthur and of his knights of the Round Table, and however mythical he may seem to us when dwelling in. other shires, he becomes a very real person when we wander amidst the supposed scenes of his exploits, read Malory's *Morte d' Arthur*, or Tennyson's *Idylls*, and visit Tintagel or Slaughter Bridge, where the hero fell in battle, and see his veritable tombstone. Callington is said to have been one of his seats, and Castle-an-Dinas is known

locally as King Arthur's Castle, and the bleak expanse of Tregoss Moor his favourite hunting-ground. Some interesting relics of the Saxon period have been found at Trewhiddle, near St. Austell. They belong to King Alfred's time, and consist of a silver cup, a number of coins, and a curious scourge or *disciplinarium.* This latter consists of a silver chain, which has been used later as a personal ornament. It is curious that the style of ornamentation of the silver box containing it is Merovingian, and it probably belonged to some ecclesiastic who came from Brittany, and hid his treasures during some Danish incursion. Cornwall, and, indeed, the whole of the western peninsula, long resisted the English. It formed part of the British kingdom of Damnonia, or West Wales, including Devonshire and Somerset. When Ine ruled over Wessex (688-726) he extended his borders and drove the British westward, though Devon and Cornwall still constituted their kingdom. In 802 Egbert became King of Wessex, and, maintaining peace with Cenwulf of Mercia, he marched, in A.D. 815, into the heart of Cornwall, and after eight years of fighting the last fragment of British dominion in the west came to an end, and Cornwall was merged in the great and powerful Wessex.

But this forcible conquest did not subdue the spirit of the vanquished. In other parts of England the Danes came to plunder and destroy; here, the Vikings allied themselves with the Cornishmen, and roused all Cornwall to revolt. In A.D. 835 Egbert marched against the united forces, and defeated them at Hengestdun (Hingston Down); but for years the contest lingered on, and the Cornishmen valiantly defended their homes and kingdom. Again in 876 the Danes were lending their powerful aid, and established themselves with their allies at Exeter, when Alfred the Great, perceiving the new danger, besieged the city, and with the help of his fleet and the destruction of the Viking vessels off the rocky shore of

Swanage, starved it into surrender. The supposed Viking's grave at Warbstow Barrow, shaped after the fashion of his dragon-ship, is credited to be a memorial of those stirring days.

The next attempt to subdue the Cornishmen was made by Athelstan in 936, who drove them from Exeter, or perhaps only suppressed an attack made by them with the help of the Danes. Bolleit, "the place of blood," was the scene of one of his battles, and after his conquest Padstow was renamed Athelstow, which retained that appellation in Leland's time. This seems to have been the real end of Cornish independence. The British bishop, Conan, submitted to Archbishop Wulfhelm of Canterbury, and the first English bishop was appointed in A.D. 931, and the see was merged in that of Crediton, in Devonshire, afterwards transferred to Exeter, where the episcopal seat remained until modern times restored to Cornwall a bishopric of its own at Truro.

St. Germans, supposed to be named after St. Germanus, Bishop of Auxerre, who came to England to stamp out the Pelagian heresy, was the seat of the old Cornish bishopric, where you can still see the bishop's chair. Athelstan founded a Benedictine Priory at Bodmin, which name signifies the "Monks' Town," and other monasteries arose, which spread civilisation and learning amongst the Celtic people. Edward the Confessor established a colony of Benedictine monks at St. Michael's Mount, which afterwards became a cell of Mont St. Michel in Normandy. As an alien priory, it was dissolved in the fourteenth century, and its revenues bestowed on Zion nunnery.

The result of Athelstan's conquest was the establishment of English landowners throughout Cornwall. English thanes ruled over the vanquished British, who became villeins, bordarers, and slaves on their estates, until the time came when William the Conqueror, with his hungry followers, came to England, and replaced the

English gentry by Norman knights. The Conqueror granted the over-lordship to his half-brother, Robert de Mortain, and converted the shire into an earldom. Thus arose, wrote Professor Freeman, "that great Earldom and Duchy of Cornwall, which was deemed too powerful to be trusted in the hands of any but men closely akin to the royal house, and the remains of which have for ages formed the appanage of the heir-apparent to the Crown."

Our space does not permit of an extended history of this Earldom, which was raised to the dignity of a Duchy by Edward III. in 1336, and conferred by him on his illustrious son, the Black Prince, and has been held to the present time by each Prince of Wales, and in case when there was no Prince of Wales, by the Crown. Its most famous Earl was Richard, King of the Romans, Earl of Cornwall, brother of King Henry III., and his son, Edmund, succeeded to the dignity, who granted to the tin-workers their stannary court or parliament. There were twenty-four stannators, presided over by a speaker, the summoner being the Lord Warden of the Stanneries, and Truro and the old Shire Hall or Duchy House were the seats of this miniature parliament. Earl Richard was immensely wealthy, and a great church-builder in several counties. Here he built the church at Lanteglos, and dedicated it to St. Thomas of Canterbury; and probably there are other churches which he erected or restored. Castles sprang up, built by Norman families to rivet their hold on the shire. The Earl's fortress was at Truro, and beneath its shadow grew the town, which developed into a place of greatness and importance, receiving in 1130 a charter from Richard de Lacy, Chief Justiciary of England. At Boscastle arose the stronghold of the De Bottreaux family, and at Launceston there was a strong castle of late Norman construction, which has a long story to tell, its walls and keep testifying to its great strength. Later on it played its part in the

St. Michael's Mount, Penzance.

great Civil War as a Royalist stronghold. There was also Restormel Castle, overlooking the Fowey stream, and Trematon, both of thirteenth century construction, and other fortresses of importance to defend the coast from foreign foes, or to repress internal troubles. Of later date are the castellated mansions of St. Michael's Mount, Pendennis, and Star Fort.

The fighting spirit of the Cornishmen and their religious zeal found vent in the Crusades, many ships sallying forth from Fowey Harbour bearing warriors to fight the infidel. During the absence of Richard I. there was much lawlessness in the kingdom, and here in the west one Henry de Pomeroy, a murderer, sought sanctuary at St. Michael's Mount, not in peaceable fashion like most sanctuary-seekers, but with a band of robbers, who drove out the monks and possessed themselves of the monastic buildings. When the King returned he demanded the surrender of the intruder, who committed suicide by leaping into the sea. Fowey was one of the most famous ports of the kingdom, rivalling Plymouth, Dartmouth, or any of the Cinque Ports. Indeed, on one occasion the "Fowey gallants" challenged the supremacy of Rye and Winchelsea, fought and conquered their rivals, and assumed the arms of the Cinque Ports, quartering them with their own. It must have been a famous port of splendid seamen. No less than 47 ships and 770 seamen sailed forth from Fowey to enable Edward III. to capture Calais, the great pirate haven that prevented England from being Mistress of the Seas. Doubtless they were present when the Queen besought the stark Edward to spare the lives of the six citizens, and for love of her he delivered them to the Queen and released from death all those of Calais, the good lady bidding her attendants to clothe the six burgesses and make them good cheer. The Fowey gallants, too, took part in sweeping the narrow seas of a Spanish fleet, and saw the King sitting on deck in his jacket of black velvet,

his head covered by a black beaver hat, which became him well, and bidding Sir John Chandos troll out the songs he had brought with him from Germany, and then they fought a gallant fight, leaving Edward "King of the Seas." No other port save Yarmouth furnished so large a contingent as Fowey. The French coast towns had reason to fear the Fowey seamen, who ravaged the coast of Normandy, burning and pillaging, and returning home laden with booty. But they suffered reprisals. In 1457 the Frenchmen surprised Fowey. One dark night they landed when the town was asleep, and ere the townsfolk were awake Fowey was in the hands of the French, who set fire to the houses and massacred the men. Vengeance for this outrage stirred the breasts of the Fowey gallants. Not a single French ship would they spare. They cared not that the new Yorkist King, Edward IV., had concluded peace with France. Their pirate ships sailed forth and captured foreign vessels as usual. In vain did the King protest. When the royal pursuivants came to convey the royal orders, the Fowey folk slit their ears. This was too much for the ruthless King. He hanged the ringleaders at Lostwithiel, levied a heavy fine upon the town, handed over their ships to Dartmouth, erected blockhouses to guard the port lest its defenceless state should invite an enemy, and stretched a chain across the harbour mouth as an additional guard. You can still see the remains of the blockhouses, and also the goodly house of the Treffrys, the older part of which is a memorial of these troublous times. Leland tells us that when the Frenchmen came, "the wife of Thomas Treffry, with her servants, repelled their enemies out of the house in her husband's absence; whereupon he builded a right faire and strong embattled tower in his house, and embattled it to the walls of his house, in a manner made it a castle, and unto this day it is the glory of the towne building of Foey."

The Wars of the Roses little affected the county, but after the fatal battle of Barnet and the hopes of the Lancastrians lay crushed, the Earl of Oxford fled, disguised as a pilgrim, and found safety at St. Michael's Mount. Not only that, but he roused the spirit of the neighbouring Cornishmen, unfurled the standard of the Lancastrians, and defended the Mount so bravely that the victorious Yorkists deemed it advisable to make peace with him and grant to him a pardon.

Even in far-off Cornwall the dynastic struggles of the monarchy were reflected when noble heads were struck off. Sir Richard Edgcumbe was more fortunate than many, and a little chapel at Cothele Quay marks his gratitude for his deliverance from the tender mercies of Richard III. Fuller tells the story. Being very zealous for the cause of Henry of Richmond, he incurred the wrath of Richard III., who sent soldiers to apprehend him. He was hiding in a wood at Cothele, and when pursued he put a stone in his cap and threw it into the sea. When the soldiers heard the splash and saw the floating cap, they concluded that he had desperately drowned himself, gave up the pursuit, leaving him at liberty to shift over into Brittany. He was knighted at Bosworth, became Controller of the Household of Henry VII., and received many other honours and dignities. Space prevents us from recording the lives of all the members of this illustrious house. Many achieved fame, and in 1781 Vice-Admiral George Edgcumbe was created Viscount, and eight years later Earl of Mount Edgcumbe. They have a very beautiful and ancient seat at Cothele, as well as the stately pile of Mount Edgcumbe.

Many Cornishmen were deluded by the prodigious claims of the impostor, Perkin Warbeck. Bodmin was conspicuous in its espousal of his cause, and his beautiful and unfortunate wife, Lady Catherine Gordon, found a

refuge at St. Michael's Mount until she was dislodged by Lord Daubeny.

The changes at the Reformation were not received with approval in the west country. The monasteries were dissolved and churches pillaged. Courtenay, Marquis of Exeter, had considerable influence in the west. He was of royal blood, and he openly denounced the upstart, Thomas Cromwell, and "the knaves that ruled the King," threatening to "give them some day a buffet." He paid for his rashness on Tower Hill. The new service book was distasteful to the Cornishmen, who disliked it "because it is like a Christmas game." There was at the time considerable agrarian discontent, and there broke out in the west country a formidable insurrection. This rebellion concerned Devon as well as Cornwall, and Exeter was the main scene of the revolt. The leaders were Henry Arundel, Esquire, Governor of the Mount in Cornwall; Winslade, "a man of worship," as Fuller describes him; and one Coffin, a gentleman. The rebels called themselves "the Commons of Devonshire and Cornwall," though they were "a heap of mean mechanics, though many in number, and daily increasing, so that at last they were reputed to exceed ten thousand, all stout and able persons."[1] In 1549, June 10th, at Sampford-Courtney, they compelled the priest to say Mass and officiate in Latin, "as best pleased with what they least understood." They marched on Exeter and besieged the city. They demanded from the King no justices, no English service, the restoration of the Mass, of the Six Articles, and of Popery. Famine and faction prevailed in the city and a determined foe without. Then came Lord Privy Seal, John Russell, to the west with a feeble army; but, reinforced by the merchants of Bristol, he defeated the rebels at Fenington Bridge, and again at the windmill of St. Mary Clist, where a thousand perished.

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[1] A contemporary account of the rebellion, quoted by Fuller.

The day of the relief of Exeter was long celebrated by annual rejoicings. The ringleaders were executed, and many mean offenders cruelly used by Sir Anthony Kingston. The land was desolated. During the progress of the revolt the rebels crossed the sands which separate St. Michael's Mount from the mainland, sheltering themselves under trusses of hay, and captured the castle, but were driven out by the Royalists, when Henry Arundel was executed.

The gallantry of Cornishmen shone forth when the Spanish Armada threatened England, and no county save Devon sent forth braver heroes to scour the Spanish Main and to "singe the beard of the King of Spain." Plymouth, just over the Cornish border, was the scene of many a gallant vessel sailing forth to conquer the New World. The brave sea-captains Plymouth (as well as the Cornish land) produced made a glorious history for England in the reign of Elizabeth. Drake, first of England's vikings, as a sailor, went out with his little fleet of schooners from this port on the 15th of November, 1557, to plough with their small keels a track through all the seas that surround the globe. The birth-roll of Plymouth is rich and illustrious with names of seamen who wrote them on the far-off islands and rough capes of Continents they discovered. Drake, Hawkins, Raleigh, Oxenham, and Cook sailed on their memorable expeditions from this port.[1]

A race of gallant fighters were the Grenvilles, who may be claimed as Cornishmen, as their home was at Stow (now demolished), near Kirkhampton, where the church is rich with the monuments and offerings of five centuries of Grenvilles. There was Sir Richard, Marshal of Calais in the time of Henry VIII., who "enterlaced his home magistracy with martial employment abroad," as Carew quaintly observes; his son, Sir Roger, who fought

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[1] Burritt's *Walk from London to Land's End.*

the French off the Isle of Wight in 1545, and went down in the *Mary Rose* off Portsmouth; and gallant Sir Richard, the hero of the *Revenge*, whose fame is enshrined in ever-living verse. Cornishmen looked on at that famous game at bowls on Plymouth Hoe; they saw the beacons, flashing on until the light "blazed upon the roof of Edgcumbe's lofty hall," until the whole land was aroused, and from the ports of the west slipped out the little ships that were to sting the Spanish galleons and rescue England from a foreign yoke. One bit of vengeance the Spaniards wrought. In 1595 they sacked Penzance, destroyed the villages of Newlyn and Mousehole, but were then driven back to their ships.

Again war raged in the western land when King and Parliament were striving for the mastery. Cornishmen were ever loyal, and fought well for the royal cause. In the opening year of his reign, Charles I. won their hearts when he came to Plymouth and reviewed 10,000 troops from Cornwall and Devon. Two important battles were fought within the shire—Braddock Down on January 19th, 1642-3, and Stratton on May 15th, 1643. No one was braver than the gallant Sir Bevill Grenville, grandson of Sir Richard, who fought the Spaniards. He was at the royal side in 1639, when he led a troop of horse to York to fight against the Scots. Men called him the English Bayard. He was the soul of the Royalist cause, "the most generally loved man in Cornwall," as Clarendon says, and when the campaign opened none fought so gallantly as this scion of a fighting family. Nowhere else in England was the royal cause so dearly loved as in Cornwall. Cornishmen were isolated from the rest of the country by differences of blood and speech. They clung with affectionate loyalty to their own leaders, their squires and chiefs, whose fidelity to the Crown they made their own. They gave good tokens of their bravery when called to face the foe. At Braddock Down they triumphed, 1,200 prisoners were captured and all the guns; and again

at Stratton, only a few miles distance from Grenville's home, he and his gallant men showed great courage, and though the Cornishmen fought, weary and footsore and starved, against great odds, with ammunition spent, they threw themselves on the enemy with pike and sword, and gained a splendid victory. It would take too long to describe the events of that memorable day, the story of which a descendant of Sir Bevill has well told in the Devonshire volume of our "Memorials" series. Many a castle which had fallen into decay was restored and defended. Restormel Castle was defended, though ruinous. Sir Francis Basset bravely held St. Michael's Mount till he was forced to surrender to Colonel Hammond and his troopers. Charles had his quarters in 1644 at Boconnoc, where an attempt is said to have been made to assassinate him; but that must have been done, if at all, by an alien hand. There are several traces of that disastrous period. At Falmouth we find a church dedicated to King Charles the Martyr. Some of the churches were desecrated by Lord Essex's troopers, notably that at Lostwithiel. Penzance was ravaged and pillaged by the Roundheads under Fairfax, and if Cornwall revelled in the glory of war, it certainly suffered severely from its consequences.

At the Restoration every one in Cornwall threw up their caps, and beer flowed freely in St. Ives and other towns for the drinking of the King's health. Many of those who had fought for the King were ruined by the loss of the money they had advanced to the royal cause, or by the fines and exactions of the Parliamentarians. Probably it was for this reason the Bassets relinquished their home at St. Michael's Mount to the St. Aubyn family, who have since held that beautiful and interesting seat.

Since that time few events have occurred to disturb the quiet annals of the "Delectable Duchy." The anger of the people was aroused by the conduct of James II. and his treatment of the Seven Bishops, one of whom

was Bishop Trelawney, of Trelawne House, a Cornishman; and when they heard that he was incarcerated in the Tower they were nearly marching on London, chanting the refrain:

> And shall Trelawney die? And shall Trelawney die?
> Then thirty thousand Cornishmen will know the reason why!

The refrain is contemporary with the event, though the whole ballad was written by the eccentric Hawker, Vicar of Morwenstow.

In 1689, John Granville, Earl of Bath and Governor of Plymouth, held a meeting with the Commissioners of the Prince of Orange at Moditonham House, then the seat of John Waddon, and treated about the surrender of Pendennis and Plymouth Castles, which were delivered up to the invading Prince. In 1745, Hugh, second Viscount Falmouth, of the famous family of Boscawen, raised a regiment of Cornishmen at his own expense to fight the Pretender, and was made Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard to George II. and George III.

We should like to recall the great services rendered to the country by the leading Cornish families, by the Earls of Mount Edgcumbe, the Earls of St. Germans, Boscawens, Carews, the Lords Robartes and Vivian, Tremaynes, St. Aubyns, and other noted names, and to describe their ancestral homes, but our space forbids. We should like to tell of many a gallant deed of daring seamanship, to picture the bygone smuggling days and the dark doings of the wreckers, whose sons now man the lifeboats and save many lives from shipwreck on their dangerous rock-bound coast, and to hear John Wesley preaching to the thousands gathered at Gwennap Pit; but this sketch of Cornish history must be brought to a close. The Celtic character of the true-bred Cornishman has imprinted a strong individuality on the county, which remains one of the most interesting shires in the whole kingdom.

P. H. DITCHFIELD.

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