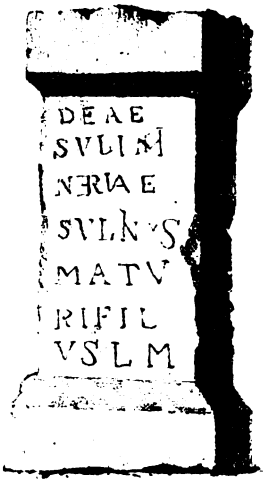
ROMAN ALTARS.

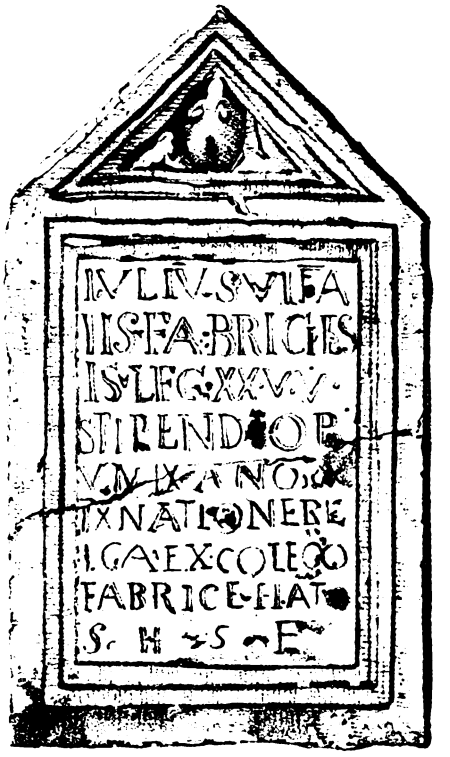
FOUND AT BATH.

1



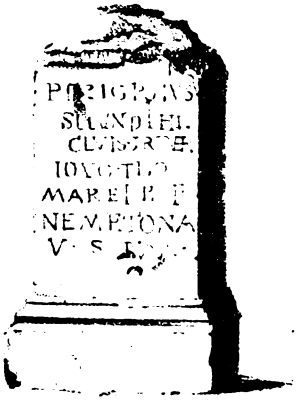
4

7



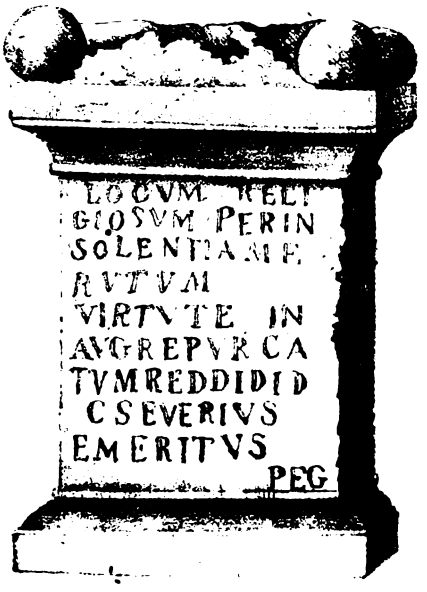
5

2



8

3



6

On Stone by C. Burton

Day & Haghe, Lithogrs to the King.

THE

HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES

OF

SOMERSETSHIRE;

BEING

A GENERAL AND PAROCHIAL SURVEY OF THAT INTERESTING COUNTY.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED

AN HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION,

WITH

A BRIEF VIEW OF ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY;

AND AN ACCOUNT OF

The Druidical, Belgic-British, Roman, Saxon, Danish, and Norman Antiquities,

NOW EXTANT.

ILLUSTRATED WITH

MAPS, PLANS, ENGRAVINGS, AND VIGNETTES,

FROM ORIGINAL DRAWINGS, BY J. AND J. C. BUCKLER, P. CROCKER, Esqrs.

AND OTHERS.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

By the REV. W. PHELPS, A.B. F.S.A.

VICAR OF MEARE AND BICKNOLLER,

FORMERLY OF BALLIOL COLLEGE, OXFORD, AND AUTHOR OF "CALENDARIUM BOTANICUM, &c.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR,

BY J. B. NICHOLS AND SON, 25, PARLIAMENT STREET.

1836.

To His Most Excellent Majesty.

KING WILLIAM THE FOURTH.

SIRE,

Deeply impressed with a grateful sense of your Majesty's gracious condescension, in permitting me to dedicate to your Majesty, my humble attempt to illustrate the History and Antiquities of an interesting portion of your Majesty's Dominions, I have now the high honour of laying before your Majesty the result of my investigations; in the hope that it may be deemed, in some degree, worthy of the distinguished patronage conferred, as well as interesting and instructive to the general reader, and useful to the inhabitants of the important County, which has engaged the careful research of,

Sire,

Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal

subject and servant,

WILLIAM PHELPS.

Meare, Somerset,
December 21st, 1835.

INTRODUCTORY OBSERVATIONS.

"WHAT signifies," observes Mr. Horsley, in his preface to his 'BRITANNIA ROMANA,' "that knowledge, say some, which brings no real advantage to mankind? and what is it to any one, whether the Roman road passed this way or that? or whether such a Roman inscription is to be read this way or another? To this I would answer, there is an agreeableness in truth, even supposing it to be merely speculative, as always affords, on the discovery of it, real pleasure to a well turned mind:—and I will add, that it not only pleases, but enriches, and cultivates it too."

County History may be regarded as a branch, or rather a portion, of General History:—though limited in its objects and views, it receives proportionable advantages from the enlargement of its scale; and events of too local a nature to find a place in the annals of a kingdom, may afford instruction in illustrating a portion of the country, comprehended within narrower limits. The result of observations made on the spot, and a record of transactions, fresh in the memory, and open to the animadversions and corrections of contemporaries, will prove the strongest guarantee for their authenticity. Facts recorded in a clear and intelligible manner, will ever be a valuable addition to our local annals. These materials should, at certain periods, not too distant from each other, be collected and arranged. Too wide a field for observation, will necessarily abridge the details required in a Topographical work, and render it less complete.

The most important advantages, however, which result from these local accounts, are the materials they furnish for the history of the country. These are the sources from whence a large portion of the authentic information relating to such subjects may be drawn, and by which, in future ages they may be confirmed. They serve also to ascertain property; preserve the genealogy of families; record illustrious

actions; uphold the memory of great characters; and retrace and bring into view, the peculiar modes of life, laws, and customs of past ages.

Nearly half a century has elapsed since Mr. Collinson wrote his "History of Somerset;" the topographical materials of which had been collected several years before, by his coadjutor Mr. Edmund Rack, of Bath. The great and important changes, in consequence of the inclosure of vast tracts of waste lands, on the mountains, and in the marshes, have altered the appearance of the county; waving crops of corn, are seen growing on the heretofore barren waste, and numerous flocks and herds are grazing on these now extensive pastures.

The stimulus to agriculture excited during the long war with France, gave rise to improvements in Arts, Manufactures, and Mechanical Inventions, to supply the deficiency of manual labour, occasioned by the drain of the population for soldiers to fill the ranks of our army, and sailors to man our fleets, when all the energies of the country were called into action. An advance in the prices of land and produce, immediately followed, and reached in the year 1812 an unprecedented height. The termination of the war in 1815, operated powerfully on the price of agricultural and manufactured produce;—a ruinous depreciation took place, which seriously affected the country.

The monopoly which this kingdom had obtained in commercial concerns, during the war, having ceased; a competition in foreign markets naturally followed, arising from this new state of things, and produced a serious interruption to our national prosperity. Some reaction took place in 1829, but soon subsided; and was followed by a depression of the agricultural interest, which has continued, and still seriously affects the country. We trust, however, that we may anticipate a return of our national prosperity and happiness; and indulging in this hope, we say with our great dramatic Bard:

"Nought shall make us rue,
If England to herself be true."

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER I.

CHAPTER II.

CHAPTER III.

BOOK II.

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

CHAPTER II.

CHAPTER III.

RISE, PROGRESS, AND DECLINE OF MONASTIC ORDERS AND MONASTERIES.

BOOK III.

ANCIENT HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

BRITISH PERIOD.

CHAPTER II.

BELGIC-BRITISH PERIOD.

CHAPTER III.

CHAPTER IV.

CHAPTER V.

CHAPTER VI.

CHAPTER VII.

BARROWS.

BOOK IV.

ROMAN ANTIQUITIES.

CHAPTER I.

CHAPTER II.

CHAPTER III.

CHAPTER IV.

CHAPTER V.

CHAPTER VI.

CHAPTER VII.

SAXON, DANISH, AND ANGLO-NORMAN ANTIQUITIES.

CHAPTER VIII.

LIST OF PLATES.

THE

History and Antiquities

OF

SOMERSETSHIRE.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER I.

1. Introduction.—2. Discovery of Britain, origin and etymology of its name; early history of the country.—3. First inhabitants of Britain, the Celtæ.—4. The Phœnicians trade with this country. Celtic division of Britain, and names of the Western states.—5. Second invasion of Britain by the Belgæ, who settle in the country.

1. TO examine the history of the country which gave us birth, to investigate the habits and customs of our forefathers, and to trace the progress of civilization among mankind, will always be an interesting employment; but the researches of the curious will too often end in disappointment. The course of events during the early ages of the world, down to the period when Greece stood pre-eminent in science and the arts, while Rome was progressing rapidly to the great object of her ambition, has been recorded by ancient writers: and the decline of her empire, with the causes that produced it, has been described by the most accurate and luminous of modern historians.

But the irruption of barbarians, and the general ignorance which succeeded, have involved the annals of every country into which Europe was divided, in considerable obscurity; and the history of Britain has suffered, perhaps more than any other, from the decay or destruction of primitive records. To give, however, some account of its first discovery by other nations, and its gradual connexion with the

rest of the world, appears to be a necessary prelude to the present work: I shall therefore present my readers with such information on those subjects, as I have been able to collect.

2. An opinion has generally prevailed, that these islands were unknown to the earliest Greeks; but there is a passage, quoted by Justin Lipsius, derived from the writings of Aristotle, which seems to favour a contrary notion, if we can allow the following quotation to apply to Britain. The words are as follows: "In the ocean beyond the pillars of Hercules, an inhabited island is said to have been discovered, full of woods, having navigable rivers, abounding with fruits; and distant a voyage of many days; with which the Carthaginians have frequent intercourse."[a]

The discovery of Britain is attributed, according to Strabo, to Pytheas (of Marseilles, a Phœnician colony on the Mediterranean sea,) who lived before the time of Aristotle. This enterprising character, being sent on a voyage of discovery beyond the pillars of Hercules (the Straits of Gibraltar), seems to have reached the British islands; and to have prosecuted his voyage, till he encountered the ice of the northern, or polar sea: when the discovery of *Ultima Thule*, the *Hebrides*, and *Orcades* islands rewarded his perseverance. He returned to Marseilles, and related the account of his voyage and discoveries; which were treated rather as romance, and unworthy of any credit; until it received confirmation from the concurrent statements of subsequent voyagers.

The name of Britain has been traced by ancient writers to various origin. The whole island was denominated *Brydain* or *Prydain*, and the inhabitants *Brydaniaid*, by the Cymri. The Greek appellation Βρεταννικη, and the Latin term *Britannia*, bear evident allusion to the word quoted above, as used by the earliest inhabitants of the country. Dr. Borlase, the learned historian of Cornwall, says, it is derived from a Hebrew root, *Brith*, which signifies a separation:[b] and it seems, undoubtedly to be the first idea which would arise in the minds of the inhabitants of the opposite continent; as the island of Britain may be distinctly seen, when the weather is clear, from the coast of Gaul. *Albion* is another appellation given to Britain by some writers, which Mr. Whitaker derives from *albus* (white) alluding to the white cliffs of Dover. A learned and modern etymologist[c] gives us the following derivation: *Al-by-on*, the residence beyond the passage of the water; which corroborates the etymology of Dr. Borlase. It could not have continued unknown to the earliest inhabitants of Gaul, or have remained unexplored; but received, without doubt, its first inhabitants, soon after the dispersion of mankind, from the adjacent continent. Herodotus, who lived 484 B.C. alludes to a part of Britain, called

[a] Aristotle de Mundo. [b] Borlase's Antiquities of Cornwall, p. 4. [c] Rev. John Skinner.

Cassiterides, or the country of tin, but acknowledges that the name was all he was acquainted with;[d] and his commentator says, "The Phœnicians were the only people who carried on commerce with these islands. As it was of great importance to them, they carefully concealed their situation, lest other nations should wish to share the profits of the trade. And hence, when they had any occasion to mention them, they spoke very obscurely."[e] This author, who lived at the time when the Phœnicians monopolized this commerce, could never, even in Phœnicia itself, discover any thing satisfactory, as to these islands, and he therefore considered himself authorised to treat them as altogether fabulous. The islands were nevertheless in existence, as it appears they are the same as the *Scilly islands*, or *Sorlings;* but, as the Phœnicians procured tin from Britain also, they seemed to have comprised that island too under the same name.

Hecateus, an ancient Greek historian who flourished five centuries before the Christian era, describes Britain as "an island situated in the ocean over against Gaul, full as large as Sicily: famous for a magnificent *sacred inclosure*, dedicated to Apollo (or the Sun), and a temple renowned for its riches, and circular form." This account is the earliest record, perhaps, existing, respecting that stupendous work, *Stonehenge*. Whence could this writer have obtained knowledge of the existence of such an ancient temple, but from some Phœnician navigator who traded to Britain? Hence, in consequence of this intercourse with Phœnicia, the southern, or rather western, Britons became necessarily more civilised than the inhabitants of the interior, and adopted many of the customs and religious rites of that people.

3. The *Cymri*, (a word probably synonymous with *Cimbri*,[f] as a distinction from all later tribes,) says the Welsh Triad,[g] were the first inhabitants of Britain; before whose arrival, it was occupied by bears, wolves, beavers, and oxen with large protuberances. This account is corroborated in some measure by the bones of these animals having been found in the recently discovered caverns at Banwell, Hutton, and Uphill, in this county. The *Celtæ*, or Celtic Gauls, were the first *colonists* of Britain, who had crossed over from the opposite shore and settled themselves in this fertile region. "These *Celtæ*," says the Abbé Pezron, "were the descendants of Gomer, son of Japhet, who, according to Josephus, was the founder

[d] Herodotus, Thalia, c. 115. [e] Larcher's Notes on Herodotus, vol. i. p. 608.

[f] The ancient *Cimbri*, whose history is so conspicuous, and whose conduct was so formidable in the earlier ages of the Roman Empire, had, according to Tacitus, nearly disappeared from the continent of Europe at the time he wrote.

[g] Archæologia, vol. ii. p. 57.

of the Gomerites, now called by the Greeks, *Gauls* and *Galatians*;"[h] and Diodorus Siculus[i] says, "the Romans called all the people who inhabited this side of the Alps, and the Pyrenees, and bordering on the ocean, by the name of *Gauls*." Ancient *Gaul*, their territory, contained the whole country between the *Pyrenees*, the *Alps*, the *Rhine* and the *Ocean*; and was divided into *Celtic* and *Belgic* Gaul: the former lay between the *Seine*, *Loire*, *Garonne*, and the ocean, and comprised what is now called *Normandy* and *Brittany*; the latter, *Belgic Gaul*, was situated east of the *Seine* and the ocean, or *English*[k] *Channel*.

The Celtæ possessed Britain before the discovery of the metals, and before the arrival of the Phœnicians. This is proved from the rude instruments and implements made of flint, and other hard stones, found in the early barrows, scattered on the hills. Numerous specimens of these are preserved in the museums of those indefatigable antiquaries, Sir Richard Colt Hoare, Bart. at Stourhead; and the Reverend John Skinner, Rector of Camerton.

4. The Phœnicians had obtained at a very early period of the world, a sufficient knowledge of navigation, to enable them to prosecute their voyages to distant parts of the then known world. They planted colonies at every station they visited, on the coasts of the Mediterranean sea, and on the distant shores of *Spain* and *Gaul*, and most probably on the western coast of *Britain*. This opinion seems to be corroborated by the history, mythology, superstitions, and language, recorded of the inhabitants of Cornwall; which could not have arisen unless some of these people had resided among them.

The Abbé Fontenu, in his "Memoires de Literature," has proved that the Phœnicians had an established trade with Britain for *tin* before the Trojan war, 1100 B.C.;[l] and Mr. Whitaker refers the peopling of Britain to nearly the same time; a period coeval with the reigns of David and Solomon.[m] Dr. Vincent, in his learned treatise on the "Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients," observes, "Tin has continued an article of commerce, brought from Britain in all ages: conveyed to all countries in the Mediterranean by the Phœnicians, Greeks, and Romans, and carried into the Indian ocean, from the origin of commerce."

Tin is mentioned by Moses in the Bible; and also by the prophet Ezekiel (chap. xxii. verses 10 and 12). Of such importance was the commerce carried on in

[h] Abbé Pezron's Antiquity of Nations, C. 2, p. 8.

[i] Diodorus Siculus, Lib. II. sect. xlix.

[k] The name of England was established A.D. 800, when Egbert assumed the sovereign authority.

[l] Tome vii. p. 126.

[m] Whitaker's Hist. of Manchester.

this and other metals, in the estimation of the Phœnicians, and after them of the Carthaginians, that they not only studiously concealed from other nations the country from which they were obtained, but suppressed by force, or excluded by treaty, all attempts made by the Greeks and Romans to open a communication with it.

The medium or *entrepôt* of the communication which subsisted between Phœnicia and this country, was, first *Gades* (Cadiz), a colony established at a very early period of history, on the western coast of Spain, and contiguous to the province which abounded in mines of silver. This colony was founded about the same time as Utica, which took place two hundred and eighty-seven years before that of Carthage, about 1100 B. C.[o] In less than a century after the establishment of the Phœnician colony at Cadiz, this enterprising people found their way to Celtic Gaul, and from thence to the western extremity of Britain, the Scilly islands and Cornwall.

The metals of Britain, particularly tin, lead, and iron, were the staple produce of the island; the former was easily obtained (before the art of mining was introduced), in the beds of the rivers, where it was found in a comminuted state, and was dug up by the early inhabitants with pickaxes made of holm wood, or the horns of stags, many of these tools having been found among the rubbish of their works.[p]

"It is probable," says the intelligent author of the History of Dorchester,[q] "that the first locality in which tin was discovered, was the slime or mud of rivers, and of the sea shore, or that which is now called *stream tin*, for *tin* in the Chaldee language, signifies *slime* or *mud;* and that when the Phœnician colonists arrived here, and found this mineral in the slimy bed of the rivers, they called it *tin*, "the mud" by way of eminence; hence the Chaldee name *tin;* the Cornu-British *stean;* and Latin *stannum*." The Tyrian scarlet, so much prized in dyeing cloth, seems to have been effected by a mixture of tin in the dye, the same as is used by our modern dyers to produce the brightest scarlets.

The use of brass[r] preceded that of iron. Brazen implements were first used to dig the earth, before the discovery of iron: and it has been a question whether the ancient Greeks were acquainted with its use, though incidentally mentioned by Homer and Herodotus. It is not recorded with certainty when the smelting of iron, so generally and abundantly found in this country, was introduced. Sacred Writ informs us, that the bedstead of Og, king of Basan, was made of that metal,[s]

[o] Velleius Paterculus, B. ii.

[p] Carew's Survey of Cornwall, p. 28.

[q] Savage's History of Dorchester, 12mo. 1834, p. 58.

[r] This is a mixed metal composed of copper and lapis calaminaris, or copper and tin. Copper and lapis calaminaris are not distinctly mentioned by any of the ancient writers, yet without these metals brass could not have been made.

[s] Deut. c. iii. v. 11.

and this prince was conquered 1492 B. C. The Britons were well acquainted with its use, and introduced it into the manufacture of their war chariots, whose sides were armed with hooks, and the ends of the axles with scythes. Iron rings were also used by them for money, previous to the Roman invasion.

The Celtæ had divided the country into twenty-two districts, each occupied by a distinct tribe. Those settled in the western parts of Britain were called, *Hædui*, *Cimbri*, and *Cornavii*.

The *Hædui* possessed Somersetshire, as far south as Hamdon and Neroche camps, which were most probably the frontier posts of the Durotriges on the north, and the estuary *Uxella*, the present river Parret, on the west.

The *Cimbri*, a tribe descended from the original settlers in Britain, occupied the mountainous territory on the west of the river Parret, bordering on the sea, and extending into Devonshire, and the north of Cornwall.

The *Cornavii* inhabited the promontory of Cornwall.

5. The second colonists of Britain may be referred to the descendants of Sigovesus, called the *Belgæ*, of whom Livy gives the following account: "When Tarquinius Priscus reigned at Rome, A. C. 600, the supreme government of the Celtæ, who composed a third part of Gaul, was vested in *Ambigatus*, a man eminent by his merit and good fortune; who, finding his country in so flourishing a state, and the people so numerous, declared his intention of sending out colonies under the direction of his nephews, Bellovesus and Sigovesus, to whatever settlements the Gods by their auguries should point out: and with a sufficient number of followers to overcome any obstacle which should impede their progress. *Bellovesus* turned his steps towards Italy, and Sigovesus was directed to take his course towards the Hercynian forest, which comprised Belgium and a part of Germany, where he settled and became the founder of the northern tribes, who in after ages descended into the south of Europe, overwhelming the country." They peopled Belgic Gaul, and from thence passed over into Britain, and are known under the name of *Belgic Britons*.

"The *Celtic* Britons," says a modern and eloquent writer, "were a comparatively civilised race, weakened by long habits of subjection, as well as by recent circumstances, and left without a government, when they were unable to form one for themselves. Thus they were overcome by a people far advanced above the savage state, and whose system of society and habits of life were essentially warlike. These Baltic tribes moreover, came not as merely settlers, they moved not as armies, but as nations, and took possession of the country, there to increase and multiply, and replenish the earth, as well as to subdue it."[t]

[t] Southey's Colloquies, vol. i. p. 269.

We find the inhabitants of Britain consisted of two distinct races or tribes, though originally sprung from the same stock. The one, a people who took possession of a country rude and uncultivated, whose manners and habits were of a pastoral character; engaged in tending their flocks and herds, clad in the skins of beasts, and little acquainted with the domestic refinements of life. The other, from their intercourse with the more polished nations of the south, were more civilized in their habits, of a warlike character, yet devoted to agricultural pursuits, and acquainted with the use of metals. They had also a knowledge of compounding them, so as to form their instruments, weapons, and implements for the cultivation of the earth.

The religion of these early inhabitants of Britain was Druidism, which was of so peculiar and decided a character, that Julius Cæsar, in his Commentaries on the Wars in Britain, has given us a particular account of their tenets and religious ceremonies.[u] In all nations, the first step to civilization and improvement of a people, is the desire they manifest of rendering homage to the *Supreme Being*; and to raise up temples dedicated to his honour and worship: and it appears that architecture was originally modelled and perfected by the influence of religion. Those stupendous monuments of the piety of our ancestors, the temples of the early inhabitants of Britain, which remain at *Stonehenge* in Wiltshire, at *Stanton Drew* in Somersetshire, and in many other parts of our island, still excite our wonder; and will continue to the end of time, the memorial of the religious zeal of the primitive inhabitants of Britain.[x]

[u] Cæsar de Bell. Gall. b. v. c. 13, 14.

[x] See Smith's Costumes and Worship of the Druids.

BRITISH HUTS, ACCORDING TO STRABO.

CHAPTER II.

1. History of the Belgæ: their division of Britain into sixteen districts: Character of the Belgæ. —2. The Phœnicians carry on the trade with Britain. The Romans are anxious to find out the country whence the metals were procured: anecdote from Strabo.—3. The Romans attack Belgic Gaul, and conquer the Veneti: they discover the secret of the trade to Britain; and Cæsar determines to invade that country.

1. THE *Celtic* inhabitants of Britain retained possession of Britain until about the period B. C. 350: when the *Belgæ* invaded the country from the neighbouring shores of Gaul. About two hundred and fifty years after their settlement in this country, B. C. 100, Divitiacus, King of the *Suessones* in Belgic Gaul (and who had kept an intercourse with the Belgæ in Britain[a]), came over to assist the Belgic tribes, in extending their territories, and to drive back the Celtic inhabitants into the more remote parts among the inhospitable mountains of Scotland and Wales. This determination arose from the constant predatory attacks to which they were exposed on their frontier. By this assistance the southern parts of Britain were freed from these incursions; and the country soon began to feel the effect of peace. A considerable portion of the people entered into commercial engagements; others pursued the working of the mines, and preparing the metals for the foreign merchants who frequented their shores; and the mass of the people betook themselves to agriculture, and the tending their flocks and herds.

The genial temperature of the climate became attractive, being so superior to that from whence they had originally migrated on the banks of the Rhine. These people soon altered the divisions made by the former inhabitants (the Celts), and reduced the whole into sixteen states, to which they gave the following names, viz.

1. Cantii.—Who inhabited that portion of the south of Britain called Kent, and part of Middlesex.
2. Regni.—Surrey, Sussex, and the east part of Hampshire.
3. Belgæ.—West part of Hampshire, Wiltshire, Isle of Wight, and Somersetshire.
4. Durotriges, or Morini.—Dorsetshire.
5. Danmonii.—Devonshire and Cornwall.[b]

[a] So great was the communication between the coasts of Britain and Gaul, that this prince held the supreme command, not only over the territory of *Soissons*, but also over a considerable part of Britain.

[b] These were probably the first tribes who settled in Britain, and their territory became afterwards the *Britannia Prima* of the Romans.

6. Attrebates.—Berkshire and Oxfordshire.
7. Trinobantes.—Essex and Middlesex.
8. Catti or Cateuchlani.—Hertford, Bedford, Northampton, and Buckingham.
9. Boduni.—Gloucestershire, and part of Oxfordshire.
10. Iceni.—Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridgeshire, and Huntingdonshire.
11. Coritani.—Northamptonshire, Lincolnshire, Rutland, Leicestershire, Nottinghamshire, and Derbyshire.
12. Cornavii.—Warwickshire, Worcestershire, Staffordshire, Shropshire, and Cheshire.
13. Brigantes.—Yorkshire, West Riding, East Riding, and North Riding, Bishoprick of Durham, Lancashire, Westmoreland, and Cumberland.
14. Silures.—Herefordshire, Radnorshire, Brecknockshire, Monmouthshire, Glamorganshire.
15. Dimetæ.—Caernarvonshire, Pembrokeshire, and Cardiganshire.
16. Ordovices.—Montgomeryshire, Merionethshire, Caernarvonshire, Anglesea, Denbighshire, and Flintshire.

Of these several states, the *Belgæ* in the south, the *Silures* in the west, the *Brigantes* on the north,[c] and the *Iceni* on the east,[d] were the most considerable: and, as far as we can trace, or credit the resemblance of manners and language, came from the same hardy parent stock which peopled Gaul and Spain.[e]

They were well acquainted with the working of the mines, as the remains of their establishments for smelting the ore, found in Somersetshire, and in the west of England, fully testify. They understood the art of making pottery, as the numerous vessels, found in opening their *barrows* or tumuli, afford abundant proof: some formed by the hand, others made after the introduction of the lathe, or wheel. The art of war was sedulously cultivated by the Belgic Britons; and to this pursuit their children were brought up, and trained from their earliest youth: and to increase their courage, their priests taught them, that the undaunted soldier was a character most acceptable to their Gods.[f] The predatory mode of warfare, to which they were accustomed, in the morasses, woods, and almost inaccessible mountains, with their neighbouring tribes, gave them a decided advantage in their mode of attack and defence. This, however, availed them but little when they were opposed to the well-disciplined legions of the Romans.

[c] A tribe of the Brigantes is supposed to have inhabited the southern shore of the Severn, opposite the territory of the Silures.

[d] A tribe called Iceni dwelt between the rivers Itchen and Anton, near Southampton.

[e] Whitaker's Hist. of Manchester, vol. i. c. 3.

[f] Cæsar de Bell. Gall. b. v. c. 17.

2. The Phœnicians, having established a commercial intercourse with the coast of Celtic Gaul, founded a colony (on the north of the river Loire, near Bellisle, in a capacious inlet, now called Morbihan bay), to which they gave the name of *Venetia*, and the inhabitants of the adjoining territory were called *Veneti*. Cæsar, in his Commentaries on the *Belgic* war in Gaul, gives us a full description of this colony. He says, "they were the most powerful and considerable of all the nations he had to contend with in that quarter; not only on account of the *ships, wherewith they carried on a great trade with Britain*, to procure tin, lead, and other metals; but also for their skill and experience in naval affairs, in which they greatly surpassed all other maritime states and nations."[g] Diodorus Siculus also informs us that "the Belgic Britons adopted certain maxims of civil government; cultivated with attention many useful arts; carrying on a considerable trade with Gaul (the *Veneti);* quickly converting the southern coast of Britain, from the promontory of *Ocrinum* (the Land's End, in Cornwall), to *(Cantium)* the South Foreland, in Kent, into a busy scene of industry, trade, and civilization."[h] Bede also states, that the Belgic Britons had twenty-eight cities, besides castles built with gates and walls.[i]

To this port of the *Veneti* the productions of Britain were transferred, and *Venetia* became the resort of the vessels of the Phœnicians, Carthaginians, and other states in the Mediterranean, till its conquest by Julius Cæsar, B. C. 56.[k]

The superior character of the maritime Britons was a necessary consequence of the intercourse they now kept up, for commercial purposes, with the *Veneti* of *Celtic* Gaul. By these means many useful arts were introduced into Britain: and the *Veneti* were so far advanced in the arts, and naval affairs, that they held a dominion over the neighbouring coasts of Britany and Normandy.[l] They drew their supplies from Britain, as well as from the neighbouring territories: and when they were attacked by Julius Cæsar, so numerous were their vessels, that the fleet opposed to the Romans consisted of two hundred and twenty ships, built of oak and iron, so strongly put together as to resist, almost uninjured, the attacks of the Roman gallies.

The trade with the *Cassiterides* and Britain was unknown to the Greeks and Romans, as we have before stated; and the following anecdote, related by Strabo, proves how extremely anxious the Romans were to discover the country to which

[g] Cæsar de Bell. Gall. b. ii. c. 7.

[h] Diodorus Siculus, b. viii. p. 209.

[i] Bede, Eccles. Hist. b. i. c. 1. p. 22.

[k] Tyre, the capital of Phœnicia, was taken by Alexander, B. C. 332, and its trade destroyed It then fell into the hands of the Carthaginians, who kept up the commercial intercourse with the Veneti of Gaul, till their subjugation by Julius Cæsar, B. C. 56. Macpherson's Annals of Commerce, vol. i. p. 134.

[l] Cæsar de Bell. Gall. b. iii. c. 14.

the Phœnicians traded; and how jealous the latter were, lest the monopoly they held in the trade in metals, should be interfered with by any other power. "The Romans," says the author above-mentioned, "fitted out a galley to follow one of the Phœnician vessels, on her voyage towards the north. The Phœnician captain, aware of the object of the Roman commander, pursued his voyage steadily till he found himself approaching the *Cassiterides*, or *Scilly* islands; when fearlessly, and with imminent hazard of the loss of his own vessel, he steered boldly through a narrow passage between the islands, without injury to his own vessel: the Roman captain, in attempting to follow him, ran his galley on the rocks, and was lost with all his crew." [m]

This hazardous act was the result of a determination on the part of the Phœnician commander to sacrifice himself, crew and vessel, rather than that the important secret, which had tended so much to enrich his own country, should be discovered by the Romans. The same historian also observes, "that these islands (the *Cassiterides)* abound with tin, for which the merchants give in exchange, *wrought pottery, works of brass, beads*, &c. This accounts for the Belgic Britons being in possession of the finer works of art, found in the barrows which have been opened on the hills in Somersetshire. Numerous specimens of these ancient relics are deposited in the museum of Sir Richard Colt Hoare, Bart. at Stourhead in Wiltshire; in that of the palace at Wells; and in the select cabinet of the Reverend John Skinner at Camerton.

Of the goods imported into Britain we know but little. *Brass, brazen utensils, pottery*, and *salt*, are all that we find any mention of: but the Belgic Britons understood the art of digging and working mines, smelting metals, and weaving cloth. They also coined money under Cunobellin.

3. The Romans, ambitious to extend their dominion over the west of Europe, had carried the war into *Celtic* Gaul; when Publius Crassus, a young officer, sent some Prefects into the adjoining states to procure forage for the ensuing winter; and among them Quintus Velanius and Titus Silius were dispatched to the *Veneti*, then a powerful state. These Gauls, jealous of the Roman authority, treated the envoys with indignity, which gave rise to a renewal of the war. Cæsar, exasperated by this conduct of the *Veneti*, determined to chastise their insolence for the offence they had committed, and crush their power.

He forthwith assembled an army, and collected a fleet to attack their chief city *Venetia*, and reduce them under the Roman power: after a severe struggle he succeeded in the capture of the town and harbour; and executed signal vengeance on the inhabitants, by putting the senate to death, and dooming the citizens to slavery. [n]

[m] Strabo, b. iii end.

[n] Cæsar de Bell. Gall. b. iii. c. 16.

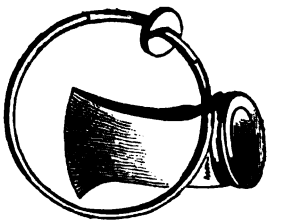
The secret of the trade between the Phœnicians, Carthaginians, and the Britons, was now discovered; yet the commercial and friendly intercourse which had subsisted between the Gauls and the Britons, previous to the attack of Julius Cæsar, still continued, and probably increased, in consequence of a greater assortment of goods brought by the Romanized merchants of Gaul; but the trade appears to have been entirely passive on the part of the Britons.

The commerce being now in other hands, the metals, which heretofore had been transported by a long and dangerous voyage round the coast of Spain, and through the Straits of Gibraltar into the Mediterranean, were now carried across the country to Marseilles. Diodorus makes particular mention of this trade, in the following words:[o] "These Britons dwell near the promontory of *Bolerium* (the Land's end), and live in a very hospitable manner, arising from their intercourse with foreign merchants. They prepare with great skill the *tin* their country produces, which, when refined, they cast into ingots, and then carry them to the adjacent island *Ictis*. For when it is low water, the space between that island and the main land of Britain, becomes *dry land*; and they carry great quantities of tin into it, in carts and waggons. Here the merchants buy it, and transport it to the coast of Gaul; and from thence convey it on horses' backs *over land*, in about thirty days."

It has been imagined, says a writer in the Gentleman's Magazine,[p] that the islet *Ictis*, so called by the ancients, where the Cornish merchants brought their tin to be shipped in the Phœnician vessels which traded to this country, was the *Isle of Wight*; the words of Diodorus prove the contrary. It would be *too far* from the seat of the mines in Cornwall where the metal is procured; and would cause a longer voyage. The *Black rock* in the harbour of Falmouth, near the mining district, seems to be the probable spot, now reduced by the action of the sea, to a bare rock.

[o] Diodorus Siculus, b. v. s. 22, p. 347.

[p] Gent. Mag. vol. xcix. part ii. p. 207.



A BRITISH BATTLE-AXE AND RING.

CHAPTER III.

1. State of Britain at the time of the invasion by Julius Cæsar.—2. Cause of the invasion.—3. He obtains possession of the southern part of the country by the defeat of Cassivelanus: state of the country under the Romans. Claudius arrives in Britain to reap the glory of the conquests of Vespasian and Aulus Plautius.—4. Ostorius Scapula succeeds to the command in Britain: he follows up the conquests of his predecessors, and forces the Belgic Britons beyond the Severn: establishes a colony at Camalodunum: defeats Caractacus King of the Silures: makes him a prisoner, and carries him to Rome in triumph. Ostorius dies, and is succeeded by Aulus Didius and Suetonius Paulinus, who pushed their conquests as far as the isle of Anglesea (Mona).—5. Revolt of the Iceni under Boadicea, and massacre of the Romans: Seutonius Paulinus avenges this treacherous act and defeats the Queen, who, to escape falling into his hands, destroys herself by poison: Peace is restored.—6. The Roman division of Britain; the Romans, after having retained possession of the country for nearly four hundred and fifty years, retire from it to defend Rome.—7. The Picts and Scots again commence their attacks: the Britons apply to Rome for assistance, but obtain none: they call in the aid of the Saxons.—8. The Saxons determine on keeping possession of Britain, and succeed: their division of the country into seven states, called the Heptarchy; their character.—9. The Danes, encouraged by the success of the Saxons, invade Britain, and at length obtain possession of it under Canute: his death: he is succeeded by his son Harold, and after his death by Hardicanute his brother. The Saxon line is restored in Edward, surnamed the Confessor: on whose death Harold his brother-in-law usurps the throne, which is disputed by William Duke of Normandy, cousin of the late King; who landing on the south coast of England, defeats him in a severe battle near Hastings, in Sussex: Harold falls in the conflict. William takes possession of the throne and kingdom: the Anglo-Saxon dynasty terminated, and the Norman commenced.

1. The actual state of Britain a short time previous to the invasion of the country by Julius Cæsar, has been described in the preceding chapter. It was very imperfectly known, if at all, to the Romans, previous to the subjugation of the *Veneti*, in Gaul. This event opened a new field for the Roman arms to extend their territory; and the prize, the metals of Britain, was too valuable to leave room to doubt, that the mineral riches of this country decided Cæsar in his views towards the conquest of Britain.

A contemporary and eloquent writer has observed, that "the Britons were not savages, when the Romans invaded their country. They were already far advanced from the barbarous state of society, having the use of metals, domestic cattle, wheeled carriages, and money. They had a settled government, and a regular priesthood, who were connected with their fellow Druids on the continent; and who were not ignorant of letters. They were capable of entering into social compacts for mutual protection; and proceeding regularly towards that degree of order, which is the result of civilization: like every other nation verging from a nomadic state towards

perfection; though rude in their manners, yet possessing policy, religion, and morality. They used the same language, the ancient Celtic, though corrupted into provincial dialects, with their Gallic neighbours on the continent."[a]

All the country south of the Thames was occupied by the Belgic Britons, who, after a long contest with their Celtic precursors, drove them further north; and for greater security to their territory, formed a line of entrenched camps between the rivers Avon and the Thames, making them the barrier between their territories. Their form of government was somewhat republican. The districts were governed by petty chiefs, or *Kings*; and, like the Gauls, they demanded in cases of emergency, a public council, in which they chose a commander of their military forces. By a similar assembly, Cassivelanus was empowered to take the chief command in Britain, when menaced by the Romans.

2. The cause of the invasion of Britain, appears from the words of Cæsar in his Commentaries on the war, to have been, "that the Britons had assisted the Gauls in their wars, against him."[b] This was a plausible pretext, under which to conceal the real object of his expedition, which was, no doubt, to obtain possession of the mineral riches of Britain, for which the Romans had so long been indebted to another nation. So ignorant, however, was the Roman commander of the real situation of Britain, that, according to his own account, he assembled the Venetian and British merchants whom he found in *Venetia*; and inquired of them, the extent of the island they traded with; what people inhabited it; and whether they were warlike.[c] Having obtained the desired information from them, he marched his legions across Gaul to *Portus Itius* (Boulogne), in the territory of the *Morini*, "*from whence the passage was shortest to Britain.*"

The Britons, being apprised by the merchants of the intention of the Roman general to invade their country, became on the alert to protect themselves from attack. Two of their chieftains, whose territories were near the point of invasion, became alarmed, and sent ambassadors to Cæsar, offering their submission to the Roman power. The other chiefs, not approving the dastardly conduct of their colleagues, determined on resistance, and gave full proof of their undaunted courage, in the struggle they made against their invaders before their final subjugation.

3. Cæsar obtained possession of the south-eastern part of Britain B. C. 56, having vanquished *Cassivelanus*, King of the *Trinobantes*, to whom had been delegated the supreme command, to lead the British warriors against the invaders

[a] Southey's Colloquies, vol. i. p. 267. [b] Cæsar, Com. de Bell. Gall. b. iii. c. 21. [c] Ibid.

of their country. Cæsar, having received hostages for the quiet possession of the country, left Britain and returned to Rome, to enjoy his triumph upon the conquest of this country; he was soon after assassinated by Brutus, and his honours laid in the dust.

The Britons were now left to themselves for a considerable time, and the payment of the tribute to Rome became almost suspended. The succeeding Emperors, Augustus and Tiberius, paid no attention to the newly acquired country, and derived little advantage from its resources. Caligula formed hostile designs against it, but never executed them; and the honour of further and greater conquests was reserved for the Emperor Claudius, and his generals Aulus Plautius and Ostorius. The Britons had enjoyed a state of peace and tranquillity, unmolested by the Romans, for nearly a century, when Claudius undertook his first expedition against them; and from this period, A. D. 43, the history of the Romans in Britain may be said to commence.

Upon the accession of Claudius to the imperial purple, discontents having arisen in Britain, *Vespasian* and *Aulus Plautius* were sent with an army[d] to keep up the Roman authority in this country. About the year A. D. 44, it is conjectured that Aulus Plautius had extended his victorious march as far as *Caer Glow* (Gloucester), after having subdued the *Cantii*, *Regni*, and advanced as far as the Isle of Wight. This General having, in various battles, defeated the Britons, and possessed himself of such advantages as seemed to secure their total subjection, sent a request to the Emperor Claudius, that he would come over to Britain, and in person put an end to the war, and reap the glory of the conquest. On his arrival in Britain he marched towards the west, and by his moderation and kindness to the conquered natives, so much ingratiated himself with them, that they erected a temple to his honour, and worshipped him as a deity.

4. *Ostorius Scapula* then succeeded to the command in Britain, on the retirement of Aulus Plautius; he extended his conquests further into the west, subduing in turn the *Attrebates* and *Belgæ*, driving the Belgic Britons beyond the higher part of the Thames and Avon, and to the banks of the Severn; taking possession of their chain of forts, which extended from the *Avon* at Clifton, near Bristol, along the elevated points of what are now called "the *Cotswold hills*," which overlook the vale of

[d] The legions which composed the Roman army in Britain at this time, were the second, the ninth, the fourteenth, and the twentieth. A legion consisted of six thousand one hundred foot, and seven hundred and twenty-six horse, legionary troops; to which were added six thousand one hundred foot, and one thousand four hundred and fifty-two horse, auxiliaries; making a total of fourteen thousand three hundred and seventy-eight men. Vegetius, lib. ii. c. 6, 7.

the Severn. A continued series of battles were fought and the Romans continued to extend their conquests to the shores of the Severn.

Ostorius, having settled his subdued country, determined on marching towards the west into the territory of the *Cangi*, heretofore the country of the *Cimbri*, situated beyond the estuary Uxella (the river Parret), when the Silures and southern Brigantes revolted, and, headed by Caractacus, threatened to invade the country in his rear. This event compelled him to retrace his march, and drive back the rebellious chieftain. He therefore " peopled a town near their borders, called *Camalodunum*, with certain bands of old soldiers, there to inhabit with their wives and children, according to such manner as was used in like cases of placing natural Romans in any town or city, for the more surety and defence of the same."[e]

" Here was also," continues the same author, " a temple builded to the honour of Claudius the Emperor, where two images were erected, one to the goddess Victoria, and the other to Claudius himself." Tacitus also says, " *thence* we marched against the *Silures*, a people resolute and fierce by nature: besides, we had to pass the river (the Severn), to force the ramparts on the declivities of the high mountains, and all defended by a host of men; these were difficulties terrible and almost insurmountable."—" No mercy or rigour could reclaim these Silures, who were bent upon war, and only to be subdued by the force of our legions. To facilitate this design, a colony, powerful in the number of veterans, was conveyed to Camalodunum, situated in the conquered lands, as a bulwark against the rebels."[f]

Caractacus finding himself unable to resist the attacks of the well-disciplined legions of Rome in the open plain, betook himself to the mountains beyond the Severn, where he had fortified the most accessible places; throwing up ramparts, composed of earth and loose stones, to a considerable height. This rude fortification did not long avail the British chieftain: he was compelled to take the field again, and try the issue of a general battle, in which he was defeated, with the loss of his wife, brothers, and daughters, who were taken prisoners. He himself narrowly escaped the same fate, and fled for refuge to *Cartismandua*, Queen of the Brigantes. This princess, fearing the consequences of protecting *Caractacus*, basely gave him up to the Roman general, who took him together with his family to Rome, to grace his triumphal pageant.

The Britons, notwithstanding this signal defeat, continued to harass the troops of Ostorius, who, being worn down by the excessive fatigues of the war, and disappointed in his view of completely subduing Britain, sunk under it, and died A.D. 51.

[e] Holinshed's Chron. vol. i. p. 448.

[f] Tacitus, Annal. b. xii.

Aulus Didius succeeded *Ostorius* in the command in Britain, and rekindled the war in all its fury. He was soon recalled, and *Suetonius Paulinus* appointed in his room. This general marched into the country of the *Ordovices,* and carried his arms into many parts of Britain hitherto unknown to the Romans, and penetrated to the Irish sea, passing over into *Mona* (the isle of Anglesea), the last retreat of the Druids.

5. During these proceedings in so remote a district, a revolt broke out among the *Iceni,* (in the eastern part of the kingdom,) in consequence of some indignities which were offered to Boadicea, the widow of Prasutagus, King of these people, by the Romans. In order to avenge this insult, the Queen incited her people to attack the Romans, who were dispersed about in stations; and being joined by the neighbouring princes, began a general massacre of them, without regard to age or sex. No less than 70,000 persons are said to have fallen victims to her insatiable revenge.

Suetonius Paulinus, irritated by this gross and cruel act, mustered all his forces, and marched against Boadicea.

The Queen, on the other hand, anticipating the dreadful retaliation about to take place, made every preparation in her power to repel the threatened attack. A sanguinary conflict took place, in which the Romans were victorious; and 80,000 persons are said to have perished in this battle. The Queen narrowly escaped being taken prisoner, and driven almost to despair and madness, at the defeat and destruction of her troops, took poison to prevent her falling into the hands of her exasperated conqueror, A. D. 61.

This signal defeat gave peace to the southern parts of Britain; and the Romans were enabled in consequence to extend their conquests under the command of *Julius Agricola,* towards the north, and into Scotland, and penetrated beyond the Frith of Forth, or Edinburgh, A. D. 82. In the following summer the Roman general, elated with the success of the preceding year, led his legions into the heart of Caledonia, where he defeated an army of 30,000 Scots, and thus completed the subjugation of Britain, A. D. 84.

"Agricola introduced laws and civilization into Britain; taught the people to desire and raise the conveniences of life; reconciled them to the Roman language, and manners; instructed them in letters and science, and employed every expedient to render those chains, which he had forged, both easy and agreeable." [5] Nothing further worthy of notice occurred till the time of Adrian, when the Scots began to attack the Roman provinces bordering on their territory. This Emperor, to restrain their incursions, built a wall from the Eden in Cumberland, to the Tyne in North-

[5] Hume's Hist. of England, vol. i. p. 9.

umberland, a distance of eighty miles, to protect his dominions from their depredations.

6. The Romans having obtained full possession of Britain, began to divide their conquests into the form of Provinces, and altered the ancient names and divisions of the country, substituting an arrangement of their own; and reducing the whole into the following divisions:

1. Britannia prima.
2. Britannia secunda.
3. Flavia Cæsariensis.
4. Maxima Cæsariensis.

Britannia prima comprehended all the country south of the Thames, the Avon, and the Severn. This grand division was again subdivided into the following states, viz.

1. The Cantii.
2. The Regni or Remi.
3. The Segontiaci.
4. Attrebates.
5. Belgæ.
6. Durotriges.
7. Danmonii.

During the time the Romans held possession of Britain, nearly four hundred and fifty years, the inhabitants necessarily acquired a degree of civilization and knowledge of the liberal arts and sciences.

Yet, notwithstanding these advantages, the great body of the people were still of Celtic and Belgic origin; retaining their own language, and some of their laws and customs. They adopted, however, the Roman style in their buildings; adorning them with porticoes, saloons, and baths. What Rome possessed was shared by the most powerful natives of Britain, who were ambitious to distinguish themselves in the Roman arts and sciences.[h] Such as were able to bear arms entered into the Roman legions, and became enervated by the luxurious manners and habits imported from Rome; so that the latter part of their history exhibits a race of men totally divested of that martial disposition and love of freedom which so strongly marked the character of their ancestors.[i]

The Roman force in Britain was withdrawn in A. D. 446, in consequence of the northern hordes, the Goths and Vandals, having descended into the plains of Italy, and meditated an attack on the imperial city, Rome. Their departure was a death-blow to the peace which the Britons had enjoyed for above four centuries, under the luxurious government of the Romans.

7. The Britons were no sooner left to themselves, than they were assailed by their northern neighbours, the Picts and Scots; who repeated their former atrocities with redoubled fury: and this calamity was rendered still more dreadful by famine,

h Turner's Anglo Saxon Hist.

i Strutt's Sports and Pastimes, p. 8.

which began to rage throughout their country. The Britons, borne down by these disasters, made known their miserable situation to Ætius, who commanded the Roman troops in Gaul at that time, and earnestly implored the protection of Rome. In the epistle sent, they state their deplorable situation, and say, "We solicit your assistance for our country, our children, and our wives, in the extremity to which we are driven; the Barbarians drive us into the sea, and the sea forces us back into the hands of our enemies. We have no alternative left, but either to be butchered by these Barbarians, or be drowned in the sea."[k] They also applied to the Emperor Constantine, (who had been chosen to assume the imperial diadem, whilst in Britain,) for assistance to repel the aggression.

Finding no attention paid to their request, from the pressing exigences of Rome herself; like other distant provinces, the Britons threw off their allegiance to the Roman Emperor, and proclaimed their own independence: and, in order to protect themselves, they entered into a league with each other, for the purpose of defending their country; which they effected for a century and a half. In this independent state they might have long continued unmolested by a foreign enemy, had not internal feuds and jealousies arisen, between the chieftains of the petty states, into which the country became divided. This led at last to open contest; and the country, thus weakened by internal dissensions, became an easy prey to their northern neighbours and enemies, the Picts and Scots. The Britons were now compelled to seek for assistance from the Saxons, who had also made piratical incursions upon their shores.[l]

At that time Hengist and Horsa, two brothers celebrated among the Saxons for their valour and nobility, availed themselves of the opportunity which now offered of displaying their valour and courage in assisting the Britons; and accordingly, embarked a force of sixteen hundred men, who landed in the isle of Thanet, and marching to their assistance soon drove back these enemies within their own frontier. The Britons hoped, under this powerful assistance and protection, to enjoy peace and tranquillity; they were, however, disappointed in that anticipation. Horsa, the Saxon general, had been slain in battle; Hengist, the survivor, who had now the entire command over his countrymen, avenged his death, by carrying devastation into the most remote districts of Britain. The people fled to the mountains and secure parts of the country: some were glad to accept life under the hardest conditions; others crossed the sea to *Armorica*,[m] where they were charitably re-

[k] Polydore Virg. Hist. Angl. lib. iii.

[l] A long series of desolating wars, with little interval of tranquillity, harassed the country, from the time the Romans took their departure from this country, till a short period before the Norman invasion.

[m] Britany, a part of Belgic Gaul.

ceived by a people, who had themselves formerly sought refuge in that country from their oppressors in Britain, and who spoke the same language, and to which country they gave the name of *Britany*. Those who were driven into Wales, were called *Galli*, and that country *Gallia;* and those who sought refuge in Cornwall, were called *Cornugalli*, all expressing the common origin of these people from the Gauls on the continent.

8. The Saxons now determined on keeping possession of the country, and the Britons as resolutely determined on their leaving it, after their assistance was no longer wanted. This led to violent contests, which terminated in open war. The Britons struggled bravely for a long series of years against the usurpers of their country, but were at last compelled to yield to their superior power.

The Saxons then established themselves, by forming seven separate states, which was called the Heptarchy;[n] over each was appointed a chieftain or king to govern the people, and manage the public affairs of the same. These divisions were designated as follows, viz.

1. Kent.
2. Sussex.
3. Wessex.
4. Mercia.
5. Essex.
6. East Anglia.
7. Deira.
8. Berenicia, added afterwards.

These petty states soon became jealous of each other, and civil war was the consequence of these intestine dissensions; which ended (as always has proved the result of civil war), in the consolidation of the whole into one kingdom, under the government of the wise and prudent Egbert, King of the West Saxons, A. D. 568. This prince had gained the ascendancy, and made the whole of England tributary to his sceptre. From this period the kingdom of the West Saxons retained an actual supremacy over the whole, higlhy advantageous to the best interests of the country.

"The Saxons were so numerous, and their conquest so complete, that they introduced their own language into all parts of the country they occupied, and gave names to the cities, towns, and villages. When they first landed in Britain, they were bands of fierce barbarians; ignorant, idolatrous, and superstitious pirates; enthusiastically courageous, but habitually cruel. Yet, from such ancestors, a nation has, in the course of twelve centuries, been formed, which is inferior to none in every moral and intellectual merit: is superior to every other in the love and possession of useful liberty: a nation which cultivates with equal success the elegancies

[n] More properly an Octarchy; Berenicia having been added to the seven states.

of art; the ingenious labours of industry; the energies of war; the researches of science; and the richest productions of genius."[o]

9. The tranquillity of the kingdom was not, however, of long duration. The Danes, also a piratical people, jealous of the good fortune of the Saxons, determined on despoiling them of their newly acquired dominion; or at least, sharing with them their possessions; and began a series of invasions in A. D. 787, which continued for one hundred and fifty years, and terminated in their final success, when *Canute* obtained possession of the English crown A. D. 1017. He reigned nineteen years, and left his kingdom to his sons *Harold* and *Hardicanute*, who enjoyed the regal honours but a short time; when the Saxon line was restored in the person of Edward the Confessor, A. D. 1041, who assumed the sovereignty over the whole kingdom.

Upon the death of Edward, Harold, his wife's brother, usurped the crown, which was disputed by William Duke of Normandy, cousin of the late king; who soon landed an army in Britain to enforce his claim to the vacant throne. Harold engaged his forces at Hastings, in Sussex, near which place William had previously landed, and was slain in the conflict: when William took possession of the vacant throne.[p]

The Anglo-Saxon dynasty, which had lasted about six hundred years, was thus terminated, and a sovereign with continental possessions was led to the English throne. By the consequences of this revolution, England acquired that interest, and established that influence in the transactions and fortunes of its neighbours, which have continued to the present time, with equal advantage to its inhabitants, and to Europe.

Whilst the Heptarchy continued, England was not divided into *shires;* and it was not till Alfred, called "the Great," had ascended the throne, and assumed the sovereignty over the several smaller states, and reduced the whole into one king-

o Turner's Anglo-Saxons, vol. iv. p. 499.

p "*Goodwin*, the eldest son of King Harold, being growne to some ripenesse in the lifetime of his father," says Speed, "after his death, and overthrow by the Conqueror, took his brother with him, and flew over into Ireland, from whence he returned, and landed in Somersetshire, slew Ednoth (a Baron sometime of his father's), that encountered him: and taking great preyes in Devonshire and Cornwell, departed till the next yeare. When cominge again, he fought with Beorn and the Earle of Cornwell, and retired into Ireland, and thence into Denmarke to King Sweyn, his cousin-german, where he spent the rest of his life.

"Edmund, the second sonne to King Harold, went with his brother into Ireland, returned with him into England, and was at the slaughter and overthrow of Ednoth and his power in Somersetshire; at the spoyles committed in Cornwell and Devonshire; at the conflict with Earle Beorn; and repassed with him in all his voyages; and at last departed with him from Ireland into Denmark."—Speed's Chron.

dom, that the division of England into counties took place, A. D. 1016. At first there were but *thirty* counties: in the time of William the Conqueror, when *Domesday book* was compiled, we find thirty-six; to which were added Northumberland, Durham, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire; these, with thirteen in Wales, made up fifty-two. Monmouthshire was afterwards made an English county, leaving the division as it continues at the present time, viz. forty English counties, and twelve in Wales. [q]

q "The Normans came originally from Denmark and Norway, and spoke the Scandian or Sclavonian language; but they remained so long in the confines of France, and were related to the French nation by marriages, and other obligations, that they spoke the same *language*, and had in a manner quite forgotten their own language. To make the Anglo-Saxons do the like, these conquerors not only seized their possessions and estates, but likewise commanded that all the laws, pleadings, popular sermons and discourses, should be in their Norman French language." Lansdowne MSS. No. 856, p. 152.

BRITISH WAR CHARIOT.

CHAPTER IV.

1. Consequences of the change produced by the Norman conquest: Domesday book compiled: description of it, and explanation of the terms used in that national record.—2. Origin of Tithings and Hundreds.—3. Anglo-Saxon population at the time of the Norman Survey.—4. Royal manors: names of the Bishops, Barons, and others, on whom William the Conqueror bestowed the manors and estates of the Saxons.—5. Feudal system: principal Barons in this county in the time of Henry II.: possessors of lands in the time of Edward I. 1272.

1. THE Norman conquest changed the dynasty of the Kings of England, and with it great alterations in the civil and ecclesiastical polity of the kingdom necesarily took place. The claims of the numerous persons who had followed William Duke of Normandy in his expedition against England, were such as he could not overlook; and among them were several Norman Bishops, whose services were important, even on the field of battle. These all shared in the fruits of the victory; and no sooner was the country tranquillized, and its affairs arranged, than the British landholders were dispossessed of their estates, and a new race of lords put in possession of them. In less than twenty years after the subjugation of Britain to the Norman power, the greater portion of the country was in the hands of the Normans, as appears from the survey made by order of the King in 1088. This important document, called "*Domesday Book*," is the basis of parochial topography, and contains a brief account of the extent, value, and appurtenances of each manor.

In order that the reader may be able to understand the meaning of the terms made use of in describing the various manors, and different classes of persons dependent upon them, an explanation of them is thought necessary to render the document intelligible. The political division of the country made by the Saxons, was the groundwork of the subsequent arrangement of the manors, parishes, and other subdivisions, made by the Conqueror; and shews at how early a peried, and with what judgment and knowledge, the foundation of that polity was laid, which forms the basis of our present civil and ecclesiastical institutions.

2. The division of England into *Tithings*, *Hundreds*, and *Counties*, is generally supposed to have been the work of King Alfred; history, however, informs us, these divisions existed long before that monarch swayed the sceptre of this kingdom; and were recognized by the laws of Ina king of the West Saxons, previous to the

conclusion of the seventh century. It is probable they formed part of the polity which was brought from Germany by the Saxons; and was an ancient institution in use among that people before the time of Tacitus, who gives a description of an assembly, much like a hundred court.[a]

Alfred, whose comprehensive mind availed itself of every circumstance and custom which tended to the improvement and amelioration of the condition of his people, reduced these political divisions to more uniform order, in the arrangement of his dominions.

The *Tithing* consisted of an association of *ten freemen,* householders, answerable for each other. By this institution, every free master of a family became a *Friburg,* or frankpledge, to the government for the good and peaceable behaviour of all persons within it; a measure, which is asserted by our ancient historians, to have been necessary; for, "by example of the Danes, the natural inhabitants were greedy of spoil, so that no man could pass in safety, to and fro, without defensive weapons." This circumstance is supposed to have led to that excellent method of preserving peace, and insuring security, by the formation of tithings. Over these ten householders thus associated, was appointed a *Dean,* or *Tithingman,* who received their cognizances, and held a court for the regulation of the district.[b]

The *Hundred* is an ancient division of the shire or county; and was formed by the incorporation of *ten tithings.* These originally contained *one hundred* free householders, who were respectively enrolled in the different tithings. That hundreds were originally regulated by the population residing within their limits, may be naturally inferred from the great number of hundreds in the counties which came first under the dominion of the Saxons. When Domesday Book was compiled, *Kent* and *Sussex* each contained more than sixty hundreds, as they still continue to do: whilst in *Lancashire,* a county comprising a greater area than either, there are no more than *six* hundreds, and in *Cheshire* only *seven.*[c]

After the Saxons, in the time of Ethelred, had reduced the kingdom to a regular form of government, the King, as supreme lord, was proprietor of the whole country, and apportioned it to the church, to his nobles, and friends, according to his sovereign will. A record of these lands was made in the time of Ethelred, and was re-

[a] Tacitus de moribus German. c. 12.

[b] In the laws of King Ethelred we find this passage: "In every hundred let there be a *Court,* and let twelve ancient freemen, together with the sheriff, be sworn, that they will not condemn any person that is innocent; nor acquit any one that is guilty." Thus trial by jury existed from a remote period of our history; and is nearly coeval with the state of civilized society in this island. Oldfield's Parl. Hist. c. 2, p. 33.

[c] Asser's Life of Alfred, b. ii. p. 74.

ferred to by Alfred, when he ordered a roll to be made, in which their several possessions were entered.

After the subjugation of the kingdom by William Duke of Normandy, the Conqueror, following the example of his predecessors, caused a record of the same to be made, now called *Domesday Book;* which referred to the time of Edward the Elder. This document, one of the most ancient records of England, is the *Register*, from which judgment was to be given, upon the *value*, tenure, and services of lands, therein described: and seems to have been completed in A. D. 1087. It contains a survey of all the lands in England; and consists of two volumes, a greater and a less. The first is a large folio volume, written on three hundred and eighty-two pages of vellum, in a small, but neat plain character; each page having a double column. This contains the description of thirty counties.

The other volume is a small quarto, containing four hundred and fifty pages of vellum, in a single column, and written in a large and fair character. It describes the counties of Essex, Norfolk, Suffolk, part of the county of Rutland, included in that of Northampton, and part of Lancashire, with the counties of York and Chester.

In the Saxon Chronicle, the following curious account of the origin of this survey is thus recorded: "A. D. 1085. Then sent he" (William the Conqueror) "men over all England, into each shire, commissioners to find out how many hundreds of hides were in each shire; what lands the king had; and what stock upon the land; or what dues he ought to have by the year from each shire. He also commissioned them to record in writing how much land his Archbishops had, and his Diocesan Bishops, and his Abbots, and his Earls; what and how much each man had who was an occupier of land in England, either on his land or in stock, and how much money it were worth. So very narrowly, indeed, did he commission them to trace it out, that there was not a single hide or yard of land, nay, not even an ox, nor a cow, nor a swine was there left out, that was not set down in his writs; and all recorded particulars were afterwards brought to him."[d]

For adjusting this survey, certain commissioners, called the King's Justiciaries were appointed, who, upon the oaths of the Sheriffs, the Lords of each manor, the Presbyters of every church, the Reeves of every hundred, the Bailiff and six villans of every village, were to inquire into the name of the place; who held it in the time of King Edward; who was the present possessor; how many hides in the manor; how many carucates in demesne; how many homagers; how many villans; how many cottarii; how many *servi;* what freedmen; how many tenants in socage;

[d] Ingram's Saxon Chronicle, p. 289.

what quantity of wood; how much meadow and pasture; what mills and fishponds; what the gross value in King Edward's time; what the present value; and how much each freedman or socman had or has.

The different grades of the people were, 1. *Bishops* and *Abbots*, who held the highest rank. 2. *Barons*. 3. *Thanes*, persons, according to Turner,[e] below the Barons, or Earls, in rank. They formed a species of nobility peculiar to those ancient times. The requisites which constituted the dignity, are stated in the laws to have been the possession of *five hides* of his own land, a church, a kitchen, a bell-house, a judicial seat at the burgh gate, and a distinct office or station in the King's hall.

4. *Vavassores* are in dignity next to Barons, and higher than Thanes.

5. *Allodarii* were the tenants and possessors before the Conquest.

6. *Milites*, sometimes implying a soldier, or mere military servant, and sometimes a person of higher distinction.

7. *Liberi homines*, or *freemen*, a term of considerable latitude, signifying not the freemen or freeholders of a manor, but occasionally all ranks of society.

8. *Sochmanni*, or *socmen*, inferior landowners, who had lands in the *soc* or franchise of a great man or Baron; who, though their tenures were absolutely copyhold, yet had an interest equal to freehold.

9. *Radmanni*, or *Radmen*, a lower grade of Socmen.

10. *Villani*, or *Villans*. The resident tenants annexed to the manor, or to the person of the lord; and who were transferable by deed, from one owner to another. They held small portions of land, by way of supporting themselves and their families, but at the will of their lord, who might dispossess them whenever he pleased. They were the *adscripti glebæ*, but become afterwards copyholders, viz. tenants by copy of Court roll, witnessed by the steward.

11. *Cottarii, cottagers*, who paid a rent to the lord in provisions or money, with some customary service for a small portion of land.

This service was sometimes two or more days' labour in each week, or a certain stipulated number of days during the harvest.

12. *Bordarii*, a set of people distinct from the Villani, and who seem to be those of a less servile condition, who had a *bord* or cottage with a small parcel of land allowed them, on condition they should supply the lord's table with poultry, and other small provisions, for his board and sustenance.

13. *Bures* or *Coliberti*. Tenants in free socage, by free rent, a middle sort of tenants between servile and free; and held their freedom of tenure under the condi-

[e] Turner's Anglo Saxons, vol. iii. p. 230, 8vo. ed. 5.

tion of such works and services. Some of them were to supply the lord's table with fish, and to take care of the rivers and water-courses.[f]

14. *Servi.* Slaves, persons who were at the arbitrary will and pleasure of the lord; appointed to servile works, and received their wages and maintenance at the will of the lord.

There existed in England at the Norman conquest, no *free hands*, or freemen, who worked for wages; the scanty labour of those warlike times being wholly performed by two classes of persons, called in Domesday Book, *villans* and *slaves*. The latter were very numerous, and formed an object of foreign trade for ages after the arrival of the Conqueror; who only prohibited the sale of them to infidels.[g]

The Anglo-Saxons kept a great number of persons in a state of servitude, and laws were enacted by the Saxon Kings to enforce their humane treatment. The trade in slaves was carried on extensively by the Northumbrians particularly, who exported great numbers. This traffic continued for some time after the Conquest. The people of Bristol pursued the trade; and the author of the Life of St. Wulfstan, Bishop of Worcester, who filled that see at the time of the Norman Conquest, gives an animated, though horrid account of it, as follows: "There is a town called Brichstow (Bristol), opposite to Ireland, and extremely convenient for trading with that country. Wulfstan induced them to give up a barbarous custom, which neither the love of God nor the King could prevail on them to lay aside. This was a mart for slaves, collected from all parts of England; and particularly young women, whom they took care to put in such a state, as to enhance their value. It was a most moving sight to see in the public market rows of young persons of both sexes, tied together with ropes; of great beauty, and in the flower of their age, daily prostituted, and daily sold. Execrable fact! men unmindful even of the affections of the brute creation, delivering into slavery their offspring!"[h]

It is well known that slaves were bought and sold with the land, and were conveyed in the grants of it, with the cattle and other property upon it.

Villenage subsisted so late as the reign of Queen Elizabeth. There is a commission still extant, issued by her Majesty in 1574, for inquiring into the lands and goods of all her bondmen and bondwomen, in the counties of Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall, in order to ascertain their number, and to compound for their manumission or freedom; that they might enjoy their own lands and goods as freemen.[i]

This debased race of men seem to have been perpetuated on the estates of the monasteries longer than elsewhere; for by an ancient canon they were forbidden to manumit their slaves. In the survey of the possessions of the monastery at Glas-

[f] Spelman's Glossary.
[g] Henry's Hist. of England, vol. i. p. 478.
[h] Anglia Sacra, vol. ii. p. 258.
[i] Lord Kaimes's Sketches of Man, vol. i. p. 300, note.

tonbury, taken after the dissolution of that religious establishment, there is an account of two hundred and twenty-seven bondmen, whose bodies and goods were always at the King's Highness's will and pleasure.

Diodorus states the Gauls gave a hogshead of wine for a boy.

There were many other description of persons noticed in the Norman Survey, which it is unnecessary to notice at present.

An *explanation* of some other terms mentioned in Domesday Book is requisite, as they will be continually occurring in the detail of almost every parish.

Rex tenet. The King holds, &c. By this expression is to be understood, that the lands and tenements belonged to King Edward or to the crown, and came to him as lands of inheritance.

Prepositus, or *provost.* A bailiff, or reeve, or steward.

Hida and *carucata.* Hide and carucate were reckoned synonymous terms; but not so in this book, as the word *hide* is always placed before *carucate.* Some writers fix this quantity of land at sixty-four acres; others at ninety-six; others at one hundred; and others, according to modern calculation, at one hundred and twenty acres. In Jacob's Law Dictionary it is said to be, in the time of Edward III. 1320, one hundred acres.

Carucata. Carucate, or a ploughland; that is, as much land as one man could manage with one team in a year. By the statute of William III. a ploughland was not estimated by measure, but by value, and fixed at fifty pounds a-year.

Though the quantity of land contained in a carucate was thus uncertain, the whole kingdom was measured by it; and in after-ages was so taxed, and called *carrucagium. Hide* was used by Edward the Confessor, and *carucate* by William the Conqueror.

Dominium. A domain or demesne.

Leuca, a mile. *Quarentena,* a furlong.

Virgate. A yardland; its extent varied in different parts of the country from fifteen to forty acres; but in the land of the abbey of Malmesbury, twenty-four acres formed one virgate, four virgates one hide, and five hides one knight's fee.

Fœdum, a fief or fee, signifies a conditional stipend or reward. The condition was, that the possessor should do service faithfully at home and abroad in war, to him by whom it was given; for which purpose he took an oath of fealty, and if the stipulated service was not performed, the lands were again to revert to him who had granted them.

Sacham and *socham.* Two words frequently used together in old writings, and meaning the same thing, only differing in one degree of power. It is the privilege of holding courts in manors to try petty causes among the tenants of the lord, and to make a final decision by amerciament and fines, to be paid to the lord.

Geldum, signifies a tax or payment of money to the King; and in Domesday Book means *Danegeldt*,[k] or that payment which was first laid on the nation by the Danes, equivalent to two shillings for each hide. By the advice of Siric, Archbishop of Canterbury, King Ethelred entered into an engagement to pay them 16,000*l.* to desist from their depredations; and it is recorded in the Saxon Chronicle,[l] that the Danes received the enormous sum of 172,957*l.* in thirty-eight years.[m]

This cowardly advice of the Archbishop only quieted for a time these ravenous pirates; as after a short interval they returned again to levy fresh contributions; for finding that large sums of money could be obtained in this way during the reign of a weak and ill-advised prince, they insulted him with greater rage and fury.[n]

Guilds. These were erected for the better government of *burghs* or *boroughs*, and consisted of a master (like the Saxon *ealderman)*, and a fraternity of the principal inhabitants, who were to assist him on all proper occasions, and often consisted of both clergy and laity. These have chiefly, since the time of Henry VIII. been changed into corporations established by charters granted by the King, which particularly expressed all the power derived to them from the Crown.

4. In Domesday Book we have a record of the Anglo-Saxon population, &c. in Somersetshire, which was as follows:

Chief proprietors, 46; King's thanes, 17; other proprietors, 11; villans, 4947; borderers, 4377; slaves, 1565; cottagers, 299: coliberts, 156; coscez, 43; fishermen, 21; swineherds, 57; mills, 323; pastures, 156; woods, 206.

Burgesses,—Bade (Bath), 30; Tantone, 64; Lampurth, 39; Alseburge, 32; Givelchestre, 108; Meleburne, 61; Bremet, 17; Bristow, 10; Masuræ, 22; subordinate tenants, 205.

Upon the completion of this survey the feudal system was introduced; and it became a fundamental maxim and necessary principle of our English tenures, that the king is a universal lord, and proprietor of *all* the lands in the kingdom; and

[k] Danegeldt began to be collected in the reign of King Ethelred, about the year 991. Some writers suppose it a tax to bribe the Danes to suspend their predatory incursions on this country; others, that it was a levy to pay for the hire of vessels and troops to defend the kingdom. It was originally two shillings per hide, in the nature of a land tax. In the reign of William I. it was raised to six shillings for each hide. William Rufus lowered it to four shillings; Henry I. to three shillings; and Stephen to two shillings each hide.

[l] Ingram's Saxon Chron.

[m] The amount of this tax levied in Somersetshire, and paid into the King's treasury at Winchester, in the time of William I. was 509*l.* It continued to be collected down to the time of 21 Henry II. and probably later. The strictness with which the Danegeldt was at one period collected, rendered this impost intolerably grievous to the people. If a delay of three days occurred in the payment of it, the possessor of the estate was liable to be turned out of it, and his property seized upon by any one who would pay the tax, or the arrears thereof.—Webb's Account of Danegeldt.

[n] Ingram's Saxon Chronicle, p. 170.

that no man doth, or can possess any part of them, but what has mediately or immediately been derived as a gift from him, to be held on certain services.[o]

5. William the Conqueror having obtained by this survey, an account and accurate knowledge of the state and condition of all the property in his newly-acquired dominions, reserved for himself and his successors the royal demesnes of his predecessors, which in Somersetshire were as follow, viz.

Axbridge, Bedminster, Bruton, Cannington, Carhampton, Chedder, Curry Rivel, Frome, Ilchester, Langport, Milborne Port, North Petherton, South Petherton, Somerton, and Williton.

The remainder he divided into seven hundred baronies, or great fiefs, which he bestowed on religious foundations; his particular friends; and those who had signalized themselves in his service. These baronies were subdivided into 60,215 knight's fees. No Englishman had any of the first; and few obtained any of the latter.[p] Their names were as follow:

Wacheline, Bishop of Winchester	4	William de Owe	8
Herman, Bishop of Salisbury	2	William de Faleise	3
Odo, Bishop of Bayeux	1	William Fitz-Wido	2
Geoffry, Bishop of Coutances	68	Ralph de Mortimer	11
Giso, Bishop of Wells	18	Ralph de Pomeroy	2
The Church at Bath	15	Ralph Paganel	5
The Church at Glastonbury	15	Ralph de Limesi	7
The Church at Muchelney	7	Robert Fitz-Gerold	2
The Church at Athelney	6	Alured de Marlborough	1
The Church of St. Peter at Rome	1	Alured de Ispania	24
The Church of Caen in Normandy	1	Turstin Fitz-Rolf	18
The Church of Monteburg, ditto	1	Serlo de Burci	14
The Church of Shaftesbury	1	Odo Fitz Gamelin	1
Maurice Bishop of London	1	Osbern Giffard	3
Clerks, tenants of the King	12	Edward de Salisbury	2
Eustace Earl of Boulogne	5	Ernulph de Hesding	3
Hugh D'Abrincis Earl of Chester	4	Gislebert Fitz-Thurold	3
Robert Earl of Morton	87	Godebold	1
Baldwin de Exeter	4	Mathew de Moretaine	3
Roger de Courcelle	100	Humphry de Chamberlain	27
Roger Arundel	28	Robert de Auberville, and other servants of the King	
Walter Giffard	1	The King's Thanes	25
Walter de Dowai	38		
William de Mohun	56		

[o] Blackstone's Commentaries, b. ii. c. 4.

[p] Grimaldi's Origines Genealog. p. 3.

6. The feudal system being, in its improved state, introduced into this country by the Normans, the lands, which heretofore had been possessed by thanes and vassals of the Saxon court, were now condensed into large baronies, each comprising a great number of estates, held under the respective lords, as they themselves held under the Crown, by military service. On the principal estate or head of each barony, castles were erected, and the several owners were by their tenure obliged to support the outrages of ambition, and the madness of crusades.

The principal Barons in this county in the time of Henry II. were,

The Bishop of Bath.
The Abbot of Glastonbury.
The Abbot of Muchelney.
William de Curci, steward to the King.
William Meschin.
William de Mohun.
William Malet.
Drew de Montacute.
William de Haselberge.
Richard Revel.
Robert Fitz-Ralph.
Robert Fitz-Harding.
Alexander de Alno.
Henry de Cultura.
Philip de Columbers.
Richard del Estre.
Walter Brett.
William Fitz-Geffrey.
Robert de Beauchamp.
Henry Luvel.
William de Erleigh.
Geffrey de Mandeville.
Hugh de Curcelle.
William de Wrotham.
Hubert de Burgh.

The possessors of land in this county of most note in the time of Edward I. a reign distinguished by many and various features of provincial popularity, were the following, viz.

The Bishop of Bath and Wells.
The Bishop of Winchester.
The Dean and Chapter of Wells.
The Abbot of Glastonbury, in Somersetshire.
The Abbot of Athelney, ditto.
The Abbot of Cleeve, ditto.
The Abbot of Muchelney, ditto.
The Abbot of Keynsham, ditto.
The Prior of Bath, ditto.
The Prior of Brewton, ditto.
The Prior of Woodspring, ditto.
The Prior of Stoke-Courci, ditto.
The Prior of Montacute, ditto.
The Prior of Hinton, ditto.
The Prior of Taunton, ditto.
The Prior of Barlinch, ditto.
The Prioress of Cannington, ditto.
The Prior of Dunster, ditto.
The Prior of Witham-Friary, ditto.
The Prior of Stavordale, ditto.
The Prioress of Barrow, ditto.
The Master of the Hospital of St. John in Bath, ditto.
The Preceptor of the Hospital at Buckland, ditto.

The Master of the Hospital of St. Catherine in Bedminster, Somersetshire.
The Master of the Hospital of St. John in Bridgwater, Somersetshire.
The Preceptor of Temple-Combe, ditto.
The Abbot of Cirencester, Gloucestershire.
The Abbot of Flaxley, ditto.
The Abbot of Tewkesbury, ditto.
The Abbot of St. Augustine, Bristol.
The Master of Billeswick's Hospital, ditto.
The Abbot of Neath in Glamorganshire.
The Prior of Goldclive in Monmouthshire.
The Abbot of Ford in Devonshire.
The Abbot of Stanley, Wiltshire.
The Prior of Maiden-Bradley, ditto.
The Prior of Bradenstoke, ditto.
The Prior of Bermondsey in Surrey.
The Prior of Brymore in Hampshire.
The Prior of St. John of Jerusalem in England.
Robert Fitzpaine.
Alan Plucknet.
Nicholas Fitz-Martin.
Maurice de Berkeley.
John de Columbers.
Osbert Giffard.
Henry del Orti.
William de Stanton.
Matthew de Esse.
William de Poulet.
John de Bykesand.
John de Reigny.
Geffrey de Scoland.
Robert de Brus.
Baldwin Malet.
William de Champflour.
John de Valletort.
Roger Pym.
John de Neville.
Richard de Godelege.
William de Vernai.
Hugh de Conteville.
Richard de Conteville.
John de Gogulmere.
John de Mohun.
Thomas de Bratton.
Henry de Glasten.
William de Basings.
Hugh Luvel.
Richard Luvel.
Roger de Moels.
Geffrey de Mandeville.
John de Baumfylde.
Reginald Fitz-Peter.
William de Marisco.
John de Tylly.
Ignatius de Clifton.
Gervase de Clifton.
William Braunche.
Richard de Bigod.
Henry de Merlaund.
Laurence de St. Maur.
Isabel Sore.
John de Britashe.
Baldwin de Andham.
John de Hastings.
Richard de Cantilupe.
John de Burgh.
Edmund de Lacy.
Henry de Bikeley.
Geffrey de Wroxall.
Hugh Pointz.
John de Cogan.

Nicholas Fitz-Ralph.
Oliver de Dinham.
Nicholas Braunche.
John Ap-Adam.
William de Gouiz.
Philip Paganel.
John de Brewes.
Walter Pauncefot.
Peter de Fauconberge.
Alexander de la Lynde.
John de la Lynde.
John de Dummer.
Walter del Orti.
Peter de Evercy.
Simon de Raleigh.
Thomas de Raleigh.
Hugh Fichet.
Hugh de Popham.
William de Popham.
William de Wigborough.
Thomas Trivet.
William Trivet.
Matthew de Furneaux.
Simon de Roges.
Roger Perceval.
Ralph Wake.
Robert Burnel.
Edmund Everard.
Maurice de Berkeley.
John de Clevedon.
Richard Arthur.
John de Wyke.
Richard de Ken.
Joceus de Baiouse.
Thomas de Baiouse.
John Basset.
Henry de Montfort.
William Cotel.
John de Courtenay.
Thomas de Gournay.
Walter de Loveney.
Ralph Russell.
William de Cheney.
Walter le Bret.
Roger la Warre.
Alexander de Alno.
John de Aston.
Thomas de Lyons.
Elias de Aubeney.
John de Fienles.
Robert de St. Clare.
John de Pouleshull.
Simon de Grindham.
John de Mucegros.
William de Braose.
Walter de Sydenham.
William de Sydenham.
William de Wiggebere.
Thomas de Multon.
William de Gardino.
Gilbert de Clare.
Ralph de Gorges.
Richard Perceval.
Edmund de Woodstock.
John Bonville.
John Maltravers.
Leonard de Stawel.
Lawrence Talebot.
Fulke Fitzwarren.
Thomas Portman.
James de Orchard.
Thomas de Orchard.
William de la Brook.
Brice le Denneys.
Thomas Hawey.
Robert de Brent.

Hugh Sanzaver.
Andrew Luttrell.
Matthew de Besilles.
Roger Arundel.
Simon de Crocumbe.
Roger de Dodeton.
John de Elworthe.
Richard de Lod-Hywish.
Osbert de Bath.
John de St. Lo.
Nicholas de St. Maur.
Robert Malherbe.
Nicholas de la Mare.
Bartholomew Peyctevyn.
John de Acton.
Geffrey de Hautville.
Baldric de Nonington.
John le Waleys.
John de Beauchamp.
Joan de Vivonne.
James de Moleton.
Simon de Raleigh.
Roger Basset.
William de Staunton.
William de Botreaux.
Richard de Emborough.
John de Wrotham.
William de Plessy.
Richard de Plessy.
Ralph Fitz-Urse.
William de Wellington.
Ismania la Sor.
Agnes de Mounceaux.
Simon de Montacute.
John de Ferrers.
John de Moels.
John de Mohun.
John de Meriet.
John de Maundeville.
Hugh de Courtenay.
John de Erlegh.
Stephen de la Mare.
Maud de Kyme.
Peter de Hamme.
Malcolm de Harleigh.
John de Wrotesleigh.
Walter D'Avenant.
Adam le Bret.
William de Monceaux.
John de Waleys.
Thomas de Rodenay.

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER I.

1. Early religious state of Britain: Druids: Druidism.—2. Introduction of Christianity into Britain by Joseph of Arimathea and his companions, who settle at Glastonbury.—3. Lucius, King of Britain, protects the Christian Missionaries, and becomes a convert to their faith: he applies to Rome for more religious persons to be sent into Britain: Faganus and Diruvianus are sent by Pope Eleutherius: and Bishops are appointed to organize a Christian Church; who settle at London, York, and Caerleon.—4. St. Paul's Mission to Britain advocated by Dr. Burgess, late Bishop of St. David's (now of Salisbury): Gildas' opinion on the subject: Evidence of the British Triads in confirmation of the same.—5. Persecution of the Christians by Dioclesian, A. D. 303: Christianity favoured by Constantine: he rebuilds their churches: British Bishops present at the Council at Arles, in A.D. 314: at Nice in 325: and at Ariminum in 329.—6. Death of Constantine: the Church persecuted by Julian, his nephew; and during the reigns of Arcadius and Honorius: on the Romans retiring from Britain, a series of persecutions befall the Christians during the struggle between the Britons and Saxons.

THE early history of the Christian church in Britain is a subject of deep interest, and its investigation will afford much scope for research, in order to reconcile the contradictory accounts of many of our ecclesiastical writers. Some authors of celebrity assert, that Christianity was preached in Britain in the latter part of the first century by St. Paul and the missionaries of St. Philip. Other writers maintain that the beams of the Gospel light did not appear earlier than the time of Constantine, in Britain: and some state, that previous to the mission of St. Augustine with his forty monks, in 596, the Britons remained under the influence of Druidical rites and ceremonies; or enveloped in the gloomy mists of the pagan superstitions adopted by the Romans; and at a time when Christianity is said to have been promulgated throughout the Roman world. From the writings of Tacitus, Diodorus, and Cæsar, we learn some account of the religion adopted by the early inhabitants of Britain; it was called *Druidism*, and is supposed to have been introduced into this country, at a very early period, from the East, by the Phœnicians, who held a commercial intercourse with Cornwall and the Scilly Islands, many centuries before the Christian æra.[a]

[a] See Introduction, page 4.

This conjecture is strengthened by the observation of an intelligent writer, who says, "The philosophers of the Phœnicians were the same as the Druids; and it must be admitted, that the manners, religion, and language of the ancient British Isles have a great similarity to those of the Phœnicians and Israelites: and an order of priests, under the name of Druids, was common both in the British Isles, Celtic Gaul, and Phœnicia.[b]

The religion of the Celtic and Belgic Britons was known under the name of *Druidism.* Their priests inculcated the love of virtue and detestation of vice: they believed in, and acknowledged the being of a God, the Governor of the universe, to whom all things were submissive and obedient. They called this great Power the Author of every thing which exists: the *Eternal;* the *Ancient* and awful *Being;* the Searcher into concealed things; the Being that never changeth; of boundless justice and infinite power. They were forbidden to represent him in a corporeal form; they dared not even to think of confining his worship within walls; but were taught that it was within woods and consecrated groves they could serve him properly; and he seemed to reign in silence, and to make himself felt by the respect he inspired.[c] The rank of a Druid during the ages of their authority, was of the highest order; their influence on all subjects of the most considerable nature and extent, particularly in religious matters, absolute and supreme. "No sacred rite," says Diodorus Siculus, "was ever performed without a Druid. By them, as being the favourites of the gods and depositories of their counsels, the people offered all their sacrifices, thanksgivings, and prayers, and were perfectly submissive and obedient to their commands."

"The most ancient order of people in Britain are justly esteemed the *Bardi*, who were before the Druids. These bards sung in recitative music the praises of great men, accompanying their voices with a harp-like instrument with ten strings called *cynira.* They were of a religious order, and of Phœnician origin. The Greeks borrowed their manner of composing songs from them. The next order of people in Britain were the *Druids*, who did not totally abolish all the customs and opinions of the Bards, but retained the most useful parts of them. They committed nothing to public writing. The government of the Druids was universal over the whole island, and in some parts of Gaul."[d]

The Druidical system begun in Britain, and from thence was introduced into Gaul. In Cæsar's time, they who wished to know it more perfectly, for the most part visited Britain for the sake of learning it. The Druids were present at all reli-

[b] Higgins' Celtic Druids, from Diogenes Laertius. [c] Mallett's Northern Antiquities, vol. i. p. 78.
[d] Samme's Brit. Antiq. c. vii. p. 99.

gious rites, they administered at all public and private sacrifices, and interpreted divinations. They were so honoured that they decided almost all public and private controversies and cases.[e] We find them attending the kings to sing their genealogies and praises, and recording the actions of the illustrious.[f]

The same system which the Druids professed, was no doubt the earliest religion of all countries, and is confirmed by the researches of Sir William Jones, and other writers on the religion of the Persians and Hindoos. In Britain the Druids were the only people who, previous to the Roman invasion, and for a period of three hundred years afterwards in Scotland and Ireland, possessed any knowledge of astronomy, astrology, and the regular return of the seasons, as adapted to agricultural purposes; they had some idea of geometry, mensuration, and geography. Their mechanical skill is evident from the construction of their temples, composed of blocks of stone of vast size, which required great mechanical skill to place them in their present situations.

"These circles were certainly erected in remote ages by the Celtic population of Britain, and remain the impressive monuments of this singular race. Upon the introduction of Christianity the system under which they were raised begun to decline. It was strongly assailed by the Christians, who were seconded by those chiefs who had been converted, and whose influence was exerted to suppress all meeting in these temples."

When Druidism had been almost banished from the other parts of the island, its votaries found an asylum in Scotland; and *Iona*, the island of the Druids, became their chief retreat in the north, as *Mona* had been in the south.

This ancient and primitive mode of worship became proscribed in Scotland, and then found protection in Wales, where it continued to be professed publicly, and adopted till comparatively modern times. Prince Hywel, who died in 1171, thus addresses the Supreme Being: "Attend thou my worship in the mystical grove."

The Christian missionaries would naturally resort to the sacred circles as the most eligible place to exhort the people and attack the lingering superstitition; and thus the Bardic fane was transformed into a Christian church, and its massy stones are found to have been frequently used in erecting a new building.[g]

The superstitious worship of the Druids was abolished by an edict of the Roman Senate, A.D. 179; and Christian teachers were ordained to spread the doctrines of the Gospel throughout the whole of Britain. These missionaries converted the pagan temples, which the Druids first, and the Romans afterwards used, into Chris-

e Turner's Anglo-Saxons, vol. i. p. 22. f Ibid.

g Archæologia, vol. xxii. p. 198: a paper by James Logan, F.S.A. 1827.

tian churches; and ministers of the Word of God were appointed in the *place of Flamens.*

Twenty-eight Bishops were ordained over the twenty-eight towns of Britain, under three Archbishops who presided over the three great provinces of Britain, viz. *London*, *York*, and *Caerleon.*[h]

3. The destruction of the Druids was an important event, as by this act (though harsh and perhaps cruel towards the professors of Druidism) one great obstacle to the progress of the Gospel was removed; and the minds of the Britons were left open to the impressions of a more pure and rational religion. The progress of the Roman arms, though without any intention of aiding the cause of Christianity, contributed much to the diffusion of the Gospel, by reducing all the south of Britain under one Government, and thereby opening a free and uninterrupted intercourse over the whole country. Thus, by degrees the simple and more rational doctrines of Christianity made a progress, " and excited the admiration of mankind wherever the Apostles directed their steps." Many who, though unwilling to adopt the whole of its tenets, were nevertheless (as appears from undoubted authority) so struck with the account of Christ's life and actions, and so charmed with the sublime purity of his precepts, that they ranked him among the number of their gods.[i]

This is not a matter of surprise; for the history of the world in every age, since the introduction of Christianity, and the review of those nations under its influence, show us, that, like a guardian angel of the human race, it has ameliorated the heart, and enlightened the understanding; and hence it has become the religion of the most cultivated portions of the globe. This proves the true and necessary connexion between Christianity and the real dignity and happiness of mankind. It has been excellently observed by a celebrated modern writer, "So many of our countrymen would not feel ungrateful for these benefits, if they knew how numerous and how great they are,—how dearly they were prized by our forefathers, and at how high a price they were purchased for our inheritance,—by what religious exertions, what heroic devotion, what pious labours wasted away in dungeons, or offered up amid flames. This is a knowledge, which, if early inculcated, might arm the young heart against the pestilent errors of these distempered times." [k]

The editors of the new and splendid edition of Dugdale's " Monasticon Anglicanum," commence their work with the history of the monastery at Glastonbury; and with good reason, as that celebrated religious establishment lays claim to priority of foundation, as the first Christian Church established in Britain. " About sixty-three years after the Incarnation of our Lord (says Dugdale), Joseph of Ari-

[h] De Antiquitate Eccles. Brit. p. 6.

[i] Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. vol. i. p. 65.

[k] Southey's Book of the Church, vol. i. p. i.

mathea, the friend and companion of St. Philip, then preaching the Gospel in Gaul, accompanied by eleven other disciples of the same Apostle, was dispatched into Britain, to introduce in the place of the bloody and barbarous rites long exercised by the Druids, the meek and gentle system of Christianity."

Holinshed gives a rather different version of the transaction in the following words: "Joseph of Arimathea came over into Britain about the year A. D. 64, when the persecution of Nero began; at which time Philip, and divers of the godlie, being in France, (whither he came with other Christians, after he had sowed the Word of God in Scythia,) sent Joseph with Simon Zelotes to preach unto the Britons, and minister the sacraments there, according to the rites of the churches of Asia and Greece; from whence they came not long before into the country of the Gauls." [1]

From the observations of the latter writer, we have a clue to the probability of the fact stated; and we may be able to show, that the western part of Britain was the country to which the zealous missionaries directed their course. We have already, in the preceding pages, stated that the Phœnicians had established an intercourse with the British isles, long previous to the Christian æra; and had founded colonies on the coasts of Spain and Gaul. Thus a communication was opened between the Holy Land and these distant countries, and kept up by the vessels of the Phœnicians, and afterwards by the Carthaginians, in a direct manner. St. Philip most probably came into the west by one of these means, and landed, we may presume, at *Venetia*, in Celtic Gaul, the chief city of that country; and from whence the intercourse with Britain was most frequent, in carrying on the trade with the Britons for the tin and other metals of that country. The Apostle, in pursuance of his divine commission, to preach the Gospel to distant nations, availed himself, no doubt, of the opportunity thus offered to extend his labours; and despatched his friend and companion Joseph with eleven other missionaries to Britain. The ports to which these vessels traded were in the neighbourhood of the mining districts; and we may fairly infer that the river *Axe*, or *Parret*, was the harbour, where this holy band landed in Britain, and soon after settled themselves in the country at Glastonbury, then called *Ynisytrin*, where they first preached the Gospel to the inhabitants of that district. Here they built a small chapel of rude materials, (wicker-work covered with clay,) which they dedicated to the service of God, and it became the first Christian church, and Joseph and his companions the *origines* of Christian teachers in Britain. Spelman in his *Concilia* gives a wood-cut of this primitive ecclesiastical edifice, which is copied on the other side.

[1] Holinshed's Chron. vol. i.

3. Arviragus, a British chieftain, says the old Chronicler, held the supreme power in these parts; who allowed the holy band to settle themselves in his territory, and assigned to them the island of *Avalonia* for their residence and abode. About ninety years afterwards Lucius,[m] a British prince, grandson of Arviragus, applied to Eleutherius, Bishop of Rome, for more religious teachers to be sent into Britain, to assist in the propagation of the Gospel in that country; and it is recorded, that Faganus and Diruvianus were sent from Rome on this sacred mission. They were hospitably received by the King, who received the solemn rite of baptism from their hands. This prince confirmed to them the lands given by his grandfather to Joseph and his companions. Here they commenced their spiritual labours by appointing Archbishops over the different provinces of Britain, with suffragans or assistants, in the twenty-eight towns of the country. The first chair was fixed at *London*, having the districts of *Loegria* and *Cornubia*, provinces which the Severn divides from Cambria or Wales. The second chair was settled at *York;* under which were the provinces of *Deira* and *Albania*, north of the Humber: and the third was placed at *Caerleon*, a town bordering upon *Cambria*, and situated on the river Usk in Monmouthshire.[n] These accounts deserve credit, inasmuch as they were not contradicted at the time they were written, and when other churches would have found it profitable to have advanced a similar claim to priority with Glastonbury.

Bishop Stillingfleet does not give entire credit to these accounts,[o] but makes the following pointed remarks upon them: "If," says the learned prelate, "we cannot deduce a lineal succession of Bishops, as they, (the church of Rome and other churches,) where writings were preserved; yet as soon as through the churches peace, they came to have intercourse with foreign churches (as at the Council at Arles), British Bishops appeared in proportionable numbers with those of other

[m] Lucius, the first Christian prince, began to reign A. D. 132. Hadrian next succeeded. He was also favourable to the Christians, and forbad, by an edict, the persecution against them. He died A. D. 139.

[n] Matthew of Westminster, p. 84, and following.

[o] Stillingfleet's Origines Brit. p. 35.

provinces; a sufficient evidence that there existed a Christian church in Britain during the Apostles' time, probably founded by St. Paul.

4. We now come to the consideration of the testimony in favour of St. Paul's mission to Britain, which has been so ably advocated by Dr. Burgess, the learned Bishop of Salisbury, in his work termed the "Seven Epochs of the British Church." This prelate introduces his subject in a somewhat similar manner to that of Dr. Stillingfleet. "If," says he, "I can shew that we owe our knowledge of Christianity to the preaching of St. Paul, and not to Austin or the Pope;—that Britain has never been without a Christian church since the introduction of the Gospel in the first century; and that our ancestors not only rejected Popery as early as in the beginning of the seventh century, but made a public and indignant protest against the authority of the Pope, as well as against the corruptions of his Church; I think, I shall have no difficulty in convincing you, that the Gospel has been committed unto us in a way that demands the gratitude and zeal of both laity and clergy, as good Christians and good Protestants. We are not left to conjecture," proceeds this prelate, "by whom or by what means the glad tidings of salvation were first made known to the British Isles; and that the Britons were among the nations converted by the Apostles."

Irenæus, an ancient authority, speaks of churches established by the Apostles, and their disciples among the Celtic nations, of which Britain was one. Tertullian, who flourished in the second century, asserts that the Gospel had not only been propagated in Britain, but had reached those parts of the island into which the *Roman arms had never penetrated.*

Theodoret, who lived A. D. 423, has this striking passage: "Those our fishermen and publicans, and our tentmakers, have propagated the Gospel among all nations; not only among the Romans, and they who were their subjects, but the *Britons;* so that it may be said, in one word, that all the different nations of mankind have received the Laws of the Gospel."

Eusebius[P] says, "some of the Apostles passed over the ocean to the British Isles." Clemens Romanus and Jerome state that St. Paul, after his imprisonment at Rome, went forth to the utmost bounds of the west, preaching the Gospel: and Nicephorus expressly says, "that one of the Apostles went to the extreme countries of the ocean, and to the *British Isles.*" We may therefore confidently believe, that the Gospel was planted in Britain in the first century, and by one of the Apostles. In confirmation of this fact, there is the concurrent testimony of Gildas, our most ancient historian, who says, "that the Gospel was first introduced into Britain

[P] Eusebius was the intimate friend of the Emperor Constantine.

before the defeat of Boadicea by Suetonius Paulinus, and in the interval of that, or some public disaster not long preceding it: perhaps the defeat of Caractacus between the years A. D. 51 and 61, which comprehends St. Paul's residence at Rome as a prisoner: the trial of Pomponia Græcina, wife of Plautus (a native of Britain), for foreign superstition, as Christianity was then called; and the detention of Caractacus's family. St. Paul was sent to Rome in the second year of the reign of Nero, A. D. 56, and remained there two years, according to St. Luke." [q]

Claudia Rufina was a native of Britain, learned, and of noble extraction. Her endowments of body and mind were of a superior character. She was versed in the Greek and Latin languages, and became celebrated both at home and abroad. She travelled to Rome, the great centre of the then known world, for the cultivation of the arts, sciences, and elegancies of life: there she met with St. Paul, and was converted to the Christian faith. She soon after married Aulus Rufinus Pudens, a nobleman and senator of Rome, who had also been converted by the preaching of the Apostle, to the same faith. They were both of them great admirers of the poet Martial, and numbered him among their particular friends. She frequently made presents of the works of Martial to her friends in Britain, which the poet notices in one of his Epigrams.

" Dicitur et nostros cantare Britannia versus."—(Lib. xi. Ep. 3).

Archbishop Parker says, " Hanc (Claudiam) jam ad Christum conversam, non minus verisimile est, Christiana dogmata ad Britannos misisse suos, quam ante acceptam fidem Epigrammata Martialis: nec verisimile solum, sed verum judicandum est, in tam nobili familiâ, fuisse cum Claudiâ Gentiles suos Britannos, qui una baptizati fuerunt, a quibus Evangelii ignicula, per totam gentem Britannicam dispersa, viritim ad multos pervenerunt." [r]

Gildas, according to Sir Henry Spelman, states that the Gospel was in Britain A. D. 33, or five years after the resurrection of Christ.

" Intrat Avaloniam duodena caterva virorum,
Flos Aramathæi Joseph est primus eorum.
Joseph ex Joseph genitus patrem comitatur,
His aliis decem jus Glaston proficiatur."

The other record is in the British *Triads*, where it is said that the father of Caractacus went with others of his family to Rome, as an hostage for his son; that he remained there two years; and that on his return he brought the knowledge of

[q] Dr. Henry observes, " Though it would be rash and unwarrantable in a modern writer to affirm positively that the Apostle St. Paul preached the Gospel in Britain, yet it is certainly no presumption to affirm, that, if any of the Apostles preached in this country, it was most probably the Apostle Paul."—Henry's Hist. Engl. v. I. p. 131.

[r] Antiq. Brit. p. 3.

Christianity to his countrymen from Rome. As his release, and that of St. Paul, was in the same year, nothing could be more opportune for the apostle's mission to the Gentiles, than the circumstance which gave him a means of visiting Britain in company with a chieftain of the country, and thus introducing Christianity to his countrymen, and more particularly among the Silures who inhabited that portion of Wales bordering on the Severn.

These concurrent circumstances leave little room to doubt the truth of the historical records handed down to us, or the share which the natives of Britain had in the labours of the earliest propagators of the Gospel.

The promulgation of Christianity throughout Britain must have been difficult, and slow in its progress, from the want of easy communication; till the Romans had completed their great lines of road through the country; and even then, the Britons, addicted to a deep-rooted superstition, would be little inclined to receive a new religion, which militated against their prejudices, and opposed the grossness of their worship. Many causes would also tend to prevent the communication between the Romans and the British Christians, and particularly their different language.

The Welch historians state, Christianity was brought over to their countrymen by the family of Caractacus on his return from his captivity at Rome; and that St. Paul returned with the British chieftain to his territory the Silures; and add, that a congregation of Christians assembled at Caerleon, who had afterwards Dubritius for their Archbishop, *who had been a suffragan* in that province.[s]

Lucius began to reign A.D. 132, at the time when Hadrian, the Roman Emperor, was favourable to the Christians, and forbade by an edict the persecution against them.[t]

5. In the *second* century, the progress of the Gospel was considerable, when Lucius, a British prince, the third in descent from Caractacus, protected the missionaries, and established the first regular church in Britain, A.D. 172.[u]

Christianity was kept alive during the third century, down to the time of Diocleslan; though much hostility was shown to it by the Roman Emperors. An edict issued by Diocleslan, A.D. 303, commanded all the churches of the Christians to be pulled down, and their sacred writings to be taken away.[x]

By another edict they were deprived of their immunities and privileges; their Bishops and ministers imprisoned; and magistrates were enjoined to exercise tortures upon all Christians, without distinction of age or sex, to force them to re-

[s] Hughes, Horæ Britann. vol. ii. p. 41.

[t] Samme's Brit. Hist. p. 313.

[u] Ingram's Saxon Chron. p. 10, and Bede.

[x] Enderbie's Camb. Triumph. l. 4, p. 146.

nounce their religion.[y] These edicts extended throughout the whole Roman empire; with the exception of the province of Gaul, over which Constantius Chlorus then presided. This governor, though obliged to execute in some degree the rigorous edicts of Dioclesian against the Christians, was, however, a warm friend to them, when it was in his power; and as a proof of it, he preferred the most constant professors of the Gospel to the highest offices and greatest trusts, and so consecrated his whole family to God, that his court became a church wherein both clergymen and godly Christians truly served God. He died at York, A.D. 307, and was succeeded by his son Constantine, who was proclaimed Emperor by the army in Britain.

The son of such a parent gave the strongest hopes and confidence to the Christians, when, by the unanimous voice of the army, he was raised to the imperial diadem.

The *fourth century* was a triumphant æra of the British Church, and interesting from the progress of the Gospel during the reign of Constantine, who became a great friend to the professors of Christianity. He repaired the churches destroyed by Dioclesian, and built many others. "He caused letters to be sent to the Bishops and presidents of every province, informing them that, whatsoever they wished, they should command; and, with the prosperous state of his empire, religion greatly increased. Out of every city he took a certain pension, which was accustomed to be paid into the treasury, and distributed it to the churches and clergy; and by a law decreed that his gift should be perpetual. He caused the sign of the Cross to be made upon the armour of his soldiers, to accustom them to serve God. He built a church in his palace; and was accustomed to have carried with him, when he went to war, a pavilion after the form of a chapel, that both he and his army, being in the field, might have a church wherein to serve God, and receive the sacred mysteries. Priests and deacons were appointed to officiate therein, who continually followed the tent and army."[z]

So zealous was Constantine for the propagation of the Gospel, that he issued an edict A.D. 334, exhorting all his subjects to embrace Christianity. In his time magnificent churches were erected, richly adorned with pictures and images. The rich and opulent were encouraged to build churches, by the sovereign permitting the benefactor to appoint the minister to officiate therein. During the reign of this excellent Monarch, the British Bishops were summoned to attend a Council at Arles, A.D. 314; to that of Nice in 325; and to one at Ariminum in 337. At the last of these, as well as at the first, three British Bishops were present, and were

y Samme's Brit. Hist. p. 313.

z Enderbie's Cambria Triumph. l. 4, p. 174; and shows the antiquity of chaplains in the army.

styled by Hilarius, Bishops from the provinces of Britain. The names of those Bishops who were present at the Council at Arles were, *Restitutus*, Bishop of London; *Eborius*, Bishop of York, and *Adelsius*, Bishop of Caerleon.

6. After the death of Constantine in A.D. 337, his empire was divided between his three sons, who were favourers also of Christianity. Constantine II. the eldest son reigned in Britain; but, domestic feuds arising between the brothers, they all came to an untimely end, when Julian, a nephew of Constantine I. commonly called the Apostate, was raised to the throne A.D. 361. This prince, though avowedly a Christian during the life-time of his uncle, had no sooner assumed the sovereign power, than he began a persecution against the Christians: he abrogated their privileges, and shut up their schools; and, in order to decry the prophecies concerning Christ, he encouraged the Jews to rebuild their temple at Jerusalem. The short reign of this prince (not more than two years) put an end to this persecution.

His successors, but particularly Theodosius the Great, exerted themselves for the support of Christianity, A. D. 395. A long series of tumults during the reigns of Arcadius and Honorius, sons of Theodosius, involved the Christians in Britain in many troubles; and upon the Romans retiring from this country, the Saxons (who came as auxiliaries to assist the Britons against the hostile attack of the Picts and Scots,) began to oppress and harrass them with greater calamities than they had experienced from the Danes. Hence arose a war between the Britons and Saxons, which continued one hundred and thirty years, and terminated in the complete subjugation of Britain to the Saxon yoke. Numbers of the ancient inhabitants fled into Cornwall; others into Wales; and to the opposite shores of Gaul called Armorica, A.D. 449.

The state of the British Church was now most deplorable. The Saxons, adhering to their idolatrous worship, persecuted the Christians, and at length roused the British clergy to vindicate their faith, and exert themselves to preserve their liberty of conscience in religious matters.

CHAPTER II.

1. A provincial Synod is held by the British Clergy, under Aurelius Ambrosius, to restore Christianity: Arthur is crowned King by Dubritius Archbishop of Caerleon: the Saxons relax their persecutions against the Church.—2. The arrival of Augustine with his forty monks in England: their reception by Ethelbert, who allows them to settle at Canterbury.—3. The British Clergy protest against the innovations of the Church of Rome.—3. A Synod of the British Clergy is held, A.D. 601.—4. Introduction of Popery into Britain under the Saxon King Ethelbert: Ina favours Christianity: rebuilds Glastonbury Abbey Church: founds a college at Wells, A.D. 704.—5. The Danes begin their incursions on the shores of the kingdom: Alfred succeeds to the throne, and takes prudent measures to repel their aggression: he is forced to retire from the unequal conflict, and obliged to conceal himself in the isle of Athelney, near Langport, for a time: he at length collects a strong force, and marches at the head of his troops against the Danes, whom he defeats and takes Guthrum their general prisoner, who becomes converted to the Christian faith, and is admitted into the church, by the solemn rite of baptism at Aller; after which Alfred takes him to his palace at Wedmore, and there celebrates his christening festival. Alfred dies, and is succeeded by his son Edward, surnamed the Confessor, who appoints Bishops to fill the vacant sees of Winchester and Sherborne: he divides the latter into the bishoprics of Wilton, Exeter, and Wells.—6. State of the British Church at the Conquest: origin of parishes: constitution of the Church: endowments for the maintenance of the clergy, and Acts of Parliament relating thereto.

1. About the year A.D. 470, according to Speed, there was a provincial Synod held in Britain, for restoring the primitive worship, and repairing the dilapidated ecclesiastical buildings. This is supposed to have been held under the direction of Aurelius Ambrosius; upon whose death his brother Uther Pendragon succeeded.

Uther married Igerma, daughter of Gorlois Duke of Cornwall, and had issue Arthur, who succeeded him, A.D. 516. This prince was only fifteen years of age, when he received the crown from Dubritius Archbishop of Caerleon, who with his suffragans and nobles had elevated him to the throne. He was a friend to the Christians, and rebuilt their churches. In 536, Arthur, wishing to extend his conquests into Gaul, embarked for that country, leaving his Queen and kingdom to the care of Mordred his nephew. This relative, abusing the confidence thus reposed in him by his uncle, assumed the regal power, and even usurped the authority over the kingdom. Arthur, hearing of the perfidy of his relative, returned to Britain, and landed at Sandwich in Kent, where he was opposed by Mordred; and, after several battles fought with this traitor, his rebel army was defeated at Camblan (supposed to be Camalet in Somersetshire), where Arthur slew his perfidious nephew with his own sword. This victory was purchased with his life; for, having received a grievous wound during the conflict, he was immediately carried to Glas-

tonbury, where he soon after died, and was buried in the abbey church, A.D. 541. A memorial of his death was dug up many centuries afterwards, consisting of a plate of lead, in the form of a Greek cross; and on it was inscribed in ancient characters, "Hic jacet sepultus inclytus Rex Arturius in insula Avalonia."

Upon the death of Arthur, the Saxons recommenced their persecution of the Christians, and compelled Theonus, Archbishop of London, Thadiocus, Archbishop of York, and their clergy, to fly into Wales and *Armorica*. The Christians were every where expelled from the country conquered by the Saxons, and, following their pastors, sought refuge till "*that tyranny was overpast*." In a short time the Saxons, tired, as it were, with this incessant persecution of an unoffending set of people, at length relented, and at last embraced what they could not destroy.

2. We come now to a period of deep interest to the Christian, as relating to the mission of St. Augustine, with his forty monks, in A. D. 596, into Britain. This legate was sent by Pope Gregory into Britain to promote the views of the Church of Rome in obtaining that universal supremacy which in after times she acquired. The pretence was, that the barbarous nation of the Angles was so blinded by Pagan superstitions, introduced into Britain by the Saxons, that true Christianity was lost sight of in those parts of the country occupied by the Saxons. This may probably have been the fact; but Matthew of Westminster states, "that the Christian religion still prevailed, and had *never* been lost sight of." Another venerable author[a] gives the following circumstantial account of the arrival of Augustine as follows: "There is on the eastern coast of Kent an island called Thanet; to which place Augustine, a man of God, with about forty companions, came. This holy man sent interpreters to Ethelbert King of Kent, informing him he came from Rome, bringing glad tidings; and promised to the King, and to all who would be obedient to his preaching, the eternal joys of heaven. The King received him a few days afterwards, in the open air, in the isle of Thanet, and summoned his followers also to appear before him. The holy band soon came in a procession, bearing a cross and a standard, whereon was painted the figure of our Saviour, and chanting supplications and prayers for the success of their mission, and the welfare of those to whom they were sent. The King received them graciously, and listened to their preaching. At the conclusion of the conference, as they were strangers, and had taken a long journey, the King gave directions for them to be hospitably entertained; and also gave them permission to exercise their ministry."[b]

The ancient church of St. Martin in Canterbury, then used as a private chapel

[a] Matthew of Westminster, p. 108.

[b] Verstegan, p. 144; and Bede Hist. p. 60.

by his Queen (Bertha), was appropriated to their use; and thus an Anglo-Saxon Christian church was established at Canterbury.[c] The favourable reception of Augustine may be, in some measure, accounted for from the circumstance of Ethelbert, King of Britain, a Saxon prince, having married Bertha, daughter of Charibert, King of Paris, who had embraced the Christian faith. This princess on her marriage had stipulated for the free exercise of her religion, and had brought with her a private chaplain named Lethardus, who used the church of St. Martin as her chapel.

Augustine, elated with the success of his mission, soon after embarked for the continent, and proceeded to *Arles*, where he received consecration by the Archbishop of that see, and returned to Canterbury, having been invested with power over *all* British, as well as Saxon prelates, A. D. 596.[d]

The British Bishops and clergy were not silent spectators of these events, and felt all the indignation which would necessarily arise in consequence of this attempt of the Church of Rome to usurp authority over them, and to interfere in their established Ecclesiastical government. Taliessin, the Welsh bard, denounces the judgments of heaven against the clergy, who did not oppose the oppressors of their church in these words, "Woe be to him who protects not his sheep from the wolves of Rome, with his crooked staff." Augustine and his followers did not confine their spiritual labours to the converting of the pagan Saxons; but also interfered with the British clergy, who being at a distance from Rome, and little harassed by the wars which occupied the attention of the Romans and Saxons, had not admitted the innovations of the church of Rome; but adhered to the primitive faith, which had been delivered to them by the Saints, more than four hundred years previously.

A remarkable and striking instance of the sentiments of the British clergy, with regard to the conduct of Augustine, is recorded by Bede, in the answer given by the Abbot of Bangor to that legate when he required his submission to the church of Rome. It is temperate and dignified; and shews most clearly, the feelings of that religious fraternity. It is as follows: "Be it known unto you, that we are all obedient to the church of God; to the Pope of Rome; and to every pious Christian, to love them in their station with perfect good will; and to assist them by word and deed, as becomes the sons of God. Any other obedience than this we owe not to him whom you call Pope, or Father of Fathers; neither are we prepared to pay it to him, or any other Christian for ever. Besides, we are under the government of the Bishop of Caerleon, situated on the river Usk; who is, by divine permission, our superin-

[c] This city was at first the seat of a Flamen, and had a pagan temple built by the Romans; which afterwards became a Christian church, and was dedicated to St Martin, and the Flamen changed into the Bishop.

[d] Mosheim, v. 2, p. 97.

tendant to keep us in the spiritual way.[e] Another similar evidence is preserved in an old Chronicle, and contained in a letter from Bishop Davies to Archbishop Parker; in which he states that, when the Britons were conquered by the Saxons they did not refuse to treat them amicably, so long as the latter continued pagans. But after they were converted by Augustine, or in the words of the letter, "after that by means of Austin, the Saxons became Christians in such sort as Austin had taught them, the Bryttaynes wold not after that, nether drynke nor eate wyth them; because they corrupted with superstition, images, and ydolatrie, the true religion of Christ."[f]

3. A synod was appointed to be held in A. D. 601, and seven British Bishops, with many ecclesiastics from the monastery at Bangor, appeared; when the Britons were as tenacious of their own time of holding Easter, and as resolute to maintain their independency of any foreign hierarchy, as Augustine was to establish the supremacy of the Church of Rome. During six hundred years the British church never acknowledged any subjection to the prelates of the Church of Rome, and for several centuries after, maintained their ground, till the time of the Norman Conquest.[g] In 609 Phocas, the Roman Emperor, decreed that the Church at Rome should be the head and mistress of all Christian churches. Previous to this time, Constantinople was considered the mother church of Christendom.

Boniface came from Rome about the end of the seventh century to bring the Scots to a full obedience to the Church of Rome. In Scotland he was opposed by the Scots *Culdees*,[h] or divines, who told him freely, that he and those of his party studied to bring men to the subjection of the Pope of Rome, withdrawing them from their obedience to Christ; that they were corrupters of Christ's doctrine, establishing a sovereignty in the Bishop of Rome, as the only successor of the Apostles, excluding other Bishops; and that they had introduced into the church many tenets, rites, and ceremonies unknown to the ancient and pure times, yea, contrary to them."[i]

It is a remarkable historical fact, that a similar spirit should have pervaded the

[e] Bede's Hist. Appendix, No. X. p. 716.

[f] MSS. CXIV. Art. 175. Benet Coll. Camb.

[g] Matthew of Westminster, p. 108.

[h] In the early history of the Christian church in Britain and Ireland, we meet with an order of priests called *Culdees* (Cultores Dei). They were common in both countries. St. Bernard says, they almost swarmed at Bangor in Wales and Down in Ireland. He describes them as living retired from the rest of the world, and a most excellent people. They admitted nothing but what is contained in the Scriptures. They were diligent observers of the works of piety and charity, which they learned from the Apostolic writings; living according to its purity and simplicity, in which they long maintained themselves against the canons and ordinances of the Church of Rome, so much pressed on them by the disciples and votaries of that church.—James's History.

[i] Buchanan.

minds of a people, inhabitants of the most rugged valleys, among the mountains in the *now* French department of the High Alps, bordering on Piedmont in Italy; a mountainous territory lying between the Rhone and the barrier Alps, which separate France from Italy. They were known by the name of the Waldenses, who have preserved their primitive religion of Christ from the corruptions of the Church of Rome up to the present period. They have withstood the attacks of that church, although persecuted almost to annihilation. God never left himself without witness; having preserved in the bosom of these churches most illustrious professors of the Christian religion; which they maintained in the same purity as their predecessors had received this precious pledge from the hands of those Apostolical men, who at first planted their Churches among the Alps and Pyrenees. The Waldenses and the inhabitants of the French department of the High Alps, in the valley of Fresiniere, still retain the primitive faith.[k]

The influence of Augustine, now sanctioned by the Saxon monarch, had a powerful effect upon the people; yet the British Church for a time maintained its ground. The Bishops remonstrated against this innovation of the Church of Rome. We afterwards find the papal influence gradually extending itself over the kingdom of the West Saxons, where Augustine found the religious establishment at Glastonbury, and laboured to place this monastery on the same footing as those on the continent in A. D. 605. "Augustine," says a modern writer, "was the founder of the English Church, as distinguished from the British; for the Britons (as we have before stated) would hold no communication with them, leaving them in ignorance of the Gospel; and it is probable that both in doctrine and discipline the religion of this country owed to the great Apostle of England (as he is sometimes called) its revival, extension, and permanent establishment."[l]

4. The introduction of popery into this country was a master-stroke of policy of the court of Rome; endeavouring thereby to secure her authority by the increase of property and power; which would, and in fact which did, soon take place, from the pious offerings of the faithful, and the zealous care to found religious and monastic establishments, to be occupied by clergy attached to the holy see.

Christianity being now received and protected by the Saxon Kings, who had in turn embraced the Christian faith, the spark at Glastonbury, which lay dormant amidst the persecutions of the Saxons, revived, and became that brilliant and shining light which scattered its beams over the west of England, A.D. 697.

The kingdom of Wessex at this time constituted the diocese of Winchester. Ina, who had succeeded to the throne in A.D. 698, finding it next to impossible for

k Gilly's Travels.

l Blunt's Sketch of the Reformation in England, p. 4.

the Bishop of so extensive a diocese to discharge its official and spiritual duties, caused it to be divided, and erected the see of Sherborne, which was to comprise the counties of Dorset, Wilts, Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall, and appointed Adhelm, the friend and correspondent of Headda, fifth Bishop of Winchester, to this see in A.D. 704.

Ina greatly favoured Christianity, munificently endowing the religious establishments then existing, particularly Glastonbury, with large possessions, and confirmed his bounty to them by charters. He also contributed largely towards rebuilding the church at Glastonbury, which had become dilapidated by time. This Monarch, by the concurrent testimony of the early ecclesiastical writers, founded a religious house at Wells, five miles north of Glastonbury, and dedicated the church to the honour of St. Andrew the apostle, about A. D. 704. He endowed it with possessions, yielding a revenue for the support of four priests, whom he had selected from the monastery at Glastonbury, to officiate therein. This pious prince, after having reigned thirty-seven years, resigned his kingdom; and with his queen Ethelburga, went to Rome, where he passed the remainder of his life, not more than a year, in religious duties, and died A.D. 728.

5. After the death of King Ina, the church and kingdom had an interval of tranquillity, till the Danes began to make incursions on the shores of Britain, and kept the inhabitants in a state of alarm for more than a century.[m] Christianity felt the effects of these commotions; the churches were plundered of their valuables, and sometimes destroyed by these pirates. Glastonbury and Wells suffered severely from their ravages. They were, however, vigorously attacked by Alstan and Oseric, and defeated near the mouth of the Parrett.[n]

Upon the accession of Alfred to the throne, England was still harassed by the Danes, which stimulated this magnanimous prince to endeavour to rescue his country from this ignominious condition; and after a severe struggle with these marauders, and after being reduced to the greatest extremities, he inspired his countrymen with a determined resolution to accomplish their emancipation from this constant source of alarm. Their efforts were not in vain; and in a decisive engagement with the Danish forces at Edington, Alfred took Guthrum their captain general, and thirty of his officers prisoners. The King led his captives "to *Aller*, which is near Athelney (the secret retreat of Alfred), and persuaded Guthrum to embrace the Christian faith. The King became sponsor at his baptism, and gave him the name of Athelstan. His *chrisom leasing* (or christening festival)

[m] The Danes destroyed the monasteries of Croyland, Ely, Peterborough, and Coldingham, in A.D. 872, temp. Ethelred.

[n] Ingram's Saxon Chronicle, p. 74.

was kept at the royal palace at Wedmore, where he remained twelve nights with the King, who honoured him and his attendants with many presents.[o]

The affairs of the Church felt the advantage of tranquillity, and soon began to flourish. During the remainder of his reign, Alfred laboured, both in his own person, and by munificent encouragement and patronage of the clergy, to restore and protect the fallen religion of his country. Religion seems to have been the *pillar of fire*, which constantly directed and cheered him throughout the tenour of his way; and he most truly deserved the epithet by which he was known, as the *nursing father of the Christian Church.* He died A.D. 900, aged fifty-two years only; and was succeeded by his son Edward, surnamed the Elder.

Edward, following the footsteps of his revered father, felt that veneration for the Christian religion which shone so conspicuously in the conduct of his parent. Soon, however, the influence of the Church of Rome brought him into collision with the Pope. The sees of Winchester and Sherborne being vacant, were suffered to remain so, for some time; when Pope Formosus interfered, and, to inforce his authority, excommunicated the King, and laid his people under an interdict by a papal decree.

Edward, little influenced by the thunders of the Vatican, convened a synod of his clergy and nobles; and issued an edict, not only to fill up the vacant sees, but also to subdivide the extensive diocese of Sherborne; and erected out of it three new bishoprics, viz. Wells, Sarum, and Exeter, assigning to Wells the county of Somerset for its diocese and jurisdiction; to Wilton the county of Wilts; and to Exeter, Devonshire and Cornwall, about A.D. 910.

6. Thus the Church continued till the Conquest by William Duke of Normandy, A.D. 1066. This prince had long acknowledged the sovereignty of the Church of Rome; and, having been assisted in his views towards Britain by his prelates and nobles, lost no time, as soon as he was permanently settled on the throne of England, to repay the obligation he owed to them. He displaced the British clergy, and filled the Church with his Norman clergy, introducing a new form of church government. In order to remodel the British Church, he requested the assistance of the Pope, who readily availed himself of the opportunity offered, to increase the influence of the Church of Rome.

Certain ecclesiastics were forthwith sent to Britain, who, by their preaching, were to set forth the supremacy of the Pope, and the right of nomination to the vacant sees of the realm, and to the abbeys and priories.

The conquest of Britain by William Duke of Normandy forms an important

[o] Ingram's Saxon Chron. p. 104.

epoch in the history of the British church. The foreign clergy introduced into Britain, from the immense wealth they had heaped upon them, obtained that weight and influence, which they soon after turned to their advantage.

"William I. (says a modern writer) and his successors, strewed the kingdom with abbeys; and wherever Norman barons settled (having dispossessed the English), they built and endowed churches, to conciliate the favour of those saints, to whom these churches were dedicated, and through whose intercession they might have a long and prosperous possession."[p]

Monasteries were founded, parish churches soon followed, built and endowed by the earliest Norman possessors, or their immediate descendants. "The religious structures of the first Christians, with the changes attendant on the growing wealth and dignity of the hierarchy, are distinctly marked in the review of the early specimens of them which remain, contrasted with the splendid edifices which were built in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries."[q]

In ninety years after the Conquest three hundred religious houses were established, all instituted for the support of religion. All our cathedrals, most of our abbey churches, besides numerous parochial edifices, were either wholly rebuilt, or greatly improved within the same period; and remain as monuments of the skill, ingenuity, and talent of the architects of that æra.

The period when parochial divisions were first made, has not been clearly ascertained. Those which existed before the Conquest, are enumerated in the Norman record, or Domesday Book, by the mention of a priest; and those which were formed between the eleventh and the fourteenth century, are noticed in the *Taxatio* of Pope Nicholas; in the *Nonæ Rolls, Nomina Villarum*, and other documents. Dr. Whitaker is of opinion that many chapels formerly existed, which, after the great Saxon parishes were subdivided, and new churches founded, fell into decay; and as manors increased, so also churches were multiplied with them.

The great landholders of each district became converts to the Christian religion; and their own conversion induced them to give to their domestics, as well as to the villans and slaves who cultivated their estates, the benefits of this religious instruction. The Baron built at his own expense a church, in which the inhabitants of the district might assemble for public worship; to which was added a house for the residence of the minister, with attached glebe. Having thus created a parochial benefice, he voluntarily endowed it with a certain portion of his estate, and also added the tithes as an independent and unalienable provision for each succeed-

p Rev. W. L. Bowles, Canon of Salisbury.

q Whittington, p. viii.

ing incumbent. Thus *Tithes*[r] have been appropriated to the use and support of the Church within this realm, for a term of seven hundred years and more; a period in which the whole property of the kingdom has passed through several hands, and has been held by different titles and claims. This circumstance ought to remove the unfounded opinion, now too generally entertained, that the revenues of the Church are public property, and alienable from it, according to the will and pleasure of Parliament.

The whole kingdom became at length divided into parishes, not by any legislative enactment, or general regulation, but gradually, and according to the disposition and circumstances of the various owners of estates; and this furnishes a reason for the singular forms and unequal extent of parishes in England.[s] In the time of the Norman Kings the parochial clergy were much depressed by the founding of so many monasteries and religious houses as were built within the two first centuries after the Conquest; and endowed not only with rich manors and lordships, but had also conferred upon them the advowsons, glebes, mansions, and tithes of parishes, to the great prejudice of the secular clergy,[t] the hereditary pastors of the church. The Abbots and Priors sent out some of their monks to perform the spiritual duties of the sabbath, who returned to their more comfortable residence when the service was over, leaving the parishioners to themselves for the remainder of the week; depriving them of that friendly and spiritual advice, which tends so much to attach the people to their pastor; the sick were left to themselves, and the consolations of religion withheld from the dying in their last moments. This was, of course, a great prejudice to the cause of Christianity; and rendered the labours of her ministers less efficient.[u]

In this state the parochial religious concerns of the kingdom continued till the time of Edward III. A. D. 1327, when under the advice of that wise prince, an immediate parochial clergy was established, and vicarages endowed by such religious houses as were possessed of the tithes of the parish. An act was also passed to enable the Vicar to bring his action against the Abbot or Prior who detained his

[r] The constitution of tithes is believed to have taken its rise in the fourth century; after the custom of the Jewish Church, who paid tithes to the Priests and Levites.—Gregory's Church History, vol. I. p. 169.

[s] Spelman's Gloss.

[t] The clergy were divided into two orders, the *secular* and the *regular*. The former were the parochial ministers, engaged in active service; the latter those who lived in the monasteries, and were called *monks*.

[u] "Presbyters were fixed by King Ina, and whatever few places there were within a moderate distance from an abbey or cathedral, to them monks were sent out to preach to them, and were called *itinerants*; receiving for their services the voluntary gifts of their auditors."—Bowles.

glebe, or other property belonging to him; and by a subsequent statute of 15 Rich. II. chap. 6, in A. D. 1392, a power was given to the Bishop, that when any appropriation of a benefice was made to a monastery, to allot, according to the extent of the parish, or its value, certain lands, the produce of which would be sufficient to maintain the Vicar, and enable him *to keep hospitality.*

This regulation did not do away with the control of the Abbot, Prior, or superior, to whom the appointment of the curate belonged; which was frequently exercised to the prejudice and injury of the regular pastor. To remove this evil it was ordained by the statute of Henry VI. chap. 12, "that the Vicar shall be a secular clerk, not a member of a religious house; that he shall be canonically instituted, inducted, and endowed with a sufficient stipend, at the discretion of the Ordinary, for the express purpose of celebrating divine service, instructing the people, and keeping hospitality; and moreover, that he shall be a *perpetual Vicar*, not removable at the will of the appropriator."

The incumbents of such vicarages as were endowed in consequence of this statute, still retain the name of *Vicars.* By these regulations the church was put on a better footing, and the condition of the clergy much improved. The possessor of a manor erecting upon it a church, charged it, according to the constitution of the Council of 3 Henry I. with the means of affording a suitable maintenance for the officiating minister.[u]

Parochial churches soon became general. The simple and primitive edifices built by the Saxons and Anglo-Normans were enlarged, and rendered more commodious for the use of the congregations.[x]

x At a Council held at Westminster on the feast of St. Michael, A. D. 1102, 3 Henry I. a variety of constitutions were ordained; among which was the following: "That no church should be consecrated except provision were first made for the maintenance of it, and of the minister."

y Our churches are generally built on the site of British or Roman settlements, and most probably on the spot where previously had stood the pagan temple, to purify the place by the building of a Christian church. There may be other reasons than those of a religious nature; such as the ready supply of materials for building to be found on the spot.

CHAPTER III.

RISE, PROGRESS, AND DECLINE OF MONASTIC ORDERS AND MONASTERIES.

1. Introduction of Monastic Orders and Monasteries into Britain: the Benedictine Order established: their rules and habits. The Danes ravage the Monasteries, which had become numerous in Britain: Cluniacs introduced: Knights Hospitallers: description of their order: Augustine Canons: Cistertians come into England in the reign of Henry I. about A.D. 1110. 2. Reign of King Stephen: Knights Templars: Premonstratensians and Gilbertines introduced in the time of Henry II. 1154. Carthusians are established: their history: the Crusade of Richard I. 1190: Black Monks, &c. 3. Great increase of Monasteries in the reign of King John: Statute of Mortmain to repress bequests to the Church and Clergy in the time of Henry III. 4. Reign of Edward I. 1272: Chantries founded: a different feeling towards the Clergy begins to prevail: revenues of the Alien Priories seized by the King: Edward II. lays hold of the possessions of the Knights Templars: their Order suppressed: the religious spirit for founding and endowing Monasteries subsides in the reign of Edward III. St. George's Chapel at Windsor, and the Abbey of St. Peter at Westminster, built and endowed out of the revenues of the suppressed Chantries. 5. Immense wealth of the Church of Rome: its abuses: John Wicliff exposes them. The revival of learning conduces much to the enlightening of the world: possessions of the Church attacked by Parliament: Alien Priories suppressed. 6. Revival of learning in the reigns of Henry VI. Edward IV. and Henry VII.: eventful reign of Henry VIII.: the Reformation begun: Henry throws off the Papal yoke: the lesser Monasteries suppressed: the greater Abbeys dissolved: Strype's observations on the conduct of the King: causes assigned for their suppression: their advantages contrasted with their evils: concluding observations: list of Monasteries in Somersetshire.

The period when monastic institutions were first introduced into Britain is by no means clearly ascertained; some of our ecclesiastical writers making it nearly coeval with the introduction of Christianity into this country, whilst other writers assert that some converted Druids became our first monks. Archbishop Usher states that there was a college or monastery at Bangor, in North Wales, as early as A.D. 182.

Monachism is believed to have been introduced into Britain by Pelagius, at the commencement of the fifth century. Egypt was the great theatre of monastic establishments; and at the close of the fourth century it was computed that twenty-seven thousand monks and nuns were to be found in that country.

Bishop Stillingfleet[a] supposes the first English monastery was founded at Glas-

[a] Origines Brit. p. 184.

tonbury by St. Patrick, A. D. 542; and the British historians state that Dubritius, Bishop of St. David's, and afterwards Archbishop of Caerleon, founded twelve monasteries, and taught the monks to live after the manner adopted in the Asiatic and African convents, by their labour.

Previous to this time we read of no distinct orders of monks and nuns, called after their respective patrons. The monasteries of the western nations before the time of St. Benedict, such as Bangor in North Wales, St. Martin's and St. Germain's in Gaul, were chiefly intended, as nurseries for the church, to educate persons in such manner, as to make them able ministers of the Word of God.

About this time (A. D. 529) an order of religious association arose under the guidance of Benedict of Nursia, a man of exemplary piety and reputation for the age he lived in. So attractive was the rule of discipline he adopted, and so opposite to the austerities practised in the Asiatic convents, that it made a most rapid progress in the world, particularly in the west, where it nearly absorbed all the other religious societies in a short time.

Its introduction into Britain is attributed to Augustine, who, after he had been appointed Archbishop and Metropolitan over England, by the Church of Rome, visited Glastonbury, and changed the institution given by St. Patrick, introducing the Benedictine rule, A. D. 605; and thus Glastonbury became the first *Benedictine* monastery in Britain. Other monasteries were soon founded in different parts of Britain, and richly endowed, wherein many nobles, and even kings and queens, retired from the world, and assumed religious habits. Females also, giving up the endearments of social life, secluded themselves from society, and devoted their lives to the service of God; and hence arose the establishment of nunneries.[b] Monks were every where held in the highest repute, and their cause accompanied with the greatest success; nobles and the principal persons striving to surpass each other in their zeal for promoting the Christian religion. Multitudes, forgetting the natural ties and claims of their families, too frequently bestowed upon the church those patrimonial possessions which belonged to their posterity; thinking thereby to insure their eternal salvation.

The tranquillity of the Church was not of long continuance; domestic feuds, and the piratical incursions of the Danes, who infested the shores of Britain, made sad devastation, particularly in the North, where many monasteries were plundered, and even destroyed. Those in the West being further removed from the scenes of their marauding expeditions, for a time escaped their ravages. The monastic history of Britain for two centuries immediately preceding the conquest, presents little of in-

[b] Mosheim, vol. i. p. 117.

terest; though in the reign of Edgar, A.D. 965, forty-seven monasteries and religious houses are stated to have existed.

At the Conquest, the English monks were considerable sufferers with the people; the revenues of the Church being assigned to the Norman prelates who had followed the Conqueror into Britain; the abbots and priors receiving a pension only for their support; their best estates being seized for the use of the new ecclesiastics.

During the reign of William I. the *Clugniacs*[i] were introduced into this country, and five houses for their reception were built and endowed;—four fraternities of *Black canons*;[k] two or three hospitals; thirteen Benedictine abbeys and priories; six cells, and fourteen alien priories; whereof, the great abbeys of Battle in Sussex, and Selby, the priory of Hinchinbroke, and four or five alien priories were built and endowed by the King.[l]

On the death of William I. A. D. 1087, his son William, surnamed Rufus, succeeded to the throne. His avaricious disposition soon showed itself by acts of oppression against the clergy; laying his hands upon all the revenues of the *vacant* abbeys, priories, and bishoprics, and selling them to the highest bidder; and it is even asserted that he meditated the seizure of all their lands, and converting them into knight's fees. Yet, notwithstanding this apparent hostile feeling towards the Church, we find thirteen Benedictine houses, five of Clugniacs, two of Black canons, two colleges, two hospitals, and five alien priories, were founded during his reign.

Henry I. was a pious prince, and a great encourager of learning, and had a special regard for the Church. His munificence was testified by the founding of the episcopal see and priory of canons regular at Carlisle, the abbeys of Cirencester and Merton, the priories of Dunstable and St. Denis, the stately abbeys of Benedictines at Reading and Hyde near Winchester, with several others. Five new orders were introduced into England during his reign, viz. *Knights Hospitalers*,[m]

[i] In the year A.D. 927, Odo, a learned and pious man, (finding the rule of St. Benedict becoming obsolete, and almost unknown among the Latin monks,) being created Abbot of the monastery of Clugny, in the province of Burgundy, not only obliged the monks to live in a rigorous observance of their rules, but introduced others more severe and burdensome, and laid the foundation of a new order called Clugniacs, which attained a high degree of eminence, authority, opulence, and dignity.—Mosheim, vol. ii. p. 413.

[k] This order of monks was brought into England by William Earl Warren, son-in-law of William I. who built a house for their reception at Lewes, in Sussex, A.D. 1077. A priory of this order was founded at Montacute, in this county, A.D. 1091, by William Earl of Mortain in Normandy.

[l] Grose's Antiquit. Preface, p. 58.

[m] *Knights Hospitalers*, or Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. This was a military order, instituted during the Mohammedan war in Palestine. Their object was to destroy the robbers who infested the public roads in the Holy Land, to assist the poor and sick pilgrims, whom the devotion of the times led to the Holy Sepulchre, and to perform other services which tended to the public good.

Augustine canons,[n] *Cistertians*,[o] canons of the *Holy Sepulchre*, and the monks of *Grandmount*. During his long and prosperous reign, there were founded one hundred and fifty religious houses, viz. twenty alien priories, twenty Benedictine monasteries, fifteen cells, fifty houses of Augustine canons, thirteen Cistertian and six Clugniac monasteries, three of knights hospitalers, one of canons of the Holy Sepulchre, one of the Grandmontensians, one college, and thirteen hospitals.

2. The reign of Stephen, though disturbed by intestine war, did not check the zealous disposition for founding monasteries and religious houses; and we find no less than twenty-two Benedictine abbeys and priories, together with a long list of religious houses, founded by this monarch and his subjects. In the beginning of this reign the *Knights Templars*[p] were introduced into the kingdom; as were also the *Præmonstratensian* and *Gilbertine* orders. The murder of Thomas à Becket, in the reign of Henry II. drew down upon that sovereign the denunciations of the Church, and hatred of the clergy.[q] The King foreseeing the consequences of the

[n] *Augustine Canons.* In the year A. D. 1252, Lanfranc of Milan, the first General of the Eremites of St. Augustine, sent some of this order into England, to seek a dwelling for themselves, before they had been confirmed by Pope Alexander IV. Their first houses were given to them in Wales, at Ewenny, which afterwards belonged to the Turberville family. Humphrey Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, in the year 1253, gave them a house and a beautiful church in London, which still bears the name of *Austin Friars*. This order was established in many parts of England, and at Bruton in this county. The habit of these friars is said to have been a white garment, and a white scapular over it, when they are in the house; but when in the choir, or abroad, they put on over all a sort of cowl, and a large hood, both black; the hood round before, and hanging down to the waist in a point, and girt with a leathern girdle.—(Stevens, vol. ii. p. 215.)

[o] *Cistertians.* This order was founded about A. D. 1098, by Robert, a Benedictine monk, and abbot of Molesme, in Burgundy, where there was a large forest, wild and uncultivated. Here Robert retired with about twenty monks, and laid the foundation of that order, which became afterwards so famous, that in about a century after its first establishment, it boasted of eighteen hundred abbeys; and had become so powerful, that it governed almost all Europe, both in spiritual and temporal matters. In England alone there were about fifty of these establishments. They approached in their discipline the Benedictines, but were more austere.

[p] *Knights Templars*, so called from a palace adjoining the Temple at Jerusalem, appropriated to their use by Baldwin II. A. D. 1118. These warlike knights were to defend the church, and to support the cause of Christianity by force of arms; to inspect public roads; and protect pilgrims who came to visit Jerusalem.

[q] The following interesting recital relating to the murder of St. Thomas à Becket, is from the pen of Dr. Southey:—

"Four barons were engaged to murder Becket, but *three* only were concerned in giving his first death blow, viz. Reginald Fitzurse, William de Tracy, and Richard Brito. 'Reginald, (said Becket to Fitzurse,) I have done *you* many kindnesses, and do you come against me thus armed?' The Baron, resolute as himself, in a worse purpose, told him to get out from thence (the cathedral) and die; at the same time, laying hold of his robe. Tracy he had nearly thrown down, and Fitzurse he thrust from him with a strong hand

hostility of so powerful a body, and who had obtained such an ascendancy over the minds of his subjects, affected to be a friend to the clergy and the Church, and soon gave proofs of his professions, by establishing the *Carthusians*[r] in this kingdom, and building for them a monastery at *Witham* in this county, which he amply endowed; he also re-founded and augmented the abbey at Waltham in Essex; founded a priory at Newstead in Lincolnshire, and many other religious institutions.

In this King's reign we can enumerate twenty-eight Benedictine monasteries; twenty nunneries of the same order; twenty-seven Augustine, sixteen Præmonstratensian, one Carthusian, two Gilbertines, and five Clugniac monasteries; two collegiate churches, twenty-nine hospitals, ten preceptories, twenty-six alien priories, and nineteen Cistertian abbeys. The latter fraternity had increased so much, as to reckon five hundred establishments of their order in Christendom; and in the year A. D. 1250, they then amounted to eighteen hundred.

The religious feeling which dictated the crusade to the Holy Land to rescue that country from the power of the infidels, in the time of Richard I., was equally ex-

Fitzurse no longer hesitated to strike. The second blow brought him to the ground on his face before St. Benedict's altar. He had strength and composure enough to cover himself with his robes, and then to join his hands in prayer, and in that position died under their repeated strokes, each pressing near to bear a part in the murder. Brito cleft his skull."—(Southey's Vindiciæ, vol. i. p. 239.)

There are two graves on the Flat Holms, lying north and south, contrary to the ancient and accustomed mode of sepulture, east and west. These are supposed to be the graves of Fitzurse and Tracy, two of the murderers of Thomas à Becket, as Tracy's descendants founded the Abbey of Woodspring in sight of the Holms. The interments might have been contrary to the usual direction of Christian graves, from feelings of remorse; as if the murderers who smote the primate should be consigned to oblivion, remote from human view, and in graves reversed from the usual position of Christian burial.

[r] The foundation of this order of Monks has been universally attributed to St. Bruno, who was born at Cologne, of noble parents, and was there afterwards ordained and promoted to a canonry; but being disgusted with the false pleasures of the world, and penetrated with the more solemn blessings of eternity, he resigned his benefice; and having prevailed on six of his friends to accompany him, he resolved to pass the remainder of his life in solitude and religious retirement. Wishing to place themselves under the guidance of some enlightened prelate, St. Bruno and his companions travelled to Grenoble, in the year 1086, where they threw themselves at the feet of a holy prelate named Hugues, beseeching him to bestow upon them a place where they might serve God, and be separated from intercourse with the world. A spot was fixed on, situated among the Alps, surrounded by mountains covered with eternal snow. Hither they retired, (notwithstanding the prelate pointed out to them the dangers and horrors to which they would be exposed, but at the same time promised them every assistance in his power,) and commenced building their cells and oratory, devoting their whole time to the service of God and religion. St. Bruno died A. D. 1101, and was afterwards canonized. The rules of the Carthusians were very severe; they were doomed to live in silence, solitude, and prayer; they were forbidden the use of linen, and were clothed with wool. They abstained from all flesh, and did penance on bread and water every Friday; they were shut up in their separate cells, and no one was permitted to leave the house, except the superior and procurator on urgent and necessary occasions. Their habit was partly black, and partly white.—(Mon. Remains.)

erted in founding monasteries during that crusade, notwithstanding the enormous expense incurred in that expedition. It does not appear the King himself founded any religious establishment; and it is stated he entertained a mortal hatred against monks in general, but more particularly towards the Black Canons, Cistertians, and Knights Templars. During this reign fourteen Benedictine houses, thirteen Augustine, eight Præmonstratensian, three Gilbertine, four preceptories of Templars, two alien priories, one college, and seven hospitals were erected. This, with the heavy ransom paid for the liberation of the King from his captivity (having been taken prisoner on his return from Palestine through the dominions of the Duke of Austria, and given up to the Emperor of Germany, then at war with him), shows the great wealth of England at that period.

3. King John was no great friend to the clergy; yet he did not throw off the semblance of piety which characterized the time in which he lived. He founded the noble abbey of *Beauleau* in Hampshire, for the Cistertians, with several others. In his reign, eight houses of Benedictines, eight of Cistertians, three of Præmonstratensians, nineteen of Augustine Canons, six of Gilbertines, one Clugniac, ten alien priories, four of Hospitalers, one college, and eighteen hospitals were built and endowed.

From this view of monastic establishments in Britain, we may at once estimate the immense wealth, and consequently the great influence of the clergy at this period.

The reign of Henry III. was eventful as related to the affairs of the Church. The irresistible influence of the clergy over the mass of the people, was now supreme, and its effects excited alarm, even in the mind of the sovereign. His first step was to restrain the superstitious and lavish prodigality of the people in bestowing their property on religious establishments, contrary to the natural duty they owed to their children and families. To repress these delusions, an act of Parliament was passed (9 Henry III. 1225), called the *Statute of Mortmain*, to regulate bequests to the Church. "Before this act," says Bishop Kennet, "the nation was so sensible of the extravagant donations of the religious, that in the grant and conveyance of estates it was often made an express condition, that no sale or gift, or assignation of the premises should be made to the religious."[s] Yet, notwithstanding this restraining act, we find during the long reign of this King (fifty-six years), there were founded nine Benedictine houses, twenty-seven Augustine, eight Cistertian, three of Præmonstratensians, two of Clugniacs, one Carthusian, one Gilbertine, three preceptories of Knights Templars, two of Hospitalers, twenty-eight Grey

[s] Kennet's Parochial Antiquities.

Friars, two Maturine or Trinitarian Friars, one Crossed Friars, and many others. The King himself founded the Cistertian abbey of *Netley* in Hampshire.

Of so great importance were the Abbots and Priors, that there were sixty-four Abbots and thirty-six Priors called to Parliament during the reign of Henry III. Their number was reduced by Edward III. to twenty-five Abbots and two Priors: two Abbots were added afterwards; making in all twenty-nine ecclesiastics, who had seats in the house of Parliament.

4. During the reign of Edward I. the religious feeling which had so long pervaded the minds of the people, and induced them to heap upon the monastic institutions immense wealth, in some degree subsided. The effect of the statute of Henry III. began to be felt, and was rendered more efficient by subsequent enactments; yet monastic institutions continued to be established, the King's eldest son founding the abbey of *Vale Royal* in Cheshire; and his subjects three Cistertian abbeys, five Augustine priories, one Gilbertine, and one Clugniac monastery; besides one hundred and six different religious houses.

About this time the founding of *chantries* in churches and cathedrals took its beginning, as a less expensive mode of securing the favour of the Church;[t] and benefiting more particularly the chantry priests who were appointed to officiate in them. These chantries were endowments of land, or other revenues, for the maintenance of one or more priests to say daily mass for the soul of the founder, his relatives, and other benefactors; sometimes at a particular altar, and often in little chapels fitted up for the purpose, within cathedrals and parochial churches.[u]

The founding of chantries during the two centuries preceding the Reformation, arose from the facility of obtaining licences to endow them with lands and revenues, during the *lifetime* of the donor; as the statute of mortmain was directed against bequests to take effect *after the death* of the party bequeathing his property to the Church.

The system of impropriations which began soon after the Conquest, grew so rapidly, that in the course of the three centuries which immediately followed, more than a third part of the benefices became impropriate, and those of the greatest

[t] Immediately after the Norman power had been fully established in Britain, the clergy of the Church of Rome impressed upon the minds of the people the doctrine of *Purgatory*, or a purification of the soul in a future state of existence; which taught mankind, that the penalties of sin might be mitigated and partly expiated by masses and other services, performed after the decease of the person in whose favour they were said; and which gave rise to the founding of chantries, and endowments of them with lands, for the support of a priest or priests to say daily mass for the souls of the deceased, his relatives and connexions.

[u] Godolphin, Repert. p. 329.

value; and by the time of the Reformation another third was added to the number.[x] Impropriations gave the severest blow to the secular clergy that they ever received since the first endowment of the Church. The Abbots and Priors obtained from the Court of Rome *bulls* of appropriation, whereby they appropriated the revenues of certain churches (whose advowsons belonged to them), to the use of themselves and their successors for ever. Thus rectories were reduced to vicarages; the *greater tithes* going to the abbey revenues, and the *smaller tithes* left as a miserable pittance (often not more than a sixteenth part of the revenues of the benefice) to the minister, who became responsible for the spiritual duties of the parish, under the denomination of *Vicar*.[y] The Bishops interfered, and would not permit the monks to have the care of these appropriated churches. Vicars were then appointed at a certain annual stipend, which was augmented by a grant of a portion of tithes, which they now continue to enjoy. Most of the appropriations which the secular clergy now possess, were originally made by the Abbots and Priors of monasteries and religious houses.

In this reign a different feeling arose, which showed a spirit little influenced by religious views. The King, during a war with France, seized on the revenues of the *alien priories*, or religious houses, attached to foreign abbeys; and removed the monks twenty miles from the sea coast, to prevent their assisting or giving information to his enemies.[z]

The religious feeling of former times was still kept alive during the reign of Edward II. though somewhat abated in its fervour. With the revival of learning institutions of a different character began to prevail, and colleges in our universities were established for the cultivation of literature, science, and religion. Two were founded at Oxford, viz. *Exeter* and *Oriel*; and in Cambridge, *Clare Hall*.

The King became jealous of the wealth and influence of the Church, and cast a longing eye on their rich institutions. The Knights Templars were first attacked, their order dissolved, and their property confiscated, under the pretence that they led vicious lives, possessed too much wealth, and (what was most probably the *real* cause of the monarch's hostility) that they held correspondence with the King's enemies.[a] Their estates were held by the King for some time; but as these had been given for pious purposes, the King and his Parliament appropriated them again to religious uses; some were given to the Hospitalers, some to the parochial clergy, and others granted to the laity.[b]

In the lengthened reign of Edward III. the religious spirit which had so long actuated the minds of his predecessors and their subjects, became nearly extinct;

[x] Kennet on Impropriations, pp. 25, 405.
[y] Ryve's Poor Vicar's Plea, p. 145.
[z] Nichols's Hist. of Alien Priories, p. 113.
[a] Dugdale's Baronage, vol. ii. p. 79.
[b] Ibid.

and the necessities of the state, in consequence of the war with France, being urgent, *the Alien Priories were now suppressed,* and their revenues appropriated to the service of the state, as being property belonging to establishments in a foreign country then at war with England. This reign is, however, marked by some splendid works of royal munificence. The colleges of St. George at Windsor and St. Stephen at Westminster were built by Edward III. and well endowed out of the revenues of twelve chantries, which were seized for not having a license of *mortmain.* *New* and *Queen's* colleges at Oxford; *Pembroke, Gonville* and *Caius, Trinity Hall and Corpus Christi,* at Cambridge; were founded during this king's reign.

5. The immense wealth of the Church establishment, the corruption and abuses of the church of Rome, and the open sale of *indulgences,* began to rouse the indignation of the more considerate and sober-minded Christians, and soon called forth a reprobation of these abuses of the power of the clergy.

Among the chief of these spiritual reformers, John Wicliffe stood foremost, who "lifted up his voice as a trumpet, who cried aloud, and spared not," till he had roused the attention of his countrymen to this flagrant perversion of duty in the clergy. The revival of learning, now beginning to shine forth in the world, aided this reformer in his views to restore the worship of the Christian Church to its primitive purity and simplicity; and, as the minds of mankind became freed from the trammels in which they had been entangled and held by the Romish Church, their absurd dogmas, which had crept into it, soon yielded to more rational conclusions. Yet, notwithstanding this dawn of a reformation, a spirit for increasing monastic institutions was still alive. William of Wickham, from his love of literature and science, founded and endowed his colleges at Winchester and New College in Oxford.

When Henry IV. came to the throne, he, in the first year of his reign, restored all the conventual alien priories; reserving to himself the right, during war, of confiscating the revenues paid to foreign abbeys in the time of peace. The possessions of the Church now attracted the attention of Parliament, and were deemed a rich source from whence to derive supplies for the exigencies of the state; and, suiting "the action to the word," in a parliament held at Coventry in A. D. 1404, it was moved, "that, for carrying on the war, and defending the realm against the Welch and Scots, the clergy should be deprived of their temporal possessions, to raise money:" but Archbishop Arundel counteracted this bold step, by desiring the king to recollect his coronation oath, wherein he had promised to advance the honour of the Church, and to protect its ministers. This had the desired effect; the king declaring he would leave the Church in as good or better condition than

he found it. Notwithstanding this rebuke, the commons, in A.D. 1410, brought in a new bill, to enable the king to seize upon the estates of the Church. This was also rejected by the monarch, with a command never to revive again the subject.

The college of Battlesfield, in Shropshire, with five others, owe their origin to this sovereign.

Upon the accession of Henry V. the commons again renewed their attack on the Church property, but with no better success; till at a parliament held at Leicester, it was proposed that, to assist in carrying on the war against France, the revenues of the alien priories should be given to the king, except those which were conventual. The king, flattered by the apparent liberality of his parliament, and ambitious to obtain the crown of France, consented to this measure. Most of the revenues of these suppressed institutions were, however, bestowed upon other monasteries; some remained in the king's fee; and a few were granted or sold to the laity.[c] This sovereign also founded the Carthusian monastery at *Sheen*, and the house of *Sion*, in Middlesex, for nuns of the order of St. Bridget.

6. In the reign of Henry VI. learning revived, and the building of colleges at Oxford and Cambridge, for the cultivation of literature and science, became then general. The University of Oxford received the addition of *Lincoln*, *All Souls* and *Magdalen* colleges, with *Alban Hall;* and Cambridge *King's* and *Queen's*, which were endowed chiefly with the revenues of the suppressed alien priories.

In the time of Edward IV. *Catharine Hall* was founded in Cambridge; with a few almshouses and hospitals.

Henry VII. followed the example of his predecessors, in encouraging the cultivation of learning. His mother also showed her zeal in the same cause, by founding and endowing two colleges, *Christ's* and *St. John's*, in Cambridge. The Savoy hospital, in London, owed its origin to this prince.

In the eventful reign of Henry VIII. a wide field for observation is opened: and the consequences of the measures pursued by that monarch, were of the utmost importance to the church. The king, to show his zeal for the encouragement of learning, founded *Brazennose* and *Corpus Christi* colleges in Oxford; and *Magdalen* and *Trinity* colleges in Cambridge; and his favourite, Cardinal Wolsey, built *Christchurch* college in Oxford, which he munificently endowed.

From this review of the rise and progress of monastic affairs, we learn that the richest monasteries were founded from the time of the Conquest to the reign of Henry III.; and it is recorded, that at the commencement of the latter king's reign,

[c] Rapin's Hist. Engl. vol. ii. p. 509; and Rymer's Fœdera, vol. ix. p. 283.

four hundred and seventy-six abbeys and priories were founded, and re-founded, together with eighty-one alien priories. These latter show the influence the foreign ecclesiastics had in this country at that time.

7. In 1530 Henry VIII. began his Reformation of the Church, by increasing the number of Bishops, and endowing them out of the possessions of the monasteries, then in his hands. By a Statute 21 Henry VIII. he erected five new bishoprics, viz. Chester, Gloucester, Peterborough, Bristol, and Oxford. The next step was to prevent the founding of chantries, 23 Henry VIII. c. 10: then followed an Act for discontinuing the payment of *Peter pence* to the see of Rome, 25 Henry VIII. c. 12. Henry now determined to throw off the papal yoke, A. D. 1534, and procured himself to be acknowledged the Supreme Head of the Church by the Parliament. The next year he ordered a general visitation of the religious houses of the kingdom, in order to find out some plausible pretext for the violent measures he intended to carry into effect towards them. In October, A. D. 1535, Dr. Layton and others were appointed as commissioners to visit and inspect the religious communities, and report to the Lord Cromwell.[d] Many of the letters which passed between them are still extant.[e]

The first direct attack on the Church was an "Act for suppressing all Monasteries not possessing more than £200 a year, and twelve monks" (27 Hen. VIII. c. 28, A.D. 1536.) The abominable preamble to this document shows the temper of the King, and his feeling towards the Church at *that* time. Many of these houses, though valued at £200 per annum, were worth several thousands. This circumstance arose from the abbots and monks never having raised their rents; choosing rather to make their tenants pay a considerable fine on the renewal of their leases; and, according to this mode, they estimated rents only.[f] Ten thousand of these religious men were driven from their homes to seek a living in the wide world, with which they had previously little communication. The abbots and monks, however, had pensions assigned to them out of their monasteries; so that it was not till their death, and of the whole of their fraternity, that their possessions were unincumbered. Their goods and plate were estimated at £100,000; and the valued rents at £32,000; but in fact worth ten times that sum.[g]

[d] Dodsworth's MSS. Collect. in the Bodleian Library.

[e] Master Thomas Cromwell and Dr. Lee, two of the commissioners, write thus,—"that they had put forth all religious persons under twenty-four years of age. The abbot or prior to give them a priest's gown, and forty shillings in money. The nuns to have such apparel as secular women wear, and go where they would."—Stow's Chron. p. 575.

[f] Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation.

[g] Ibid.

The king, having tasted the sweets of the suppression of the lesser monasteries, now meditated a general attack upon the greater ones; and accordingly in A. D. 1537, a fresh visitation was appointed, when the visitors were directed to inquire into the lives and conduct of the abbots, priors, and monks; how they stood affected towards the pope; and whether they acknowledged and promoted the king's supremacy; whether they made use of impostures, or pretended miraculous operations to work on the credulity of the people; and above all, by promises, threats, and other nefarious practices, to extort the surrender of their houses to the king.

Many of these religious men, from a consciousness of the integrity of their lives, their innocent and irreproachable conduct, refused to yield up their houses to the king. Against these good men charges of high treason and other abominable crimes were made; and being brought to a summary and unjust trial, were soon condemned and executed as common malefactors [h]

In A. D. 1539, an Act was passed for the total suppression and dissolution of all monasteries, 30 Henry VIII. The preamble sets forth, that the abbots, priors, &c. "*having of their own free will and assents, without constraint, coaction, or compulsion, given and severally granted to the King, &c.*" *!!!* The preamble of the letter of the king for taking the surrender of the monasteries was as follows: "Forasmoche as we understande that A. B. is at present in such a state, as the same ys neither used to the honour of God, nor to the benefit of the common weale," &c. The following observations of a celebrated writer are too applicable to the subject, to be omitted in this place, and show a singular and striking coincidence of popular opinion at that period with the sentiments which are entertained at the present time with respect to the revenues of the Church; and the means then used to render the measure at all agreeable to the people. "This year," says Strype, "the greater monasteries were suppressed and dissolved. The common people liked them well, because of the hospitality and good house-keeping there used. The inhabitants of these cloisters relieved the poor, and their brave-built and noble structures adorned the places and countries where they stood. The rich had education here for their sons and daughters. Therefore, to make way among the people for taking them away, and to make them willinger to see them destroyed, it was given out and pretended that the King's Exchequer should be for ever enriched; the kingdom and nobility strengthened and increased; the common subjects acquitted and freed from all former services and taxes; and that the abbots monks, friars, and nuns, being suppressed, in their places should be created forty earls, sixty barons, three thousand knights, and forty thousand soldiers, with

[h] Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation. See an account of Abbot Whiting's trial and execution, under Glastonbury.

skilful captains, and a competent maintenance for them all for ever, out of the ancient church revenues; so as in so doing the king and his successors should never want treasure of their own, nor have cause to be beholden to the common subject; neither should the people be any more charged with loans, subsidies, and fifteens.[i] But the king did some good for religion and learning, with all the treasures that flowed in upon him from religious houses, which is still remaining, and all of it which was otherwise employed is utterly lost and gone. For he created six new bishoprics, Westminster, Oxford, Peterborough, Bristol, Chester, and Gloucester; and instead of monks in divers of the old cathedral churches, abolishing them, he placed canons in their room. The revenues bestowed upon all these by the King amounted to £8,000 per annum. For the Church having more Bishops, the flock of Christ might be better regarded; the canons in each cathedral, being a society of learned men, well seen and grounded in religious matters, were to assist the respective Bishops, the heads of the diocese, in all good and wholesome consultations; and to preach the Gospel, and convince errors and heresy, and to keep hospitality."[k]

A large proportion of conventual revenues arose from parochial tithes, diverted from their legitimate object of maintaining the incumbent, to support the pomp and state of some distant Abbot. These appropriations were in no one instance, I believe, ever restored to the parochial clergy; and have passed into the hands of laymen, or of Bishops and other ecclesiastical persons. The endowed colleges or chantries consisting of secular priests, whose duty it was to say daily masses for the founders, were abolished and given up according to the preamble of the statute of Edward VI. for the erection of schools, the augmentation of the Universities, and support of the indigent; but this was also neglected, and the estates soon fell into the hands of the favourites at court.[l]

In 1539, the surrender of all monasteries was confirmed by an act of Parliament, and in the same year their total dissolution was completed.

This measure, though only fully accomplished by Henry VIII. had from time to time been attempted, and even partially put in execution by many of our kings, and even some of the Popes. The causes assigned for this general spoliation of the revenues of the Church, has been stated to arise from the luxurious and profligate conduct, and mode of life pursued in these convents. This general censure was cruel and unjust, and only a blind to conceal the avaricious disposition of the king; the necessities of the state and hostility to the church of Rome, were most probably the actual and operating causes.

[i] Strype's Memorials, vol. i. p. 533.

[k] Strype's Memorials, ut supra.

[l] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 63.

The suppression of the religious establishments, considered in a political light, may have been necessary, from the immense wealth and power possessed by the clergy and church of Rome; as being incompatible with the just and equitable principles of legitimate government, and destroying that balance of power necessary to proper legislation, and the civil and religious rights of man. We must not, however, lose sight of the important advantages derived from monastic institutions, and the miserable consequences which immediately followed their dissolution. These monasteries were the repositories of the learning of the age; of valuable books, manuscripts, and national records. They were the only places of security for depositing valuables in times of turbulence. Many documents, which had escaped the ravages of the Danes, were destroyed or lost at the time of their dissolution.

Every abbey had at least one person, whose office it was to instruct youth: and to the monks we are indebted for the valuable histories of those times. The writings of the Venerable Bede, William of Malmsbury, William of Worcester, Richard of Cirencester, Adam de Domerham, John of Glastonbury, and many others, are now valuable documents, as relating to the local and general history of those periods. The liberal arts of sculpture, architecture, mechanical inventions, and printing, owe their cultivation to these establishments.

In every abbey there was a *scriptorium*, or a room where persons were employed in transcribing books for the use of the library; missals; the works of the ancient fathers; classics, and history. The exquisite beauty of the writing and ornaments, with illuminations of the most rich and delicate execution, which have been preserved to the present time, attest the skill and execution of the artist. A register was also kept, in which the principal events of the kingdom, both public and private, were entered, and annually arranged and copied into the annals of the monastery. Besides, these religious establishments were hospitals for the relief of the poor, the sick, and impotent; many of whom were daily relieved at their gates. They also served the place of inns for the reception of travellers on the road, at a time when little accommodation was to be met with elsewhere. They were frequented by pilgrims, and generally built near the great roads which traversed the kingdom. They also afforded an asylum and retreat for the aged and indigent of good family. The neighbourhood of these monasteries was much benefited by the concourse of people who frequented them; and the demand for supplies for the use of the convent, gave employment to a numerous tenantry in the neighbourhood.[m]

[m] Camden states, that there were suppressed at different times, six hundred and forty-five monasteries; ninety colleges; two thousand three hundred and seventy-four chantries or free chapels, and one hundred and ten hospitals. It was calculated that the monks and clergy were proprietors of fourteen parts out of twenty of the whole property of the kingdom. A licence was granted by King James I. to Mary

The furious zeal with which these noble institutions and edifices were despoiled and destroyed, partook of a Vandal ferocity, at war with the best efforts of human skill and ingenuity. Edifices, the pride and boast of sacred architecture, were desecrated with more than Gothic outrage: libraries were pillaged; the books and manuscripts, instead of being removed to some place of security in other ecclesiastical institutions, as the cathedrals, and preserved in their libraries and archives, or in the repositories of the Universities, were often given carelessly away, or sold as waste paper for a trivial sum; or, as old Leland expresses it, "some to serve their jakes; some to scour candlesticks; some to rub boots; some to the grocer; and some to the soap-boiler." [n]

The destitute, being deprived by the dissolution of these establishments of a house of refuge, were driven to frightful extremities throughout the country; and the property had scarcely left the hands of the Abbots or Priors, when it was found necessary to have recourse to laws to provide for the maintenance of the *poor*.[o] "The joints of society were thus thoroughly loosened; a vast proportion of the population was now turned adrift upon the world; their employment gone; their relief gone too." Seventy-two thousand persons are said to have perished by the hand of the executioner in the reign of Henry VIII.; some made desperate by want, and "some made bold by the lawless licence of the times." [p]

The parochial clergy suffered also severely by this change. The abbey lands and tithes, which belonged to the Abbots and religious institutions, were sold at easy prices to the nobility and gentry; and the frequent grants made to the courtiers, strengthened the power of the King, and became a great inducement to them to support the new order of things. The lands of the adherents of the church of Rome became the estates of Protestants; and the lay-impropriator, a character hitherto almost unknown, now took its beginning. Such was the neglect and inattention to the parochial clergy, that the greater portion of the lands and tithes were alienated; in some instances the vicarial tithes were left as a remuneration to the village pastor; in very many others, the whole revenues of the village church were sold, leaving a small annual stipend of five or ten pounds a-year, to be paid to the minister by the lay-impropriator. Upwards of four thousand benefices under

Middlemore, one of the maids of honour to Anne, Queen consort, for the term of five years, to have power and authority to enter into the abbeys of St. Alban's, Glastonbury, St. Edmundsbury, and Romsey, and into all lands, houses, and places within one mile of them, to search for treasure, books, and other things; the same being there found, to seize and carry away; one-third for the use of the King, and two-thirds to the use of Mary Middlemore.—Rymer's Fœdera.

n Leland's Itin.

o The first statute was 5 Elizabeth.

p Blunt's Sketch of the Reformation, p. 143.

the annual value of £150 a-year each: many of not a third of that value are to be found in the present day; many without a house of residence for the minister, or at most a small cottage, unfit for a clergyman and his family to reside in; and on livings where the tithes and glebes in the hand of the lay-impropriator, amount to several hundred pounds a-year.

In this forlorn condition has the Church subsisted from the Reformation! Had a small portion of the spoils of the monastic possessions been set apart at that period for the proper support of the incumbent, the Church would not have been left in the sad situation we find her at present; and had the spirit and letter of the Act of Queen Anne, for increasing the incomes of the parochial clergy holding the smaller benefices, by the appropriation of the First Fruits and Tenths of the revenues of the Church, to form a fund for the augmentation of all small benefices, discharged from the payment thereof, been acted up to; and a valuation of the respective livings been made at intervals of half a century only, and the payments regulated by that scale; the smaller livings would have been, long ere this time, so much increased in value, as to have afforded a tolerable income for the support of the minister, without the necessity of parliamentary or other grants. The Church would then have been her *own almoner;* would have taken care of her pastors; and not have given the gainsayer, or enemy of the church establishment, cause to complain of, or object to grant assistance to her ministers. It is not too late, we trust, to remedy the evil; and by a similar plan to that of Queen Anne, based on the actual amount of the value of each benefice liable to such a levy (after the legal and actual outgoings are deducted), to augment the Bounty fund, in such a manner, that *annual* sums may be apportioned to increase the value of the smaller benefices, and to raise them to that amount which may be deemed the *minimum* of adequate ecclesiastical income for the beneficed clergy.

CONCLUSION.

FROM this short and cursory view of the rise, progress, and declension of monastic institutions, we can discern the great vicissitudes which the Church has undergone; and consequences, not perhaps anticipated, have followed the various acts of the sovereigns who held the sceptre during those times.

"It was not," says a modern and intelligent writer, "until the power of the Barons had been broken down by the policy of Henry VII. that the abbeys could have been dissolved without danger to the prerogatives of the crown and the liberties of the people. But, when the feudal system was succeeded by a form of civil polity more favourable to moral and intellectual improvement, and consequently to the happiness of mankind, then the vices of the monastic character appeared in full deformity. The privileges of an order of men dissevered from all ties of social life, and exempted from obedience to the laws, were seen to be incompatible with the rights of the community."[q]

The dissolution of the religious orders was a necessary consequence of the policy adopted by Henry VII., though not the result intended by himself; for, if ever there was a prince who could so have averted the evils wherewith the Reformation was accompanied, and yet secured its advantages, he was the man: cool, wary, farsighted, politic, and religious, he was peculiarly adapted for such a crisis, both by his good and his evil qualities. For the sake of increasing his treasury and his power, he would have promoted the reformation; but his cautious temper, his sagacity, and his fear of Divine justice would have taught him where to stop." Whatever difference of opinion may still exist on the general utility of monastic institutions, yet there can be none on the manner in which their suppression was effected in England under Henry VIII.; who, although he thus acted perhaps from hatred to the Pope, arising from his refusal to sanction the private conduct of the king, yet throughout his life he was a doctrinal Romanist, and his last declaration was, "that he died in the Catholic faith."[r]

With the accession of Edward VI. a new prospect was opened to the reformers, and a new æra commenced in the history of the English Church; and during his short reign the reformation of the Church of England was completed, and its principles such as exist at the present time established.

Calvin, the Genevese reformer, was acquainted with the station and power which

q Southey's Colloquies. r Carwithen's Hist. of the Church, vol. i. p. 192.

the Protector Somerset at this time possessed, when he applied to him to secure a co-operation in his views of reform. Melancthon (though in a different spirit) prosecuted his plan of union among the Protestant Churches, and made a direct communication to the young King (yet placed his chief reliance on Archbishop Cranmer). The Reformation of the Church of England was distinguished from all other Protestant Churches of Europe, in its origin, progress, and extent. Henry VIII. began it by subverting the papal authority and jurisdiction, whilst he believed and maintained the fundamental tenets of the Romish creed. Luther, the controversial antagonist of the King, commenced by impugning the principal doctrines of the Church of Rome, before he proceeded to separate himself from her communion. The English reformers, after the death of Henry, entered into an examination of the doctrine and discipline of that Church from which they separated, without an undistinguishing antipathy towards either; and retained both, as far as they agreed with the rules of Scripture and the practice of primitive Christianity. The foreign reformers, animated by the principles of Luther, and with indignation against the See of Rome, seceded from its doctrine as far as possible; rejecting its polity and ritual, without sacrificing the essentials of the Christian faith.[s]

The Church of England is thus energetically described by a modern and able writer: "It is a Church commonly called Lutheran; but whoever compares it with the Lutheran Churches on the continent, will have reason to congratulate himself on its superiority. It is in fact a Church *sui generis;* yielding in point of dignity in its doctrines, establishments, and ceremonies, to no congregation of Christians in the world:—modelled, to a certain extent, but not entirely, by our great and pious reformers, on the doctrines of Luther, so far as they were compatible, and in conformity with the sure and solid foundation on which it rests, and we trust will for ever rest—the authority of the Holy Scriptures, Jesus Christ himself being the corner stone."[t]

Somersetshire abounded with monastic institutions; having at the time of the dissolution of religious houses, six abbies, fifteen priories, three nunneries, one preceptory of knights hospitalers, three colleges, and six hospitals, besides many religious lesser houses.

The net annual income of the religious houses in the county of Somerset, was 7,487*l.* 18*s.* 7½*d.*, besides a vast treasure in gold, silver, precious stones, and furniture.[u]

[s] Carwithen. [t] Archdeacon Butler.

[u] For a particular account of the visitation of religious houses, see Strype's Memorials, vol. i. p. 318.

MONASTIC INSTITUTIONS IN SOMERSETSHIRE.

Name.	Denomination.	Order.	When founded.
			A.D.
Glastonbury -	Abbey	Benedictine	475
Frome - -	Cell		705
Banwell - -	Priory		880
Athelney -	Abbey	Benedictine	888
Michelney -	ditto	ditto	930
Keynsham -	ditto	ditto	954
Bath - -	ditto	ditto	970
Bruton - -	Priory	Augustine	1005
Dunster - -	ditto	Benedictine	1075
Taunton - -	ditto	Augustine	1120
Montacute -	ditto	Clugniac	1122
Cannington -	Nunnery	Benedictine	1138
Buckland -	ditto	Augustine	1156
Barlinch - -	Priory	ditto	1160
Stoke Courcy -	ditto	Benedictine	1160
Witham -	ditto	Carthusian	1181
Cleeve - -	Abbey	Cistertian	1185
Temple Comb -	Preceptory	Hospitalers	1185
Byrkly in Moorlinch	Priory	Augustine	1199
Barrow Minchin -	Nunnery	Benedictine	1200
Worspring -	Priory	St. Victor	1210
Hinton - -	ditto	Carthusian	1227
Ilchester - -	Priory	Black Canons	1283
Stoke sub Hamdon	College		1304
Mountroy -	ditto		1401
Bedminster -	Hospital	St. Catharine	1419
Farleigh - -	Priory	Clugniac	1425
Stavordale -	ditto	Augustine	1443
North Cadbury -	College	Clugniac	1450
Bridgwater -	Priory		1457
Bablew - -	Cell		
Green Ore -	ditto		

ANCIENT HISTORY.

BOOK III.

CHAPTER I.

BRITISH PERIOD.

1. Etymology of the name of Somersetshire: early inhabitants, and their towns described. Celtic tribes, the Hædui, &c. 2. Division of the Antiquities: Druidical remains: Stanton Drew. 3. Fairy's Toot and Littleton Cemeteries.

1. It is remarkable that the county of Somerset, containing so many vestiges of the earliest inhabitants of Britain, should not have attracted the attention of antiquarian writers. A very slight description of a few of its British and Belgic British antiquities, is to be found in the writings of Musgrave, Camden, Stukeley, and Horsley; and the Roman remains at Bath have been described by Wood, Warner, Lysons, and Collinson: yet many vestiges of the Romans have been intirely unnoticed. These interesting relics of people long since removed from the face of the earth, are now for the first time collected together in description, and will, we trust, excite a disposition for further investigation in the pursuits of the antiquary and topographer.

From whence the name of this county is derived is quite a matter of conjecture. The Belgic Britons, according to their historian Musgrave, gave it the appellation of *Gwlad-yr-haf*, or country of Summer. The Saxons designated it under the name of *Somer shire*, and its inhabitants were called *Sumersetas*: we have also the name of *Somerton*[a] mentioned by Asser in his life of King Alfred; which term prefixed to the Saxon word *shire*, would give *Somertonshire*. Musgrave thus notices it: "Comitatus Somersettensis urbs primaria Wells, a nonnullis Belgæ nominata est."[b]

Its situation on the borders of the river Severn (the *Sabrina* of ancient writers), and its proximity to the Bristol and English channels, would necessarily cause it to

[a] The Rev. J. Skinner derives this name from *Som*, an inclosure of the water; *er*, near to the place of passage; and *ton* a town.

[b] Musgrave's Belg. Brit. Antiq. p. 4.

be known to the earliest navigators of those seas; and we have authenticated proofs, that the Phœnicians held an intercourse with the western shores of Britain, to carry on with the inhabitants of this country, the trade in the metals which were found so abundantly in Cornwall, Devon, and Somersetshire: and which trade was continued by the Carthaginians, Greeks, and Romans.

Of the Celtic tribes who settled themselves in Britain, the *Hædui* occupied this county, as far south as the river Ivel, and a portion of the west, on the south of the river Tone (a branch of the river Parret); leaving a district bordering on the sea coast occupied by the *Cimbri*, and after them by the *Cangi*.

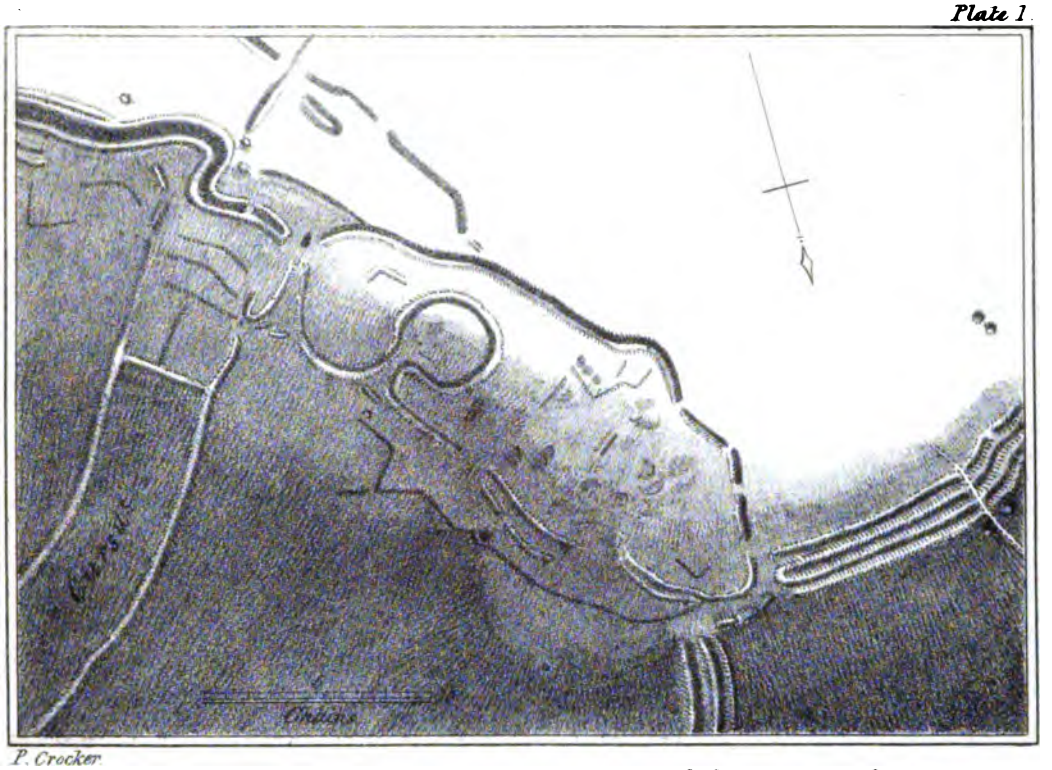
Their earthworks and religious circles, scattered on the hills, give us an imperfect history of the aborigines of our island, who, like the Tartars and Nomades of antiquity, seem to have led a pastoral life, residing on the hills, with their flocks and herds, and having their habitations congregated together.

The early history of these traces of an ancient people, had not been, till lately, sufficiently investigated by our historians; yet much information has been gained by the researches made in the western counties.

The first discovery of these British settlements was made by the late Mr. Cunnington of Heytesbury, in Wiltshire, who, together with Sir Richard Colt Hoare, Bart. of Stourhead, prosecuted his researches in that county and Dorsetshire for many years; and so far as to discover the remains of *fifty* settlements of the Britons; some of which were in a considerable state of preservation. A plan of two of them, copied by permission, from the splendid "Ancient History of Wiltshire," is now given, to illustrate these irregular works; of which no verbal description can convey a just idea. The first is on Gussage Cow Down, near Thorney Down inn, on the road from Salisbury to Blandford; and may safely be pronounced to be British throughout all its various parts and intricacies.[c] The numerous inequalities and excavations of the soil denote the former hutted habitations of the Britons; and are corroborated by the coarse pottery, animal bones, &c. which were discovered in digging into them. Here we find the rude circle used for religious purposes, and place of assembly, having the ditch in the *inside* of the embankment, contrary to the general custom adopted in works of a military nature. Near it the *cursus*, or avenue, accompanied by barrows, which strongly elucidate the history and manners of the primitive Britons.

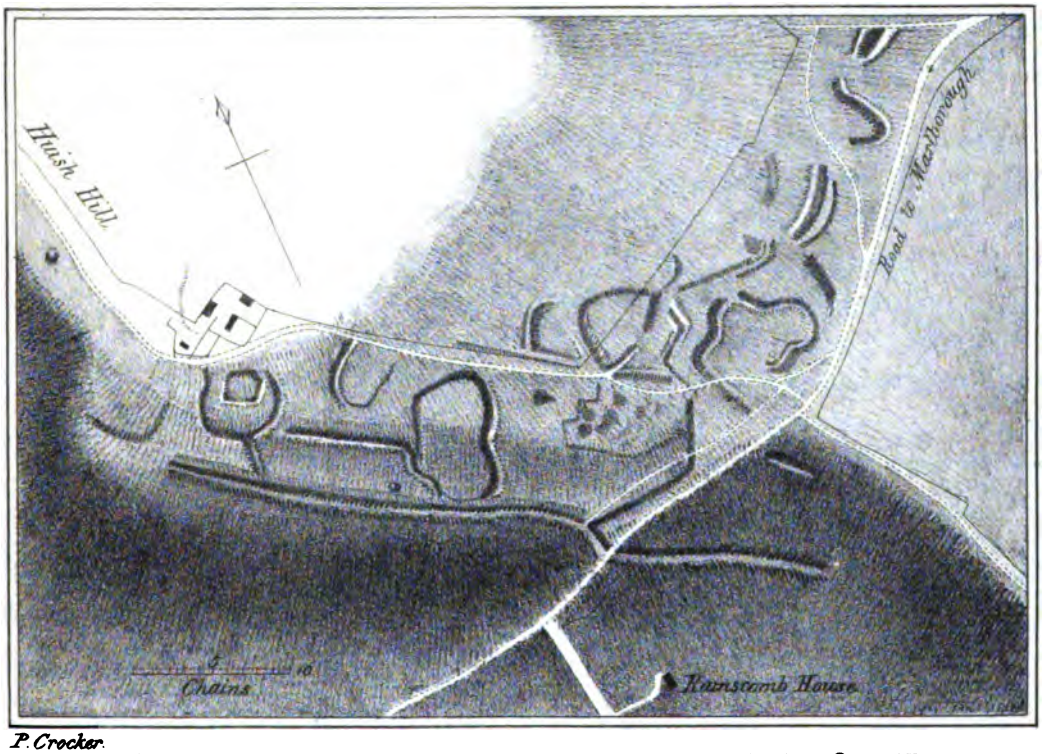
The second is at *Huish* near Marlborough. These lines are of great extent, and present a very perfect specimen of a British settlement. They occupy a large tract of downy land, belonging to the parish of Oare, four miles from Salisbury; being

[c] Sir R. C. Hoare's Ancient Wilts.



P. Crocker

BRITISH TOWN NEAR WOODYATES.



P. Crocker.

BRITISH TOWN NEAR MARLBOROUGH.

R. Martin, Lithog. 74, St Martin's Lane & 26, Long Acre

situated on a ridge facing the south, and extending a great way towards the north, over a barren common. They bear strongly the character of the people by whom they were probably made; are wild and irregular, without system, and exactly such as we should expect from a nation living a pastoral life upon the hills, and unacquainted with the rules of fortification.[d] (Plate I.)

2. In order to give a concise view of the remains of antiquity, still to be found in this county, we shall class them as follows:

1. British and Druidical.
2. Belgic British.
3. Roman.
4. Saxon and Danish.
5. Norman and English.

BRITISH REMAINS.

The vestiges of the towns of the early inhabitants are numerous in this county; and answer perfectly with the description given before. We have on *Hampton Down* near Bath, all the indicia of the *Caer Badun*, or town of the first settlers there. The tumuli, earthworks, and divisions, which are seen extending over a large space of ground, mark the arrangement of their huts. A finer situation could not have been selected, both for convenience and defence; standing on a bold eminence, surrounded on three of its sides by a fine vale, and a deep river; and commanding a considerable view over the adjacent country.

On Dundry hill, south of the church, are similar traces, and near it a *cistvaen* of huge stones; no doubt, a temple dedicated to druidical worship. At Charterhouse on Mendip, we find another British town, afterwards converted into a Roman station (which we shall notice hereafter). On the hill above Bleadon, a short distance from Uphill, and near the line of British trackway to that port, is the site of a British settlement, afterwards occupied by the Romans. It extended two miles in length from Uphill field to Shiplade wood, in an amphitheatre, as it were, of the hill, and facing the south.

The square inclosures, now intersected by stone walls, are still to be traced out, occupying the declivity of the ridge, immediately above the river Axe; and in front are seen Brent Knoll, Dousborough on the Quantock hills, Neroche castle above Ilminster, and many other British forts. A projecting point jutted out on the western side, forming a protection, only assailable from the river side, which was at that period, no doubt, an estuary of the Axe. The Romans occupied this position;

[d] Ancient Wilts, vol. i. p. 11.

numerous fragments of their pottery have been discovered; and in levelling a barrow in the common field of Uphill in 1815, three skeletons were found beneath it, and some parts of a fourth; the bones quite perfect. Underneath the three skeletons, were three triangular holes filled with burnt bones, charcoal, and potsherds, as also a bead. There seems to have been a second and later interment on this spot; probably some Danish chieftains who had fallen in battle near the place. Many other barrows are discoverable in the vicinity, though nearly obliterated by cultivation. Similar earthworks are found near Christon.

On Hamdon hill near Yeovil, are numerous traces of a British town, encompassed by a vallum containing an area of two hundred acres in extent, and intersected by divisions marked on the surface of the ground. This was afterwards occupied by the Romans, and we shall describe it as such, hereafter. On Brendon hill, north of Wiveliscombe, near Elworthy barrows, are also similar vestiges; and it may be generally observed, that on all the hills of the county these indicia of the primitive inhabitants are to be found.

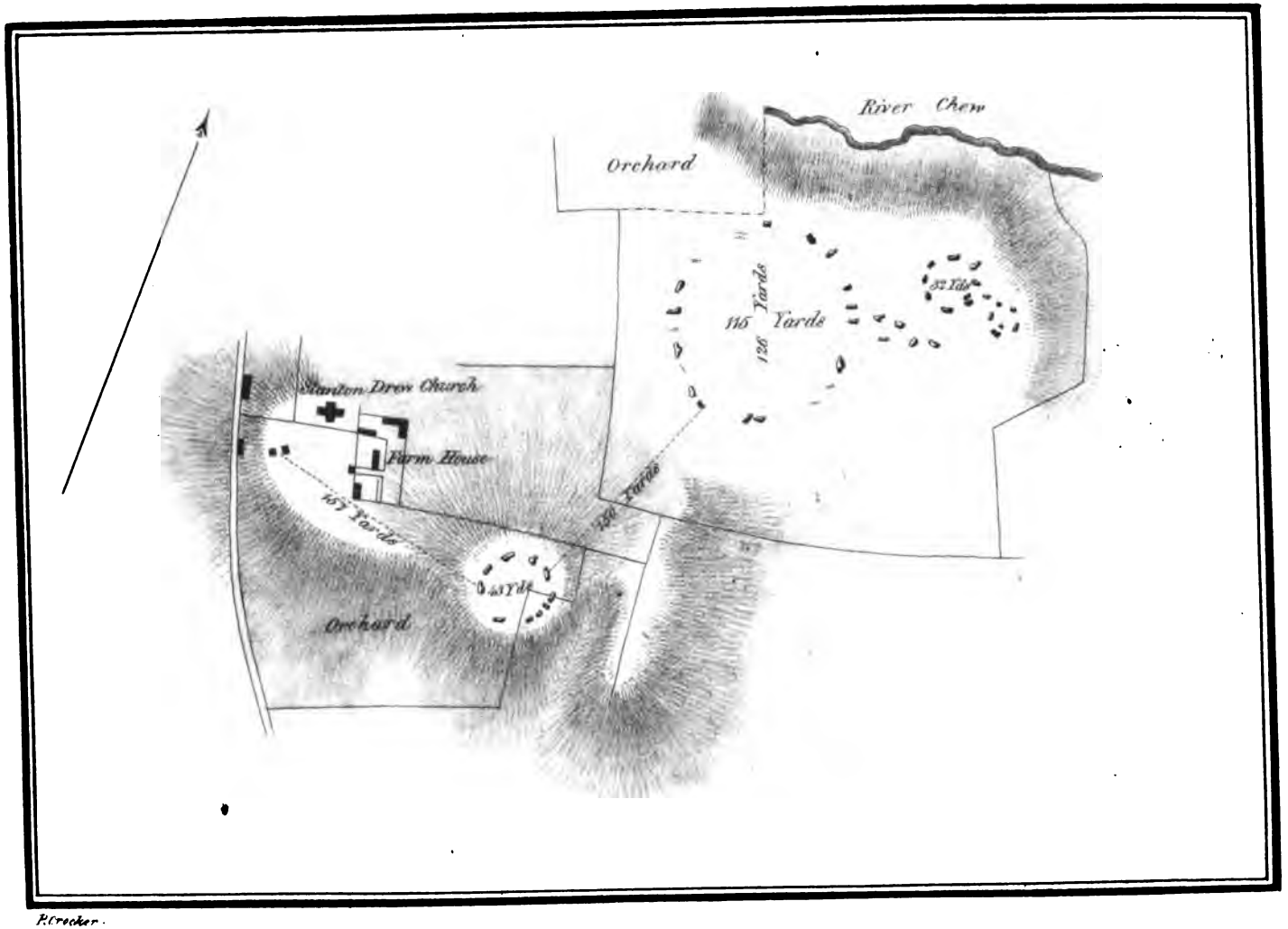
DRUIDICAL REMAINS.

These are few, but of an interesting character. The stupendous remains at the village of Stanton Drew, seven miles south of Bristol:—*Fairy's Toot*, four miles west of Stanton Drew, in the parish of Nempnet, near Broadfield Down; and the ancient sepulchre at *Littleton*, in the parish of Wellow, six miles south of Bath, may be recognised as connected with the Druids.

STANTON DREW.

The name of this interesting relic, sufficiently designates its character. STEIN, the Saxon word for stone, and *ton*, a town; the Stone town, to which is added *Drew*, in reference to its connection with the Druids.

These remains stand in a large field, a little to the north-east of the church of Stanton Drew, and consist of one circle of unwrought stones; and two lesser circles, not immediately connected with each other. These huge masses were supposed to have been brought from East Harptree, near the Mendip hills, where stones of a similar quality (a shelly chert, or conglomerate of calcareo-magnesian limestone) are to be found; but upon a more accurate examination of the strata of the vicinity, it seems they were raised near the spot on which they stand, from a stratum about six feet under the surface. The largest and smallest circle stand in a field called *Stone close*. The largest inclosure assumes the form of an oval, whose greatest diameter, from north to south, is one hundred and twenty-six yards; and its lesser, one hundred and fifteen yards from east to west. Fourteen stones are now visible;



P. Crocker.

STANTON DREW.

R. Martin, Lithog. 74, St. Martin's Lane, & 26, Long Acre.

five stand in their original position, and eleven are buried under the surface; their situation is to be seen in dry summers, by the russet appearance of the grass growing over them.

Various opinions have been entertained as to the exact number in the circle. Musgrave,[e] who wrote in 1718, states their number to have been thirty-two; but as the Druids were astronomers, and well acquainted with the annual and diurnal motion of the heavenly bodies, it is more than probable their number was thirty, corresponding with the number of days in the calendar month: by measuring the distances between those which are left standing, and comparing it with the whole circumference, thirty would complete the circle.

Mr. King, observes, "The circles at Stanton Drew, seem to have been designed for astronomical observations, and for superstitious rites conjointly."

The principal one here, forms, like Stonehenge, in reality a sort of ellipsis, and there are stones cautiously placed nearly on each side of the meridian; two at the one end, for an observer's index, and two at the other, as if designed for leading sights to direct to certain points in the heavens, equally distant, a little to the east and west of the south; and in like manner two to the east, and one on the west side for an index, as if to observe the rising of certain stars and planets. Within the circle is a great altar stone, as at Stonehenge, placed towards the east.[f] The stones are of various sizes, the largest measuring nine feet high, and twenty-two in circumference. By what mechanical power such immense masses of stone could have been brought to this place, and afterwards elevated into their present positions, or in those in which they originally stood, we are ignorant; yet it certainly proves that the ancient Britons had some contrivances unknown to us, of removing and elevating these ponderous masses to their present situations.[g]

The entrance to the larger circle is supposed to have been on the eastern side, opposite the rising sun, where two stones, eighteen feet asunder, appear to have stood. In advance of this opening, are five stones, evidently part of two rows arranged along the line of approach, similar to other temples of the Druids. On the north-east, at a distance of about forty yards, stands the second circle, composed of eight stones, forming an inclosure of thirty-two yards in diameter. These stones bear the marks of having been wrought, and are of large dimensions; four of them retain their original upright position; the others are lying on the ground. A similar avenue seems to have formed the entrance of this circle, of which seven stones remain.

[e] Musgrave's Belg. Antiq. vol. i. p. 207.

[f] Munimenta Antiqua, vol. i. p. 141.

[g] In Seyer's History of Bristol, there is an engraving of those that remain.

In an orchard adjoining the churchyard, on the south, and one hundred and fifty yards from the largest circle, is a third less perfect, though a sufficient number of stones remain to mark its position. This is called by Dr. Stukeley, a *Lunar* temple, probably from the circumstance of its being composed of the number of twelve stones. These are unhewn, rude, and irregular. The diameter of this circle is one hundred and twenty feet, and occupies the summit of a gentle elevation; the fragments of ten remain; some partially buried in the soil, and others wholly concealed beneath it. To the south-west of the church, are three stones of large dimensions heretofore placed upright, so as to form a recess of a square figure, and called the *Cove*, inclosing a space ten feet by eight. This is supposed to have been the *tribunal*, where the Druids sat and administered justice to all the neighbouring tribes: (see the vignette.) The period when these immense masses of stone were erected has been referred to different eras. The Druids have been recorded as their builders; and they existed prior to the coming in of the Saxons; having received from that people their present appellation. They have also been denominated a representation of the Pythagorean system, and their origin carried back to a period long antecedent to the birth of Pythagoras, who lived six hundred years before the birth of Christ.[h] Sir Richard Colt Hoare considers this work prior to the temple at Stonehenge; and one of the serpentine temples called *Dracontia*. "The plan of Stanton Drew," says the Rev. J. B. Deane, F.S.A., "is that of the *Ophite hierogram*, where two serpents emerge from the circle. A curious legend prevailed in the neighbourhood, which, agreeing with the numberless traditions of the same kind, wherever there was a serpent temple, amounts to a very strong presumptive proof that Stanton Drew was a Dracontium.

"St. Keyna, a holy virgin of the fifth century, is said to have obtained a grant of the land upon which the village of Keynsham now stands, from the prince of the country; who warned her, however, of the insecurity of the gift, in consequence of the serpents of a most deadly species which infested it. The saint, notwithstanding, accepted the grant, and undertook to remove the reptiles. She converted all of them into stones by her prayers!"[i]

These remains may be classed with Abury, in Wiltshire, from the rudeness of their execution, and bear a close resemblance to those at Carnac in Britanny.[k]

The Reverend Mr. Seyer, the learned author of the History of Bristol, who minutely investigated these remains, says: "It is almost certain that the village of Stanton Drew, was in some sense the seat of government of the Celtic tribe the Hædui, and that it was exclusively inhabited by the Druids."

[h] See Gent. Mag. vol. lv. p. 762.

[i] Archæologia, vol. xxv. p. 97.

[k] See memoir on Carnac by the Rev. John Eden, B. D. of Bristol.

FAIRY'S TOOT.

3. This singular and curious vestige of antiquity is situated about a quarter of a mile east of Butcomb church, on the declivity of some rising ground near Nempnet farm, in the parish of the same name. Its discovery was noticed by the Reverend Thomas Bere, rector of Butcomb, who made a drawing of it, and communicated the following account to the Gentleman's Magazine in the year 1789: "This barrow is from north to south one hundred and fifty feet, and from east to west seventy-five: this looks more like design and proportion, than the effect of chance. It has been known time immemorially by the name of Fairy's Toot, and considered the haunt of ghosts, goblins, and fairies. The waywarden of the parish being in want of stones for the repair of the adjacent roads, ordered his workmen to see what Fairy's Toot was made of. They accordingly commenced their labours at the southern extremity, and soon came to a stone with a considerable west inclination, and no doubt served as a door to the sepulchre, which, prior to Christianity (and subsequently in some instances), was the common mode of securing the entrance to these depositories. The stone being passed, an unmortared wall appeared on the left hand, and no doubt a similar one existed on the right. This wall was built of thin stone (a white lias), less in breadth and length than Cornish tile, but thicker. Its height was somewhat more than four feet, its thickness fourteen inches. Thirteen feet north from the entrance a perforated stone appeared inclining to the north about thirty degrees, and shutting up the avenue between the unmortared walls. Working round the east side of it, a cell presented itself, two feet three inches broad, four feet high, and nine feet long from north to south. Here we found a perfect skeleton; the scull with the teeth entire all round, and of the most delicate whiteness; it lay against the inside of the stone, the body having been deposited north and south.

"At the termination of the first sepulchre, the horizontal stones on the top of the avenue had fallen down. With some difficulty, and no little danger, I entered far enough to see by the light of a candle, two other catacombs, one on the right, and the other on the left side of the avenue, containing several human sculls, and other bones, but which, from the imminent hazard of being buried in the ruins of the surrounding masses, have not been opened. A lateral excavation was made, and an avenue, constructed of very large masses of stone, being a continuation of the central chamber, appeared. This was formed of three stones, two perpendicular and one horizontal. Three cells were here discernible, two on the west side, and one on the east; these had also human bones in them. The whole tumulus is covered with a thin stratum of earth, and overgrown with trees and bushes."

"If it be demanded," says the same writer, "who could have erected this monument, in so remote an age, and in so sequestered a spot, I can only answer, that the most rational conjecture I can offer is, that *Fairy's Toot* is the work of the Druids, and was the burial place belonging to the great temple at Stanton Drew."[l]

The whole tumulus is now (1835) nearly destroyed; a limekiln having been built on the spot, and the stones burnt into lime. An engraving of it is preserved in the Gentleman's Magazine.

LITTLETON SEPULCHRE.

4. This cemetery is similar in its construction, though less in size, with the preceding one, and was discovered at Littleton, in the parish of Wellow, near Bath. Sir Richard Colt Hoare, Bart. of Stourhead, first saw it in the year 1807. It continued little noticed till the year 1816, when the Baronet, with his friend the Reverend John Skinner of Camerton, (an adjoining parish,) again visited it, and its examination was undertaken by the latter gentleman. An opening was made in the roof, and the whole passage cleared out of the rubbish which had fallen into it; when he had the satisfaction to find the interior had suffered very little by the lapse of time. The following interesting account of this singular sepulchre was communicated to the Society of Antiquaries, by Sir Richard Colt Hoare, and published in the Archæologia,[m] illustrated with three large engravings of the interior. "This singular burying-place is of an oblong form, measuring one hundred and seven feet in length, fifty-four in breadth, and thirteen in height; having somewhat the appearance of a ship keel upwards. It stands on the side of a sloping field, called *Round hill Tining*, about three quarters of a mile to the south-west of Wellow church, and a short distance from *Stoney Littleton house*. The entrance to the tumulus faces the south-west; a large stone upwards of seven feet long, and three and a half wide, supported by two others, formed the lintel; leaving an aperture beneath, about four feet high, which led to a *cist*, or chamber, six feet long, five feet wide, and nearly as much in height. A straight passage conducts from thence to another cist, of nearly equal size, in the centre of the barrow. The length of this passage from the entrance, is forty-seven and a half feet; there are also six smaller cists or recesses facing each other, so as to form three transepts across the passage, and another at the extremity.

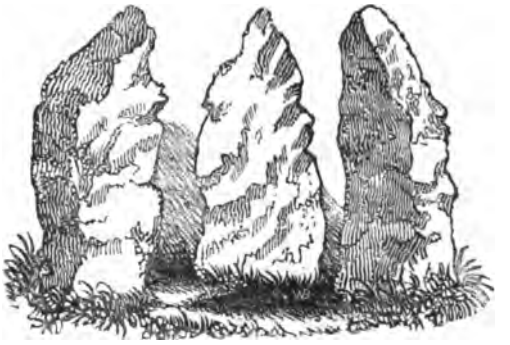
"The walls and roof, as well as the passages, are constructed of large stones, some six feet in width, and four in height; the uprights serving as supporters to the others laid across. There is no appearance of cement, or the marks of any tool

[l] Gent. Mag. vol. lix. p. 393.

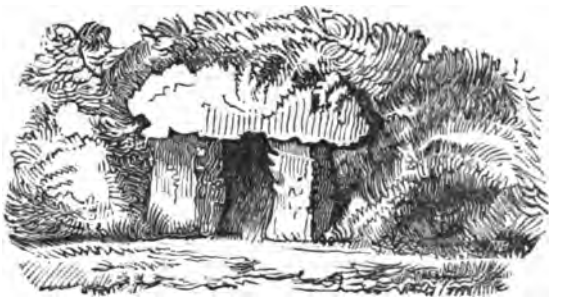
[m] Vol. xix. p. 43.

having been used to fit the sides of the uprights to each other. Each chamber might have contained from three to four bodies." (See vignette below.)

As the Britons, we are assured, had numerous settlements in this immediate neighbourhood, and occupied the country at a remote period, we may attribute this work to them; believing this burying-place was constructed by some of the earliest settlers in Britain, after the manner of the oldest sepulchres on record, namely, those of the Druids, and consequently before the Belgic invasion of Britain.



THE COVE AT STANTON DREW.



ENTRANCE TO LITTLETON SEPULCHRE.

CHAPTER II.

BELGIC-BRITISH PERIOD.

1. Roads or Ridgeways. One skirting the coast of the Bristol Channel and passing into the north of Devonshire and Cornwall.—2. A Trackway crossing the county from north-east to south-west; with a branch to Axmouth; and another to Neroche castle.—3. Ridgeways leading from Neroche castle: one towards the west to Cadbury in Devonshire; another to Axmouth on the south, and to the Bristol Channel on the north.—4. Barrows on Brown down: and concluding observations on the Roads in this district.

1. In investigating the remains of the early inhabitants of Britain, still existing in this county, a wide field is open to the researches of the antiquary. The numerous earthworks scattered on the highest mountains and hills; the lines of communication drawn from one post to another, called *ridgeways*, (many of which can even now be traced out,) all tend to confirm the opinion, that this part of Britain was the early and busy scene of the actions and occupations of the Britons. Soon after the Phœnicians had discovered this island, other lines of communication with the coast became necessary to facilitate the intercourse then established with these commercial people, and for the more easy conveyance of the produce of their mines to be shipped in the Phœnician vessels. "We must not, however," says that experienced topographer, Sir Richard Colt Hoare, Bart. "confound these ridgeways with the straight drawn causeways of the Romans, as their character is totally different; for the British trackways led chiefly over hills, where the inhabitants resided; whereas the Romans avoided hills as much as possible; and those who have investigated Roman roads, will be surprised to see with what judgment and ingenuity their engineers constructed them."

The principal ridgeways of the Britons in this county are: first, a road connected with the trackway which came from *Caer Glow* (Gloucester), and ran parallel with the river Severn to Clifton camp near St. Vincent's rocks on the Avon. It entered Somersetshire over a ford in that river, immediately opposite the ravine which divides the strong posts of Burwalls and Stokesleigh at the end of Leigh down in this county. The Avon was the boundary between the *Boduni* of Gloucestershire, and the *Hædui* of Somersetshire, and these forts were a guard to protect the passage of the river at this point. The road pursued a direct line along the summit of Leigh down, to a strong Belgic British intrenchment on the ridge of the hill above Tickenham, called *Cadbury camp;* where it was joined by a road

coming from Portshead at the mouth of the river Avon, and proceeded southerly across the vale to another Belgic-British post, of the same name above the village of Yatton; then crossing the marsh, it traversed the Mendip range, through an opening at Sandford, leaving *Banwell camp* on the right, and proceeded on the east of Winscombe through another pass, called Shutshelf, to Cross; thence over the river Axe to Brent Knoll; and across Brent marsh to Pawlet on the western extremity of Polden hill, where it joined a ridgeway, which was a branch of the road from Old Sarum (*Sorbiodunum)* to Uphill, and will be noticed hereafter. Here it passed the estuary *Uxella* (now reduced to the river Parret) to Combwich; thence it took the direction of the entrenched post on Cannington park hill, passing it on the north; and soon after becomes the line of turnpike road leading from Bridgewater to Stowey for a mile, to Kinthorn; it proceeded straight up the road to Marsh mills, and ascended by a vale on the south of Over Stowey to the top of the Quantock range, passing Dousborough camp on the right, and the elevated point of Wilsneck on the left, and descending across Crocombe Heathfield into the valley: it then ascended north of Willet hill, to Elworthy, and ran along the ridge of Brendon hill, accompanied on its line by barrows to the western extremity. Here it descended to the vale of the river Exe by Harepath (a sure indication of an ancient road), and after crossing the Exe at Exford, pursued its line over Exmoor into Devonshire, crossing Bratton down to Barnstaple, and thence to Bideford. From this last place it took the direction of Ditchen hill, near Clovelly, and passed on by Hartland into Cornwall, keeping along the ridge of hills to Redruth; and on approaching the Land's End, it made a curve to Falmouth *(Cenia)*, where it was joined by a trackway, which came along the southern coast of Britain to that place.

Dr. Borlase, the learned historian of Cornwall, observes:[a] "There are plain remains still to be seen at Stratton in Cornwall, where is a road about ten feet wide, called *Ridgeway*. This is sufficient to show, that the Belgic Britons had a way into the north of Cornwall; though now only discoverable in fragments;" and he adds, "whether this great road through Stratton comes from Exeter (or as I am more apt to imagine), into the north of Devonshire from Somersetshire, crossing the Exe above Bampton, I leave to other inquirers; but I think that the navigable rivers on which these two towns now stand, would abundantly justify the Britons, and after them the Romans, for bringing a public road so far north from Somersetshire; a way here being requisite for subduing this part of the island."

2. The next line of communication was a British trackway, which crossed the kingdom from north-east to south-west, from the shore of the Humber in Lin-

[a] Dr. Borlase's Antiq. of Cornwall, p. 337.

colnshire, to Axmouth on the English Channel in Devonshire. This road entered Somersetshire, at the Three Shire-stones, six miles north-east of Bath, about a mile west of Colerne in Wiltshire, and passed over Banner down to Elmhurst near Bath-easton, where the old road is now known by the name of Fosse lane, and passed at the foot of Sulisbury hill (on which is a Belgic British fort) to Bath. At this point it was joined by a trackway coming from the east; and which left it again at Walcot, taking the direction of Redland, near Bristol, and the Avon. This line became a Roman road when Julius Frontinus marched against the Silures, on the opposite shore of the Severn.

From Bath our trackway took a south-west direction, crossing the Avon immediately under the bold headland, called Beechen (or rather Beacon cliff,) by a ford, and ascended up Holloway, and under the declivity of the hill, on which Berwick camp (a Belgic-British work, adjoining Cottage crescent), is situated, passing it on the left. It then pursued its course along the summit of the hill in the direction of the Beacon on Mendip, which is in view from this spot. It soon crossed Wansdyke at a right angle near Odd down turnpike gate, and is the line of the present turnpike road for half a mile, to the top of the hill; where it pursues a direct course, marked by the present old road which descends to the Swan inn at the bottom of the hill. Here it crossed the valley, and ascended the opposite acclivity, passing on the summit a British earthwork, called *Oldbury* (now distinguished by a clump of firs planted within its vallum) on the left. It then ran along the ridge of high land between Wellow and Camerton to Radstoke, and about a mile beyond took again the line of the present turnpike road to Shepton Mallet and Wells, not perhaps in the regular manner in which we now find it, having been altered by the Romans, with whom it became the line of road called the Fosse.

The line is quite direct towards the Beacon; and before it approaches the range of Mendip, it passes a deep valley, or rather ravine, running parallel with the line of the hill at Nettlebridge. At a short distance on the right is a considerable Belgic British post, called *Blacker's hill camp*, to defend the valley. After passing across the deep vale, the road left the turnpike line, and proceeded in a straight course up the declivity of the hill to the *Beacon*, a most important post, commanding the intersection of two trackways which unite at this point, viz. the present road we are describing, and another coming from Old Sarum (*Sorbiodunum*), and taking its course westward through the mining district of Mendip, to a British settlement near Uphill; the latter became afterwards a Roman road, under which head we shall describe it more fully. The view from the Beacon is most extensive, having the greatest portion of the county within view: of which more hereafter. The road descended into the great vale of Somersetshire, leaving Shepton

Mallet a mile on the right, and took a direction to Ilchester (the *Caerpensavelcoit* of Ravennas), another station, where several British roads united, one from Dorchester and another from Glastonbury. Its course was south-west, passing the most extensive Belgic-British post on Hamdon hill on the left. It soon crossed the Parret, and divided into two branches at Watergore; one took the direction of Dinnington and Chillington, ascending Whitedown, near Wind-whistle inn, and proceeding directly by Tytherleigh to Streetford bridge over the Axe, and thence to Axminster. Here it crossed the great trackway, afterwards called *Ikeneld street*, leading along the south coast to Exeter. It then passed under the declivity of the hill, east of the river Axe to Musbury, leaving Musbury castle on the height above, and by a straight course to Axmouth, immediately under Hawksdown camp. Here was formerly a port and harbour, though now choked up with the alluvial deposit brought down by the river. Remains of vessels and anchors have been discovered buried in the soil; and Leland, who wrote in the time of Henry VIII., states that Axebridge was impassable at high tides. Another proof of the ancient importance of this place is, that it was required to supply two vessels with twenty men for the Royal navy, 20 Edward III. 1347; when Poole and Lyme furnished only four each. Iron is recorded to have been manufactured in the vicinity, which would necessarily attract the foreign merchant to this port. Returning to Petherton bridge, we pursue the line of communication between the extensive Belgic-British position on Hamdon hill and Neroche castle, another strong Belgic-British post situated on Blackdown hill. This road took the direction of Watergore, Hurcot, and Atherstone, crossing the river Ile at Silvench mill, proceeding by the road now called *Oldway*, to Ilton cads,[b] thence to Broadway, and over Broadway common up to the fort.

This stronghold was a centre point, with which most of the ancient roads in this quarter communicated. The line we have traced from the east, continued on towards the west over Blackdown, forming part of the boundary line between the counties of Somerset and Devonshire; and, extending onwards by the Wellington monument, to Down green and Colly ford, led to Uffculm. Half a mile from the latter place, it passed Cold Harbour (a sure indication of a British road), thence to Dane hill, Way mill, and Butterleigh, crossing the Exe at Bickleigh, and ran up to Cadbury castle, two miles beyond.

3. Another line of British trackway coming from the Bristol Channel near Minehead, crossed the western part of the kingdom, on which is situated Taunton, and literally passed through the post at Neroche. It then proceeded over Buckland down,

[b] This term *Cad*, indicates a stronghold.

making a curve near Combe beacon, to avoid the bog in Rush moor, and descended into the valley, crossing the rivulet at Betham; thence to Northay through Whitestanton, crossing the new turnpike road half a mile south of the village, where the line is now covered with plantations; thence over Baalay down (where the dorsum is distinctly visible), leaving Membury fort on the right; and along the summit of Smallridge hill by Brinscombe and Smallridge to Streetford, where it fell into the line from Petherton bridge to Axmouth.

A third trackway led from Neroche castle to Honiton, on the south; it ran along the brow of Buckland down and common, by Colly farm, passing Brown down about three quarters of a mile west of Keat's mills, and falling into a direct line of road, now concealed by plantations east of Traveller's Rest, in the parish of Yarcombe, in Devonshire. The new turnpike road from Taunton to Yarcombe, passes on the line to Littledown, and over Morwood's causeway, where it intersects the new road from Ilminster to Honiton. This was regularly paved, and was dug up about twenty years since, and the materials used in making the turnpike road. Near this spot is a similar causeway, but of more elaborate workmanship, carried across a bog called *Crow moor*—a tract impassable unless by artificial means. It is on the direct line of road from Neroche, a little on the north-west of Morwood's causeway, and extends about a quarter of a mile in length. This curious specimen of road-making (now destroyed) was about fifteen feet in breadth, and composed of large flint stones, with which the neighbourhood abounds, laid together in a compact form, having their flat sides uppermost, and resting on a deep stratum of gravel. The work presented the appearance of the streets in London, except the materials were of larger size; and at intervals of about six feet there was a cavity or channel across it, which caused the intermediate portions to assume the shape of low arches, and formed gutters to facilitate the drainage of the water. Whether this work was of Belgic-British or Roman origin, we can only conjecture. The road then took the same direction towards the south, passed a valley at a point called *Corry fortice*,[c] and ascended the hill, passing Stone barrow, which is on the boundary line between Devonshire and Dorsetshire; thence over Stockland down, leaving the Belgic-British post called *Bordhays* on the left, and fell in the trackway leading from Axminster to Honiton. There are in its course several fragments of paved road, similar to Morwood's causeway.

4. Returning to Traveller's Rest, we pursue the new turnpike road to Taunton, and soon pass the boundary of the county, now defined by the extensive and flou-

[c] *Corry* is the name of a brook which rises near this spot, and *fortice* is probably a corruption of the word fosse. Fortice gate is the name given to the point where this road leaves the Ikeneld at the end of Dalwood down.

rishing plantations of Sir T. Trayton Fuller Drake, Bart. and enter on the extensive waste called *Brown down*. The eye is immediately attracted by several barrows on the west of the road. Three are in a line with the road, and are called *Robin Hood's Butts;* but, how they acquired this appellation there is no tradition in the country. They are about a quarter of a mile apart, and sixty feet in diameter, and have been opened: one in 1818, when nothing was discovered but a heap of flints in the centre, without the appearance of an interment. The most western is a Bowl barrow. A road from Keat's mills here intersects the present line, and close to it is a large pool or pit, called *Sot's hole*. Half a mile further on, near the turnpike house at the end of the down, are five barrows in a line with the road, and adjoining each other, but no tradition is preserved as to their origin. This road, about a mile further on, falls into the trackway from Neroche, along the summit of Black down; and two miles on its line towards the west, is Noon's barrow, a large tumulus on West Buckland hill. Neroche camp is almost constantly in view, and also several Belgic-British posts on the hills in Devonshire and Dorsetshire. For a description of them we must refer the reader to a small but highly interesting work, recently published, by an intelligent antiquary, who resides in the neighbourhood of Axminster.[d] This gentleman has examined the numerous British, Belgic-British, and Roman remains in the district bordering upon Dorset, Devon, and Somersetshire; and from his observations, by which we were led to visit this interesting district, a considerable portion of the present description has been derived.

There can be no doubt as to the British origin of these roads and works; the numerous barrows to be found on their line, tend to corroborate that opinion. The lapse of so many ages, the inclosure of the country, and the little regard paid to these roads, unless where they formed communications between towns, and were practicable for the improved system of making roads, have in a great measure obliterated their vestiges, except where the Romans adopted them. The works, being of a more substantial and durable character, still retain their line, form, and materials, as we have seen in the account of Morwood's causeway.

The following extract from the work alluded to above, is too interesting to be omitted in this place: "The two forts of Musbury and Membury, which are in the vicinity of the town of Axminster, will call for our attention. These intrenchments form part of what has been termed a chain of forts, extending from the sea, a considerable distance within land, on the borders of Devonshire, Dorsetshire, and Somersetshire.

[d] "The British and Roman remains in the vicinity of Axminster," by James Davidson. J. B. Nichols and Son, London, 1833.

" An opinion has been advanced that they were erected by the Danmonii, as a frontier defence against the Morini of Dorsetshire; but, judging from a careful examination of the forms and position of the fortresses which command the valleys towards the west, and especially from the evident traces of trackways connecting them on the eastern sides, there is great reason to conclude, that they were rather constructed by the Morini, as barriers against the Danmonii and Belgæ; and that the division line between these tribes was formed by the Axe in the lower part of its course, and by the Yarty, which falls into it, up to its source near Neroche castle.

" Under this supposition, the forts which constituted the frontier defence of the Danmonii were Woodbury, Sidbury, Belbury, Blackbury, Hembury, Dumpdon, and Neroche: and those of the Morini, were Hawks-down (or as our author has it Hochsdon), Musbury, Membury, Lambert's castle, Pillesdon pen, and Hamdon hill." Of these, Neroche and Hamdon are in Somersetshire. Several forts of minor consequence are found on the less elevated summits, being outposts from the larger camps.

CISTVAEN ON DUNDRY HILL.

CHAPTER III.

1. Wansdyke, its history: description of its line through Wiltshire and Somersetshire, by Sir R. C. Hoare, Bart.—2. Camps on its line, Stantonbury; Maes knoll; Burwalls and Stokesleigh opposite Clifton.—3. Camps on the trackway towards the west. Cadbury; Portbury; Portshead; a second Cadbury; Dolebury; Dinghurst; and Brent knoll.

1. The next vestige of antiquity is the singular and extensive barrier called *Wansdyke*, which crossed the north-eastern angle of the county from Comb down, near Bath, to Leigh down near Bristol. For the following account of it, we are indebted to Sir Richard Colt Hoare, Bart. of Stourhead, who caused the whole line to be surveyed, and gave a plate of it in his "Ancient Wiltshire:"

COURSE OF WANSDYKE THROUGH WILTSHIRE.

"Of the several earthen works with which our county abounds, there is no one so remarkable as the Wansdyke. Some authors supposed its name to have been derived from Woden, and Dr. Stukeley derives it from the word *guahan, distinctio, separatio.* Its course pointed east and west; but the beginning and termination of it are equally uncertain. In the History of Ancient Wiltshire there is a plan of its entire course, as far as it could be satisfactorily ascertained, from which I have extracted that portion of it which relates to the counties of Wilts and Somerset.

"Mr. Collinson errs in saying that it commenced near Andover; for it never approached that place, nor could I ever discover it beyond Broadlane ditch, to the west of the village of Inkpen, in Hampshire: and pursuing its course westward, it is very visible near Prosperous farm, where it crosses the road between Salisbury and Hungerford. It then continues its course between Newton and Bird's-heath farms, where it meets another ditch steering south. It now becomes very visible, crosses the Kennet and Avon canal, and proceeds direct to Chisbury camp. From thence it appears to have passed through Park copse, and all traces of it are lost for some distance, and I only found a small fragment of it on a farm of the Marquess of Ailesbury's, south of Kembridge-house. It now enters Savernake forest, where no traces of it can be discovered through this great line of wood till we come to Ivy's farm, where it becomes very visible; and, after traversing Manton, Fox, and West woods, to Shaw farm, emerges from the copses, breaking cover, and continuing a long and uninterrupted course over St. Anne's, vulgarly called Tan hill, to Shepherd's shore, situated on the turnpike road, between Marlborough and Devizes.

Many ancient vestiges of camps, ditches, &c. are met with during this interesting ride, especially on the southern side of the agger, which has its ditch of defence always to the north. About halfway between Shaw farm and Shepherd's shore, we meet with a fine trackway pursuing its wayward course over the hills from north to south, of which there are two views in the 'History of Ancient Wiltshire.' From Shepherd's shore it ascends the open down to Morgan's hill, which is rendered interesting by its meeting the Roman road on that eminence. See plate in Ancient Wiltshire.

"This junction of the Belgic ditch with the Roman causeway, has caused much conjecture amongst antiquaries, their nature and appearance being so dissimilar—the Wansdyke forming continual angles, where they did not seem at all necessary; the Romans adhering strictly to a direct line, except where prevented by a hill. The general and most received opinion seems to be, that from this eminence, the Romans adopted the line of Wansdyke, as no continuation of the latter has ever been discovered towards the north. The Belgic agger and the Roman road now seem to follow the same track to Bath, to which city we must endeavour to trace it.

"The Wansdyke now quits the chalk hills, and descends into a rich and well cultivated vale, leaving Stockley on the right and Heddington on the left, till it reaches Wands-house, and the Roman station of Verlucio, from whence it continues its course westerly, and presents a fine appearance in Spy park—the agger is afterwards very apparent at Neston, the seat of Mr. Fuller, from whence it proceeds to Farley clump. But here we come to a check, and quit the county of Wilts.

"COURSE OF WANSDYKE THROUGH SOMERSETSHIRE.

"On descending from the high ground at Farleigh into the vale, the Wansdyke and Roman road part company; the latter pursuing its course to Aquæ Sulis (Bath), and the former pointing to the south; but we are left in a great state of uncertainty to know both *how* and *where* the dyke traversed the vale before it reached the great road leading from Bath to Frome. But in this interval we are led by existing circumstances to conjecture, that the Wansdyke passed over Claverton down, and the grounds adjoining Prior park, where there are several banks and ditches, but they do not correspond with the form of Wansdyke,[a] and might have been connected with the camp and great British settlement on Hampton downs, so that I fear we must leave this part of the line in a state of uncertainty.

"Having traversed the valley, we come to a public house (called the Cross-keys),

[a] Though these banks and ditches are far inferior in size to those of Wansdyke, yet they correspond in some degree, retaining the sinuous forms, and the ditch continues on the proper side towards the north.

on the road between Bath and Frome, where we again tread on certain ground; my friend Mr. Skinner has discovered traces of a bank and ditch diverging from this spot (southerly) towards Charter-house Hinton; but, from their direction, they never could have formed a part of Wansdyke.

"Opposite to the Cross-keys house the Wansdyke re-appears, with a stone wall upon it, and continues in a straight line across some arable fields, to the turnpike at Burnt-house. From hence it directs its course through Breach wood, where it is visible, to the picturesque and retired little village of Inglish Combe, once the residence of our Saxon kings, where, in its course towards Pensylvania, it is very apparent. Here we lose it for a short distance; but, having crossed the road leading to Marksbury, it re-appears in a very perfect state on Newton farm, leaving Newton park (the seat of W. Gore Langton, Esq.) on the right, and steering direct to Stantonbury camp.

"This was evidently one of the earthen works immediately on Wansdyke, placed on the summit of an elevated and insulated eminence, commanding on all sides an extensive and delightful prospect. Mr. Collinson states the contents within the area to be thirty acres. The northern side of this camp is nearly straight, and is formed by the bank and ditch of Wansdyke. The southern and western sides follow the natural shape of the ground to a certain distance; when the hill, which contracts itself towards the east in a narrow tongue of land, is intersected by a slight fosse. The easiest approach to this camp is on the northern side, over some rough and uneven ground covered with brush wood; and the precipitous nature of the hill on the southern and western declivities prevented the necessity of any strong ramparts.

"Quitting the camp at its western end, the dyke becomes very visible as far as the river Chew, which it traverses, leaving the village of Compton Dando a little on the left: it then points towards Knowl farm, from whence we could not trace its course westward till we came to a little brook, and a place called Cottles, near the road leading from Pensford to Bristol. From this spot it is very visible, ascending in a grand style to Maes Knoll camp, another fine earthen work attached to Wansdyke, which is very irregular in its shape, having been formed according to the nature of the hill on which it is situated. Its area presents a level surface of fine turf, depastured by herds of cattle. By a strong declivity of ground, nature has on three sides furnished sufficient means of defence; but on the western side, where the ground is more level, the defects of nature were remedied by a very strong agger of earth. Little recourse to art has been had in the formation of this camp; there is a ditch only on the east side, and an artificial outwork towards the west, where the entrances probably were placed. The hill in general seems only to have been sloped

down, in order to render the approach more steep. It is evident that the northern side of this camp was formed by the agger of Wansdyke, which entered it from the north-west, and quitted it in the opposite direction of south-east.

"We are now come to a point of land where we must quit the line of Wansdyke, and depend chiefly on conjecture, and must refer to the account given of its course by Mr. Collinson, who, in his History of Somersetshire, in Portbury Hundred, says, 'To this remote corner tends that egregious boundary of the Belgick warriors, called Wansdyke. Its course is directed hither from the ancient fortification of Maes Knoll, in the tything of Norton Hautville, whose lofty western rampart seems to have been a post of observation for all these parts; descending the hill, it crosses High-ridge common, where its track is still visible, and soon after thwarting the great western road between Bristol and Bridgewater, forms by its vallum a deep narrow lane, overhung with wood and briars, leading to Yanley street, in the parish of Long Ashton. From Yanley it traverses the meadows to a lane anciently denominated *Wondes-ditch Lane*, as appears from a deed, dated at Ashton, 3 Edw. II., wherein William Gondulph grants to Adam de Cloptone, a cottage with a piece of land adjoining to it, in Aystone *juxta* Bristoll, situated on the eastern side *Venelle de Wondesdich*. Here it traverses the Ashton road at Raynes Cross, and ascending the hill enters the hundred of Portbury, in the parish of Wraxall, and terminates at the ancient port of Portishead, on the Severn Sea.'

"Such was the account given by Mr. Collinson of the course of Wansdyke, at a period when more traces of it were visible than at present (1834), and being desirous of following his steps, I ordered Mr. P. Crocker, my land surveyor, to investigate the ground. He was accompanied by Mr. Abbot, steward to Sir Hugh Smith, of Ashton Court, but their researches were not very satisfactory. They reached the narrow lane before mentioned, now called *Deep Combe Lane*, and Mr. Crocker thought he could discover the ditch of Wansdyke in some parts of the lane.

"There is also a place called Yanleigh Street on this line; but we cannot speak with any certainty of the precise track of Wansdyke after its quitting the high ground at Maes knoll. But if Mr. Collinson's account is correct, we cannot attach the two camps on the river Avon, at Clifton, to the grand Belgic boundary.

"REMARKS ON WANSDYKE.

"On a frequent examination of this grand earthen work, my friend Mr. Leman considered it the work of two nations, the Belgic and the Saxon; and fortunately, before his death, this idea was confirmed in the most satisfactory manner, for on making a communication between two parts of the down on St. Anne's hill, the vallum of Wansdyke was cut in two—when the strata of soil evidently displayed the

height of the *original* dyke, and its subsequent elevation. (See the section and vignette at the end of this chapter.)

" I shall conclude my account of Wansdyke in the words of Dr. Stukeley, who says, ' Wansdyke was made by the people of the south, to cover their country, as the mode of it sufficiently testifies, and was the most northern boundary of the Belgic kingdom.' "

When the Romans obtained possession of this part of Britain, they would naturally avail themselves of this ready-formed entrenchment, which they strengthened: and it is probable Ostorius, when threatened with an irruption of the Silures across the Severn into his newly conquered territory, was induced to raise and render more secure this grand barrier.

Pursuing the course of Wansdyke, we meet with several small posts in Newton park, and on its line is

STANTON BURY.

2. This is a Belgic-British work, occupying the summit of a detached hill of moderate elevation, yet so situated as to be within view of Hampton and Maesknoll camps. The escarpment of the hill on three of its sides has been strengthened by a strong vallum, and Wansdyke forms the other side towards the east. The easiest approach to the area is from the north, through a road nearly concealed by bushes. The fosse was of considerable depth, but has been partially filled up, by the mouldering down of its sides. The inclosure contains about thirty acres, and some earthworks are visible on the east of it.

Following the line across the vale and river Chew, we are led to the strong and commanding position of

MAESKNOLL CAMP,[b]

standing on the projecting brow of the eastern extremity of Dundry ridge, a situation admirably calculated for observation and defence. The natural form of the hill contributed greatly to its strength. The ridge at this spot becomes contracted to a neck of land one hundred and thirty yards across, and then expands towards the south and east, so as to form an area of level ground of thirty acres in extent. This neck of land is protected by a deep fosse, with a huge agger three hundred and ninety feet long, and rising forty-five feet above the level of the inclosure; it is twenty-five feet broad, and slopes into the fosse with a steep declivity sixty feet long. The escarpment of the hill on the south and east sides is protected by earthworks,

[b] *Maes* detached, *knoll* a hill.

to strengthen the defences on those points, and Wansdyke runs along the northern side of the position, to which it was a post of observation and security. At each end of the western barrier, is an opening for the entrance into the camp. There is a fine spring of water within the lines, which rendered it a stronghold not easily to be subdued, if well garrisoned, and supplied with provisions.

The view from this point is most extensive, and forms a complete panorama of this part of the country.

The original Belgic-British camp was intended for a place of refuge and security, into which the Britons retreated upon any attack on their territory; taking with them their wives, children, herds, and flocks, together with their moveable property. We find them placed on the summits of mountains, and elevated points, where nature assisted their means of defence, and generally on a projecting tongue of land, where two vales united in one. On the tongue of land between their junction stood their stronghold, protected by the abrupt declivity of the vale on two sides; with the third secured by a strong vallum, consisting of a fosse and agger. These camps answer well to the descriptions of a town given by Julius Cæsar and Tacitus.

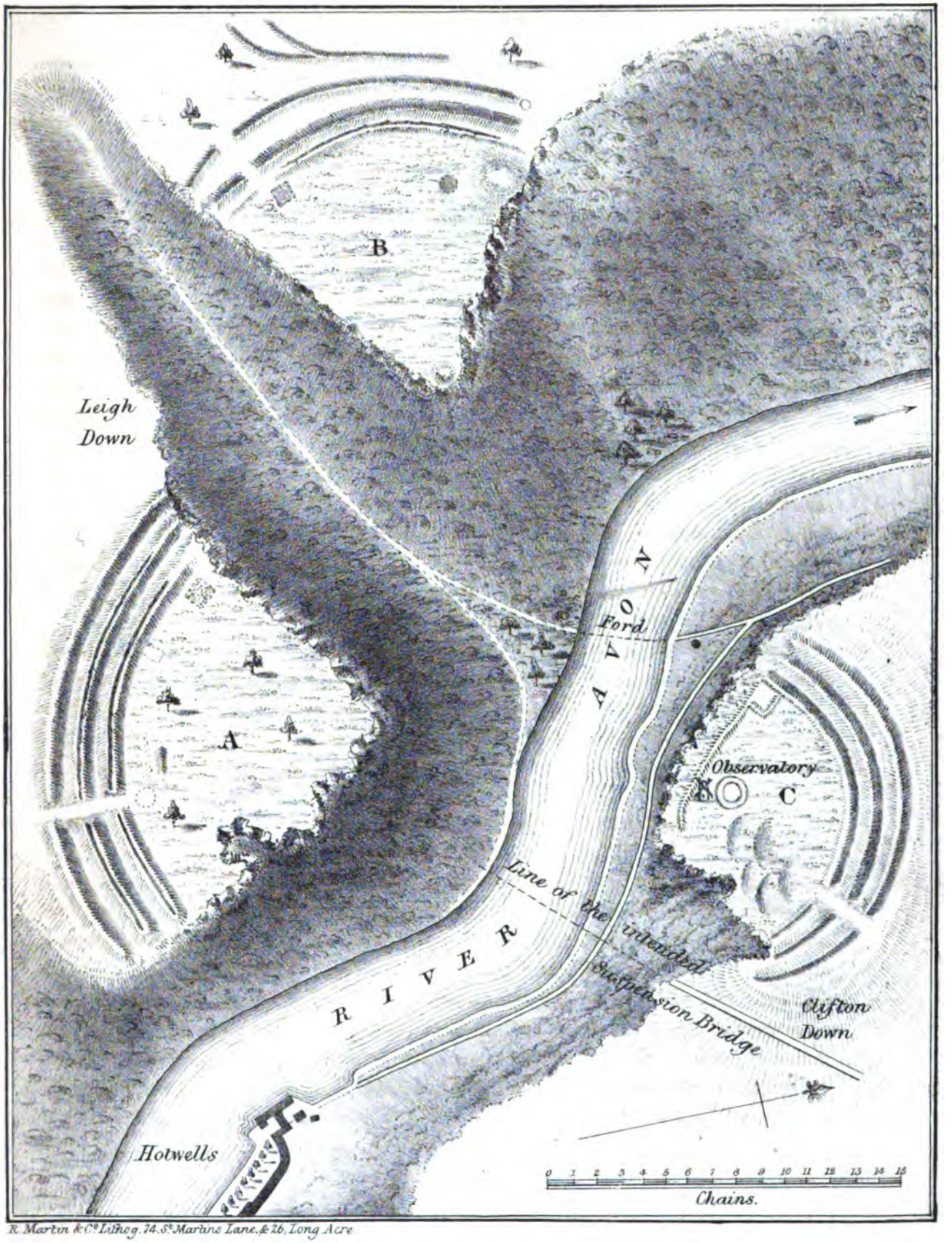
Near the supposed termination of Wansdyke, on Leigh down west of Clifton, are three camps of an early character, standing on the precipitous sides of St. Vincent's rocks, between which the river Avon flows (see Plate III.) Two of them, Burwalls and Stokesleigh, are on the Somersetshire side, and Clifton in Gloucestershire.

Along the southern vale of the Severn, beginning at the Somersetshire Avon, and extending forty miles in a north-easterly direction, may be traced a chain of ancient fortresses, so situated as to be capable of communicating with each other by signal. They are twenty-five in number. The first is on Clifton down, and occupies the whole eminence immediately over St. Vincent's rocks, the steepness of which is a sufficient defence to it on one side. Its dimensions from east to west about a hundred yards, and from north to south one hundred and seventy.[c]

BURWALLS CAMP

occupies the summit of the rocks, and is separated from Stokesleigh camp by a deep ravine, whose rocky sides are a defence to each. Burwalls camp (A) is on the south of the glen, of a triangular form; two of its sides are protected by the natural escarpment of the hill; the other, being on the level of the surrounding land, is defended by a vallum, consisting of a double fosse, and triple agger, which appears to have been raised by stones piled up on it, and cemented with pure lime, the work of a later period. The area within the vallum contains about seven acres, now overgrown with trees and bushes, which partly conceal its real form. It is intersected by several ridges of stone, which seem to convey an idea that buildings stood within

[c] Archæologia, vol. xix. p. 161.



R. Martin & Co. Lithog. 74. St. Martins Lane, & 26, Long Acre

CAMPS ON THE RIVER AVON.

its circumvallation. The principal entrance to this camp is from the south-west, through an opening in the rampart fifty feet wide. On passing this entrance, the ground rises, and the remains of a bank appear, thrown up no doubt for greater security to the entrance.

STOKESLEIGH CAMP.

This (B) stands on the opposite side of the ravine, and appears a counterpart to Burwalls in form and character. The area within the vallum contains about eight acres, and is free from wood, except the rampart, which is in some places overgrown with trees and bushes, yet not so thick as to prevent the view of the whole line. The fosse is deeper than the one at Burwalls, and further protected by an outwork in front.

At the entrance appear some ruins and foundations, which indicate that it was, subsequently to the Belgic-Britons, occupied either by the Romans or Saxons. A small outwork projects from it, towards the river, now used as a signal station. There is also a similar one in front of Burwalls, which stands near the spot where the *projected Chain Bridge* is to be thrown over the river. Within the area the soil is black, though the natural colour of the surrounding land is red, a circumstance which Sir R. C. Hoare considers, when it occurs in Wiltshire, to indicate that a British settlement has been on the spot.

Through the middle of the glen below may be traced the remains of an ancient road, carried on an elevated ridge about three feet high and eighteen feet broad, and leading down to the river, where was a ford, in ancient times, passable at low water. This ford was on a ledge of rock, stretching across the channel of the river; and so late as 1480 was considered as dangerous to the navigation. It was then partially removed; but even at the present time, when there is little water in the river, a ripple is discernible over the site of the ford on the rocks.[d] These camps seem to have been formed more with a view of observation than defence, and were intended, no doubt, to prevent the Boduni or Hædui from entering each other's territory, unperceived.

Connected in some degree with the ancient barrier of Wansdyke, are two cities, *Caer Odor*, the city of the chasm (Clifton), and *Caer Badun* (Bath), twelve miles distant from each other, with a line of communication between them (on the side of the Boduni), afterwards adopted by the Romans, and called by them the *Via Julia*. The locality of these two cities afforded advantages of no ordinary character to a rude and half civilised people. Their proximity to the great mining district, the Mendip hills, was, we may presume, another cause that the Belgic-Britons made these towns their chief abode.

[d] MSS. Aubrey, in the Bodleian library.

2 From these towns we find lines of communication, leading in different directions, accompanied with tumuli and earthworks. At Clifton (*Caer Odor)*, we find a British trackway coming from Gloucester *(Caer Glow)*, and following the course of the Severn; after crossing the Avon, by the ford abovementioned, it entered this county, and passed up the defile between the two camps of Burwalls and Stokesleigh, to the summit of Leigh down, and proceeded westerly to the stronghold of

CADBURY CAMP.[e]

This is a Belgic-British work, and stands on the summit of the ridge, forming a knoll, occupied by the inclosure, on the north of the village of Tickenham. It is of an oblong form, containing about four acres, surrounded by a triple agger, and double fosse. The vallum rises ten feet above the level of the area, and has an entrance from the north-east, on the line of the trackway from Burwalls, which is defended by a curve of the inner agger twenty feet in length, extending in front of the entrance, which it completely covers. This post commands a full view of the mouth of the Avon and Portshead, where was the *Trajectus* across the Severn; and a line of road is discoverable communicating with Portbury, and thence to the port on the river.

PORTBURY CAMP

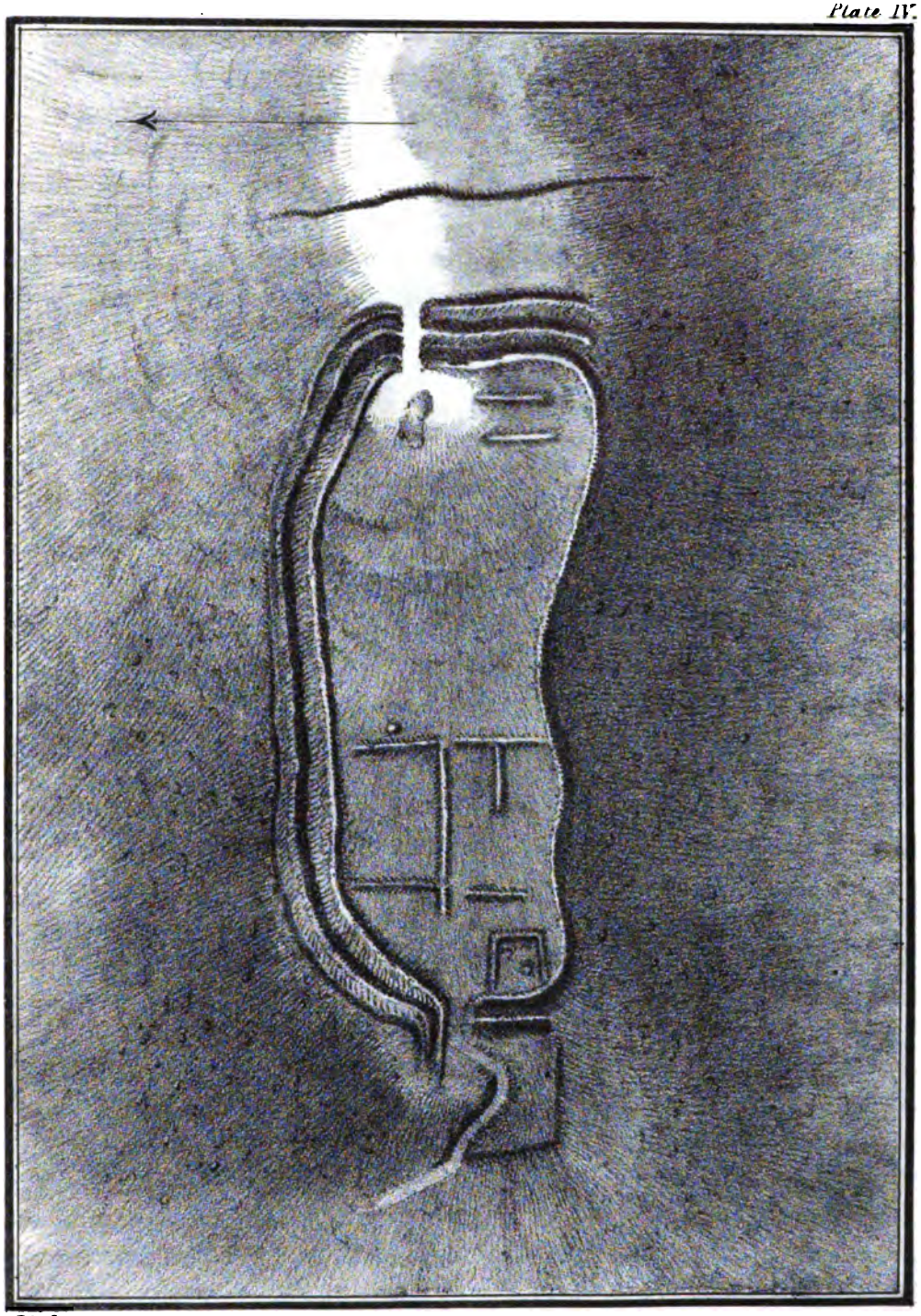
is a small Belgic-British post, situated on the brow of the hill overlooking the road which passed to Cadbury camp. Its area is about an acre and a half, with a vallum about three feet high, to strengthen the bold escarpment of the hill.

PORTSHEAD CAMP.

This Belgic-British post is situated on the northern declivity of the headland, known by the name of *Portshead point*, and commands the roadstead at the entrance of the river Avon (called Kingroad, from the circumstance of the landing of King William III. in A. D. 1690.) It contains an area of sixteen acres, inclosed by a vallum consisting of an agger of loose stones, hitherto concealed by the thick underwood which covered the hill. The improvements made by the Corporation of Bristol on the spot, has laid open this relic of antiquity, which shews us how carefully the British tribes guarded the approaches to their territory. The present low lands between this point and Leigh down, must have been at that early period an estuary of the Severn, and a sufficient barrier to the next posts on the river at Burwalls, and Stokesleigh camps.

The road from Cadbury proceeded towards the south across the vale to the next post, of the same name, situated on the extreme point of the high land of Broadfield down, about half a mile east of Yatton. Its line was through Nailsea and Cla-

[e] Cadbury is a name frequently met with in this county, and is derived from *Cad*, a stronghold, and *burg*, a hill.



P. Crocker.

DOLEBURY.

R. Martin, Lithog. 74, St. Martins Lane, N. 26, Long Acre.

verham, where traces of a direct road to Cadbury may be discovered. This is another post of the same character, and no doubt formed by the same people, as its namesake on Tickenham hill. The position is strong by nature, having a rocky escarpment on the south, west, and north sides. The entrance is from the high land on the east, where a strong vallum drawn across the neck of land, which connects it with the hill above, secures it from approach on that side. The area is about twelve acres, and commands a view of the vales on each side, and of the camps on the surrounding heights. The road across the vale towards the south is nearly obliterated by the inclosures; yet we can occasionally trace it in the direction of Sandford hill, passing near Honey hall, and Churchill green to Sandford, where is a pass through the chain of the Mendip hills to the great Brent marsh. Here we have three British camps, near each other. The first is the fine specimen of Belgic-British castrametation, called

DOLEBURY CAMP.

This interesting relic of the ancient Britons, stands on a bold projecting tongue of the hill formed by a ravine caused by some convulsion of nature, which has torn asunder the stratification of the hill, and thrown it up in a perpendicular direction, leaving the deep dell, which now remains between the camp and Roborough church. Three of its sides are protected by the steep declivity of the hill, strengthened by a huge vallum of loose stones piled up on the west, north, and east sides, with a fosse from sixteen to twenty-five feet deep on the outside. These stones have preserved their position during a period of two thousand years. The annexed engraving (Plate IV.) will convey an idea of its form. There are two entrances, one on the north-east angle, on a level with the ridge of the hill, and another on the west, with a pathway leading down the steep declivity of the ravine.

Just within the north-eastern entrance into the area, was a mound supposed to have been the site of a watch tower. On this exposed point, the humble dwelling of the keeper of the adjoining rabbit warren stood for many years, and its ruins still mark the spot. On the south of this are two long barrows, under which were deposited the remains of some departed British chieftains. On the western side are slight traces of square divisions, which indicate that the Romans held possession of this stronghold, and confined their works to this part of the inclosure, which contains in the whole upwards of twenty acres. Its form an oblong, about five hundred and forty yards in length, and two hundred and twenty in breadth. It has been stated that "iron ore has been dug near it, and iron made." No remains, however, of ancient smelting works have been discovered. The mines of lead ore and lapis calaminaris are close adjoining, and the Romans probably kept troops here to protect them. Leland mentions this place, and has handed down the following distich :

"If Dolebyri dyggyd ware,
Of golde shuld be the share."

Coins and warlike instruments of the Romans and Saxons, have been found within the area.

On the west of this camp, across the defile, is a small post called

DINGHURST,

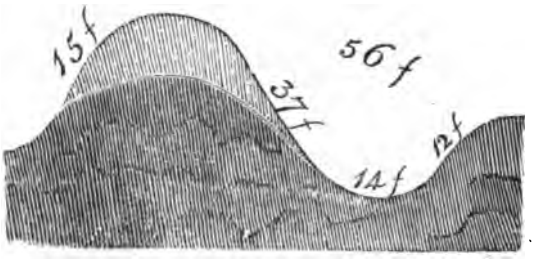
evidently of Belgic-British work, surrounded by a vallum, having a double agger and fosse; and was most probably an outwork to defend the pass below. Rings, weapons, and bones have been found within its ramparts. Returning to the road at Sandford, we pursue its line southward, leaving the fine large entrenchment on Banwell park hill, half a mile on the right; and soon after the road intersects the *Via ad Axium*, near Slough pit, and proceeds direct to the pass in the hill east of Winscombe church, called *Shutshelf*, where the traces are distinctly visible on the right of the turnpike road leading down to Cross. It soon after passes by a causeway, to Lower Weare, where it crosses the river Axe; and turns to the south-west, in a direct line to

BRENT KNOLL.

This is a large conical hill rising abruptly from Brent marsh to the height of eight hundred feet above the level of the sea. On its summit is a strongly entrenched camp, or post of observation, of Belgic-British character, inclosing an area of five acres; having a fosse and agger.

It is three miles distant from the shore of the Bristol channel, and commands a full view of the estuary of the Parret, Bridgwater bay, and the Bristol channel.

The road passed on the east side of the hill, in a southerly direction, and crossed the river Brue, at Highbridge, taking the line to the rising land at Pawlet; where the ridgeway, which came from the Merehead and Glastonbury, along the Polden ridge to Downend, described at page 111, joined it.



SECTION OF WANSDYKE,
shewing it to have been the work of two distinct people.

CHAPTER IV.

1. Caer Badun: Hampton down: Sulisbury hill: works on Lansdown: North Stoke camp.—2. Posts on the line of the Fosse: Berwick: Oldbury: Blacker's hill: Tedbury, Wadbury, and Newbury camps.—3. The Beacon on Mendip. 4. Road from Old Sarum to Uphill: Gaer hill: Merehead: Maesbury castle: Banwell camp: Earth works at Uphill, Bleadon and on Brean down: Worlebury hill and Weston camp.

1. We continue our survey of the Belgic-British camps, with the station *Caer Badun*, Bath, or more properly the settlement on the summit of Hampton Down. As no description can give an adequate idea of this important place, a map is subjoined, to elucidate its relative position connected with the vale of the Avon, which opens a passage into the interior, through a deep and winding defile between the hills. The situation chosen for the town, Badun, in the vale, after the country became tranquillized, was most appropriate, before the introduction of artillery.

A deep river washed two of its sides, and afforded much security to the inhabitants. Whether the Britons appreciated the hot springs which rose on the spot, we have no means of ascertaining. The Romans, however, when they became possessed of this part of Britain, soon turned them to advantage, as we shall have occasion to notice hereafter.

From the position of the various earthworks, we see how strongly the Britons had fortified this post and its approaches, on the different trackways, so as to render this frontier town, between the Boduni and Hædui, more secure. It was situated near the great barrier, Wansdyke, and further protected by outposts on Beechen hill and Berwick camp on the south side of the river, and in front of Sulisbury camp with earthworks on Sion hill and Lansdown on the opposite side. See Plate V.

HAMPTON CAMP

stands on the bold projecting point of Hampton down, one mile south east of the city of Bath, which, from the traces still discoverable, was a British town, similar to those we have described in a former chapter. Its area is thirty acres, part sloping off towards the north, and of an irregular form, from the nature of the ground on three of its sides; which are very steep, covered with wood, and required little additional defence. On the side level with the hill, a strong vallum extended across the neck of land between the two vales, and afforded security. Several trackways led to

it; one from the east passed over a ford in the river at Bath ford, guarded by an earthwork, and led up to the camp; others may be traced coming from different directions. Two circular tumuli stand near the southern vallum, and two lines of long barrows are seen on the north side of the inclosure. Numerous lines apparent on the surface of the ground, indicate foundations of huts and buildings. Several trackways communicated with it. One from the south east, over the river, guarded also by an outpost; another descended on the west to Badun, (Bath,) and others led towards the south.

The annexed map shews the Belgic-British works on the hill, and the subsequent lines of road formed by the Romans, to communicate with their station at Bath.

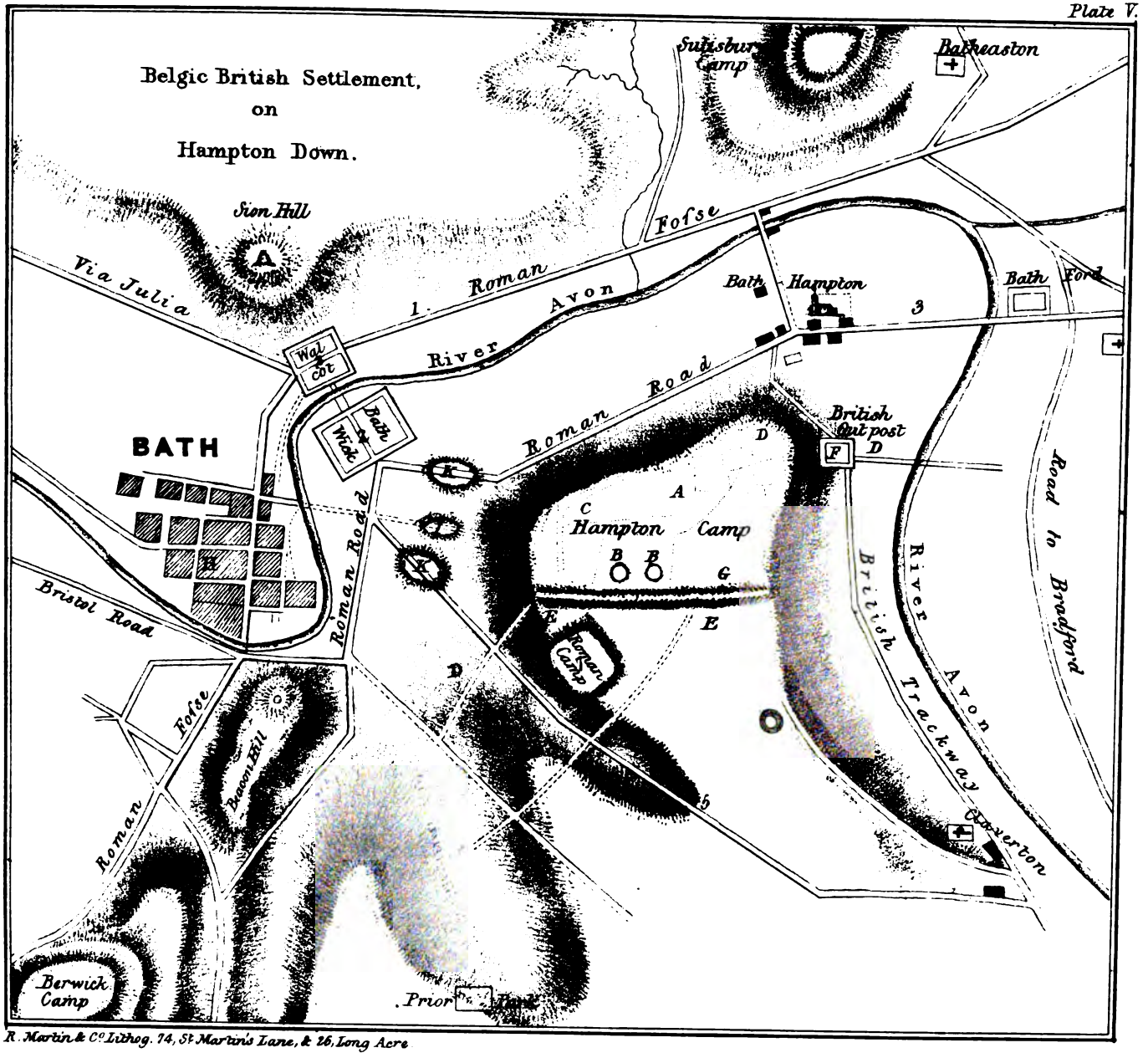
REFERENCE TO THE MAP.

A. Belgic British settlement.
B. Circular tumuli.
C C. Two lines of long barrows.
D D. British trackways.
E E. Outer agger.
F. British post.
G G G. Aggers and banks to protect the hill.
H. Old Badun (Bath.)
I. British cemetery.
K. Roman cemetery.

1. Roman Fosse road.
2. Roman forts.
3. Roman road to Cunetio.
4. Via Julia.
5. Vicinal road to Claverton.
6. Vicinal road to Comb down.
7. Roman camp.

SULISBURY CAMP.

This bold and commanding post occupies the triangular summit of an isolated hill, standing out from the adjoining high lands in Gloucestershire, and divided from them by a deep defile, which encompasses three of its sides; on the fourth, towards the south, the river Avon, skirted by luxuriant meadows, flows at the base of the hill. The British trackway, afterwards the Roman fosse, runs between the river and the foot of the hill, which it defended. The summit is nearly level, and is



R. Martin & Co. Lithog. 74, St. Martin's Lane, & 26, Long Acre

surrounded by a vallum cut out of the escarpment of the hill, having an agger rising but little above the area, which contains between twenty and thirty acres. The entrance is from the west, through an opening in the vallum, protected by an outwork, adjoining the great camp, and a curve in the agger which covers the approach into the area Opposite to this point are some long barrows. On the south-eastern side, above Batheaston, is a second entrance, communicating with a vicinal way leading from the road below. The northern side of the camp is the most elevated, and flat stones, placed edgeways, were seen on the agger; but these, with a large portion of the vallum, have been removed for repairing the roads. The view from the summit is extensive; on the east, the range of hills in North Wiltshire are in sight, with the camps on their line; on the south, Long Knoll and Alfred's tower are in view; and on the south-west, the range of Mendip, with the elevated points of Downhead, the Beacon, Maesbury castle, Pen-hill, and Black down, are distinctly visible; whilst Berwick and Hampton camps are immediately in front. On the north, the high land of Gloucestershire intercepts the view. A signal made at the Beacon on Mendip, or at Bratton camp, on the Wiltshire downs, would immediately apprize the inhabitants of Caer Badun (Bath) of any danger to be apprehended coming from the south coast.

The area is under regular cultivation as a common field, divided among the inhabitants of Batheaston.

On Sion hill were earth-works now obliterated by buildings, and also on Lansdown, near the village of Weston. On the hill above North Stoke, is a considerable camp, including sixteen acres, having within it a Roman work. These positions were occupied by the Boduni, as frontier defences in this quarter. Immediately behind North Stoke camp are traces of a British settlement and of a Roman work, one hundred and fifty yards in length.

2. We now pursue the Belgic-British road mentioned at page 86, afterwards known by the name of the Fosse, and shall describe the camps on its line. Ascending the hill through Holloway, under the abrupt declivity of Beechen cliff, a small earth-work is discoverable on the height above. We next come to

BERWICK CAMP.

This is the first post on the line of Trackway, after passing the Avon at Bath, and is distant one mile and a half from the city; occupying the bold summit of a projecting point of the hill, adjoining Cottage Crescent, and between the two roads leading to Wells. It is surrounded by a strong vallum, and commands the passes from the vale into the surrounding country, having in view Sulisbury camp. Half a mile on the south, the road crosses Wansdyke at Odd Down turnpike gate, and

proceeds in a direct line for half a mile, (over which the turnpike road passes,) keeping a strait course down the hill, crossing the canal near the inn into the valley. It then ascends through an obscure lane up the opposite declivity, and becomes, near the summit of the hill, the line of turnpike road. On the left is a clump of firs planted within a considerable entrenchment, called

OLDBURY CAMP,

containing an area of six acres.

As the road approaches the mining district, we find camps become more numerous; evidently designed to guard the treasures in that quarter. About a mile on the south-west of Stratton on the Fosse, is a strong Belgic-British post called

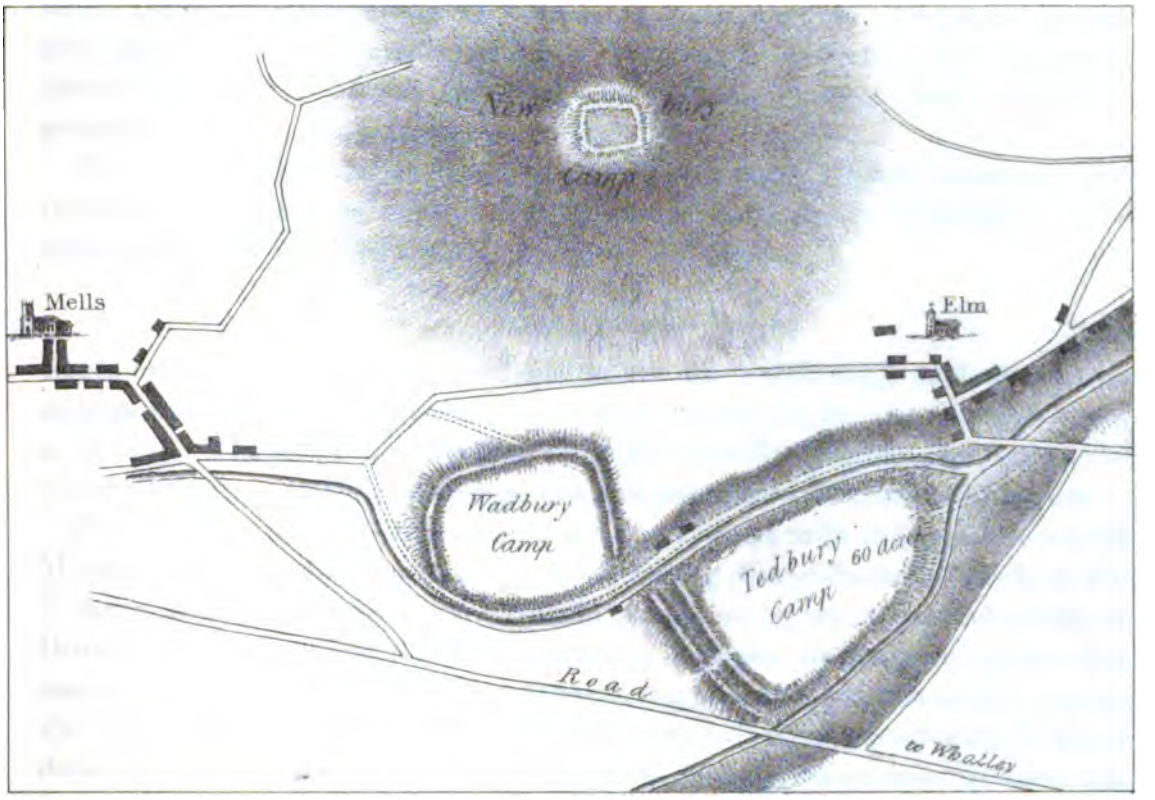
BLACKER'S HILL CAMP,

situated on a point of land at the junction of two small vallies which here form a deep defile, running parallel with the Mendip range, towards the village of Mells. This has the same character as those we have already described; two of its sides are protected by the natural escarpment of the hill, and the third by a double agger and fosse, in good preservation. The area is about fifteen acres, and commands the three vales, so that no enemy could steal up undiscovered. At the southern extremity of the inclosure is a deep fissure in the rock, called Fairy slatts, supposed to have been a place of concealment; and near it, a pass down to the stream which flows from Lechmere water, or Emborough pond, and runs down the valley to the east.

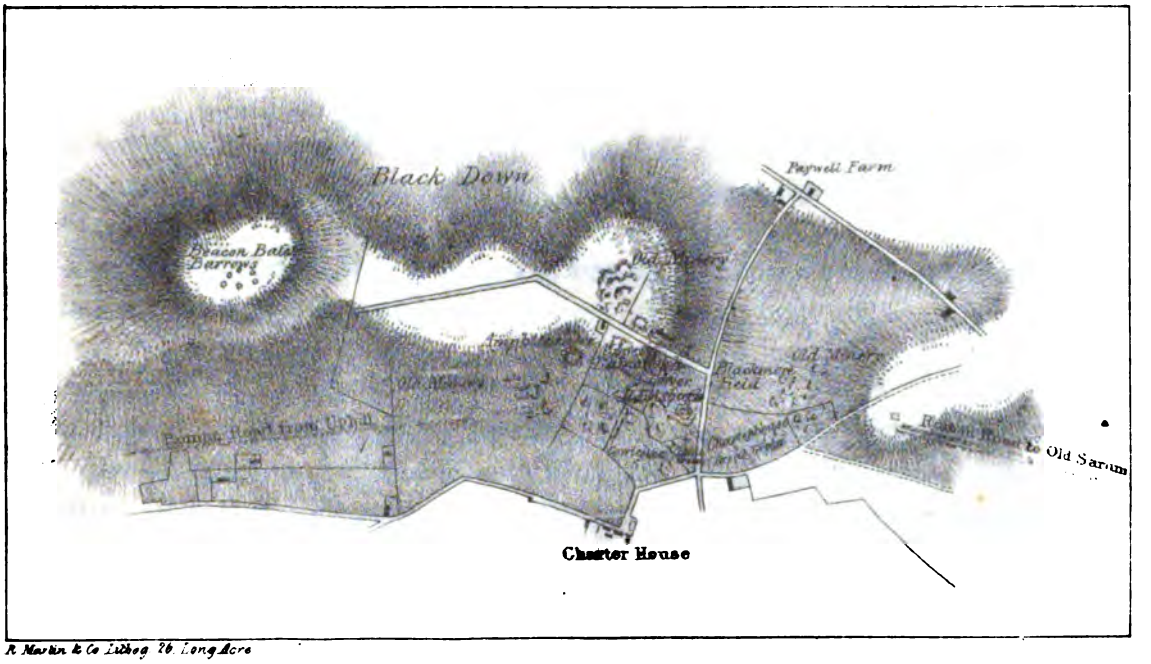
Three miles on the east of the road beyond the village of Mells, are two camps of an early character, and situated on the same valley as the one we have mentioned above. These were, no doubt, a continuation of the line of defence to the mining district; they are called Tedbury and Wadbury camps, and their relative position will be best seen by referring to the annexed sketch.

TEDBURY CAMP.

This extensive and strong position stands on a triangular point of land, between two ravines, which unite at the eastern angle, and are the effect of some great convulsion, which has torn asunder the limestone formation, and caused these abrupt defiles. Two of its sides bordering on the ravine, are sufficiently strong by nature; the third, or western, being level with the adjoining land, is protected by a strong vallum, two hundred yards in length, extending from one defile to the other. It has a double fosse and agger, of considerable height, now overgrown with trees and bushes. One part is more elevated than the rest, and was most probably a



CAMPS AT TEDBURY, WADBURY, AND NEWBURY, NEAR MELLS.



R. Martin & Co. Lithog. 26 Long Acre

ROMAN STATION AT CHARTERHOUSE

watch tower, to communicate with other camps on Mendip. The area contains sixty acres, now under arable culture. This must have been a most important stronghold, from its extent, and capable of accommodating a large number of persons, with their herds and flocks.

There have been found at this place querns, remains of British implements and instruments of war, also coins of the Roman emperors, clearly indicating that the Romans also had occupied this camp.

WADBURY CAMP

stands on the opposite side of the defile, at the north-west angle of Tedbury, and appears to have been an out-post of the larger camp, as its area contains seven acres only. The rocky escarpment of the defile secured two of its sides, and earth-works the others, which were strong, and now overgrown with trees and bushes.

The situations of these strong posts, and many others to be found on the east of Mendip, were evidently chosen to cover the mining district from the attack of the Romans, whose chief object was to obtain possession of the mines and metals of Britain; in fact, we find the Roman generals directing their march towards this part of the country, and pressing forward with the utmost expedition to this quarter. The Belgic-Britons, aware of their design, fortified all the approaches which led to their mineral treasures; and among these posts we may reckon those we have just described.

On the summit of a considerable eminence north of the above, is a square entrenchment, most probably an original Roman work, as a post of observation, and is called

NEWBURY CAMP.

It stands on an elevated knoll, one mile north of Wadbury, and was intended as a speculum over the country round. It is now planted with fir trees, which conceal the trenches.

The next important British post, and one of the most elevated and conspicuous points in the county, except Dunkry, is

THE BEACON ON MENDIP.

3. This is an ancient tumulus, standing on the summit of the highest ridge of the Mendip range, and was equally visible from the north and south parts of the county. It is now distinguished by a clump of fir trees, which have been planted over and around its area. Previous to this Belgic-British work being concealed by the plantations, it was a point distinctly marked in the outline of the hill. In the midst of the grove which now covers the summit of the inclosure of the camp, is a

tumulus twelve feet high, and on it an upright stone six feet in height. The number of tumuli in the immediate vicinity, indicate it to have been a place of consequence in early British times; and doubtless the whole ridge on which it stands, was the Dunum, occupied by some British chieftain, under the authority of the kings of the Belgæ.

The Romans possessed this post when they settled in the neighbourhood, among the conquered people, in order, no doubt, to employ them in the working of the mines, and other laborious occupations. Numerous fragments of Roman pottery have been found on this spot. Around are several barrows, one of which was opened by the Rev. John Skinner, in 1820, when an urn of the coarsest kind of unbaked clay, with the usual zigzag ornament near the rim, and half filled with burnt bones, was found, but no weapon or beads. It fell to pieces on being taken up. The size of it was about sixteen inches in height, and twelve inches across the mouth. (See vignette, chap. v.)

The situation of this most important and conspicuous post is at the intersection of two British roads, each afterwards adopted by the Romans. As a watch tower, its position is superior to most in the country. Its elevation affords a full view of nearly all the most prominent British camps in Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, and Somersetshire; so that signals made on the coast of the Bristol or English channels, could be repeated instantly, and communicated into the interior of the country, on any occasion of alarm, endangering the tranquillity and safety of the inhabitants. The view around is a complete panorama, exceeded only in extent of horizon by the more elevated prospect, as seen from the top of Dunkry Beacon, south of Porlock.

We shall describe a few of the most prominent features of this magnificent landscape, which will amply repay the trouble of a visit to this spot, under a clear atmosphere, and at an elevation of eleven hundred feet above the level of the sea.

On the north, Dundry, Maesknoll, Lansdown near Bath, and the distant mountains in Wales, are distinctly to be seen, with various lesser elevations in the intermediate country. On the east, Postlebury, Caer hill, with Bratton camp, Long Knoll in Wiltshire, and other distant points, appear in the horizon. On the south-east and south, Smaldon camp, Creech hill, Cadbury or Camalet, and the Corton range, with the lofty ridges of Pillesdon, Lewesdon, and Lambert's castle in Dorsetshire. In the south-west are the Hood, Pynsent, and Wellington columns, backed by the distant range of Black down, which is seen in profile. In the western horizon are the Quantock hills, and beyond the highest land in the county, Dunkry Beacon, and the circumjacent mountains, with the Bristol channel in the distance. In the vale, Brent Knoll, Glastonbury Tor, and Montacute, appear

under the eye; and immediately below, the venerable cathedral and city of Wells, and the town of Shepton Mallet, with Maesbury castle, which occupies the western point of the ridge, two miles distant.

4. We here notice another ancient Belgic-British road, afterwards used by the Romans, to which Sir R. C. Hoare has given the name of *Via ad Axium*. This we shall describe under the head of Roman roads; but, as it is connected with the Belgic-Britons, we must refer to it in this place.

It enters the county, as we have before stated, at Caer hill, two miles north of Alfred's tower, near which is a tumulus called Jack's castle, and was generally considered as one of the beacons which formed a line of communication through the country. It was, however, found to be a British barrow, and was opened by the proprietor of the domain in which it stands. It contained an interment; the burnt bones were inclosed in a cist, and with them were found a small spear-head of brass, and a stone axe nicely formed. The name of Selwood barrow was conferred upon it by the worthy baronet who opened it. Another branch of road seems to have passed Alfred's tower, leading through the vale to Ilchester, and connected with the road at Caer hill, to which we now return. This line takes a direction to Postlebury wood, where there are earthworks; and thence to Merehead, near Leighton, where it divides, throwing off a branch to the south-west, to which we shall revert hereafter. On the height above is a Belgic-British post called Merehead camp, situated at the southern extremity of a ravine which intersects the ridge of Mendip, where the limestone seems torn asunder, and an outlet made for the waters of Cranmere, heretofore, according to tradition, a lake. The form of this camp is triangular, and is situated at the point of the opening above mentioned, having a vallum on the east of considerable strength. The area is about six acres. (See vignette at the end of this chapter.)

We may here make a few observations on the skill and accuracy displayed by the Britons in laying out their lines of communication through the country. The road we are describing, follows the high land of Mendip to the sea at Uphill. But in order to extend that line westward along the coast, a branch led off from this point towards Glastonbury, so as to avoid the great marshes of Somersetshire, which offered serious impediments to its progress. The line chosen was almost the only one which was practicable, and it pursued the ridge of Polden hill to the estuary Uxella (the present river Parret), where it entered into the territory of the Cangi. It then crossed the Quantock ridge, and ran along the Brendon range, to Exmoor, and thence passed into Devonshire, and skirted the coast into Cornwall. Here, then, we have a direct line of communication from Old Sarum (the capital of the Belgic-Britons) with the ports of Uphill and the Parret, and extending into the mining

county of Cornwall. From Merehead camp, another trackway led off to the north-east, on the brow of the ravine, to Stoney lane; passing at the back of Southfield house to Tedbury camp, and from thence eastward, by Old ford and Standerwick, to Brook farm, (leaving Westbury on the right,) thence to Edington and Bratton camp, above it.

We now proceed to describe the camps on the road to Uphill. After passing the Beacon two miles, we come to

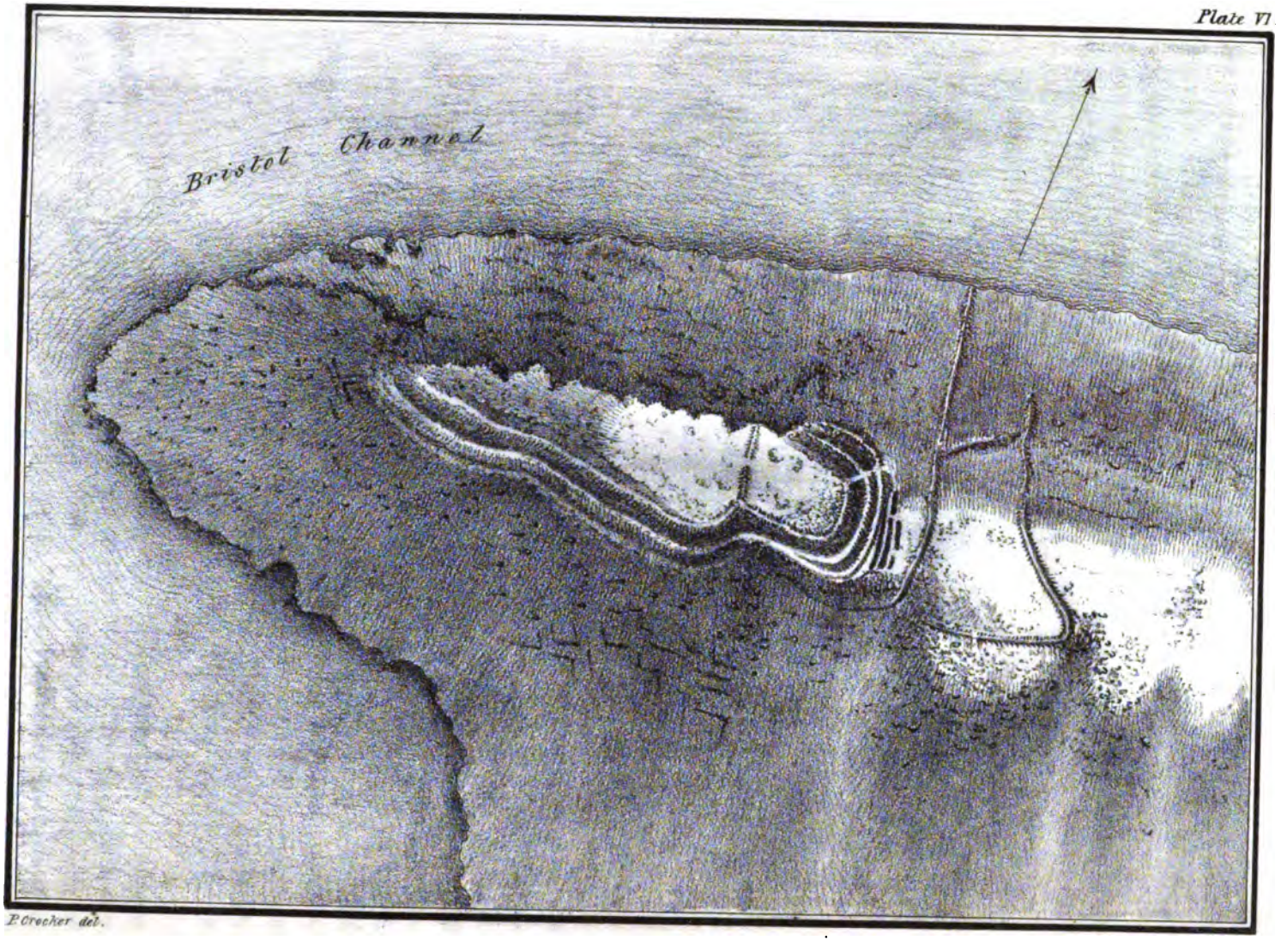
MAESBURY CASTLE,

situated on a bold headland west of the Beacon, and overlooking the great vale of Somersetshire. It is of an oval form, corresponding with the shape of the hill, and incloses about six acres. It has a fosse and agger of great strength, with an entrance on the east and west, and it may be called the citadel of the mining district in this quarter. The road passes a short distance on the north side of this camp, and proceeds along the centre of Mendip, through the mines to Charterhouse, accompanied with barrows; and descends into the vale at Shipham, leaving the fine camp of Dolebury a little on the right, and a smaller one, called Dinghurst, near it; running onwards under Sandford hill on the right, to

BANWELL CAMP.

This is a strong position, occupying the summit of the almost insulated hill of Banwell park wood. It contains an area of twenty acres, surrounded by a vallum of considerable strength. The entrance was from the west, a little above the line of the road which passed below. It commanded the pass across Mendip, and the two ancient roads which crossed under its south-eastern escarpment. The small vale on the south was overlooked by it, and on the north the great marsh and Bristol channel were in view. On the highest point of the inclosure is a small mound or barrow; and on digging into it, a regular foundation of bricks and free-stone, laid in mortar, was found, which have been since removed. It indicated a Roman work; and from its proximity to the Roman building a mile on the east, near the Star inn, there can be little doubt that the Romans occupied this British post.

A little distant on the west is a singular earthwork, consisting of an oblong inclosure, with the angles rounded off; it is fifty-five yards in length, and forty-five in breadth, having a slight agger and fosse. In the centre is a ridge of earth, forming a Greek cross, raised about two feet above the rest of the inclosure, and four feet broad, surrounded by a trench. For what purpose it was formed, is



WORLBURY.

R. Martin, Lithog. 74, St. Martin's Lane, & 26, Long Acre.

a matter of conjecture. It commands a view of Brent knoll, through the opening west of Crook's peak, which is not visible from the camp above.

The line of road passes at the foot of the declivity of the hill, through Wint hill to Bridewell lane, an old road still used; and enters the open hill, following the boundary line between Christon and Hutton hills, to the top of Hutton comb; here the British road took a direction over hill to the settlement above Bleadon; the Roman road passed onward in a direct line along the brow of the hill, above Hutton and Oldmixon woods, and descended the northern declivity of the hill, a little on the west of the latter village, leaving Totterdown farm on the right; and thence across the open arable fields, in a line to Uphill church, passing in front of Uphill house. Immediately below was the port, where the vessels lay to receive their cargoes of the metals brought from the Mendip hills.

On Brean down, a height on the opposite side of the river, is a large earthwork of a square form, designed evidently as a fort to protect the entrance of the river from the attack of pirates. On the summit further west, are other works, not perhaps of a military nature; and at the western extremity of the hill are a regular series of trenches, one in advance of the other, and extending across the point of the hill. These are evidently military defences, and thrown up, no doubt, by the Danes, when they sought refuge on this hill, and on the islands of the Holmes, after their repulse from the opposite shore of Watchet and Porlock in A. D. 918.

This promontory forms the southern shore of Uphill bay, and on the opposite side the ridge of Worlebury hill projects into the Bristol channel, and becomes the northern limit of the bay, with the island of Bearnback at its extreme point.

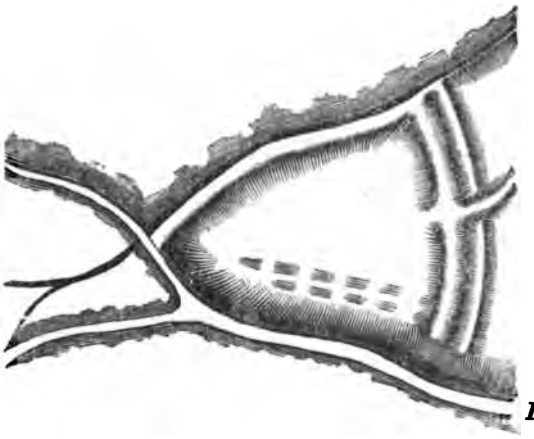
On the summit of the western point of the hill, is the fine Belgic-British camp, (see Plate VI.), called

WORLEBURY,

immediately north of the rising town of Weston super Mare. The name of *Weston camp* will be more appropriate in future from its locality. This is a singularly-formed fort, and of great antiquity, and from its commanding situation must have been a most important post; connected no doubt with the commercial intercourse of the Phœnician and subsequent navigators of these seas. It commands the course of the Severn completely, and consists of a huge vallum composed of loose stones piled up on three of its sides, and defended on the north by the rocky escarpment of the hill. The agger is fifteen feet above the level of the area, which is about ten acres.

There are no traces of any building within the camp; but an excavation about seven feet square, and five deep, whose sides seem to have been built without mor-

tar, was discovered within it, and was most probably the mouth of a subterraneous chamber. Within the area are several circles twenty or thirty feet in diameter; the site of tents, most probably. A circle of stones, surrounded by a shallow trench, seems to have been the foundation of a beacon erected on the spot. On approaching this remarkable fortress from the east, at the distance of about four hundred yards from the vallum, is a circular heap of stones, five feet high, and fifteen in diameter; which from its appearance has remained undisturbed, and under which, perhaps, the body of some British chieftain is deposited. Various traces of earthworks are to be seen along the summit of the hill towards the east.



MEREHEAD CAMP.

CHAPTER V.

1. Road from Merehead camp to Glastonbury: Smaldon fort: works on Pennard hill and at Fonter's vall, &c.—2. Glastonbury Tor hill: Polden hill: Knowl: and works at Downend.—3. Cannington park: Danesborough: earthworks on Quantock hills.—4. Elworthy burrows: camps on the river Tone; and near Wiveliscombe.—5. Camps round the vale of Williton, in Dunster park, and on Monkham hill.—6. Dunkry beacon; Bury and North hill camps, &c.

1. RETURNING to our post at *Merehead*, we now pursue the line of trackway from this point into the west. About a mile from Merehead the road passes near Cold Harbour farm, an indubitable mark of a British road; and soon after it enters the grounds of South hill, through which the road passes close to the mansion, and enters a lane opposite.

The country, which we presume was heretofore open, exhibits but few traces across what is called Doulting Sleight and Whitstone hill; we have, however, a vicinal way, which leads to the bold position on Smaldon hill, and is known by the name of

SMALDON CAMP,

situated half a mile on the south of the village of Chesterblade, on an elevated point surrounded on three of its sides by a deep valley, and the fourth is connected with an outlying branch of the Mendip range. The escarpment of the hill is very steep, and further strengthened by a vallum. On the east, which is the only accessible point, a deep fosse and lofty agger gave sufficient protection to that quarter. Its form is an oval, and incloses about six acres, with two entrances from the east. A row of circular barrows is discoverable along the centre of the area, some of which have been opened by the Reverend John Skinner of Camerton. In one an ornamented urn was found, inverted, containing ashes only; in another, burnt bones and pieces of flint; and in a third, an urn of elegant form, and superior workmanship, of which a drawing was made, and is copied in the vignette at the end of the chapter. From these circumstances, we ascertain that this post was occupied by the Britons at an early period; and also, that an interment took place at a much later era. This camp overlooks the surrounding eminences towards the west and south, and was a very strong position.

Returning to the trackway, we follow its line to Whitstone farm-house, a little east of the turnpike gate near Cannard's Grave, and find the turnpike road, which

has deviated a short distance from the fosse line, runs on it, till it crossed the direct road (which came behind the inn, but is now stopped up), and proceeded by East Compton, falling into the turnpike road from Shepton Mallet to Pilton and Glastonbury, which follows its line. On Pennard hill, near its course, are numerous earthworks, indicative of a settlement of Britons; and about midway between Pennard and Glastonbury, we come to a strong Belgic-British work, called *Fonter's Ball*, a corruption of vall or vallum. This rampart is a huge earthwork, consisting of a fosse and agger crossing the road at a right angle, and extending on each side of the ridge down to the moors, which were at that early period a morass, and impassable. This was evidently an outwork of Glastonbury Tor hill, and a defence on that side. After passing this barrier we soon come to *Edgarleigh*, immediately under the abrupt escarpment of the Tor hill, which exhibits linchets and other slight earthworks, but no regular circumvallation.

2. On Glastonbury Tor hill, and around its outlying branches, are evident traces of earthworks, but not in any regular form; its security depending more on situation, surrounded by morasses and water. The trackway passed on the south of the town and over Weary-all-hill to Northover, where it crossed the Brue, by a narrow bridge and causeway, which bore evident marks of a Roman origin, and we may suppose was built by that people, when they formed the road from Ilchester to Glastonbury. The trackway, after crossing the river, resumed its former direction towards the west, along the ridge of Polden hill. No earthworks have been discovered on its line; but numerous Roman remains, of which we shall speak hereafter. At Knowl, on a projecting headland, are traces of a small post, and a flag-staff now marks its situation. The road kept along the ridge of the hill above the village of Puriton to Downend, the termination of Polden hill. Here earthworks, and the traces of the road cut in the southern declivity of the hill, are visible. The road most probably diverged to the right to Pawlet, and thence to Gaunt's farm, where we conjecture, was the *trajectus* over the estuary Uxella (the Parret) to the high land at Combwich, on the opposite side of the river. The next post we find, after crossing the river, is on the high land in Cannington park farm; here are traces of an entrenched position on its summit. The trackway pursued a straight course to Kilve cot oak near Padnoller; where the turnpike road runs on its line to Kinthorne; it then passed by Marsh mills and Ely green, and ascended the Quantock range, crossing its summit near Wilsneck, and descending down Triscombe bottom to the vale of Crocombe Heathfield.[a]

[a] On the summit of Quantock hills are many tumuli and remains of beacons, occupying the highest points on Wilsneck, Cothelstone and Thorncombe hills.

Two miles on the north of this pass, is a strong and commanding post called

DANESBOROUGH, OR DOUSBOROUGH,

consisting of an entrenched camp, occupying the summit of the hill; overlooking the vale below, and the bay and entrance of the river Parret.

This is a strong Belgic-British fortress, occupying the summit of a branch of the Quantock hills. The form of the entrenchment is an irregular oval, encompassing an area of level ground on the point of the hill, containing about ten acres; a deep fosse and lofty agger, formed of the materials dug from the trench, surrounds the whole; in many parts nearly forty feet wide, and eighteen deep. The highest point is at the eastern extremity, where was an entrance into the area; and is marked by an old flag-staff. Here are three pits or hollows formed of stone, fifteen feet in diameter, and five deep; evidently sites of fire beacons; considerable heaps of stones on the same spot, indicate buildings to have stood there. At the western end of the inclosure is an oval barrow, which appears to have been opened. It must have been a strong position from its situation; and the traces of a road leading from the British trackway on the south may be discovered. The area is covered with dwarf oak and heath, which extends over the vallum. A pathway leads to the flag-staff, from whence is an extensive view of the country on the north and east. The Bristol Channel, and distant mountains in Glamorganshire, Brecknock, and Monmouthshire, bound the horizon in that quarter: the whole range of Mendip is seen in the north-east, with the Beacon (the highest point on its line), Brent knoll, and Glastonbury Tor:—In the distance, on the south-east, Alfred's tower near Stourhead; Cadbury near Sherborne, and Hamdon near Montacute, may be discovered in a clear day:—on the south-west, through a depression in the Quantock ridge, the Brendon hill, above Luxborough, may be seen; and immediately below, the vale of Stoke Courcy appears like a map spread out under the eye. The form of the Quantock range, broken into deep vales and lofty points, is seen to great advantage from hence; and a visit to this interesting spot in fine weather, will amply repay the trouble of the ascent; which is by no means difficult for a horse, taking a trackway leading from the turnpike road at Woodlands near Holford. Its elevation, as compared with the surrounding heights, may be about one thousand feet above the level of the sea.

Returning to the line of British road, we descend into the vale of Crocombe, and pursue its line across the Heathfield plantations to Colford, by Dane lane, and ascend under the northern declivity of Willet hill, to Elworthy. The road is here thrown out of its direction by the deep defile on the west of the above men-

tioned height, and winds up the Brendon range, when it resumes its original direction towards the west. Immediately on the summit of the hill, on the left of the road, is

ELWORTHY BARROWS,

a large unfinished Belgic-British entrenchment, containing an area of from fifteen to twenty acres. The situation chosen for this stronghold is admirable: on the highest point, facing the south, and in view of the vale of Taunton, bounded by the ridge of Blackdown; on which stands Neroche castle, a strong British position, commanding the vales of the Yart and Otter on the south, and the central parts of the county on the north-east. The state of this work is a subject of conjecture; why it should have been left incomplete, is a question not easily answered. The necessity for it as a stronghold must have ceased, otherwise it would have been finished. We may therefore hazard an opinion on the subject, which will have at least an air of probability. The Romans, under Ostorius, having subdued the Belgæ, and driven the Silures beyond the Severn, marched towards the west, to the territory of the Cangi, who occupied the western part of Somersetshire bordering on the sea. The Belgic Britons, on his approach, threw up on the Quantock hill, Dousborough, for their retreat; and commenced a similar stronghold on Brendon hill near Elworthy, there to await the advance of the Romans. In the mean time, the Silures and western Brigantes revolted, and threatened his rear; which obliged the Roman general to retrace his march, to secure his newly conquered territory. The Britons being thus relieved from the impending attack, ceased from their labours on Brendon hill, and left Elworthy barrows in the state they now appear. The country having been tranquilized, there was no further necessity for these defences.

4. Immediately on the south-west of this interesting vestige of the Belgic-Britons, is another post evidently formed by the same people, and occupying a prominent point between two lateral vales, overlooking the river Tone, which flows down a deep defile among the outlying branches of the Brendon hill. It is two miles south-west of the post on Brendon hill above mentioned, and is called

CASTLE HILL CAMP.

The form of it is an irregular oval, corresponding with the summit of the hill on which it stands, and a mile on the north-west of Clatworthy. It is a strong and commanding position, protected on two of its sides by the steep escarpment of the hill, now clothed with wood, and strengthened by a vallum consisting of an agger and fosse. The eastern side being level with the adjoining hill, is secured by a deep

fosse and huge agger extending across the neck of land between the lateral vales in the usual manner of British posts. The entrance is in the centre of this side, and opens to an area of more than fourteen acres. An ancient road leads to it from Elworthy camp, with which it communicated. Two miles on the south further down the vale, and on the opposite side of the river, is a small earthwork, in view from the last mentioned post, and near Bullen lodge, the romantic sporting box of John Stone, Esq. This small entrenchment seems to have been formed to repeat signals from Castle hill above, to another British post two miles lower down the valley, on the east side of the Tone, and also called *Castle hill*, situated on a bold point above the river, and in the parish of Bathealton. This camp is similar to those we have already described, and contains an area of about seven acres, commanding several small vales opening into the line of the Tone. All these works seem to have been made for the defence of this barrier against the tribe of ancient people inhabiting west of this boundary.

One mile on the east of Wiveliscombe, and a short distance from the camps we have just described, is another Belgic-British post, occupying the summit of an insulated hill, which rises from the vale; this is also called *Castle hill*, and is protected by a strong vallum, inclosing an area of seven acres. On one side of the camp is a limestone quarry, which has been dug through the rampart, and exhibits a complete section of the fosse and agger. Skeletons have been found within it.

5. Returning to Elworthy camp, we pursue the ridgeway along the summit of Brendon hill, accompanied with barrows at intervals, on each side of the road. These are distinguished by the names of Wiveliscombe barrow, Leather barrow, Lype barrow, &c. On the lesser elevations between this range of hills and the sea, are many earthworks, of small size, with a fosse and agger; and placed at the entrance of some small valley, so as to defend the pass against the attempt of an enemy who may land on this coast, from penetrating into the interior of the country. These were thrown up, most probably, when the Danes pursued their marauding descents on this coast. The first on the line is on the side of the Quantock hill, a little above Bicknoller, called *Trendle ring*, and consists of a vallum inclosing an oblong area of about an acre. It overlooks this part of the vale and coast. About a mile on the west of the above, is a similar work, standing on a rocky point, immediately above a small stream which flows down a narrow vale, between the parishes of Bicknoller and Stogumber. The fosse and agger, though overgrown with trees and bushes, can be easily traced out. It is opposite the hamlet of Newton, in the parish of Bicknoller; where there is an elevated spot called *Turk's castle*, but no vestiges of an entrenchment are discoverable at this place.

Three miles further west, on an elevated spot, above Lodhuish barton, in the parish of Nettlecombe, are the traces of a similar earthwork, standing in the middle of an arable field, and nearly obliterated by the plough. This position commanded the vale of Nettlecombe on the east, and Roadwater on the west, so as to prevent an enemy from stealing into the country. On the summit of Monkham hill, further west, are several barrows, and a circular inclosure of loose stones piled up, forty feet in diameter, which seems to have a Druidical origin, though perhaps used as a signal station, as it completely commands the whole line of coast from Porlock bay to Quantock's head point. On an eminence in Dunster park, though at a much lower elevation, are two earthworks of the same character as those above-mentioned, and so situated as to overlook the vale running from the sea by Dunster to Timberscombe. These posts inclosed the vale of Williton. In the vale east of Croydon hill, near Broadwood, is a similar earthwork, to protect still further a second vale, which runs up among the outlying branches of the Brendon range.

On the northern declivity of Staddon hill opposite Horsecombe, is a similar post with outworks, overlooking this vale; and a mile on the east of Exford, on a projecting point formed by a curve in the river Exe, which washes two of its sides, is another small post of the same description, intended no doubt to overlook the river, and a ford across it, on the west.

DUNKRY BEACON.

6. This is the highest point of land in the county (and with the exception of a peak in Dartmoor, called Cawsand Pike), the highest land in the west of England. Its name is derived from *Dun* a hill, and *creagh*, a British word for *peak*.

On its summit are considerable remains of antiquity, which, with the magnificent view from its beacon, will amply repay the fatigue of a visit, particularly under the favourable circumstances of a fine day and a clear atmosphere. It seems to have been subsequently used as a beacon, as there are remains of four fire hearths, within its area, placed in a triangle with one in the centre. We have documents to shew, that three or sometimes four beacons were placed together, in this part of the county, and upon the lighting of one or more, signals were made, which conveyed particular intelligence respecting the approach of an enemy on the coast. The instructions given to the keepers of the beacons in the neighbourhood are recorded in a book, among the archives of Sir John Trevelyan, Bart. at Nettlecombe. There is a huge heap of rough stones piled up in a circle on the lower platform, half a mile on the north-west, which gives the idea of a Druidical work, similar to the one we have noticed on Monkham hill, which is within view.

At the distance of a mile on the east, and at a lower elevation, are traces of two other beacon hearths, with a large quantity of loose stones scattered around. A tower stood formerly on the spot; and on the surrounding eminences are barrows, most of which have been opened.

On the brow of the hill, north of Selworthy, and within a short distance from the sea, is an irregular circle, with a vallum of stones and earth, inclosing about an acre and a half; and at the distance of seventy yards, is a similar work, called *Bury castle*. These are most probably Danish works thrown up when the Danes made a descent upon this part of the coast at Porlock in A. D. 908.

FUNEREAL URN FOUND AT SMALDON.

CHAPTER VI.

1. Camalet or Cadbury.—2. Hamdon camp.—3. Neroche castle.

1. DETACHED from the Mendip chain, are three strong and important Belgic-British camps, viz. *Cadbury* or Camalet, near South Cadbury; *Hamdon*, in the parish of East Stoke; and *Neroche*, on Black down, west of Chard, all within view of each other, and of Mendip.

CADBURY CAMP,

anciently called Camalet, is an interesting vestige of antiquity, whose early history carries us back to a remote period; and the more recent changes have rendered it worthy of especial notice, to preserve the memory of its existence to posterity.

This camp, evidently a Belgic-British work, stands on the summit of a conical hill, detached from the Corton ridge, a quarter of a mile on the west of the village of South Cadbury, seven miles east of Ilchester, and the same distance from Wincanton. The north, west, and south sides of the hill are extremely steep; on the east the escarpment is a more gradual slope, and the approach from this point is not difficult, following a lane from the village passing near the church. The vallum partakes of the form of outline of the summit of the hill, and consists of an inner agger, composed of stones and earth dug up on the spot; below this, is a deep fosse; then a lesser agger, and ditch below. On the south side, the escarpment is furrowed into a series of zigzag terraces in inclined planes, so constructed that the attacked party, though he retreated from his assailants, could still make a desperate resistance. The western, northern, and eastern sides have been planted, and the plantations conceal the works from view. On the south it is open, and displays the nature of the defences in a conspicuous manner. The hill is composed of a dark orange-coloured oolite, or freestone, and the ramparts have been in some places excavated from the rock. The area contains more than thirty acres, and slopes towards the north and south. The chief entrance is from the east; with a smaller one on the south-west, through the fosse, which is here very deep, and by a slight curve in the agger is completely defended by it. (See Plate VII.)

This camp must have been nearly impregnable before the introduction of artillery, and was occupied first by the Belgic-Britons, next by the Romans, and probably by the Saxons.

P. Crocker, 1834.

CADBURY.

R. Martin, Lithog. 71, St. Martin's Lane, & 26, Long Acre.

Old Leland gives us the following account of it in his time: "At the very south ende of the chirch of South Cadbyri standith *Camallate*, sumtyme a famose toun, or castelle, apon a very torre or hille, wunderfully enstrengthenid of nature; to the which there be 2. enteringes up by very stepe wayes; one by north-est, and another by south-west. The very roote of the hille, wheron this forteres stode, is more then a mile in cumpace. In the upper parte of the coppe of the hille be 4. diches or trenches, and a balky waulle of yerth betwixt every one of them In the very toppe of the hille, above al the trenchis, is *magna area* or *campus* of a 20. acres or more by estimation, wher yn dyverse places men may se fundations and *rudera* of walles. There was much dusky blew stone that people of the villages therby hath caryid away. This top withyn the upper waulle is xx. acres of ground and more, and hath bene often plowid and borne very good corne. Much gold, sylver, and coper of the Romain coynes hath been found ther yn plouing, and lykewise in the feldes in the rootes of this hille, with many other antique thinges, and especially by este. Ther was found *in hominum memorid* a horse shoe of sylver at Camallate. The people can telle nothing ther, but that they have hard say that Arture much resortid to Camalat."[b]

Dr. Stukeley supposes this place to be the *Coloneæ* of Ravennas, and the near station to *Ischalis* (Ilchester); and Nennius mentions *Caer Celemon* among the British cities.

The view from the highest point of the area is extensive. On the north is seen the range of the Mendip hills, with the beacon, and other conspicuous points on its line: the Bristol channel and the Quantock hills on the west, with the camp of Dousborough near its northern termination. The range of Black down south of Taunton is seen in profile, with Castle Neroche on a projecting point in front, and nearer in the same direction Hamdon hill, and its extensive encampment, forming an intermediate station between Cadbury and Neroche. In the vale appear the knolls of Glastonbury, Brent, and Dundon, all British stations.

HAMDON CAMP.

2. Twelve miles on the south-west of the above, is the extensive position of Hamdon camp, covering the north-western portion of Hamdon hill, in the parish of East Stoke. The circumvallation incloses not less than two hundred and ten acres; and the circumference is three miles. Sir Richard Colt Hoare, Bart. caused this Belgic-British settlement to be surveyed, and a plan engraved, which he communicated to the Society of Antiquaries in 1823, by whom it was published in the Archæologia, vol. xxi. "The earthworks," says Sir Richard, "which surround the entire hill, are the most extensive I have ever met with, being in circum-

[b] Leland's Itin. vol. ii. fol. 46.

ference three miles; and the area comprehends above two hundred acres. Its shape is very irregular, especially towards the north, at the extreme angle of which may be observed some Roman remains in a very small circular earthwork, resembling an amphitheatre in miniature, and not much larger than an English cock-pit. Not far from this are some curious relics of antiquity, and such as perhaps do not exist in our island elsewhere. They are low stones fixed in the ground at certain intervals, and perforated; and are supposed to have served originally as picquets for the cavalry; and some years ago stone cisterns were found, at which it is supposed the Romans watered their horses. Pursuing the western circumvallation of the hill, we come to the principal seat of the stone quarries, where, a few years ago, singular remains were found by the labourers, who, in pursuing their work, came to a chink, or, as they called it, a gulley in the rock, in which were many human bones, skulls, lance and spearheads, with articles of brass and iron, together with many fragments of chariot wheels, one of which was nearly perfect."[c] (Plate VIII.)

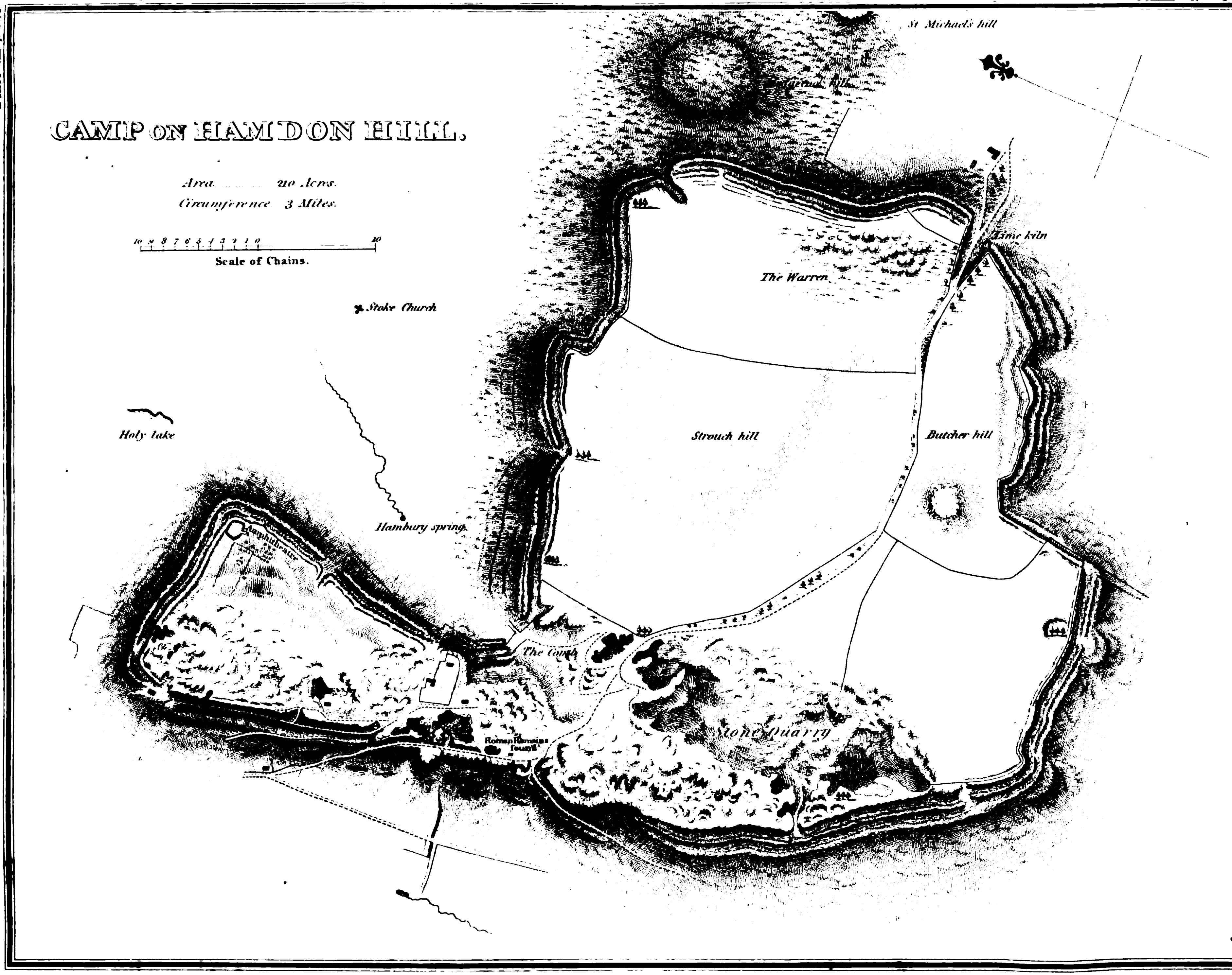
It has been a long and established custom among many early and distinguished authors, to ascribe to the Romans many of our British earthen-works; but such a conjecture appears to be erroneous; for the Romans depended on the strength of their legions, and their superior skill in war, not on these huge and extensive ramparts which so frequently accompany the encampments on our hills.

NEROCHE CASTLE.

3. This strong Belgic-British post is situated on a bold and projecting point of Black down, seven miles south-east from Taunton, on the higher road to Chard. It overlooks the vale of Taunton, and the greater part of the central district of Somersetshire on the north and east, and on the south the vales of the Yart and Otter in Devonshire. The approach to the castle from the road near Curland, is steep, and winds through the fosse to the east of the inclosure, on the summit of the ridge which connects it with the hill beyond. This neck of land is strongly fortified by a double agger and ditch, and is an outwork to the whole. On passing this barrier, a second appears rising higher, and protecting the apex of the hill, by another line of circumvallation, forming the citadel, if we may so express it. The south, west, and north sides of the escarpment are very steep, and further secured by an agger thrown up around the area, so as to conceal those within its lines. This inclosure is not more than an acre, leaving a considerable space between the first and second line, defending the approach from the level of the hill on the east.[d]

[c] Engraved in Archæologia, vol. xxi. pl. v.

[d] This hill fort is supposed to have been a frontier post on the boundary of the *Danmonii* of Devonshire, the *Morini* of Dorsetshire, and the *Belgæ* of Somersetshire. Many trackways led to it, and a line of communication has been traced out, between this camp and Hamdon hill; and another coming from Musbury near Axminster, and leading to the sea at Minehead.



J. Basire sc.

P. Crocker del.

It must have been a place of great strength, and admirably situated for observation. It commands a view of the Bristol Channel on the north; and on the south, down the vale of the Otter, Dumpdon camp above Honiton, which is in view of the English Channel. Nearly all the important posts on the line of the Mendip range; Hamdon and Cadbury on the east, and Dousborough on the Quantock ridge, are in sight; so that the approach of an enemy from the sea on the north, or from the south, could be immediately discovered, and communicated by signals throughout the whole district. The whole proves how judiciously the Belgic-British engineers selected their posts for observation and defence.

4. All these earthworks and camps are vestiges of an active people, and confirm the opinion, now no longer doubted, that Britain, at a very early period, was well inhabited; and these entrenchments convince us, with what courage and obstinacy the Britons defended their country. Sir Richard Colt Hoare observes, respecting these remains, of which there are so many in this county, "I may say with a modern author, the science of antiquities is the science of conjecture; for we know not to what nation we may justly attribute them:—certainly not to the Romans, whose system of castramentation differed totally from those examples we so frequently find within our island. These strong camps are generally placed on high ground, defended by hills, and have been erroneously attributed to the Romans, who depended more on the strength of their legions than on the *natura loci*.

"The camps and stations of that nation were in general small, of a square form, and placed on gentle elevations. Roman camps are frequently intermixed with the British, as on Hamdon hill near Montacute, Dolebury, &c.

"By this great scarcity of Roman camps in the western district, I am inclined to think that the Romans met with slight opposition from the Britons, who, after their subjugation, associated themselves amicably with their conquerors. But we are still at a loss to know to what nation the numerous fine earthworks within our island are to be attributed:—they have been assigned to the Britons, the Belgæ, the Romans, the Saxons, and the Danes.[h] I have already shewn they were not Roman; and they are too complicated in their bulwarks for the early Britons, whose camps were of a more simple construction. The prevailing idea is, that they were constructed by the Belgic-Britons, who, according to Richard of Cirencester, entered Britain A.M. 3650, nearly three centuries before the Roman invasion under Julius Cæsar."

[h] The Danes were a piratical nation, and confined their depredations chiefly to the seacoasts; and their earthworks were in general small, being thrown up in a hurry. Several of their entrenchments are to be found in the neighbourhood of Watchet and Porlock, where they landed.

CHAPTER VII.

1. Barrows: modes of sepulture adopted by the Britons.—2. Barrows on the Mendip hills: on the Quantock, Brendon, and Blackdown hills.—3. On Dunkry Beacon and its vicinity.—3. Anglo-Saxon mode of interment.

BARROWS.

1. These rude memorials of departed man, the funereal monuments of the earliest ages of human society, are calculated, by the simple materials of which they are formed, to remain to the end of time in those situations where the labours of the husbandman have not been exercised. They are most important, as they develope, in a great degree, the progress of civilization, from their contents. The earliest contain the rudest vestiges of the progress of art, before the use of metals was discovered: stone hammers; spear heads of flint; urns formed of clay, without the aid of the wheel, and ornamented with zigzag lines drawn with a stick on the ductile material; and other rude and simple decorations. The earliest barrows are mounds of earth or stone, such as the supply of materials on the spot afforded, and thrown up near the public roads. They are generally found on the highest hills, and in the most dreary wastes.

The mode of sepulture among the Celtic-Britons, seems to have been the reducing the body to ashes, and collecting the remains, which were deposited in a rude receptacle, formed of stones placed edgeways in the earth, in a square shape, and covered by another stone; upon this was heaped a mound of earth of considerable height, forming what is now called a barrow. Another mode of interment was, by depositing the body in a cist, or oblong box, formed of stones set edgeways in the ground, the size of the corpse, and covering it with another; heaping over it a huge bank of the adjacent earth, forming a monument of a durable character; and where the remains of departed mortality might have remained undisturbed to the end of time, had not the curiosity of the antiquary explored their contents.

In these early sepulchres spear heads and arrow heads of flint have been discovered, but no traces of weapons formed of metal: in those of a later period, (after their intercourse with the Phœnicians,) we find beads, brass weapons, and urns formed by the use of the wheel. The custom of interring weapons with the dead, was most probably derived also from the east, after the custom of the Canaanites, who adopted it as early as the time of Joshua, or about 1400 B. C. The universal system of burying under tumuli, is then of the highest antiquity, and the vestiges

now found in them, throw the only light we can depend upon for the scanty history of the ancient Britons.

Barrows and tumuli vary much in their shape, size, and construction; some are composed of stones piled up loosely together, and are called *Caernedds, or cairns;* others are formed of earth dug up on the spot, and are denominated barrows.

We observe this ancient custom handed down to us in the mounds now raised over the graves in our churchyards. In Wales these ridges are carefully preserved and decked with flowers.

Barrows are the oldest memorials of sepulchral monuments adopted previous to the building of temples; the custom of burning the body was introduced lest the relics of man should be violated by their enemies. This system began in the time of Scylla, and continued down to the period of Macrobius.

Many of our barrows have been opened by various persons, whose accounts are curious; and the remains discovered therein, prove the period when these sepulchres were raised; some before the introduction of the use of metals; others after the Britons traded with some more civilized nations. It is however worthy of remark, that in none of the British barrows which have been opened, were any species of coin found, nor are there any said to be older than those of Cunobelin.

Sir Richard Colt Hoare, Bart. has given us the following observations, derived from actual examination of the numerous barrows which he has opened:—"From the researches," says he, "made in our British tumuli, we have every reason to suppose that the two customs of burying the body entire, or of reducing it to ashes by fire, prevailed at the same time. In each of these ceremonies, we distinguish a variety in the particular mode adopted. In the first we have frequently found the body in a cist, with the legs and knees drawn up, and the head placed towards the north. This I conceive to be the most ancient mode of burial. The second mode of burying the body entire, is proved to be of a much later date, by the articles found with the human remains. In this case we find the body extended at full length, the heads placed at random in a variety of directions, and instruments of iron accompanying them. Two modes of cremation seem to have been adopted; at first the body was burnt, the ashes and bones collected, and deposited in a cist, (as we have before mentioned,) on the floor of the barrow. This was the most simple, and probably the most primitive custom practiced among the ancient Britons."

The funereal urn, in which the ashes of the dead were secured, was the refinement of a later age. When the bones were burnt, the ashes were collected, and placed in an urn, which was deposited with its mouth downwards. (See vignette at the

end of the chapter.) This ancient mode of burial is mentioned as having been adopted in the isle of Anglesea, by the old chronicler Holinshed, who says "that sundrie earthen pots are often found there, full of dead men's bones, set with their mouths downwards, contrarie to the use of other nations."[a]

2. On the Mendip hills these tumuli are numerous, and generally in groups of many together. On the Beacon are six adjoining the intrenchment; several near the intersection of the trackway with the present turnpike road, near Binegar. On Priddy hill are two groups, one of nine, and another of eight barrows, clearly proving a British settlement to have been near the spot, for the purpose, no doubt, of working the mines which were situated a short distance from this place. On the line of road leading from the Castle of Comfort inn, near Priddy, on Mendip, towards Charterhouse, several barrows are seen; and on the top of Blackdown hill, above Blagdon, is a group of eight. Three stand on Westbury Beacon; and many others are scattered about on these hills, as also on Worle hill. On Murtree hill, near Buckland Dinham, is an oval tumulus fifty yards long, and thirty-five broad; at the east end is an upright stone, ten feet and a half high, six feet wide, and three feet thick, with a smaller one resting against it. Whether this relic of antiquity can be attributed to the Belgic-Britons, or to the Danes, is a matter of doubt. If we refer it to the latter people, it would seem to be a stone of memorial to some departed chieftain who may have fallen in a conflict with the Britons near the spot, as we know that the Danes occupied this part of Somersetshire during their contests with Alfred. At a short distance from Oldford, in the parish of Berkeley, is a large barrow in a field called Staple mead, and on the opposite side of the river Frome is a lofty tumulus which gives name to the village of Orchardleigh.[b] It was a post of defence to guard the pass of the river below.

On the mountains west of the river Parret, barrows and tumuli are found frequently on the line of road leading into the west; on Quantock hill are several; on Brendon hill they stand on each side of the ridgeway. A barrow on the top of the hill, in the parish of Luxborough, was opened by the surveyors of the highways, to obtain materials for the repair of the roads. On the removal of a portion of the earth, a large stone, of a quality different from those of the neighbourhood, was discovered, measuring five feet in length by three in breadth; this being turned aside, another stone of whitish slate (from the neighbouring quarry at Treborough, no doubt), was found under it; and beneath this were two holes dug in the natural soil; in one of which was an earthenware urn, containing portions of bones, partly burnt,

[a] Holinshed's Chron. vol. i. p. 64.

[b] *Orcad*, a high hill; and *leigh*, a meadow.

with ashes; and in the other ashes only. The urn fell to pieces upon being removed.[c] On Monkham hill, north of Luxborough church, are several barrows, and a cairn or circle of loose stones piled up to ten feet in height, and encompassing a basin thirty feet in diameter. This has the appearance of a Druidical work, of a religious character. In Langridge wood, on the northern declivity of the Brendon hill, near Treborough, an ancient sepulchre was discovered a few years since, by some workmen employed to dig materials for the repair of the roads. On removing a large stone of the same quality as the slate quarry, a little above it, a walled grave seven feet six inches long, and two feet six inches wide, was discovered; the sides composed of stones laid without mortar, yet so nicely fitted as to prevent the access of any small animal into it. The skeleton of a human being was found in it; probably the remains of some Druidical priest, who officiated in the temple mentioned above. The name of Drucombe, given to the wood and valley near it, seems to strengthen the conjecture. The bones were removed to the churchyard of Treborough, and there buried. The sepulchre has been railed in, by the proprietor of the wood, and the whole is as perfect as when first formed.

3. On Dunkry hill, west of the beacon, are three barrows, formed of stones, called Great Rowbarrow, Little Rowbarrow, and White barrow; and many other groups are to be found on the adjoining hills, viz. Chapman's barrows, at the north-western angle of the forest of Exmoor, five in number; Wood barrows near Sadler's stone, on the boundary of the county; with others on Anstey hill, west of Dulverton.

The urns used by the Romans were of a superior character and workmanship to the rude and unbaked vessels found in the ancient British barrows. The nature of the clay, the care used in properly tempering it before it was applied to the wheel, and the skill of the workman, produced urns of a quality when properly burnt, as to be nearly indestructible by time. The Samian pottery was the most valuable; and the specimens now found are as perfect as when they came from the hand of the Roman potter.

The Romanized Britons, as also the Saxons, interred with their dead, beads, trinkets, and the arms of the deceased; and from these indicia, we are able to form an opinion, whether the interment be of a British, Roman, or Saxon origin. The Britons, after their intercourse with their more refined invaders, the Romans, ceased in a great measure to adopt the primitive mode of sepulture; and we find few instruments, or urns, which indicate the more refined period of the Roman era.

The custom of heaping a tumulus over the remains of the dead continued during the early Roman period; but was superseded by the *stones of memorial*, raised over

[c] Savage's History of the Hundred of Carhampton, p. 248.

the mortal remains of the deceased; whereon was sculptured an inscription, setting forth the name, quality, and other particulars of the person interred, together with the number of years, months, and days, he had lived. The numerous Roman altars found at Bath and elsewhere, give full proof of this.

4. The practice of barrow burial, though continued to the seventh and eighth century, does not appear to have been so prevalent in South Britain during the time of the Romans, as it was previous to their arrival, and few of the early British tumuli contain any articles of wrought metal, which indicate the mode of manufacturing them. The Anglo-Saxons, after their conversion, ceased to place the weapons and ornaments of the deceased person in his coffin. They adopted the more simple and decent rites of Christian burial, carefully washing the body, and wrapping it in a shroud or linen dress. The custom of burying in churchyards, and inclosed places, began to prevail in the eighth century; and embalming the body was adopted during the twelfth century. Stone coffins were also used, generally hewn out of a single block, of a shape and size just to contain the body, with a space for the head. These were introduced during the thirteenth century, and were chiefly appropriated to contain the mortal remains of Bishops and other dignified ecclesiastics; they are generally seen in cathedrals, abbeys, or religious houses. In some instances the pastoral staff, crozier, ring, and other ornaments are found in the coffin; an instance of this kind occurred in Wells cathedral, and the crozier is still preserved.

In the subsequent century, the fourteenth, coffins formed of lead were used, and the body wrapped in cerecloth, the whole being soldered down. Thus the remains were preserved entire; and to record the memory of the deceased, breast-plates of silver and brass were affixed to the cover, recording the name, time of the decease, age, and other particulars; which remain as almost indestructible memorials of departed man.

SIC TRANSIT GLORIA MUNDI!

URN FOUND AT THE BEACON ON MENDIP.

ROMAN ANTIQUITIES.

BOOK IV.

CHAPTER I.

1. The Romans occupy Somersetshire.—2. Ostorius, having subdued the Belgæ, established his head quarters at Camalodunum, and afterwards at Bath.—3. Arrangement of the Roman antiquities.—4. Roman roads: the Fosse described.—5. Station at Ilchester: Roads diverging from it: one to Dorchester on the south-east; and another to Littleton, Street, and Glastonbury, and to the mining district on Mendip.—Conjectures as to the probable division of the Fosse road at Petherton bridge, with a branch leading to Exeter.

1. If the inquiries into the Roman history of this county were limited to the few notices found in ancient writers, then this part of the subject would be soon dismissed; but there are other means of ascertaining, that at an early period this part of Britain was thickly inhabited by a population who enjoyed the comforts of civilized life, and were well acquainted with its natural resources. Every place and village almost yields to the antiquary Roman pottery, coins, and other indicia, that the foundation was at least coeval with Roman occupation. The mines were worked; and in the construction of their habitations, granite, slate, freestone, and sandstone were brought from a distance, and largely used for the purposes for which they were best adapted; and villas were numerously dispersed over the country. These were unerring proofs that security and peace prevailed. Many fine specimens of these villas have been excavated from time to time, and our attention drawn to the curious mosaic pavements they contained. Those at Wellow, Coker, Pitney, Hurcot, and Wadford near Chard, will not soon be forgotten; and though they have been nearly all destroyed by the occupiers of the land on which they originally stood, still the fact of their existence will be recorded by the pen of the historian; their relics preserved in the public and private collections of our antiquaries; and plans of their form, with drawings of the most interesting remains, have been made by Sir Richard Colt Hoare, Bart. Lysons, Skinner, Hassell, and others, which have

been engraved, and are to be found in the library of the Society of Antiquaries in London.

The Romans having established themselves in the south-eastern part of Britain, pushed their conquests towards the west, the great district of its mineral treasures; and in the campaign under Vespasian and Aulus Plautius, in the year A. D. 44, had subdued the south of Britain.

Ostorius, who succeeded to the command of the Roman army, reduced the Belgæ, and took possession of their territory in A. D. 46, and to this period we must refer the first settlement of the Romans in this county. It is conjectured that their first station or settlement was on the hill between Dunkerton and Wellow, six miles south of Bath, near the line of the Fosse road; a situation supposed by a learned and indefatigable antiquary[a] to have been the *Camalodunum* alluded to by Tacitus.[b]

2. We are now arrived at a period when the traces of this active people, the Romans, in Britain are defined by marks of indubitable character. In Somersetshire they are so numerous, as to leave no room to doubt, that it was the busy scene of their operations to the latest period they retained possession of Britain. The metals were the chief object of their regard; and the hot springs at Bath, contiguous to the mineral district of Mendip, naturally attracted their attention; affording an inexhaustible supply of water for their baths, without expense, and enabling them to enjoy the use of the warm bath, so congenial to their luxurious habits.

The taste for ornamenting their public buildings, which had previously prevailed at Rome, was soon transferred to this highly favoured spot, to which may be applied the words of the Roman poet:

"Nullus in orbe locus Baiis prælucet amœnis."

3. It being our intention to treat of the Roman Remains and Antiquities extant in Somersetshire in a regular manner, and bring into view the several traces scattered throughout the county, we shall class them as follows:

1. Roman Roads.
2. Roman Stations, Buildings, &c.
3. Roman Antiquities, Coins, &c.

ROMAN ROADS.

The trackways formed by the Britons, for the purpose of intercourse between their towns, were little calculated for the convenience of a people highly civilized; and we find the formation of roads was one of the chief objects of the Romans, the better to keep in subjection their newly conquered people. These roads dis-

[a] Rev. J. Skinner. See his letter, p. 138.

[b] Tacitus, Annal. b. xii. c. 32.

played the skill of the engineers who constructed them, and were carried in nearly a direct line from one station to another, with very little regard to the obstacles either of nature or property.[c] Mountains were excavated, and bold arches thrown over rivers. These roads united subjects of distant provinces, by an easy communication; they were divided by milestones, and completed their internal communications.[d] In consequence, the number of their garrisons were lessened, as the march of the legions was so much facilitated by these roads; and no country was considered subdued till access was made to every part of it; fully aware that the progress of civilization depended upon the facility of intercourse.

The mode of constructing these roads is thus detailed:—"A layer of flat stones was placed upon the natural soil, with others fixed edgeways to prevent the stones and gravel from rolling off: upon this, *broken* stones were laid, one foot and a half thick, then another stratum of flat stones, covered with gravel or pounded stones." Such was the solidity with which these roads were constructed, that more than seventeen hundred years have not destroyed them, where they have been left untouched.

In the wars which took place between the Romans and the Belgic Britons, the former, as they drove back their opponents, took possession of their strongholds, and frequently placed their camp upon the site of these British settlements; as is shewn by the names of the stations given in the Roman Itineraries. The same observation will apply to their roads, where they fell in with the line adopted by the Britons. These judicious conquerors fortified such posts only as were suited to the purpose of their future operations. Where the British site was chosen, the irregular outline remained, although improved and rendered more strong by the Roman mode of fortification; and is, in many instances, still visible, giving a decided character to this species of post: but where the Romans established a station without restraint of situation, they uniformly made its defences square or oblong; and it is from this circumstance, that the distinction between a British and a Roman camp is easily discoverable. The Roman stations are generally found placed at equal distances, not usually exceeding twenty miles.

The progressive advantages derived by the Britons from the intermixture of population with their more polished invaders, soon discovered itself, and after a protracted struggle, they quitted by degrees their retreats and fastnesses, and entered into the amicable relations of civilized society, to the mutual advantage of each.

The remains of their cities, villas, and fortified places excite much curiosity in the present day.

The following judicious observations of Sir Richard Colt Hoare, Bart. will be in-

[c] Montfaucon L'Antiquité expliquée, vol. iv p. 2.

[d] Sammes's Brit. Antiq. p. 253.

teresting to the young antiquary: "Let him above all things avoid the common error of our old antiquaries, in looking for Roman stations on high mountains, for there he will look in vain: on the contrary, let him examine those gentle eminences which are often found in the plains, having an open circuit of country around them. This latter quality seems particularly to have been considered by the Romans, (as we may collect from their historians,) and for this reason, the Britons seldom ventured to attack the enemy in the open plains, but depended more on surprising them unawares; on which account, the Romans very prudently fixed upon those situations for their camps, where they were not liable to these sudden sallies of the enemy, and where they could perceive at a distance the Britons descending from their strongholds on the mountains." The Romans, however, when they halted for the night only, in an enemy's country, threw up earthen mounds to inclose themselves within an entrenchment.

4. The Roman roads of indisputable character which traverse Somersetshire are,
   1. The Fosse.
   2. Via ad Axium.
   3. Via Julia.
   4. A road from Durnovaria to Ischalis, or Ilchester.

Of the four great Roman roads which intersected Britain,[e] one only passed through Somersetshire, called

THE FOSSE.

This road was formed on the ancient trackway of the Britons, which passed through the centre of the kingdom, as we have described at page 86. It entered Somersetshire a short distance on the north-east of Bath, passed through that city, and Camalodunum, five miles on the south-west, pursuing the line of road formed by the Britons to Ischalis (Ilchester), and thence to the shore of the English channel. Various opinions have been entertained respecting the precise point on the coast of Devon where it terminated; and, not being mentioned in the Roman or other Itineraries, we may suppose it to have been of a later date than those noticed in the writings of Antonine or Richard of Cirencester; and its being more

[e] These roads were: 1. The Fosse. 2. Watling street. 3. Ikenild street. 4. Ermyn street: besides many others not particularly described; whose remains are discoverable in portions throughout the kingdom. The original trackways were caused to be made by Molmutius a British king, A.M. 3529; and Agricola first gave them a more regular form and character. Trajan afterwards paved, or rather pitched them with stone; made bridges over the rivers; cut a shorter line for them; and smoothed the uneven ground. He died A.D. 118. "The Romans compelled the Britons," says Tacitus, "to wear out and consume their bodies and hands in repairing them, clearing woods, and paving fens, for the passage of their troops, the conveyance of provisions, and other military and civil purposes."

readily traced in modern times, seems to authorise the conjecture.[f] Dr. Stukeley supposes it terminated on the south coast somewhere between Exeter (Isca) and Dorchester (Durnovaria). Upon examining the direction of the line of British road, which we have before noticed, there can be little doubt but it terminated at Axmouth, the station of *Moridunum*. The name sufficiently indicates the spot, *Mor*, the sea; and *dunum*, the hill. No remains of the Romans, however, have been discovered at this place, though the harbour may have been secure, previous to its being filled up by the alluvial deposit brought down by the river Axe. Mr. Horsley has given an engraving of this post; and the Pharos, or watch tower, is seen on the opposite side of the river.

Pursuing its line which ran on the British trackway, we first pass *Camalodunum* within this district, are the extensive Roman remains near Wellow, which we shall describe hereafter.

5. The next important station we meet with is

ISCHALIS, (OR ILCHESTER,)

situated on the line of the Fosse, thirty-three miles south-west of Bath. This was a central point, from which several Roman roads diverged. One to Durnovaria (Dorchester). This road branched off in the market-place at Ilchester, and proceeded across the marsh to the high land near Yeovil, and is the line of the turnpike road to that town. At Preston, one mile west of Yeovil, it crossed the fields and vale to Bragchurch, where the turnpike road runs on it, passing Berwick on the right, and Closworth on the left, and soon left the county; pursuing its course through Melbury park, ascending the hill to Horchester, and running along the top of Sydling down till it descended into the vale to Stratton. Here it crossed the river Frome, and passing through Bradford Peverell, proceeded by the side of the river to Dorchester; where it joined the Ikenild street, running along the southern coast of England to Exeter. The dorsum of the road through the meadows is broad and elevated, and formed of flints brought from the neighbouring downs.

A second road led off on the north to Littleton, Street, Wells, and the mining district on Mendip. A third seems to have formed a communication with Old Sarum, passing through Sparkford, Galhampton, along the northern side of Redlinch park, ascending the high land near Alfred's tower, and running by Long lane, north of Stourhead grounds, till it joined the Via ad Axium, near Kington Deverell in Wiltshire.

[f] Sir R. C. Hoare, MSS.

The Fosse, after leaving Ilchester, proceeded in a direct line to Petherton bridge, and soon after we lose those distinguishing marks of it, which had been so conspicuous in its progress through the kingdom to this point.

The Romans necessarily availed themselves of the British trackways for the passage of their troops; and it was not till the country was subdued and became tranquilized, that the Roman military ways, which connected their stations, could have been formed. The commercial intercourse could be continued on the British lines of road, without much alteration, for a time:—but the military roads intended for the march of their legions through the country, were constructed under the superintendence of skilful engineers; and carried most commonly in a direct line, where practicable; and when interrupted by local impediments, though diverted so as to avoid these obstructions, yet resuming a direct course afterwards. We find the Fosse carried in a right line to Watergore; here its direction is lost, and a distance of about eighteen miles is unmarked by any certain indiciæ of a Roman road. The irregular and unbroken character of the country intervening between Honiton and the point above-mentioned, would have made it difficult to carry a direct road across the hills and valleys which intersect it; and the subjugation and pacification of the Britons probably rendered this work unnecessary.

We have, however, some traces of a road used by the Romans, indicated by their names, and used for commercial purposes, though not perhaps a military road.

On referring to the Ordnance map, we see traces of a tolerably direct line inclining to the left, through Dinnington, where it appears interrupted for about two miles, when we discover it crossing the turnpike road from Crewkerne to Chard, near the five-mile stone, and taking the direction of Axminster by Street court, Perry street, and Tytherleigh, crossing a piece of ground called *Oldway;* thence to Streetford and Axminster, where it fell into the Ikenild street, leading to Exeter.

Returning to Watergore, where numerous Roman coins, pottery, &c. have been found, the probable line of road was through the villages of Seavington, Kingston, Moollan (one mile south of Ilminster), Sea, Crockstreet, Sticklepath, over Comb down, leaving the beacon on the right, to Northay; thence descending into the vale of a branch of the Yart, it crossed the stream and ascended the ridge to Woodhays; descending to the Yart, which it crossed at Marsh, and ascending the opposite height, it took the direction of Birch hill, and soon fell into the line which came over Black down from Taunton, at a point called Morwood's causeway, where the remains of a Roman causeway existed, till it was destroyed about twenty-five years since, and the materials used in forming the new turnpike road, from Ilminster

to Honiton. It then passed the vale at Corry Fortice, and ascended the high land running parallel with the river Otter along Monkton down to Fortice gate, where it joined the Ikenild street, on the east of Honiton. Near this point, traces of a causeway were distinctly to be seen crossing a boggy place upon the hill, which had been abandoned in the construction of the modern line of road, about fifty yards to the east of it. This ancient causeway appeared to have been about ten feet wide, and consisted of a pavement of flint stones, similar to Morwood's causeway noticed above. [g]

[g] Davidson, p. 59.

DRUIDICAL ORNAMENT.

CHAPTER II.

1. Via ad Axium; its line, and posts connected with it described.—2. Station at Charterhouse; Roman works still visible there.—3. Course of the road to Uphill, and remains on its line; works at Uphill and on Brean Down.—4. Via Julia; its course to Abone on the Avon, below Clifton; and to the passage over the Severn.

VIA AD AXIUM.

1. THIS important line of Roman road had been unnoticed by our topographers; and we are indebted to the indefatigable researches of Sir Richard Colt Hoare, Bart. of Stourhead, for its discovery, who examined the whole line, and had it accurately surveyed and laid down on a map, which was engraved, and is inserted in his "Ancient Wiltshire." In these researches he was accompanied and assisted by the Rev. John Skinner, of Camerton; whose minute examination of the different posts has clearly proved its existence, beyond the shadow of doubt, particularly by the remains still extant at Charterhouse. This road entered Somersetshire at *Caerhill*, commonly called *Gaerhill*, where was an earthwork on the brow of the hill overlooking the vale of Witham. It traversed this valley, passing near Postlebury-hill, Allice Street, and Wanstrow. It is seen in Holly-leaze Bottom and Asham Woods, where it divides the property of Mr. Portman at Downhead, and Mr. Horner at Cloford. It ascends the hill, and separates the parishes of Downhead and East Cranmore, by the name of *Rough ditch*. It passes through *Hele*, which is divided by it; and becomes the boundary to the inclosures on the left in the parish of East Cranmore, and to the common belonging to Downhead, as far as to the stone erected in the former parish. It then passes through a small inclosure at the east of Downhead common, and crosses the turnpike road leading from Frome to Wells, at Longcross Bottom. Hence it follows the north side of the road to the *Beacon*, where it was intersected by the *Fosse* road. Half a mile further on, it leaves the turnpike road on the left, passing under the northern escarpment of Maesbury castle, and soon fell into a road leading from Oakhill to join the turnpike road from Old Down to Wells, near the four-mile stone. Several barrows are to be seen on the border of the road near this spot. It continued its course in a direct line westward along the track of the present road, which divides the parishes of Wells and Chewton, crossing the turnpike road from *Wells* to *Bristol* near Billingsley's farm; it then passed over the high land west of *Green-oar* farm, and ran across the inclosures towards the *Castle of Comfort* (an inn on the road from

Wells to Harptree and Blagdon). It passed a little to the south of the inn; where circles and other traces are distinctly visible in the field. Hence it took a direction across the inclosures, running parallel with the road by Hydon and Templedown farms, to *Charterhouse*, where was evidently a considerable station.

2. At this place, extensive traces of British and Roman works are seen, spreading over an area of one hundred acres. (See the pl.VI.) Here were discovered quantities of Roman bricks, flue tubes, and pottery. On the north of the settlement was a perfect *gymnasium*, on high ground; and so situated as to command a view of the Dousborough, near Bridgewater bay. The banks of the circle were from fifteen to twenty feet high, sloping gradually inwards, and the area thirty yards in diameter. At present there are three openings or entrances in the bank.

There can be no doubt, but that the Romans had their residence in the midst of the mining district; and that they smelted the ore dug from the adjoining mines on the spot, with the wood which grew abundantly along the declivity of the hill; and the uneven surface of the surrounding land shews the extent of their workings.

The two circles in the vicinity are supposed to be inclosures of a date anterior to the Romans having possession of this district, and intended for the celebration of the religious rites of the ancient Britons. The largest measures about fifty yards across, and is capable of containing a large assembly of people. It has been nearly levelled with the surrounding ground. The smaller circle is about half the size. The name of the former is *Gorse-bigbury*, derived from two terms implying the same thing, the one Celtic, the other Saxon. *Gor*, or *cor*, being the British word for a religious circle; and *bigbury*, an inclosure of earth in a circular form.[a] Although the Romans established themselves at this place with the Belgic Britons, for the sake of working the mines, there is no reason to imagine they interfered with their religious mode of worship. The Druids worshipped the sun and other heavenly bodies, and, like the Persians, considered it impious to confine their deities within temples made with hands: consequently all their sacred rites were exercised in the open air, and their temples were generally in a circular form, in allusion to the object of their worship in heaven; the officiating priests stood round in a circle, within the sacred inclosure.

3. From this place, the road passed on the south of the ridge of Blackdown, through a small camp, and descended to *Shipham*, (so long celebrated for its mines of lead and calamine,) passing a little north of the village, and soon after crossed the turnpike road from Bristol to Bridgwater.

Near this intersection is a small inn called the Star; and in a field a short dis-

[a] Skinner.

tance on the north, are the remains of a Roman building, with extensive foundations strongly cemented together. Roman bricks and pottery have been found on the spot in great abundance, and some coins; also parched wheat, which seems to indicate the building was destroyed by fire. This was probably the residence of the Roman overseer of the adjoining mines.

The road pursued a strait direction into the vale, and skirted the base of Banwell-wood Hill, on which is a large British intrenchment; and crossed the fields to Wint Hill on the south side of Banwell Hill, now inclosed, and belonging to the Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells, who has built a large cottage ornée, near the entrance to the recently-discovered caverns, which will be noticed hereafter. From hence it passed through the fields to Bridewell Lane, thence over Hutton Hill, and along the brow of the hill above the village, descending its declivity near Oldmixon; where the traces are distinctly visible; passing above Totterdown farm, in a direct line to the earthworks near Uphill Church; and then descended the hill to a place called Cold Harbour, near the river Axe; where also fragments of fine Samian pottery, and other Roman remains, have been found. Here was a passage over the Severn to the opposite coast, to communicate with the station at Caerdiff *(Tibia Amnis)* and Caerleon.

On the height above the river opposite to Blackrock, and at the eastern extremity of Brean down, is a large square earthwork, of Roman character, thrown up, we may presume, to defend the mouth of the river below.

The Romans, without doubt, occupied the most prominent British posts on the coast of the Severn, and established a coast-guard, lest their vessels should be intercepted by pirates. The mouths of the rivers were also defended by earthworks; vestiges of which are to be seen at the outlet of the rivers Parret, Axe, Yeo, and Avon near Portshead.

VIA JULIA.

4. This road, formed upon a British trackway, derives its name from Julius Frontinus, who succeeded Vespasian, and converted the trackway into a Roman road, to form a more ready communication with Wales, in his campaign against the Silures. It seems to have been a continuation of the Roman road coming from Verlucio and Cunetio, in Wiltshire, and leading over the Severn into Britannia Secunda. It joined the Fosse at Batheaston, two miles east of Bath, and left t again at Bath, or rather at Walcot, where it took a north-west direction from Walcot Church, up the hill, through Guinea-lane, along Montpellier, and Cottles-lane, towards the village of Weston and North Stoke, and onwards, forming a line of communication between Bath and the Trajectus, over the Severn. After leaving

Bath by Ormond-place, it entered the village of Weston, and continued through an obscure lane up the valley, till it joined the present horse-road to North Stoke. It then ascended the hill, leaving Kelweston Beacon on the left, passing a stronghold of the Britons on the summit of the hill on the right, and entered North Stoke by a lane still retaining the name of the *Fosse Road*. It then skirted the declivity of the hill, passing the village on the left, and descended by a gentle sweep into the line of the present turnpike road to Bristol at Bitton.

It then ran through the present villages of Wilsbridge, West Hanham, St. George's, and crossing the flat ground about a furlong east of St. Paul's Church, joined the road to Redland, a short distance beyond Stokes Croft turnpike gate. It then followed the turnpike road across Durdham Down to Sea Mills (the *Trajectus* of the Itinerary) on the river Avon, where was a Roman station, and from whence was the passage over the Severn, forming the communication between *Britannia prima* and *Britannia secunda* (Wales).

ORCHARDLEY CROMLECH.

CHAPTER III.

REV. JOHN SKINNER'S MEMOIR ON CAMALODUNUM.

The following letter, communicated by a learned and valued friend, and an antiquary, (whose comprehensive mind has been devoted to the deepest researches of antiquarian lore, and who has developed and explained many subjects hitherto either left in uncertainty, or passed over by former antiquaries,) is prefixed to this portion of the History of Somersetshire, as tending to elucidate a particular period of its history.

My dear Sir, *Camerton Parsonage.*

You will find in the following pages, and annexed map, Pl. X. a brief description of the eastern part of Somersetshire, bounded by the Severn, Avon, Frome, and Axe rivers.

The very numerous remains of British and Roman antiquities discovered in this interesting portion of our county, in connexion with other local circumstances, afford such incontrovertible vouchers for the historical facts, you must not deem me fanciful in asserting, "That this district was actually attached to the regal residence of Cynobelin,[a] spoken of by Dion; and the identical spot occupied by the Roman colonists established by Ostorius at CAMALODUNUM."

You may observe how perfectly it agrees in situation with the territory described by Tacitus, being in the vicinity of the Severn and Avon rivers, and the country of the Silures, who occupied South Wales: and how easy was the passage to the opposite shore, from whence constant communication might have been kept up by signals with the head-quarters of the legion at Camalodunum, as the general proceeded in his conquests. It was moreover contiguous to the country of the Brigantes, who commanded the passes of the Severn, from *Brigastow* or *Bristow*, now Bristol, to Gloucester. These were the same people as the *Boduni*, the allies of the Romans, whose insurrection recalled Ostorius from his march against the *Cangi*, along the range of the Quantock hills; which *Cangi*, as well as the *Iceni*

[a] Dion calls it Καμαδολανον του Κυνοβελλινου Βασελειον. Tacitus also informs us, that Ostorius established a colony of veterans at Camalodunum, to be a curb to the Silures, and that he might with greater facility carry on military operations against that people from thence. "Silurum gens non atrocitate, non clementiâ mutabatur quin bellum exerceret, castrisque legionum premenda foret. Id quo promptius veniret, colonia Camalodunum validâ veteranorum manu deducitur in agros captivos (that is, the territory taken from Cynobelin by Aulus Plautius and Claudius in person,) subsidium adversus rebelles, et imbuendis sociis ad officia legum. *Itum inde in Silures.*"—Tacit. Ann. lib. xii. c. 32.

on the Hampshire coast, were Belgic-British tribes engaged in the traffic of the metals, and were so much offended with the Romans, who blockaded the Severn and Avon rivers by a chain of forts, on the plea of guarding against the incursions of the Silures, that they declared war against them; because it interfered with their lucrative commerce, which, we presume, the Romans themselves had an eye to, and was the principal cause of their invasion.[b]

The Quantock hills were occupied by the Cangi,[c] who had a very strong camp near Stowey, which commanded a secure harbour (Combwich) for the shipping employed in conveying the metals from Cornwall, Devon, and Wales; which, when smelted, were transported with the lead of Mendip to the Hampshire coast, by a road to be traced along the ridge of Polden hill to where it joins the road from Uphill on the Mendip hills, leading to Old Sarum and Hampshire. It was probably by this road Ostorius marched to the country of the Cangi, after having gained a decisive victory over the Iceni, their friends and allies: and had proceeded as far as the sea which looks towards Ireland, when an insurrection of the Boduni or Brigantes recalled him again to Camalodunum; which having quieted, he established a strong colony of veteran soldiers on the spot which had been previously occupied by the Kings of the Belgæ, as the capital of the district we are describing.

This was a very politic step in the Roman general, not only to secure the possessions of the Romans already acquired by Aulus Plautius and the Emperor Claudius in person; but by establishing the municipal law, he thought gradually to civilize the people, and make the yoke of conquest sit lightly on their shoulders. Besides,

b Tacit. Ann. lib. xii. c. 31.—The traffic in the metals was carried on from these parts, by placing the pigs of lead or iron on the backs of horses, which were driven by easy stages across the country to the principal settlement of the Iceni near Southampton, to be sent to the continent from thence; avoiding the circuitous and difficult navigation round the Land's End. Prasutagus, the King of the Iceni, had so enriched himself by this traffic, that he subsequently drew on him the cupidity of the Romans, who plundered his family, and induced the insurrection of the Britons under Boadicea.—Tacit. Ann. lib. xiv. c. 31.

Leland quotes an ancient author who calls the New Forest *Icenia*, as belonging to the territories of the Iceni, near the Southampton Water. Gale remarks, there were Iceni near the Itchen in Hampshire.

c *Cangi*. *Can* implies a projection, and *y* water, which marks the territory, giving name to the inhabitants. The *Cantii* of Kent, the *Cantæ* of Scotland, and the *Cangiani* of North Wales, occupied the same kind of projections as did the Cangi under the Quantock hills.

The *Iceni* (Y. cen. i.) also had their settlement on the projecting point of land between the Itchen and Anton rivers, falling into the Southampton Water.

The name *Boduni* indicates a people dwelling on the duns or heights above the water-passes, that is, along the range of the Cotswold hills, where their camps are still remaining. *Brigantes*, a people having their seats or settlements above the *Bry-gan* or heights on the curvatures of the water-passes. The people of Dorsetshire were called both *Durotriges* and *Morini*; the one signifying the dwellers near the water; and the other, dwellers near the sea.

as the chain of camps in the vicinity of Camalodunum, offered a strong barrier against the invasions of the Silures, so they afforded secure quarters for the military, who might be drafted out as occasion required, when the general proceeded in his campaign against that people. That Ostorius, by the aid of signals on the high range of hills in Wales, which communicated with those of Somersetshire, in the neighbourhood of Camalodunum, could afford prompt assistance to the military engaged against the Silures, we may infer from several passages in Tacitus, descriptive of the arduous enterprize they were engaged in against that warlike people.[d] In half a day's march from the camps on the Severn, assistance might have been sent across the water to the military engaged with the Silures; or to replace the advanced guard drawn out of the stations; for Ostorius, we find, was sometimes obliged to reinforce the combatants, who perhaps were some of the auxiliary troops, with the heavy armed legionaries.

The residences of the colonists established by Ostorius at Camalodunum, extended along the whole range of hill between the inclosure of the two streams of the *Cam*;[e] that is, from *Clan-down* to *Twinney*, where they form a junction, and taking the name of *Camber*, fall into the Avon. The ground thus encompassed, measures about three miles in length, and from two to three in breadth. A third stream rising at Clan-down, joins the southern branch of the Cam, at Radstoke; thus rendering the strong-hold nearly insular. Coins, pottery, and other indicia of a Roman occupancy, extend along the whole of the inclosure; which accounts for a tradition still current among the country people, that a considerable town, once continued from Paulton to Wellow, but was destroyed in times long past.

The name of Camerton, as it appears from Domesday Book, and other ancient documents, was originally written *Camerlartone*, having in the course of so many ages lost so little of its original denomination. The Camalodun and deep valleys surrounding the Dunum, (which became morasses by the baying back the water of the streams,) must have rendered it inaccessible, except by causeways leading to the heights, which were carefully guarded by outposts; so that it was by nature a strong-hold, of considerable magnitude, capable of containing, in case of alarm, all the inhabitants dwelling in the vicinity, with their flocks and herds; but the circuit of the lines was so extensive, it required a numerous population to guard

[d] Tacit. Ann. lib. xii. c. 38.

[e] *Cam* implies the winding stream, as well as a portion of ground lying between the encompassing streams; vide Campania, Camasina, Camalet, Camelford, &c.; also Amnis, a stream, Ποταμος, Mesopotamia, &c. &c. *Tam*, in Tamesis, signifies the inclosure of streams; the C in Camalodunum indicated the height above the water, and *al* or *el* the length of the hill. There was a *Cambodunum* in the country of the Brigantes near the lake Lemanus (Geneva); another place of the same name in Britain, beyond the Humber. *Camboricum* was also the encompassing stream. Vide also Hampton, Durham, Hamburg, &c.

them, which the Roman colonists not having at their disposal, when attacked by the Britons under Boadicea, were cut off and destroyed.

In every respect the situation and natural defences of Camalodunum are found to agree with the description of other strongholds of the Belgæ in Gaul, mentioned by Julius Cæsar in his Commentaries: such as Melodunum, Noviodunum, Uxellodunum, &c. The Belgic Britons of course adopted the same mode of defence here, as they had done in their own country, and which were found sufficient to secure them in their domestic wars with other tribes, but could not avail when opposed by the superior tactics, and, we may add too, the artillery of the Romans, who threw enormous blocks of stone from their engines, which cleared the way before them, and opened at once the approaches to the strongest of their dunums.

With respect to the situation of Camalodunum, the first colonial establishment of the Romans, as we learn from Cæsar's Commentaries, there has been great diversity of opinion; some supposing it to have been at Maldon[f] in Essex; some at Colchester; and some at Camelon in Scotland; not considering that a similarity of situation would occasion a similarity of name; but, as the Camalodunum mentioned by Tacitus had been destroyed long before the Itineraries were written, and the head-quarters of the military transferred to Bath, it is in vain to look for the name of the colony established by Ostorius in these documents, since it was entirely merged in that of the Aquæ Solis, the then military station and head-quarters of the soldiers. Neither Maldon nor Colchester could possibly have been the site of the place from whence the Proprætor carried on his operations against the Silures, is very evident; since both these places were situated beyond the bounds of the Roman province, and far away from the Severn and Avon rivers, and the scene of the subsequent operations of Ostorius. The name of Colchester was *Caer Coln*, or the strong-hold on the river Coln, which, when Latinized, became Colonia; that of Maldon implied a dun encompassed by water, and probably was the Καμουδολανον of Ptolemy; but how could Ostorius have carried on his campaign against the Silures from thence, more than from Colchester? and where are we to look for the line of fortified camps in either of these places? We read they were expressly established as a curb against the incursions of the Silures, who were distant more than one hundred miles from this place. Although Camden and Holinshed have partially given their opinions in favour of Maldon, yet both these antiquaries have found the testimony of Tacitus so strong respecting the operations of Ostorius having been carried on in

[f] Camden and Horsley declare in favour of Maldon. Leland says Camalodunum was at Colchester. Dr. Gale, at Saffron Walden. Other writers place it at Castle Camps in Cambridgeshire. Polydore Virgil says it was at Doncaster, and Hector Boethius carries it into Scotland, and fixes this first establishment of the Romans in Britain at Camelon on the Carron!!

the vicinity of the Severn and Avon rivers, and directly from Camalodunum; they conjectured it must have been at Camalet, a strongly fortified camp near the south-west boundary of Somerset; but that this lofty and detached hill could not have been adapted to the residence of the colonists established by Ostorius, is apparent from the circumstance of its having been a fortified camp, guarded by a triple trench, and containing about twenty acres only within the inclosure, which never could have contained the habitations of numerous colonists, who built their houses, as Tacitus remarks, along the Dunum as their inclination induced them, without having lines or fortifications to defend them; and on that account, when surprised by the Britons, were easily cut off; while those who fled to the temple of Claudius, in the vicinity, did not share a better fate.[g] It moreover appears that one of the reasons assigned by the historian for the revolt of the Britons under Boadicea, was

g To Julius Cæsar we are indebted for an account of the Belgæ, whom he calls the most powerful people of all Gaul. He says they came over from Germany, and settled among the Gauls (being attracted thither by the fertility of the country), after having driven out the ancient inhabitants.

In the confederacy they entered into against the Romans, the names of the different states, and the quota of troops they furnished, is particularly specified, viz.:

The Hædui and their dependants	35,000	The Mediomatrices	5,000
The Averni, &c.	35,000	The Petrocorians	5,000
The Senones	12,000	The Nervians	5,000
The Sequani	12,000	The Morini	5,000
The Bituriges	12,000	The Nitobriges	5,000
The Santones	12,000	The Aulerci Ceomanni	5,000
The Rutheni	12,000	The Attrebates	4,000
The Carnutes	12,000	The Bellocassians	3,000
The Bellovaci	2,000	The Lexobians	3,000
The Lemovices	10,000	The Aulerci Eburones	3,000
The Pictones	8,000	The Rauraci	3,000
The Turones	8,000	The Boii	2,000
The Parisians	8,000	The cities of Armorica, bordering on the Ocean	6,000
The Helvetians	8,000		
The Suessones	5,000		249,000
The Ambiani	5,000		

All these Belgic tribes obtained their denomination from the position of their principal strongholds, whether on the hills, as the Catuaci, near the pass of a river; an inclosure, as the Ambiani; or near the sea, as the Morini. In Britain the same local distinction was observed, as to the territory occupied, and the different Belgic-British tribes united under a generalissimo, on any great emergency, as their ancestors had done before them; for we find Cassivelanus opposed Cæsar on his invasion of the country; as did Caractacus, another of the Cynobelin or chiefs of the Belgæ, the generals of the Emperor Claudius. The pretext Cæsar held out for his invasion, was that the Belgic-Britons had received deserters from Gaul during his wars in that country; but his real object was to get possession of the mining districts, in order to further his ambitious designs against Rome by paying the legions, and making them subservient to his views.

because the revenues of the priests had been alienated and bestowed on those officiating in the temple dedicated to the deceased Emperor Claudius, and occupied by the colonists at Camalodunum. Now the Druidical circles at Stanton Drew being within three miles of *Temple Cloud*, the supposed site of this temple, sufficiently accounts for the jealousy of the British priests, who saw their revenues alienated and bestowed on strangers, and their own mode of worship abrogated and destroyed.

That the Camalodunum mentioned by Tacitus must have been in the west of England instead of the east, is further confirmed by the testimony of Dion, who states that it was the regal residence of the Cynobelin, or Kings of the Belgæ; and where are we to look for the regal residence of the Kings of the Belgæ, but in their own territories?[h]

According to Ptolemy, the Belgæ occupied the country between the Severn and the British Channel; for Bath, Ilchester, and Winchester were therein comprised. They were divided into several tribes, named according to the situation of the country they occupied; the same as they were in Gaul: and although for the most part governed by the legitimate chieftain or ruler of each separate clan or tribe; yet they owed obedience to the head of the people, (or as the name *Cynobelin* implied, the King of the Belgæ,) who was their leader in war, and probably decided their petty differences and divisions in time of peace. By examining the great variety of Belgic-British coins stamped with the name of Cynobelin, having Cam or Camul on the reverse, indicative of Camalodunum, where the kings of the Belgæ resided, and had their coins stamped, you will perceive that all these portraits could never have identified the same person, since the features are so very different and dissimilar; indeed, some of them are evidently females. On analysing the name, according to the Germanic idiom, *Cyn* implies a king or chieftain, and *O. Belen* of the Belgæ; the *en* being the plural termination in that language, as *oxen, children, hosen,* where we still retain it from our Saxon ancestors; sometimes it was written *in,* as we find in Cunobilin for Cunobelin. *(See vignette.)*

The Roman mint masters employed at this period by the Britons, in imitation of the coins of Augustus, not only gave the actual reverses of several, but the indicative name Cynobelin, to denote the king of the Belgæ; the same as IMP. ROM. implied Imperator Romanorum: a general title for the rulers of that people, which was continued to be engraved on the Roman coins till the latest period of the empire. The coins of Cynobelin, or kings of the Belgæ, had a much shorter date, comprising only the dynasty of these chieftains from the reign of Augustus to that of Claudius, when the territory they occupied in Britain, fell into the hands

[h] Tacitus, Vit. Agricolæ, cap. 14; and Suetonius, Life of Flavius Vespasian, p. 505.

of the Romans: still we may draw this inference of the kings of the Belgæ residing at Camalodunum (as Dion asserts that the persons whom he calls Cunobelin did, and as the *Cam* and *Camul* inscribed on their coins corroborates). Besides, on the authority of Tacitus, the Roman province, in the time of Aulus Plautius, Vespasian, and Ostorius,[i] the generals of Claudius, did not extend further than *Britannia prima*, or, as he terms it, the *proxima pars Britanniæ*; since it was by them by degrees reduced into the form of a province, by building stations, and carrying on military roads from place to place through the country.

Britannia Secunda, or Wales (so named from having been the second fruits of the Roman conquests), was not subdued till long after the death of Ostorius. To Agricola, the father-in-law of Tacitus, we may attribute the entire conquest of the Island, about thirty years after this period. How then can it with any shew of reason be presumed that Camalodunum, the capital of the province of Britannia Prima, was at Colchester or Maldon, in Essex? both which places were far beyond the boundary of the province, being situated in the third division of the Island, called Flavia Cæsariensis in honour of the Vespasian family, which was not reduced by the Romans, and added to their former conquests, until after the Silures, or Wales, became Britannia Secunda. Besides, how could Ostorius have carried on his operations against the Silures from either of these places, both being so entirely out of the province, and so remote from the Severn and Avon rivers, which the general crossed from Camalodunum to commence his campaign against the Silures, or inhabitants of South Wales? The testimony of Pliny on this subject,[k] moreover, carries great weight; for he asserts that Camalodunum was distant from Mona two hundred miles, whereas Colonia, or Colchester, was above three hundred and twenty; besides, the Romans ever kept in view the convenience of situation with respect to their military operations, that they might march a considerable force in the shortest time to any point threatened to be attacked, or which they meant to attack themselves: so that the head-quarters of a legion from whence drafts were to be sent, on any emergency, to different points of the country, must have been centrical, with respect to the territories already conquered, and those about to be subdued.

Our western Camalodunum possessed all these advantages. It was nearly equidistant from Kent, the eastern extremity of the then province; from Land's End, the western; and from Mona, the northern extremity of Britannia Secunda, then

[i] Tacit. Ann. lib. 14, c. 31, 32.

[k] Plin. l. 2, cap. 75. In all probability he mentioned Camalodunum as being two hundred miles distant from Mona, because Suetonius Paulinus could not return in time to save the place from the ravages of the exasperated Britons, who surprised the colony during his absence against Mona, and destroyed it.

about to be subdued. But the most powerful argument which may be adduced in favour of this hypothesis is this: the Roman colonists, by establishing themselves in this part of the island, had all the *mines* of Somersetshire, Devonshire, Cornwall, and Wales open to their speculations, by which they enriched themselves and their countrymen; that is, by carrying on the same traffic with the continent as the Belgic-Britons did before the invasion of Julius Cæsar.[1] Colchester, or the Caer Coln of the Britons, possessed none of these advantages for commerce, by which the colonists might have enriched themselves; for it was situated in the midst of woods and morasses, it had no mines or minerals to enrich the conquerors (which seems to have been the principal inducement for the Roman invasion). It was moreover entirely out of the way of all the subsequent operations of Ostorius and his successors against the Silures and Ordovices, who inhabited Britannia Secunda or Wales.

From these premises we deduce the following conclusions respecting Camerton, called in Domesday Book Camerlartone, as to its having been the Camalodunum mentioned by Tacitus:

1. It accords in name and situation. The name Camalodunum implying the stronghold above the inclosure of streams. In this respect it moreover accords with the description of similar strongholds in Gaul given by Julius Cæsar (vide Uxellodunum, Melodunum, Lugdunum, &c. &c.) which were the capitals of districts, and of sufficient extent in case of alarm, to contain the whole population of the surrounding country with their flocks and herds. It was surrounded by deep valleys and morasses, and approached by three public roads, the *Fosse*, the *Ridgeway*, and the *Portway*, from the Severn; besides numerous vicinal roads led to it, known to have been employed as such by the ancient Britons, from the circumstance of their interments and coarse unbaked pottery having been found near the way-side; also banks of earth guarding these approaches to the capital; and the outposts connected with them; from whence have sprung the following villages hamlets, and local denominations, still preserved in Radford, Dunford, Durcot, Redbridge, Credlingcot, Splot, Dunkerton, Combhay, Midford, Twinney, Wellow, Stoney Littleton, Foxcote, Writhlington, Woodborough, and Radstoke. There were besides the following camps and strongholds on the hills surrounding the ridge of high ground encompassed by the streams of Cam, viz. 1. Tunley camp.—2. Duncarn.—3. Two or three embanked posts above the Fosseway.—4. A stronghold above Wick farm in Comb-hay.—5. A Roman camp above Midford.—6. Hinton.—7. An outpost at Falkland knoll.—8. A strong position above Radstoke.—9. And a fortified camp on Highbury or Cloud hill near Clutton.

[1] Vide Diodorus Siculus, lib. v. s. 30; also Tacitus, Vit. Agricolæ, cap. 12.

2. It accords in the general situation of the district mentioned by Tacitus, as to having been occupied by the Romans in the vicinity of the Severn and Avon rivers; and also in the particular circumstance of having a chain of camps which connected them as a barrier against the incursions of the Silures; for Ostorius having subdued the Iceni near the Itchen or Southampton Water, and the Cangi on the Quantock hills: quelled an insurrection of the Brigantes dwelling near the *Briga* or principal passes over the Severn and Avon rivers, beyond Brigastow or Bristol; connected together the boundary camps of the Britons with a vallum and military roads, as stations for his own soldiers; and established a colony of veterans at Camalodunum, the capital of the district which he made his head-quarters,—immediately proceeded from thence against the Silures on the opposite side of the Severn. (See note, p. 138.)

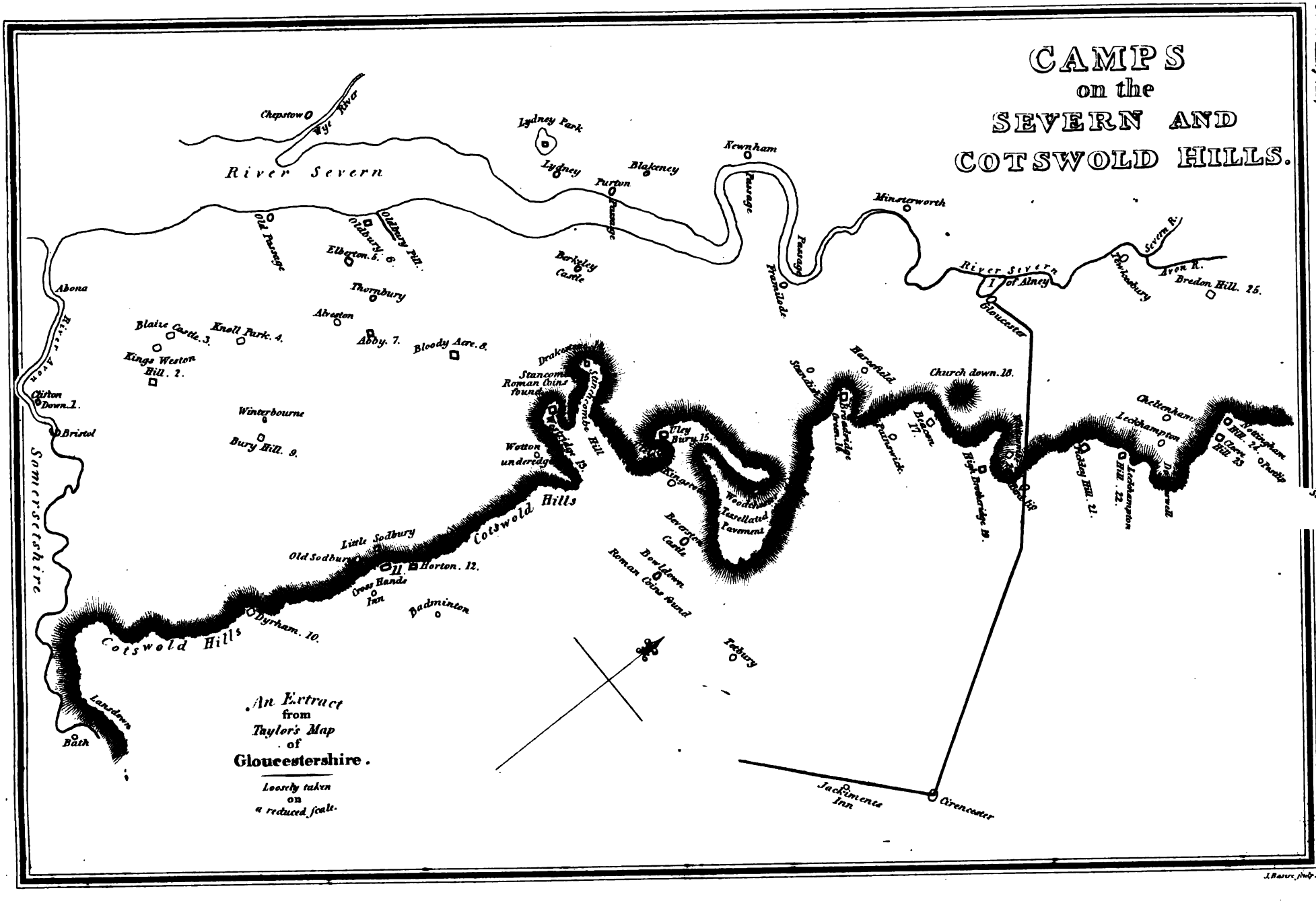
VALLUM OF OSTORIUS, CALLED THE WANSDYKE.

This barrier commenced at Stokesleigh Camp, and terminated at Farley Castle, being thus nearly thirty miles in extent. The following is a list of camps on its line, to guard the Avon:

1. Clifton Camp, on Durdham Down.
2. Stokesleigh, on Leigh Down opposite, beyond Clifton.
3. Borough walls, contiguous to it.
4. Maesknoll, a considerable inclosure, which communicated with Borough walls, and the heights in Wales.
5. Stantonbury Camp. There were four outposts, or intermediate forts, on the line between this point and Maesknoll; namely, at Knoll hill above Compton Dando; in Hayes field near the church; a third situated in the valley near the river; and a fourth as you approach the road under Stantonbury Camp, leading to Burnet.
6. A large inclosure, apparently used by the Romans in the midst of a British settlement on Anglescombe hill, near the church, was probably the next encampment connected by the vallum of Ostorius; but, between this and Stantonbury there seem to have been four intermediate outposts, one at the point where it entered Newton park, and ran in front of Mr. Langton's house; another at what is called *Old Park* at the opposite extremity; a third at Sowdike beyond Twelve O'clock-lane; and a fourth at Pensylvania farm. There seems to have been two intermediate forts on the line of the vallum, as it proceeded along Anglescombe valley; and a third where it crossed the Fosseway on the heights, at what is called Burnt-house turnpike gate, where Roman coins and pottery have been found in Farnham wood. A large British settlement seems to have been established beyond the vallum, under Anglescombe barrow (which was a beacon), and in the vicinity of Ber-

Plate XI. p. 148.

CAMPS on the SEVERN AND COTSWOLD HILLS.



An Extract from Taylor's Map of Gloucestershire.

Loosely taken on a reduced scale.

J. Basire, sculp.

wick camp, above Bath, where a considerable fortification is still visible, which guarded the Fosse-way. When Ostorius drew the line of his vallum across the district, it is very probable he permitted the Brigantes, who occupied Hampton Down, above Bath, and the whole of the *Oder Nant Badun*, or valley between Bath and Bristol, and guarded the ferries and passes over the Avon and Severn rivers, still to retain the command of the Severn, and withstand the invasion of the Silures. At first these Brigantes were received into alliance with the Romans by Aulus Plautius; but afterwards, through their quarrels among themselves, and subsequent rebellion against their more powerful neighbours, they drew down their vengeance upon them; and after the decided part they took in the insurrection of Boadicea, their whole territory was annexed to the former conquests of these politic invaders. The vallum of Ostorius is still visible on the heights from Burnt-house turnpike gate to the Cross Keys at the head of Combe valley, nearly three quarters of a mile in length. From thence, where there was probably an intermediate fort, it extended to the *Gaer*, (No. 7) or 'stronghold,' (facing Midford Castle), which was a Belgic British camp of importance connected by the line of the vallum; which may be easily traced on the ground above Midford, the eastern extremity of Camalodunum. There was another fort on the line of the vallum, which ascended the opposite hill to Hinton: half way up the eminence there was another outpost; and again, another near the lodge leading to the mansion house at Hinton Abbey, called Hays (by corruption Hog's wood) that guarded the valley; and above it was a beacon barrow. Another outpost was on the site of Hinton Abbey.

No. 8 is a stronghold and considerable settlement of the Britons at Hinton. The remains of the Roman work on the line of the vallum is still seen, called the *Bulwarks*, where coins and pottery have been found. Above Iford there was another intermediate outpost; and between that and what is called Danes' Dyke (perhaps Dun's Dyke), is an amphitheatre and vicinal Roman road, with the remains of a villa and tessellated pavement in a field, to the north-west of the present castle.

I am inclined to believe that Ostorius, availing himself of the natural ravine, now called Danes' Dyke, made it his vallum, which proceeded straight to Farley castle, where there was strong fortified post, to guard one of the principal approaches to Camalodunum. The Belgic-British lines of defence may still be discovered in banks rising one above the other, close to Farley castle, which seems to have been occupied in succession by the Belgic-Britons, the Romans, the Saxons, and the Normans, till it came into the family of the Hungerfords, who dwelt here for several generations.

By carrying on this line of connexion between the camps on the hills facing the Avon, and extending it with intermediate stations and outposts to Farley castle,

above the Frome river, it prevented all possibility of invasion by the Silures; who used to pass over the Severn from the opposite side in their light coracles, made of hides, which drew so little water that they could ascend high up the rivers, and pass through the interval between the hill camps, to invade and plunder the district. This mode of invasion, Ostorius obviated by connecting the camps together with a vallum, and intermediate forts, so that the whole formed a strong boundary impervious to invaders.

The vallum of Antonine against the Caledonians in Scotland, and that of Hadrian in Northumberland, were arranged after the same manner, as boundaries; the commanding eminences being chosen for the principal stations, and the intermediate spaces guarded by *castella*, or forts, especially where roads intersected the line. Julius Cæsar describes a similar vallum which he crossed; for the distance of twenty miles, from Mount Jura to the lake of Geneva, to prevent the passage of the Helvetii through the Roman province. The Roman works in the north of Britain, I have myself carefully examined, and can pronounce to a certainty, they were arranged exactly after the model of the vallum of Ostorius; so there can be no manner of doubt, that this was what Tacitus meant, when he says, "Cinctosque castris Avonam et Sabrinam fluvios cohibere parat."

Below the camps on the hills, there was a second line of forts, to guard the passes over the river Avon. 1. At Bedminster; 2. at Wick near Brislington; 3. at Rockhouse facing Hanham; 4. a stronghold in Keynsham parish; 5. at Saltford; 6. at Twerton; 7. at Kelweston; 8. at Walcot; 9. at Bath near the old bridge; 10. at Bathwick; 11. at Bath Hampton; 12. at Bathford; 13. at Claverton; 14. Combe; 15. at Lympley Stoke; 16. at Freshford; 17. at Iford; 18. at Farley castle; 19. at Tellesford; 20. at Woolverton; 21. at Orchardleigh; 22. at Frome. There were also strong defences on the southern frontier, at Tedbury, Wadbury, and Newbury, (with Smaldon and Merehead camps,) which guarded the Avon and Frome rivers; and were forts in ancient times, from whence have sprung the present villages and hamlets here enumerated, which defended the roads and approaches of the district, whose capital was Camalodunum, long before the Romans settled in the district.

The line of strongholds on the Severn, established by the Belgic-Britons, and occupied by the Romans in the district of Camalodunum, and which Ostorius connected by military roads, and a line of fire beacons, to convey signals to head quarters, were as follows: Near the coast, were Portbury, Portshead, Walton, Clevedon, Wick St. Lawrence, Woodspring, Worle, Uphill, Brean Down, Brent Knoll, Berrow, and Burnham. A second line of strong camps was established on the range of hills above the coast by the Belgic-Britons, namely, Cadbury near Tickenham,

a small camp near Gobble comb, Cadbury above Congersbury, Dolebury, Dynhurst, Burrington, Banwell and Bleadon, with the great settlement near Uphill, where there was subsequently a Roman outpost to guard the port. Beyond the range of Mendip was the great estuary Uxella, which was passed by vessels and ferry-boats, to the country of the Cangi, but now filled up by the alluvial deposits of the sea and river Parret, and become some of the richest pasturage in the country. Ostorius found all these boundary camps established, which rendered the district of Camalodunum, in the time of the Cynobelin, a most strong position; but he made it still more secure by connecting them together by military roads, so that a number of soldiers might be marched to any threatened point in a few hours from head quarters. If it were requisite to transport them across the Severn, to forward the operations carried on against the Silures, the garrisons from whence they were drafted might be replaced almost immediately; the whole communication being carried on by beacon signals, on the heights, as we now do by telegraphs.

It is pretty evident therefore, that what Tacitus records in his annals respecting the proceedings of Ostorius, previous to his campaign against the Silures, "cinctosque castris Sabrinam et Avonam fluvios cohibere parat," can only apply to these parts; and it is a great perversion of his narrative to believe they could have been transacted elsewhere. The great *cause* of this perversion proceeds from the interpolation of the word *Tamisæ* in the xxxiid chapter of the 14th book of the older editions of Tacitus; for the historian merely states, speaking of the omens which terrified the minds of the colonists in the district of Camalodunum, "visamque speciem in æstuario *notam* esse subversæ coloniæ;" not as it is now written, "visamque speciem in æstuario *Tamisæ;*" for then these transactions would seem to have taken place in the vicinity of the Thames, instead of the Avon and Severn rivers, as in the foregoing part of the narration our author expressly said they did. Vide the MS. of Tacitus in the Bodleian library, Oxford; also the Editio Princeps, that, by Phil. Barvaldo, anno 1515; that of Andr. Alicato, 1517; and Leipsic, fol. 1589. After this time the word Tamisæ or Tamisis was introduced, which has occasioned a great deal of misconstruction.

With regard to the red appearance of the Severn estuary, which passes over veins of iron ore, and washes up the ochre, especially when agitated a storm; this entirely accounts for what the same accurate historian has recorded respecting the bloody appearance of the water, after Suetonius Paulinus had proceeded on his expedition against *Mona;* for, as he had drafted almost the whole of the military from the district, leaving it defenceless, and exposed to the fury of their enemies, they considered the bloody appearance of the water as an omen of the destruction of the colony; especially when connected with the sight of dead bodies washed ashore;

probably some of their countrymen who had made shipwreck, whilst crossing the dangerous channel. It is to be remembered that these appearances occurred in the estuary of the Severn, not in the Thames, for the word Tamesis is only an interpolation. This latter coincidence has its weight and value, when we bear in mind especially that Agricola, from whom Tacitus received his information of all these particulars, was then serving under Suetonius Paulinus, and in all probability passed with him across the Severn, and marched through Britannia Secunda, or Wales, in his expedition against Mona, where the Druids made their last stand, and whose terrifying influence over the minds of the Roman soldiers, he could not have so forcibly portrayed, unless he derived the account from an eyewitness.[n] It was during the time Suetonius was thus occupied, that the Belgic-Britons revolted, and under their Queen Boadicea overthrew the colony at Camalodunum, and destroyed the temple dedicated to Claudius, where some of the outcasts had fled for shelter.

3rdly. The third coincidence may be remarked as most striking; for the circumstance is mentioned by Tacitus, as well as by Dion and Seneca, that there was a temple dedicated to the Emperor Claudius by the colonists at Camalodunum, which gave great offence to the Britons, because their revenues were confiscated to supply the priests who officiated therein. Now there is a place called Temple Cloud, a lofty hill situated in Clutton parish, just above the northern branch of the Cam stream, which was a British strong-hold, surrounded by a bank and deep trench. On the very apex of this isolated eminence, the foundations of a considerable building have been found within these few years by persons planting trees for Lord Warwick, to whom the place belongs; and Roman coins both of brass and silver have been discovered; of the latter a potful was dug up by a man repairing the hedge which bounded the camp to the west, which he took to Bristol and sold. Since the circles at Stanton Drew are within three miles of this temple, we may easily account for the discontent which filled the breasts of the British priests,[o] at having their revenues taken from them, to go into the pockets of others. How this singular coincidence between the name and situation of the Templum Claudii and Temple Cloud can be accounted for, unless they were one and the same, I will not pretend to determine. The Roman title affords a ready solution of the present appellation of Temple Cloud; if we admit not this etymology, where are we to look for another?

Cloud-town

4thly. The fourth coincidence with respect to Camalodunum, and the record of Tacitus concerning it, although not so striking as the former, still must not be overlooked. The historian informs us that the veterans settled by Ostorius on the spot, did not inclose themselves within the walls of the station, as they were

[n] Tacit. Ann. lib. xiv. c. 30.

[o] Tacit. Ann. lib. xiv. c. 32. Vide Gibson's edit. of Camden, respecting the Cangi, vol. i. p. 83.

accustomed to do in other instances, but built their houses over the whole of the territory, as their inclination or their convenience happened to direct the choice of situation. It is a singular coincidence, that though Roman pottery, coins, and foundations of buildings have been partially discovered over the whole of the Dunum, between the streams of the Cam, from Twinney to Clan Down, nearly six miles in length, and from two to three in width, no regular lines of fortifications have been met with. This coincidence has its weight; moreover, it clearly proves that Camalet or Cadbury, which is a strongly fortified camp, twenty acres in extent, with a triple trench around it, could not have been the position occupied by the Roman colonists, established by Ostorius, since our historian expressly says they had no regular fortifications to defend them, and on this account they were swept away by the overbearing force of the Britons.

5th coincidence. The distance mentioned by Pliny, (lib. ii. c. 75,) of Camalodunum, from Mona, or the Isle of Anglesea, exactly accords with the actual space, according to the Roman measurement in the Itineraries; both Colchester and Maldon are more than a hundred miles further removed.

The reason why Pliny gives the distance between these two places, and thus mentions them together, seems to have been, because Suetonius was recalled from the conquest of this celebrated seat of the Druids, by an insurrection of the Britons under Boadicea, who had destroyed the residences of the colony at Camalodunum, together with the temple dedicated to Claudius, before the general could march from Mona to their assistance; he therefore continued his course towards London, and finally gained a decisive victory over his adversary somewhere near Canterbury; we may suppose this, as he passed by or through London, with the intention, perhaps, of succouring the Romans established in Durovernum (Canterbury), one of the earliest stations of the Romans in Britain. Some records extant in Pliny's time might have recorded all these events, or he might have learnt them from the mouth of Agricola himself. This we know, that Pliny the younger and Tacitus were great friends; since the former, in his letter to Tacitus, records the sad catastrophe which deprived his uncle of his life, during the eruption of Mount Vesuvius. There can be no doubt but our accurate historian had the full use of his papers, as well as his conversation, respecting the affairs of Britain; and if his works had been handed down to us in a perfect state, there could have been no dispute respecting the actual situation of Camalodunum.

6th coincidence. The number of Roman coins discovered at Camerton within these last thirty years: upwards of eighteen hundred being in my possession, extending almost in an uninterrupted series from Augustus to Honorius; the numerous graves and tumuli in the vicinity; the various roads, fords, and track-

ways conducting directly to the Dunum; the camps, outposts, and earthworks which defended the approaches to it; above all, its contiguity to the great boundary of the vallum of Ostorius, or Wansdyke, (so named by the Saxons,) which securely guarded it from invasion by the Avon; together with its connection by military roads with the camps on the Severn; we must be fully satisfied of the importance of this place in past times; and since there is no other name so applicable as that of Camalodunum to identify a situation of such consequence in former days, we feel justified in supporting the opinion, that Camerton or Camerlartone, as it is written in Domesday Book, was actually the site of the Roman colony established by Ostorius to awe the Silures, and to carry on the lucrative traffic in the metals with Gaul and the mother country; indeed, the subsequent prosperity of the district in which it is situated, containing three cities, Bath, Bristol, and Wells, and the first and richest monastery in Britain, namely, Glastonbury, can hardly be accounted for, unless by supposing it continued to be enriched by the mines of Mendip, and its lucrative trade in the metals with the other parts of the country and the continent from the earliest times, till these sources of wealth were exhausted.

I have thus given you an epitome of my observations on Camalodunum, which are partially known to you, and will shortly be laid before the public. It is not difficult to account for the mistakes of our earlier antiquaries, concerning the actual site of this celebrated colony. It was too much the case, that a similarity of name carried great weight with it, not considering that a similarity of situation would itself occasion this occurrence, especially when the whole island was divided into separate clans, tribes, and nations, so that no mistakes could well be made as to the identity of any particular situation, before the arrival of the Romans; and, although names somewhat similar are recorded in their itineraries, it never could have misled the military, who knew the Iters laid down for them, and the exact stages from one station to another; but when the dark ages succeeded, many names were forgotten, or owing to the neglect or ignorance of the transcribers of the Itineraries, misspelt, at the revival of literature, so that a great variety of opinions respecting the actual situation of many places consequently occurred; it is therefore not much to be wondered at, that our Camalodunum has been shifted about in so many directions, from the west to the east; from the south to the north. Still we must bear in mind that the Camalodunum spoken of by Tacitus, which was the colony of veterans established by Ostorius, was destroyed fifty years before either Ptolemy or the author of the Itinerary of Antonine wrote; and that the military station, or head quarters of the legionary soldiers in these parts, had been transferred to Bath, as soon as the victory of Suetonius Paulinus, by the destruction

of the Brigantes of Gloucestershire, had added that territory also to the Roman conquests. Of course the colonists, though some might occasionally reside at the station Aquæ Sulis, retained their former estates and possessions, and had their country houses, farms, and manufactories at Camalodunum, or in the immediate vicinity; which circumstance accounts for the great number of coins and other remains we are continually finding in this neighbourhood.

We have good reason for supposing that the proprætor Julius Frontinus, who succeeded Suetonius, had established his head quarters at Bath, when he carried on his campaign against the Silures; since the military way proceeding to the Trajectus, now called Sea Mills, at the mouth of the Avon, was called Via Julia, after his name.

We must also recollect that the Roman province, before the subjugation of Britannia Secunda, was bounded by the Thames, Severn, and the British Channel, and did not extend over the other parts of the island, which did not submit wholly to the Roman yoke till the time of Agricola. We are assured by the accurate Tacitus, (Vit. Agricolæ, c. 14,) "that Aulus Plautius, first of all, and afterwards Ostorius Scapula, both celebrated generals, having reduced by degrees the nearest part of Britain, settled a colony of the veterans." The nearest part of Britain, or the Proxima pars Britanniæ, here mentioned, must imply that part of the island nearest to Gaul, which was inhabited by the Belgæ and other settlers from the continent, and extended from Kent to the Land's End. The Silures, who our author supposes came originally from Spain, we know were not wholly subdued till several years after the death of Ostorius. When this event took place, other generals were occupied in succession, in extending their conquests in the territories now called Wales, then inhabited by the Silures, Dimetæ, and Ordovices; which, when reduced into the form of a province, by establishing stations connected by military roads, was denominated Britannia Secunda, from having been the second fruits of the Roman victories.

The third division of Britain, Flavia Cæsariensis, so named in honour of the Flavian family, was not added to the Roman possessions, as is believed, till the reign of Domitian. Supposing it were so in the time of Vespasian, still it must have been some time after the establishment of the colony at Camalodunum, when the Proxima pars Britanniæ, or Britannia Prima, formed the province of which it was the capital; therefore neither Maldon nor Colchester, nor any place beyond the Thames, can have any claim to the title of the Camalodunum, which was the residence of the kings of the Belgæ, and near the Severn and Avon rivers, since they were not in the province of Britannia Prima, nor Secunda, and entirely removed from the scene of the military operations recorded at that period by Tacitus.

(See vignette at page 163.)

CHAPTER IV.

BATH.

1. Early history of Bath: etymology of its name: it becomes a Roman station. 2. Discovery of the foundations of Roman baths: fragments of temples, altars, &c.—3. Roman remains now preserved in the Institution at Bath.

1. THE early history of Bath seems to be involved in fable and legend: Geoffry of Monmouth, Bishop of St. Asaph, who wrote about the year A. D. 1138, states, "that a colony of Trojans, under the command of Brutus, grandson of Æneas, settled at Bath, B. C. 868! and that Hudibras, the seventh in descent from Brutus, was father of Bladud, who was the founder of the city." According to the legendary accounts, this king discovered the hot springs by observing some swine wallowing in a smoking morass. Being afflicted with leprosy, he was induced to try the efficacy of this bath; and to his great delight and satisfaction soon recovered from his loathsome disease. From a feeling of gratitude for his recovery, he built a town on the spot, and erected a temple, which he dedicated to Sul (Minerva); and erected convenient baths for the accommodation of those who were afflicted, in a similar manner with himself. Its name *Caer Badun, Caer Bladyn, Caer palladwr, Caer yn ennaint twymyn*, are all words of British origin, and prove the high antiquity of the place, and refer to a period long antecedent to the arrival of the Romans. It is, however, to these latter people, Bath was indebted for the splendid edifices which adorned the city; whose fragments, long buried, have been dug up, and now enrich the collection of antiquities preserved in the Institution of that city.

There is every reason to believe that the Roman legion, which held this part of Britain, occupied the important post of *Camalodunum*, near Bath, previous to their fixing themselves in the vale. The numerous Roman remains found in that district; and the able and learned memoir, which we have given before, from the pen of that indefatigable antiquary, the Reverend John Skinner, A.M. Rector of Camerton, within the station, all clearly prove, that this was the Camalodunum alluded to by Tacitus, in his account of the war between the Romans under Ostorius, and the Silures, who occupied the opposite shore of the Severn.

When the country was subdued and tranquillized, the Romans transferred their head quarters to Bath, and commenced those buildings and temples, which in after times adorned the city. This event is conjectured to have taken place about the

middle of the first century, and during the reign of Claudius, A. D. 44. It soon became a principal station, and to this point the roads from the sea on the south, west, and north-east, had been directed by the former inhabitants. Upon these lines the Romans exercised their utmost skill to render the intercourse with the country more convenient. Agricola is said to have passed a winter at this place, after his successful expedition in South Wales. Here was also a *Fabrica*, or college of Armourers, founded by Adrian, in which military weapons and instruments were made for the use of the Roman legions. The Roman coins found at Bath were chiefly those of Vespasian, A. D. 71, Trajan 101, Alexander Severus 224, Carausius 285, Constantine the Great 307, Constantius 357, and of the later Emperors.

Upon the departure of the Romans, the Saxons after a time obtained full possession of England. During the struggle which took place between them and the Britons, the elegant edifices of the Romans were most probably destroyed. The models of the fine arts, which the Romanized Britons had received from their former masters, nearly disappeared during the Saxon dynasty; and what escaped their destruction was subsequently completed by the Danes. Canute himself is said to have resided at Bath; and coins of that prince have been found there.

The improvements which were carrying on during the early and middle part of the eighteenth century, for enlarging and beautifying the city, brought into view the remains of Roman Bath. The ancient form of the city was a pentagon, or five-sided figure, its south-eastern boundary resting on the river Avon; the point of the angle on its south and south-western sides, forming the chief entrance from the river. It had a gate on the north side; another on the west; and a third on the south, leading to the river. The foundations of these walls were discovered in 1796, in digging an excavation for certain intended new buildings, on the site of the borough walls opposite the General Hospital. From what was then laid open, it appeared that the wall was composed of blocks of stone, squared, and laid in cement; the middle filled up with smaller stones, strongly cemented by liquid mortar, poured into the interstices after the Roman manner of building, and which hardens by time into a solid mass, capable of resisting the gradual ravages of time itself. In the centre of this inclosure were the mineral and hot springs, which the Romans soon converted to their use; nature supplying most abundantly their baths, and furnishing them with a luxury so congenial to their habits, and so necessary to their health, cleanliness, and pleasure. The traces and remains of these splendid works were discovered by accident in 1755. The following account, drawn up during the time these remains were exposed to view, will convey a tolerable idea of their extent and arrangement (see Plate XI.): "At the depth of twenty feet beneath the surface of the ground, the foundations were discovered. The walls of these

baths were eight feet in height, built of wrought stone, lined with a strong cement of tarras; one of them was of a semicircular form, fifteen feet in diameter, with a stone seat round it, eighteen inches high; and floored with very smooth flag stones.

"The descent to it was by seven stone steps, and a small channel for conveying water ran along the bottom, turning at a right angle towards the present King's Bath. At a small distance from this was a very large oblong bath, having on three sides a colonnade, surrounded with small pilasters, which were probably intended to support the roof. On one side of this bath, were two sudatories nearly square; the floors of which were composed of brick, covered with a strong coat of tarras, and supported by pillars of brick, each brick being nine inches square, and two inches in thickness. These pillars were four feet and a half high, and about fourteen inches apart, composing a hypocaust, or vault for the purpose of retaining the heat necessary for the rooms above. The interior walls of these apartments were set round with tubulated bricks or funnels, about eighteen inches long, with a small orifice opening inwards, by which the heat of the steam was communicated to the apartment. The fire-place, from which the heat was conveyed, was composed of a small conical arch at a little distance from the outward wall; and on each side of it, adjoining to the above-mentioned rooms, were two other similar sudatories of a circular shape, with several small square baths, and a variety of apartments, which the Romans used preparatory to their entering either the hot baths, or sudatories; such as the *Frigidarium*, where the bathers undressed themselves, which was not heated; the *Tepidarium*, which was moderately heated; and the *Eleothesium*, which was a small room containing oils, ointments, and perfumes. These rooms had a communication with each other, and some of them were paved with flagstones, and others beautifully tessellated with small dies of various colours. A regular set of well wrought channels conveyed the superfluous water from these baths to the river Avon."[a]

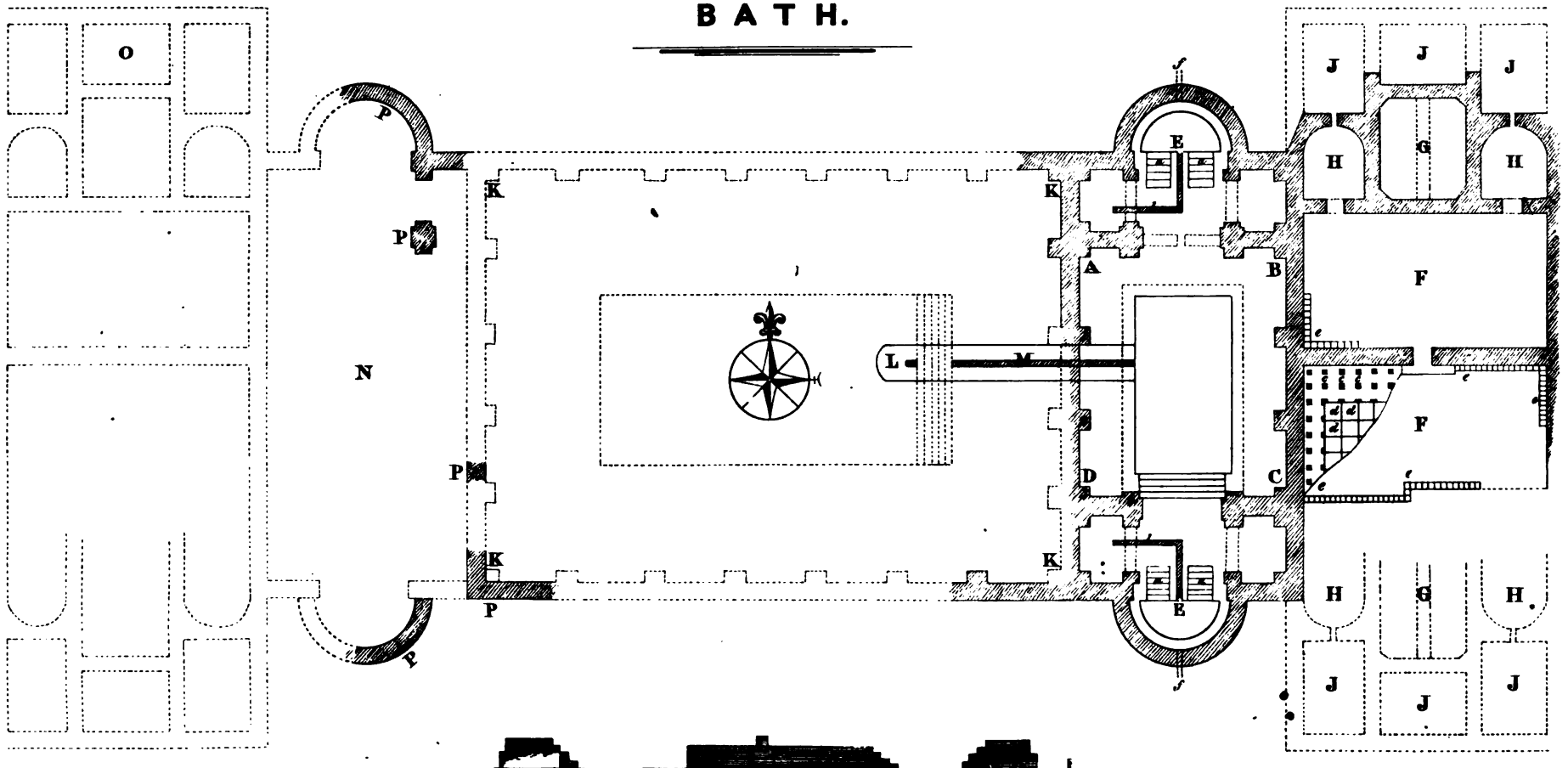
3. But to instance all the greatness of the Romans in this city, we must recur to the several other remains which have been discovered within its ancient walls, both those which still exist, and those which have perished, either by time or violence, or have been removed away.

In the time of Henry VIII. on the city wall, between the north and south gates, were visible the head, and near it the whole length figure of Hercules strangling two serpents; a foot soldier with his sword and shield; several wreaths of foliage; two images embracing each other; two heads with ruffled locks, and a greyhound running.

[a] Collinson's History of Somerset, vol. i. p. 9.

A GROUND PLAN
OF THE
ANCIENT ROMAN BATH
AT
BATH.

ABCD. *A Bath 41 feet long and 34 feet wide.*
EE. *Two semicircular Baths.*
FF. *Two Vapour Baths whose floors were supported by pillars of brick 1¼ inch thick and 9 inches square as at c.c.c. laid in cement 1¼ inches apart, these supported a floor of tiles 2 feet square. d. d. d. Brick tubes of a square form from 16 to 20 inches in length as e.e.e.e.*
GG. *Furnaces for heating the Vapour Baths.*
HHHH. *Tepid Baths with tessellated pavements.*



Section of the Eastern Bath opened in 1755.

10 5 0 20 40 60 80 Feet

R. Martin & Co. Lithog. 26. Lon: Acre

JJJJJJ. *Dressing Rooms.*
KKKK. *Part of the greater Bath 90 ft. long and 68 ft wide.*
L. *Leaden Cistern.*
M. *A Channel for conveying Water to the eastern square Bath. h.h. Semicircular channels.*
N. *Western Bath.*
O. *Supposed Situation of the King's Bath.*

PPPPP. *The western sides of the Baths, discovered between the Years 1799 and 1803.*
1.2.3.4.5. *Bases of pilasters which supported the roof. a.a.a.a.a. Steps leading down to the semicircular Baths. ff. Drains to carry off the water into the River.*
The Walls discovered in 1766,—were 6 or 7 feet high, built of stone and mortar, and were lined with red roman cement, then very firm.

Near the west gate were the heads of Medusa and Laocoon, encompassed with serpents; and between the west and north gate, a naked man, laying his hand on a soldier; Cupid with wreaths of vine leaves; two images, one grasping a serpent; and several monumental tablets. On the fragment of a stone near the north gate, was cut in very large characters, the following memorial to a senator of the colony of Gloucester, who probably died at this place:

DEC . COLONIÆ . GLEV .
VIXIT . AN . LXXXVI.

"Decurioni coloniæ Glevensis vixit annos octoginta sex."

Near the west gate there stood an oblong stone, at one end of which was the figure of Proserpine with a cornucopia thrown over her left shoulder; and at the other, Victory holding a palm branch in her left hand; the intermediate table was filled with this inscription:

D. M.
SVCC . PETRONIÆ . VIX
ANN . III . M . IIII . D . IX . V . PETRO
. . . MVLVS ET VIC . SABINA
FIL . KAR . FEC .

"Diis manibus Succiæ Petroniæ; vixit annos tres, menses quatuor, dies novem; Valerius Petronius famulus et Victorina Sabina filia carissima fecerunt."

On a broken stone, a little lower, was the following:

VNR IOP.

On another stone in very large characters.

. . . VLIA ILIA .

Near the last was the figure of a hare running.

On another stone:

IVLIVS . SA . VL . VX. S. C.

Adjoining this was the head of Medusa, with her hair entwined with serpents.

These several inscriptions were still existing in the city walls in the time of Queen Elizabeth; but many of them have since been destroyed, together with the walls to which they were affixed. [b]

Most of the interesting relics of olden time, discovered at Bath, are now collected together, and placed in the "Literary and Philosophical Institution" of this city,

[b] Collinson.

where they are exposed to public view; and may be seen by application to the Curator of that establishment. They are arranged as follows:

On entering the vestibule, a fragment of a column and capital nearly three feet in diameter, executed in a bold masterly style, stands on the right of the door; and seems to be one of the earliest works of the Romans in this island. It has a remarkable ornament, consisting of small foliage, which rises between the volutes, and runs over the abacus; only one other example of a Corinthian capital, thus ornamented, being known at present among the ancient remains of architecture hitherto discovered.[c]

On the side of this apartment are the remains of a pediment and cornice richly ornamented with foliage and flowers. Beneath are the fragments of the tympanum. In the centre is a large circular patera, having a winged head surrounded with serpents interwoven with the locks of hair. This head is coarsely executed, and inclosed within two wreaths of oak leaves and acorns. Over the wreaths of foliage, is a small star. On the right hand side are the hands and lower part of a female figure resting on a globe with wings, and on the other side a considerable fragment of a similar female figure with wings, which appear to have corresponded to the former.

Below on the left side of the patera is a helmet; and in the same situation, on the other side, the fragments of a hand holding an owl by the wing. On the outside of the globe on which the right hand figure stands, is the fragment of a human body, the extremities of which terminate in foliage. No one who attentively considers these several fragments, can, I think, doubt their having belonged to the same building; and the figures which remain, clearly indicate it to have been a temple of the Sun, under the figure of Minerva. The ægis of the goddess is coarsely executed, and was probably one of those parts of the building repaired, as the inscription on the frieze informs us, when fallen to decay by its great age.[d]

This inscription, which is affixed to the wall, over the Roman altars, in the lobby of the Institution of the city, has been thus restored by Governor Pownall:

Aulus . CLAVDIVS . LIGVR*ivs* . *sodalis* . *ascitus* . *fabrorum* . COLEGIO . LONGA . SERIA . *defossa* . *hanc* . *ædem* . E[e] . NIMIA . VETVST*ate* . *labentem* . *de* . *inventa* . *illic* . *pec*VNIA . REFICI . ET . REPINGI . CVR*avit*.[e]

On the opposite side are several fragments, discovered at the same time, and near

[c] Lysons's Remains of two Temples discovered at Bath, fol. pl. I.

[d] Lysons, ut supra.

[e] It should be remarked that before the letter E, the foot of a A still remains, and Mr. Lysons conjectures the word to have been *prae*. Mr. Lysons does not venture to restore the Inscription further than this: ..... *et* .... Claudius Ligur..... colegio longa seria *annorum neglectam* et *prae* nimia vetus*tate collapsam aedem Minervae sua pe*cunia refici et repingi cura*runt*.

the same place with those already described. These appear, in the opinion of Mr. Lysons, to have belonged to another building of much smaller dimensions than the temple of Minerva. From the angular appearance of the upper part of the stone, it was evidently the tympanum of a pediment, in the centre of which is sculptured in basso relievo a female bust, having her hair tied in a knot on the top of the head. A crescent encircles her face, and a staff entwined with a serpent rises from the left shoulder. The fragment of a globe, with astronomical lines drawn on it, is seen on the left side. The stone is broken in two parts just under the chin. Several other fragments of this temple have been found, and are now put together, forming the temple, of which Mr. Lysons has given an engraving in his 6th plate; and he adds the inscription (part of which is on a piece of the building), as follows:

C. PROĀCIus
DEAE . SVLIS M*inervae*
aedem . . . . .

which makes up this sentence, "Caius Protacius built or restored this temple of the goddess Sul Minerva."[f] The smaller fragments of figures are supposed to represent the seasons, each holding the emblem of these different portions of the year.

Near the above in the corner is an altar rudely sculptured, and much defaced. On its sides are sculptured two figures, one representing Jupiter with the eagle at his feet; the other Hercules holding a goblet in his right hand, and a club in his left, with the lion's skin fastened on his shoulder. These two deities are frequently found together on altars, coins, and the remains of the Lower Empire.

On the front of a square block of stone, in the opposite side of the door, is the following inscription:

NOVANTI FIL .
PRO . SE ET SVIS
EX . VISV . POSVIT .

This was found in digging the foundation for the United Hospital in 1825.

We next proceed to the lobby or side entrance to the Institution, where we find the following remains arranged in order:

1. Is a small votive altar dedicated to the goddess Sul Minerva, by Sulinus, the son of Maturus, with the following inscription:

DEAE
SVLI MI
NERVAE

[f] Lysons, plate VII.

SVLINVS
MATV
RI . FIL.
V . S . L . M .

This altar was found in 1774, near the Hot Bath, on removing some rubbish to get at the head of the spring.

According to this inscription, it appears that Minerva was worshipped under the name of *Sul*, a British word, meaning the Sun; and it further appears that it was the Minerva Medica, the goddess of Health, a very appropriate deity for the patronage of the Bath waters. (See plate XIII. No. 1.)

2. Is another small altar, the top of which is much broken. It is a votive memorial erected by Peregrinus (which may be a personal appellation, or merely indicative of a traveller), the son of Secundus, a citizen of Treves in Germany. It has this inscription: "Peregrinus, son of Secundus, a citizen of Treves, dedicates this altar to Jupiter Cetius, Mars, and Nemetona." This stone was found in 1753, at the lower end of Stall-street.

3. This altar was found with the above, and commemorates the restoration by Caius Severus, a centurion (who had either the additional name of Emeritus, or was discharged from his legion,) of some place which had been consecrated to religious purposes, and had fallen to decay. The inscription is as follows: "Locum religiosum per insolentiam erutum, virtuti et N. Aug. *(numinibus Augusti)* repurgatum reddidit C. Severus Emeritus P. E. G." Under this stone several coins of the Emperor Carausius were found. It is in good preservation.

4. Is a votive altar found at the same time with the above in Stall-street in 1753, and erected by Sulinus Scultor, son of Brucetus, to the Sulevi. Who the Sulevi were, cannot now be ascertained. The most probable conjecture appears to be, that they were the nymphs of these springs, the progeny or the attendants of the goddess Sul-Minerva.

5. Is an altar dedicated to no particular person or deity, but erected in pursuance of some vow made by Vettius Benignus, and bears the following inscription: "Pia sacratissima votum solvit Vettius Benignus, L. M." This was discovered near the Hot Bath in 1776.

6. Is a monumental stone resembling the pedestal of a column, with a plain moulding on the top and bottom, erected to the memory of Caius Calpurnius (a priest of the goddess Sul), who died at the age of seventy-five. The inscription is "D. M. C. Calpurnius receptus sacerdos Deae Sulis, vix. an. LXXV. Calpurnia Trifosa THR*epte* conjunx F.C." It was found in Sydney Gardens in 1795.

7. Is a large monumental stone, with a triangular top, resembling a pediment, and traced with lines to represent a tympanum. In the triangle appears a representation of fruit and leaves. On the tablet is as follows: "Julius Vitalis Fabricie'sis Leg. XX.V.V. stipendiorum IX. annor. XXIX. Natione Belga, ex collegio Fabrice elatus H. S. E."

On one of the altars is a block of lead weighing 83lbs, and bearing the impression IMP. HADRIANI. This was found in 1822, near Sydney-buildings, on the south side of Sydney Gardens, together with an ancient key.

In the crypt are several monumental stones and fragments of high antiquity and interest.

8. Is a large portion of the lower part of a monumental stone, representing the body of a horse with a rider, trampling on a man lying prostrate under his feet; and rudely executed. It was erected on the place of interment of Lucius Vitellius Tancinus, the son of Mantaus or Mantanus, a citizen of Caurium in Spain, a centurion of the Vettonican horse, who died at the age of forty-six, having served twenty-six years. The characters vary in size, and the lines are not even. The stops are small triangles, divided like the broad arrow. The body and head of the man, as also the head of the horse, evidently belong to another stone of a simila design. The inscription is as follows: "Lucius Vitellius . Mantai F. Tancinus . cives Hisp. Cauriesis Eq. Alæ Vettonum CR. anno XXXXVI. stip. XXVI. H v S v E."

This stone was discovered in 1736, in digging a vault in the market-place, and was, with a monument to Julius Vitalis, affixed to the wall of the abbey, where, from long exposure to the weather, it has acquired that black coating from the smoke of the city, which now appears on it.

9. This votive altar is dedicated to the goddess Sul, for the health and safety of Aufidius Maximus, a centurion of the sixth legion, styled Victrix; by Marcus Aufidius Lemnus his freed-man. The inscription is, "Deæ Suli pro salute et incolumitate > Aufidii Maximi Leg. VI. Vic. Aufidius Lemnus libertus V. S. L. M."

This altar was found in 1792, on the site of the pump-room, and consequently on or near the site of the Temple of Minerva.

10. Is another similar to the above in form, and was found near it. The inscription is to the same purport with that last described, and is thus inscribed: "Deæ Suli pro salute et incolumitate Mar. Aufidii Maximi > Leg. VI. Vic. Aufidius Eutuches Leb. V. S. L. M." Mr. Lysons is of opinion, from the form of the letters, that this altar and the preceding one, were made about the beginning of the third century.

11. This altar much resembles the two preceding in its character; and is dedicated by Caius Curatius Saturninus, an officer of the second legion, on behalf of

himself and family, to the goddess Sul Minerva and the deities of the Augusti. The inscription is as follows: "Deæ Suli et Numinibus Augustorum, Caius Curatius Saturninus Leg. III. Aug. pro se suisque V. L. M." This altar was found in the cistern of the Cross Bath in 1809, thirteen feet below the surface of the street.

12. A sepulchral stone found in Walcot field, near the place where afterwards the stone of Julius Vitalis was discovered in 1592. Mr. Robert Chambers, a citizen of Bath, who was a collector of antiquities, placed them in his garden wall, which was near the Cross Bath, and caused the following memorial to be sculptured on a stone near it: "Hæc monumenta violata sulcis in camp. de Walcot, R. C. cultor antiquit. huc transtulit an. ver. incar. 1592." It bears the following inscription:

C . MVRRIVS . C . FARNIENSIS .
FORO . IVLI . MODESTVS . MIL . LEG . II .
AD . P . F . IVLI . SECVNDI . ANN . XXV .
STIP . VIII . H . S . E.

"Caius Murrius, the son of Caius, of the tribe of Farniensis, a native of Forum Julii Modestus, a soldier of the second legion, commanded by Julius Secundus. He died in the 25th year of his age, and 8th of his service."

13. A large portion of a monumental tablet, inscribed:

SER . M . . ONVS
NIC . EMERITVS . EX .
LEG . XX . AN . XLV .
H . S . E
G . TIBERINVS . HERES
F . C .

This was found in 1797, and is a stone to the memory of Servius M . . . . onus Nicon, a discharged soldier of the twentieth legion, and consecrated to his memory by Gaius Tiberinus his heir.

14. Is a small stone, with a broken pediment, evidently sepulchral, and bears the following memorial:

D. . M.
MERC . MAGNII .
ALVMNA . VIXIT . AN . I .
M . IV . D . XII .

"To the memory of Mercurialis Magnus, who died aged one year, six months, and twelve days." It was found in the upper borough walls, not far from the site of the north gate, through which the road from Verlucio and Durocorinum entered Bath. (See the opposite vignette.)

15. Is a large stone altar inscribed:

RVSONIAE . AVEN .
NAE . C . MEDIOMAR .
ANNO . P . LVIII . H . SE
VLPIVS . SESTIVS
H . F . C .

It is a memorial to Rusonias Avenna, a centurion of the nation of Mediomatrici (a people of Gaul,) who died in the 58th year of his age, and was erected by Ulpius Sestius.

16. On another stone is inscribed the following:

FORTVNAE
CONSERVATRICI
L . SENECIANVS
MARTIVS . LEG . VI . VICT .

" Lucius Senecianus, of the sixth legion, Victrix, dedicates this altar to Fortune his preserver."

ANCIENT COINS.

ROMAN ALTAR.

CHAPTER V.

1. Roman remains, and Mosaic pavements at Wellow.—2. Ischalis (Ilchester), a Roman station; description of it.—3. Villa and tessellated pavements at East Coker.—4. Roman district round Littleton near Somerton; numerous villas discovered there.—5. Roman villa at Pitney, a detailed description of it.

1. Six miles distant from Bath, in the line of the Fosse, in the parish of Wellow, are numerous remains of a settlement of the Romans, and foundations of an extensive villa, having splendid tessellated floors, in excellent preservation, though concealed from public view, being covered up by the soil of a ploughed field called *Wellow Hayes*. The first portion was discovered in 1685; and subsequently in 1737 and 1739, other parts were opened, and drawings made of the fine pavements which were cleared. These excited some curiosity for a time, but were soon left unnoticed. In 1822 the Rev. John Skinner of Camerton undertook to examine more accurately the spot, and to make more extensive excavations. In the progress of his researches, he traced out the foundations of a spacious Roman villa, forming a square or quadrangle, surrounded with various buildings, according to the Roman manner; and soon discovered a portion of a magnificent tessellated pavement, forming the floor of a room, measuring thirty-four feet in length by twenty-six in breadth, with several others, having similar floors more or less perfect. The annexed plan and references will convey a better idea of the form of the villa, and explain the nature of the different apartments, as taken by Mr. Skinner; who also made drawings of the different remains of the tessellated floors, which were etched in a splendid style at his own expense, being coloured to resemble the original, and contained in four large plates, with an outline of the whole, from which the annexed plan is reduced. Pl. XIV.

A. Large apartment measuring 34 feet by 26.

B. A very elegant pavement in a chamber, measuring 20 feet by 15, but now much injured.

C. A passage 26 feet by 6, communicating with the large room A.

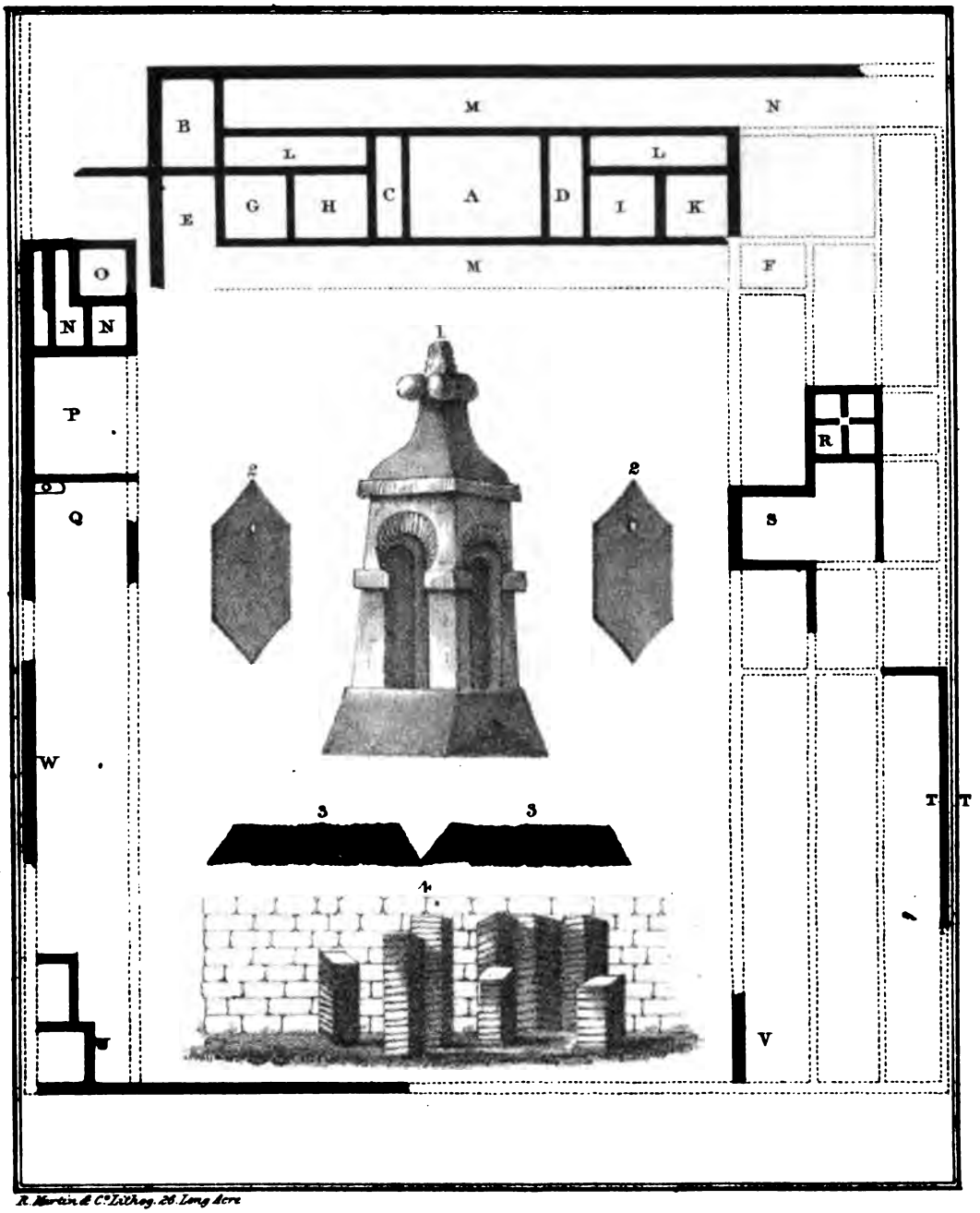
D. Another passage similar to C. This pavement is very perfect, and was discovered by Colonel Leigh in 1812.

E, F. Two apartments exhibiting remains of tesseræ.

G. A room measuring 18 feet square, having a cistern in the corner.

H, I, K. Apartments with grist floors.

L, L. Hypocausts, for warming the rooms.



R. Martin & C.o Lithog. 26. Long Acre

GROUND PLAN OF A ROMAN VILLA AT WELLOW.

M, M. Two pavements of white lias and penant stone 156 feet in length, and 12 in breadth, called cryptoportici or cloister.

N, N. Pillars of hypocausts.

O, O. Baths.

P. A large room retaining a pavement of coarse stone.

Q. A similar room.

R. Stoves for smelting metal.

S. Apartments for artificers.

T, W. Foundations, partly removed for the stones.

V. Apartments paved with small square stones.

V, X. Inner walls.

Y. An outbuilding.

Z. A wall extending towards the north.

1. Freestone pinnacle 13 inches high.

2, 2. Roofing tiles.

3, 3. Freestone coping.

4. Pillars of the hypocaust.

They exhibit one of the finest specimens of lithostrata, or tessellated pavement, now extant.[a]

The tesseræ, or dies of which the floor is composed, are half an inch square, formed of different coloured stones, such as the country produced, with some of baked clay of a red colour. These tesseræ were embedded in cement, on a platform (composed of stones and rubble, or such materials as were at hand, to render it dry,) and disposed in a variety of patterns, according to the skill and taste of the artist. The Etruscan border, Vitruvian scroll, and other ornamental involutions, formed a margin. The interior was divided into compartments, some filled with allegorical figures, others with fanciful devices alluding to war, love, or the chase. The execution of the figures is generally coarse, when viewed near, but at a distance its effect is bold and striking.

These tesseræ formed a part of the baggage of a Roman general, to be ready to be laid down when wanted.[b]

[a] Gent. Mag. vol. LVII. p. 961; LXXVII. p. 969.

[b] The Greeks, according to Pliny, are said to have invented painted pavements; to these succeeded *lithostrata*, or tessellated pavements, composed of small stones of different natural colours. The Romans were ignorant of their use till the time of Scylla the Dictator, who first introduced them into the Temple of Fortune at Præneste, about one hundred and seventy years before the Christian æra. It is a pavement composed of small cubic stones of various colours, so skilfully arranged, as to represent different patterns and figures. Encaustic painted tiles next followed, which were formed by the Monks, and are found even now in many of our churches and cathedrals, and among the ruins of religious houses.—Jacob. Spon, Miscellan. Lugdun. 1685.

The country residences of the Romans seem for the most part built round a quadrangle, the family occupying the principal rooms facing the south or south-west; the apartments for the domestics and slaves forming the other sides of the inclosure. The steward had his residence near the entrance gate, that he might observe all who came in or went out of the villa. A pavement near the principal apartments formed a communication with the rooms, which was protected from the rain or heat of the sun by a covering supported by pillars, called by the ancients a *crypto-porticus.*

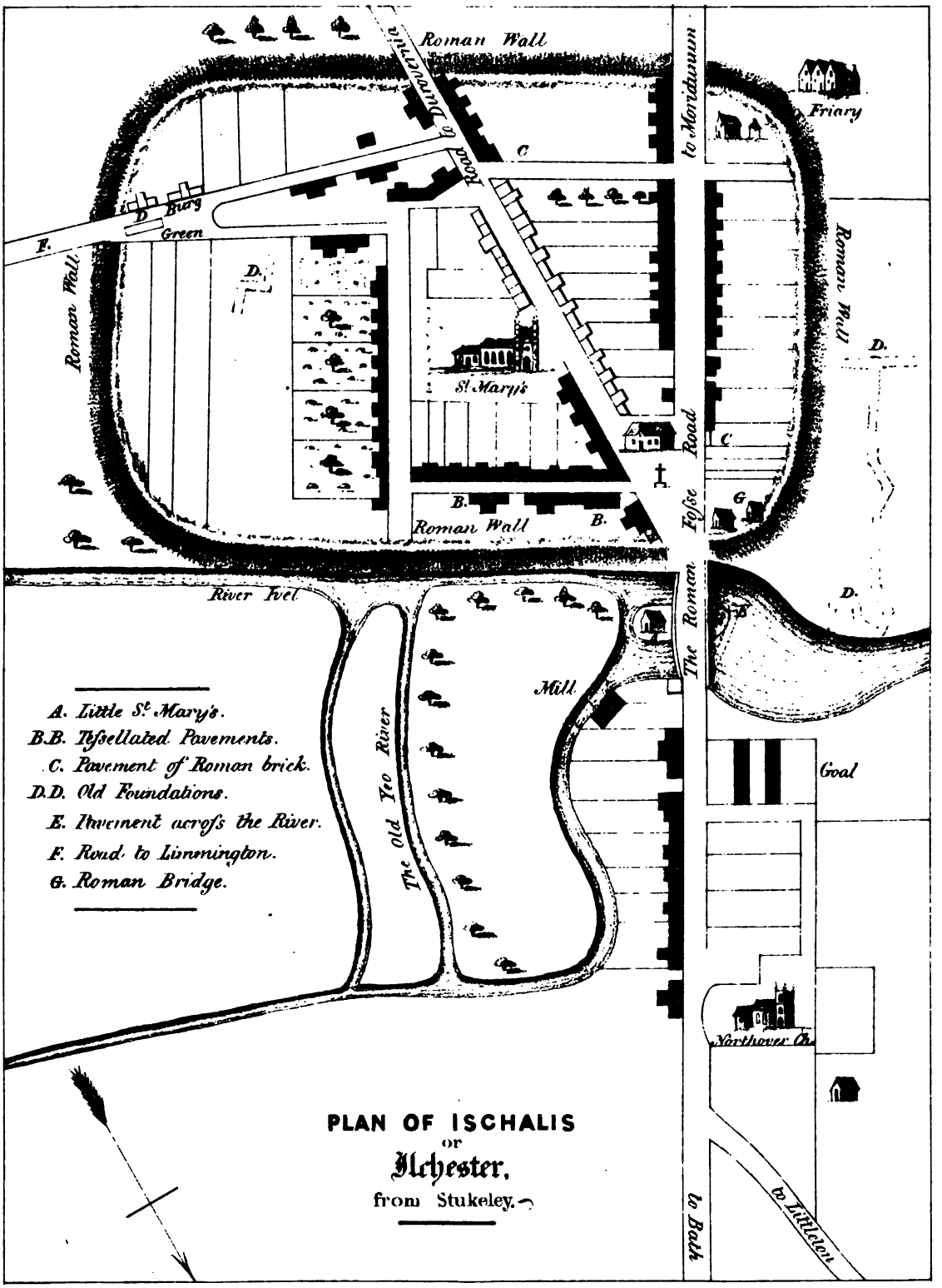
The Romans warmed their houses with flues made of pottery, which were carried along the walls, and under the floors: fragments of these are generally to be found among the ruins of foundations and rubbish of Roman buildings, their sides scored in grooves, the better to hold the cement which attached them to the walls of the apartments.

ISCHALIS, ILCHESTER.

This is the next important station occupied by the Romans, and situated on the great line of road (the Fosse) leading to the south-west of the kingdom. The town bears traces of a regular Roman work, and stands on the south side of the river *Ivel:* it forms an oblong square, having its northern side protected by the river, and the three other sides defended by a wall and fosse.

The only entrance from the north was by a bridge of six arches over the river, which still remains, exhibiting traces of Roman work. On entering the town, the branch which led to *Durnovaria* (Dorchester), diverges on the left to the south through a gate in the walls; and another gateway opens a communication with Lymington on the east. The Fosse proceeds in a direct line onwards to the south-west through a gate, near which stood in after-times the Friary.

To preserve the ichnography of this ancient town, a copy of the plan given by Stukeley is given, which will convey a better idea of the plan than description. Roman remains, consisting of tessellated pavements, baths, hypocausts, and foundations of ancient buildings, have been discovered within its walls, and now lie concealed below the surface of the present town. The ford of the British trackway, previous to the time of the Romans, is visible near the bridge, and seems to have been paved with flag-stones. Gold, silver, and copper coins of the Roman Emperors, fibulæ, bracelets, pateræ, and various utensils, have been dug up from the ruins. The area occupied by the Romans is distinctly to be traced; the vestiges of the Prætorium, Amphitheatre, and adytus to the equestrian camp, remained to the time when Horsley wrote. Dr. Stukeley also states, that the Fosse was filled with water from the river. There were, it is said, sixteen churches within its pre-



R. Martin & Co. Lithog. 74, St. Martin's Lane & 26, Long Acre.

cincts, and gates at each principal street. Upon the bridge was an old chapel called Little St. Mary's; and at the end of the bridge, within the town, was another religious edifice called White Chapel. In the northern angle, beyond the wall and ditch, are some remains of earthworks, said to have been raised during the time of Monmouth's rebellion. Pl. XV.

3. On the road towards Dorchester, and particularly at East Coker, we meet with Roman antiquities, in tessellated pavements, foundations, and coins. In 1753, as some labourers were digging a ditch in a field belonging to Mr. Forbes (who was a collector of curiosities), the foundations of a Roman villa were discovered, consisting of several rooms; one of which was floored with a beautiful tessellated pavement, representing in strong colours a variety of figures; among which was a female reposing on a couch, in full proportion, with a cornucopia in her hand; over her head was seen a hare running from a greyhound, who is just catching her in his mouth; and below her feet a hound in pursuit of a deer. Another female appears dressed in a Roman *stola*, with the purple *laticlave;* and a third, much damaged, assisting to envelope a naked figure lying on a couch, with a cloak. Under this pavement was an hypocaust, filled with loose bricks, burnt bones, and corroded pieces of iron. Not a vestige of this pavement, or traces of the buildings remain. The whole field has been ploughed up, and its curiosities dispersed.[c]

An account of these interesting relics was drawn up by Dr. Denham, a physician, who resided at Yeovil. The tenant of the field ploughed up the pavement, under the pretence that the visitors injured his land.

Other tessellated pavements were discovered in the same village, in the grounds belonging to Henry Helyar, esq. in 1818. The largest measured ten feet long by twelve wide, and is composed of white and grey tesseræ, forming a variety of squares and lines verging towards the centre, with a neat border of lozenge shaped tesseræ. The other was removed and injured. It represented two huntsmen returning from the chase, bearing a deer suspended from a pole resting on their shoulders, with a hound looking up at it, and surrounded by a herring-bone border. The whole is put together in a frame, and stands in the hall of Mr. Helyar's house. These ancient remains were found in a field called *Chesil*, which contained fragments of pottery, Roman tiles, flues of an hypocaust, and coins.[d]

4. Pursuing the branch (or rather the continuation of the Roman road last mentioned) which leaves the Fosse a quarter of a mile north of Ilchester, we enter on a

[c] Collinson's Hist. Som. vol. ii. p. 340.

[d] Sketches of these pavements are preserved in the Journal of the Rev John Skinner, M.A. F.S.A. Rector of Camerton.

district filled with Roman remains scattered around, and traces of this active and intelligent people. The annexed map (Plate XVI.) will show the relative situation of the different villas, which we shall describe as follows. About two miles from Ilchester, after passing the village of Kingsdon, on the left, and adjoining the road, are some remains. (No. 1.)

On the east of the village, in the vale, are two Roman villas, between which the river Carey flows. No. 2 is on the west of the river in a field under arable culture. It has not been opened, but the action of the plough has brought up to the surface Roman bricks, tiles, and other fragments of buildings.

No. 3 is near Lyte's Cary on the road to Charlton. On examining the spot, foundations with an hypocaust, and other Roman remains, were discovered.

No. 4 is situated at the point of junction of the turnpike roads from Kingweston and Charlton, leading to Somerton. This has been partially examined. Herring-bone walls, angular tiles, instruments of iron, and coins of Claudius Gothicus, with others of the Lower Empire, have been found here, but no traces of Mosaic pavement. These ruins seemed to have been previously disturbed.

No. 5 is at Hurcot, half a mile to the north of the last-mentioned spot. This was examined in 1827. It is situated at the foot of a hill, on a rising spot, commanding a fine view of the vale below. It covers half an acre of ground. Traces of hypocausts, baths, and Mosaic pavements, were discovered. A clear spring of water rises a short distance from it.

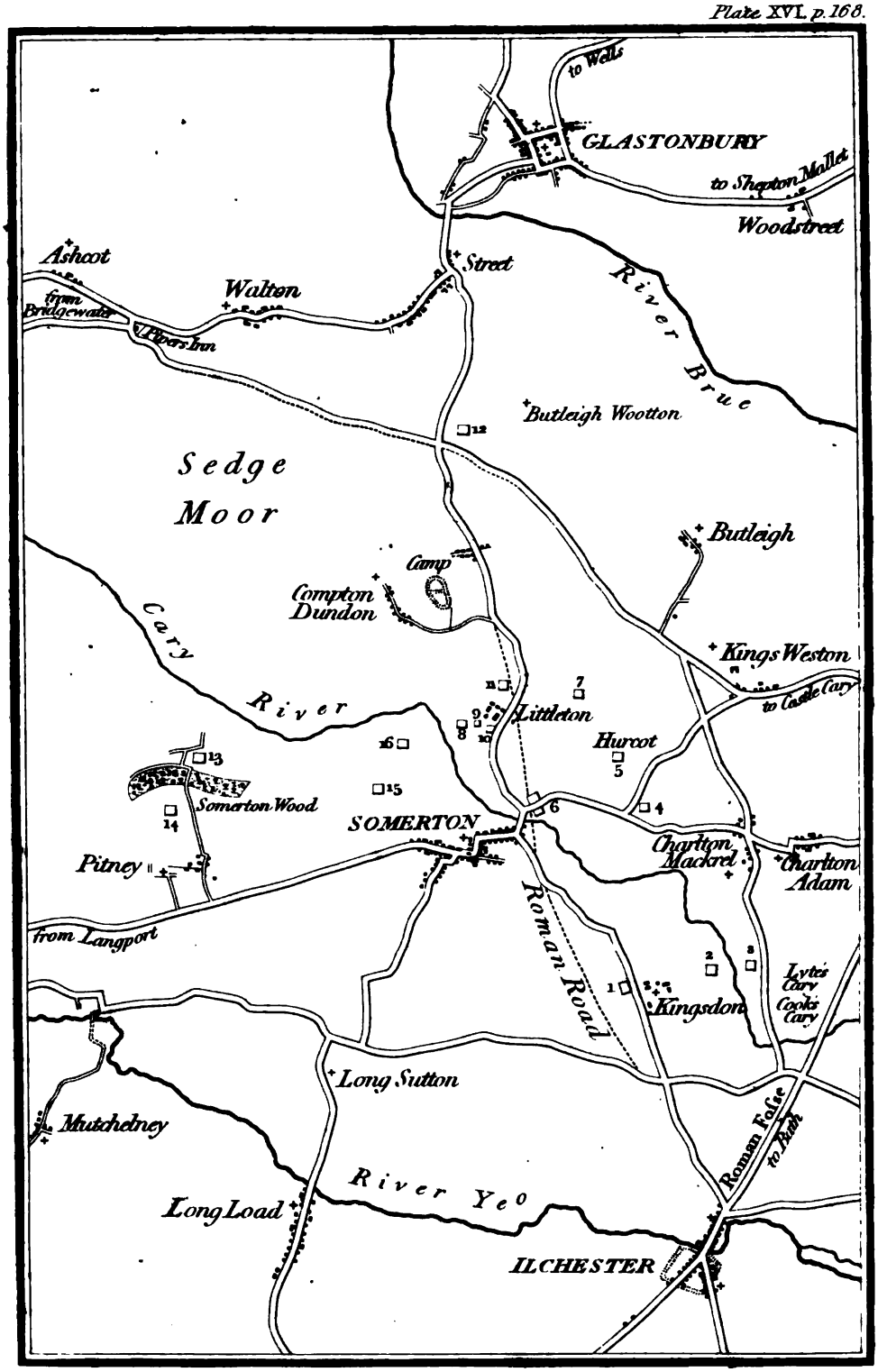
No. 6 is on the road to Somerton, near the turnpike gate; the road passes through it. This has been dug into, and Roman pottery, tiles, flues, with foundations of tessellated floors, have been found, together with coins of Constantine, Antoninus, Victorinus, Posthumus, &c.

No. 7 is at Copley near Littleton, where traces of several small habitations are irregularly scattered over a considerable space of ground. These have been examined, and Roman pottery, fibulæ, angular tiles, &c. have been found, with coins of Constantine, &c.

We now approach Littleton, a village on the line of Roman road leading to Street, surrounded on all sides with relics of Roman antiquity.

Nos. 8, 9, and 10 are situated in the orchard at Littleton, and were considered to be three distinct villas; but from subsequent examination, they are supposed to be parts of one large villa, or of a village, for an area of thirty acres immediately adjoining was almost entirely covered with buildings; and on digging deep into the soil, foundations of walls of herring-bone structure, bricks, tiles, fragments of Mosaic pavements, and coins were found.

No. 11. This is the most spacious villa which has been yet discovered, and is

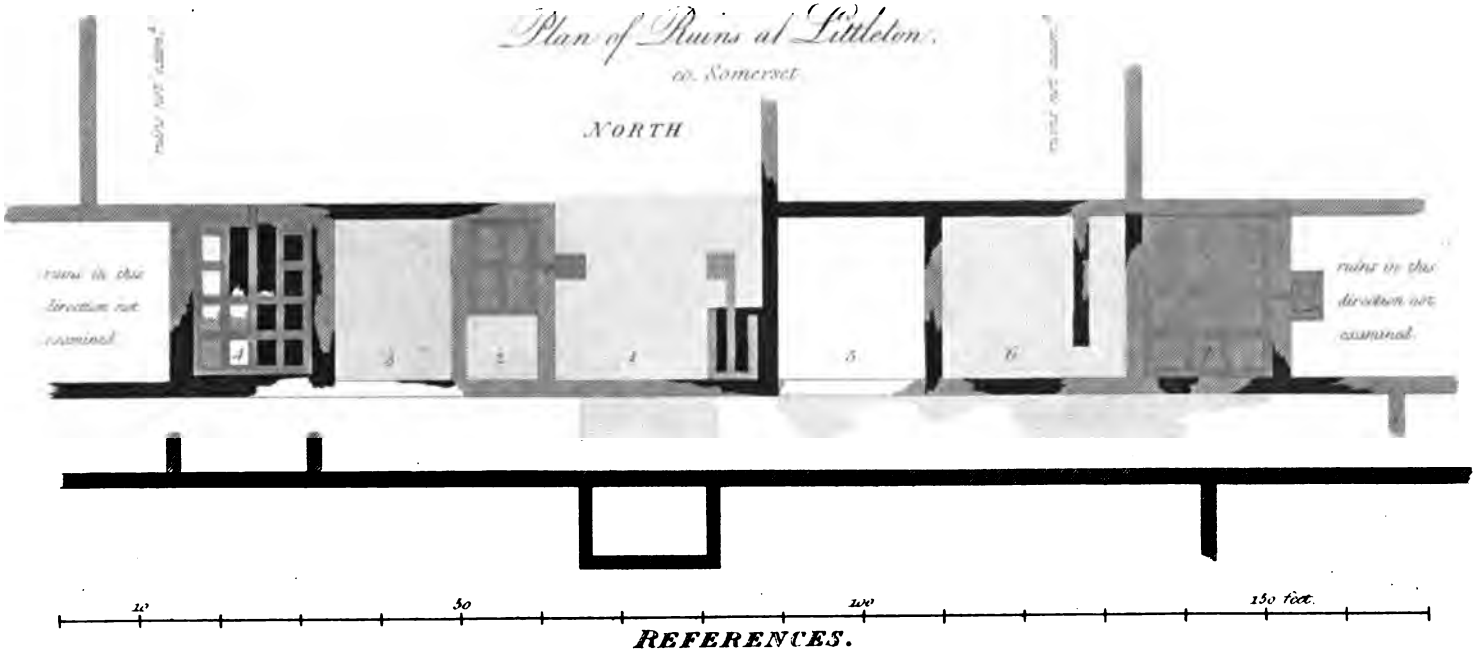


MAP OF THE DISTRICT ROUND LITTLETON.

Plate XVII. p 169

ROMAN VILLA,

Plan of Ruins at Littleton
co. Somerset



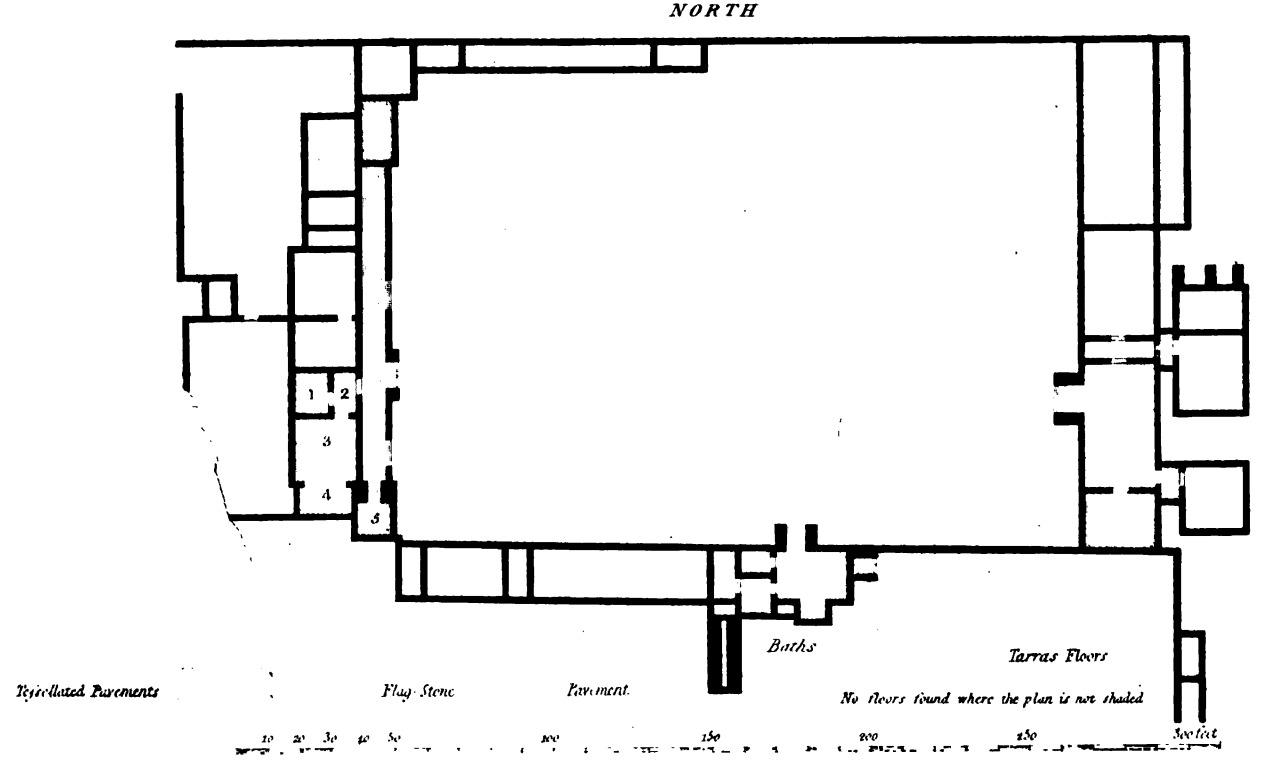
REFERENCES.

- Walls even with the floors.
- Walls 1 or 2 feet above the floors.
- Foundations only found.
- Flues and fire places.

Tessellated floors.

Floors of common blue lias stone
No floors found where the plan
is not shaded.

ROMAN VILLA AT PITNEY, SOMERSET.



Engraved by T. Milne

situated in a pleasant meadow, having a stream of water running close to it. It covers an area of two acres and a half of ground, and was explored in 1827; the result of the investigations were communicated to the editor of the Gentleman's Magazine.[e] (Pl. XVII.)

No. 12 is the site of an extensive villa at Butleigh Wootton, in which, on a partial examination, were found coins of Claudius Gothicus and other Roman Emperors. There are extensive stone quarries near this spot, and the Roman road ran close to the villa.

Mr. Hasell's researches led to the discovery of these numerous Roman remains in this district: he has spared neither pains or expense in examining whatever seemed worthy of notice; and has preserved a record of them, illustrated with drawings made by himself, and since engraved; and also communicated the result of his investigations to Sir Richard Colt Hoare, Bart. who drew up a short memoir, and illustrated it with many engravings, to preserve the history of these discoveries from oblivion.

PITNEY PAVEMENT.

5. For the discovery of this curious and highly interesting relic of the Romans, (No. 13,) we are indebted to the zealous and persevering efforts of the same gentleman, whose researches at Littleton we have noticed above. The true spirit of antiquarian investigation led him to examine the cause of certain traces of lines and squares, discoverable in dry summers, in a field on the north side of a ridge called *Stoye* or *Stawell's tree hill*, about a mile north of the village of Pitney. The situation is sequestered, on the border of the south-eastern extremity of King's Sedgemoor, and four miles from the town of Somerton. The conjecture was, that some buildings formerly stood there; though the surface of the land was level, and no vestige of rubbish or stones to be seen around the place. In 1828, this zealous antiquary having obtained permission of the proprietor of the field to dig into the soil, commenced his operations, and within two feet of the surface discovered a Roman tessellated pavement. Upon clearing away a portion of the earth, he found it to be of considerable extent. Highly gratified with this discovery, he pursued his investigations, and has laid open a relic of antiquity which yielded to none yet discovered in Britain for extent, uniformity of design, and good preservation. The form of the villa is shown in the annexed plan (Plate XVIII.), and the various apartments have been traced out, bearing a great resemblance to that at Wellow. It is called the *Pitney Pavement*. The spot is a mile north of the village, at the foot of a considerable ridge bordering on the great level of King's Sedgemoor, and looking to the north. The ruins stood in a large field, having an even surface, with a

[e] Gentleman's Magazine, vol. xcvii. part ii. p. 113.

slight inclination to the north, and was supplied with water from springs which issue from the declivity of the hill above it. The area was about an acre and a half. The walls of the buildings had been removed down to the surface of the adjoining land; and the pavements were about two feet lower; so that the exact form of the several apartments could be accurately ascertained.

The west side of the quadrangle had been covered with slates, and the other sides with stones of the neighbourhood cut to the same size, with pointed terminations, which gave a pleasing and varied form to the roof. The doorways, where they have been discovered, are also marked in the Plan. (Plate XVIII.) The interior communications were by steps from one room to another; these were of squared stones, many of which remained in their original situation. The apartments, No. 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5, had tessellated floors, of the most exquisite workmanship. In Plate XIX. is seen an enlarged plan of these apartments. The rooms were of different sizes.

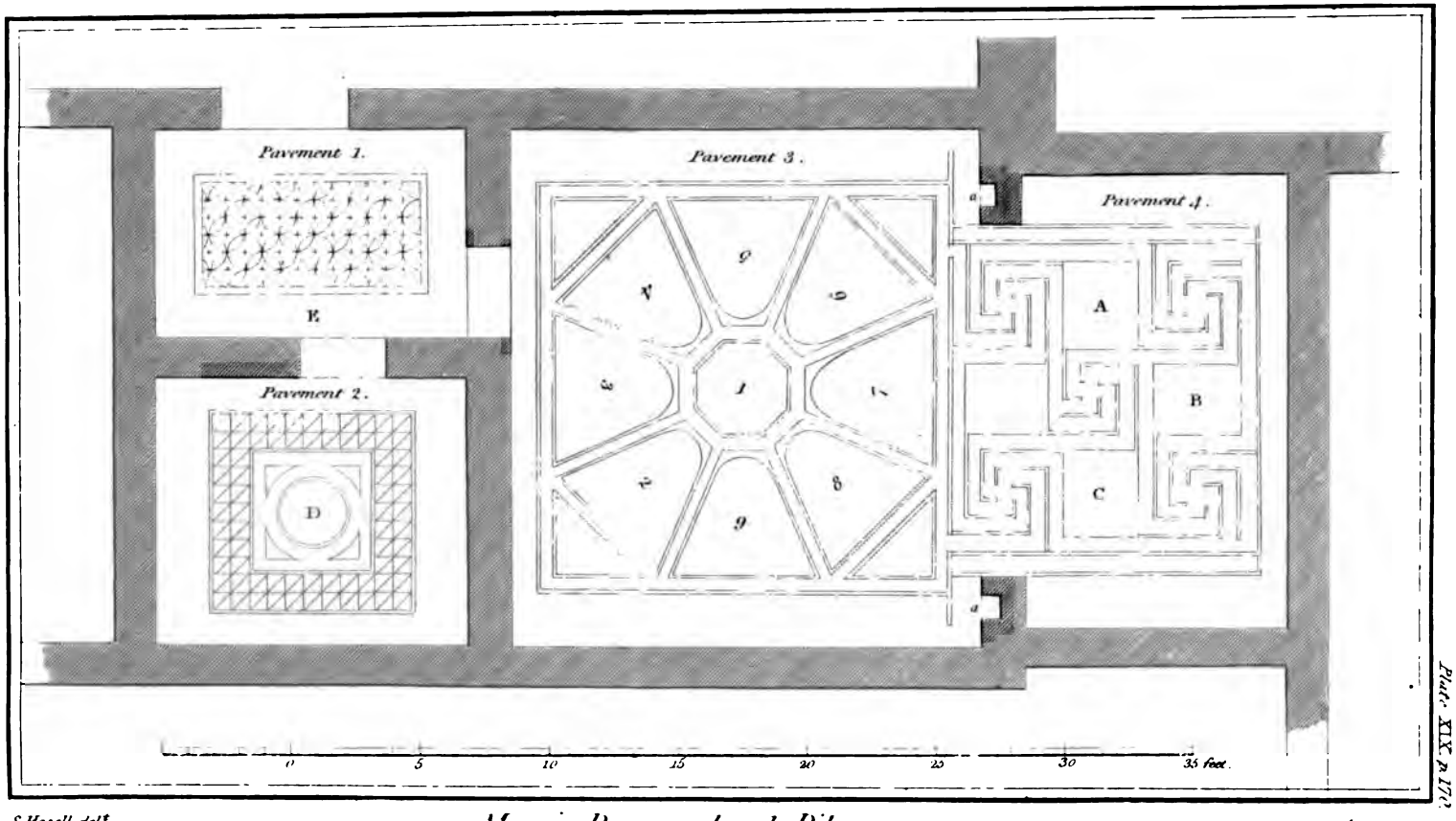
PAVEMENT NO. 1.

This is the entrance or vestibule to the other apartments; it was an oblong room, thirteen feet in length by eight feet in breadth, having a beautiful tessellated floor, consisting of circles intersecting each other.

Adjoining this room was a small apartment, No. 2, thirteen feet by ten feet four inches. The floor was highly ornamented with tesseræ laid in a square form, inclosing a circle in the centre. In this compartment was a young man retreating from a serpent, rising to attack him; his right hand grasps a sword, which he has raised to strike the reptile. In his left hand he holds a pot, or basket.

We next enter the grand saloon or principal apartment, No. 3, which is twenty feet wide by twenty-nine feet long, and opening into a smaller room, which probably had folding doors, so as to form a second apartment. The floor exhibited an elaborate and rich tessellated pavement, with an Etruscan border running round it. In the centre is an octagonal compartment, surrounded by eight divisions, with a triangular space in each angle; all of them filled with figures, male and female alternately. See Plate XX.

No. 1. is a figure seated, holding in her left hand a slender rod with a small cross on the top of it; which same instrument is repeated in figures Nos. 2, 5, and 8. She holds in her right hand a cup. No. 2 represents a man with a staring look, walking hastily, having on his head a singular ornament, like a pair of double horns, and a mantle at his back, holding in his left hand a trident with a cross at the end. Some suppose this figure to be Neptune. He seems to cast an angry



S. Hasell del.t

Mosaic Pavements at Pitney.

Ja.s Basire. sculp.

Plate XIX p 170

look upon a female, No. 3, in the next compartment, and who is pouring water from an urn which she holds in her right hand.

Fig. 4 represents a young man naked and running; he holds his cloak on his right arm, and in his hand an instrument resembling a strigil; and in his left, some drapery and a basket.

Fig. 5 represents a female enveloped in a large cloak, and holding in her right hand one of those rods before described, having a cross at the top and bottom of it.[f] Fig. 6. In this compartment we behold a man habited in a dress like armour, with a Phrygian cap on his head, his chin reposing on the back of his left hand, and holding in his right hand one of the crooked rods as in No. 4. Fig. 7, a female figure, bearing in each hand a musical instrument. Fig. 8, a male figure in the act of running, with a cloak at his back; his right hand pressing his breast, and holding in his left hand one of the rods above described. Fig. 9 is a female, having her left hand raised up to her chin, and a mirror or book lying on the ground by her side, probably representing Venus at her toilette.

In the angles of this pavement are four busts, three of them having cornucopiæ on their shoulders.

The apartment No. 4, communicating with No. 3, seems a part of the large one before mentioned; it is an oblong room, eighteen feet long, and eleven feet wide, having an opening thirteen feet in breadth, into the adjoining room. The floor was divided into nine squares by a cable border; the four angular and central compartments had an Etruscan and cable pattern in them; the other five divisions were filled with winged figures. A portion of the floor at the opening, with the centre compartment, was much injured; the other three were perfect. The first figure is winged, and holds a rake in his left hand, and ears of corn in his right. The second has a bird perched on his right hand; and in his left he holds a crooked rod, on which is suspended a basket or cage. The third figure holds in his right hand a crooked rod, on which are suspended quatrefoil flowers, with one above his left shoulder, and a piece of drapery round his waist, containing flowers. The fourth figure, which is mutilated, appears to have been dressed in a blue robe. These figures seem to be dancing round a circle; and, in the opinion of Mr. Hasell, may be emblematical of the seasons. (Plate XX.)

Sir Richard Colt Hoare, Bart. gives a different interpretation of these figures, as allusive to mining operations.[g] "I consider," says he, "that this fine villa belonged to the *Præses loci*, or Lord of the Manor, who had his vassals settled around him, employed in certain manufactures, such as mining, coining, &c. He bears the seat

[f] This figure bears a resemblance to Venus rising from the sea, as represented on some of the Etruscan vases.

[g] See his "Pitney Pavement," printed by Messrs. Nichols and Son, 8vo. 1832.

of honour, in the centre of the pavement, holding out a cup, probably filled with either wine or coin, to remunerate his labourers.

"The next figure (No. 2) seems to be the foreman of the works, who is looking angrily at a female in the next compartment (No. 3) who is scattering down her coin from the canister. The female figure in No. 5, does not appear to be any ways occupied. I consider the personage clothed in armour, in No. 6, as the guard and protector of the works, the *Custos loci.* The female figure in No. 7 is much mutilated; but we may discover two musical instruments in her hands. The next figure, No. 8, presents nothing particular. No. 9. This female figure occasions much conjecture, which I must be allowed to indulge, and suppose that the book on the ground, may be the ledger in which the accompts were kept.

"The same subject is carried on in the next apartment, where we see three boys dancing in a state of exultation, as if rejoicing in the prosperity of the works; and in another room, there is a young man endeavouring to destroy the serpent or hydra.

"On an impartial review of these pavements, we shall immediately perceive that they all relate to the same subject, which, I think, alludes to the 'Prosperity of the Mines;' for you will observe the same instruments frequently repeated, such as pincers, rakes, rods for moving the ore when in the furnace, and canisters to hold the coin, and the *flos ferri* or *æris* represented by the quatrefoils in the smaller pavement: and, in the room, marked D, the same subject is continued, by a man destroying the serpent or hydra, water being the greatest enemy of mines."

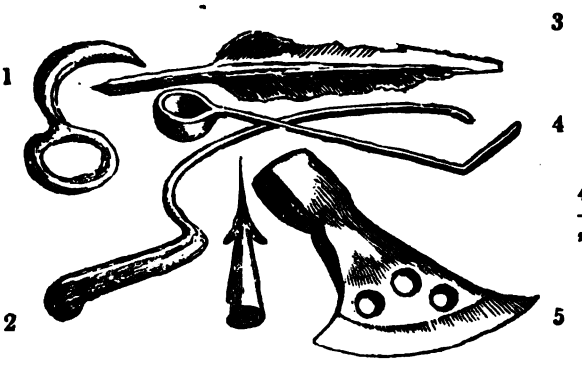
In contemplating this interesting relic of antiquity, a mystery seems to hang over its representations at the first view; but upon more minute examination, and from the form of the instruments which are so frequently introduced, and other connecting circumstances, it appears to have been allusive to the operation of smelting and refining the metals dug in the Mendip hills not far distant. The hooks are similar to instruments found by the Reverend John Skinner near the smelting stoves of the Romans, in the parish of Camerton. They were probably used to take the pots containing the fused metal from the fire; he has also a ladle with a portion of the metal in it. The Egyptians first, then the Greeks, and afterwards the Romans, were fond of personifying all the properties of nature and art:—indeed, the mythology of the ancients was no other than a similar personification. "All these figures," observes Mr. Skinner, "may be considered as personifications connected with the working of metals, which was carried on, perhaps to a considerable extent, on this very spot, since the ore of the neighbouring hills could be easily brought to this place, where fuel would be abundant. The hooks, smelting pots, pincers, bars, rakes, and tablets, which form the accompaniments to the figures above, all seem to indicate the art of smelting metals.

"The figures in the apartment No. 4 may be allusive to the allegory of the con-

test with a supposed evil spirit in the metal, which prevented its fusing in good time. Even at the present day, the workmen employed in similar operations, have a superstition, that there is sometimes a *salamander* concealed in the smelting oven, who procrastinates the period of fusion. The figure A in this pavement is represented with the serpent vanquished, and tied to his girdle, as he holds a rake in one hand, and a pair of pincers in the other; indicating that the metal had yielded to the fire. The rake is the instrument used to clear away the dross; and the pincers to take out the lumps of heated metal, which remained after the fusion.

"As one allegory thus throws light upon the other, it seems that the little winged genius (fig. C. in plan) who bears a hook in one hand, over which is described a cross bar, having three red flowrets, or roses attached to it, was intended to typify the blooming of the metal. There are also three of the same flowrets represented as scattered before him. The genius is described in a dancing attitude, as overjoyed at the occurrence which had taken place. It is a well known expression among artificers, that metal blooms before it be in a state of fusion; also a blooming heat is descriptive of red-hot iron before it becomes fusible. After the serpent, or evil genius, had been thus overpowered, the mass at once bloomed, and became fit for casting into the moulds. Hence the joy expressed by the figure who bore the symbols of such an event having taken place."

The Roman officers, after the country became tranquillized, resumed the luxurious mode of living they had previously been accustomed to in Rome. Hence they chose particular situations, at some distance from the station to which they were attached, and erected villas, where they could indulge in luxuries congenial to their feelings and habits. The station at Pitney seems to have been one of that kind.



1, 2. *Hooks used in smelting metal.*—3. *Spear head.*

4. *Ladle with metal in it.*—5. *Roman axe.*—6. *Roman spear head.*

ROMAN INSTRUMENTS.

CHAPTER VI.

1. Roman tessellated pavements found at Wadford, near Comb St. Nicholas: Stone of memorial to a young Roman lady, discovered in a wood near Orchard Wyndham.—2. Coins dug up at Stogumber and Lawrence Lydiard.—3. Antiquities discovered at Edington and Chilton on Polden hill.—4. Roman remains and coins found near Long Ashton: at Portbury: at Farley: and at Camerton.

1. In the year 1810, part of a Roman tessellated pavement was discovered at Wadford, about a mile east of the road from Whitestanton to Membury camp, and on the road from Chard to Comb St. Nicholas. The design consisted of scrolls and borders, without any figures; and from the appearance of the remains, would have formed a pavement ten feet square. It was left open for a time, but soon destroyed by the hands of the ignorant, who carried away the tesseræ. From the appearance of the adjoining lands, it is probable other remains are concealed beneath the surface. A drawing of this pavement was made for the Lord Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, then Dean of Wells, and is preserved in the Deanry house at Wells.

A Roman stone of memorial in good preservation, has been found in a wood at Orchard Wyndham, in the parish of St. Decuman's near Watchet, and involves some curious circumstances, as to how it came there. It consists of an upright stone seven feet high, two feet wide, and one foot thick, sculptured with the head and bust of a female figure, and has an inscription cut in large legible characters, with a wreath underneath.

Camden, in his "Britannia," published in 1637, page 772, gives the same inscription as found on a stone at Ellenborough, in Cumberland; which Horsley, in his "Britannia Romana," copies, as does Lysons in his "Magna Britannia." There is only this slight difference in Horsley's representation, that it has not the wreath below; but in all other respects it corresponds. How came it then into Somersetshire? It may have been brought from Ellenborough by some of the Wyndham family, who had property in that neighbourhood. The stone seems to have been cut and used as the *clavey piece*, or support for the opening of a fire-place, and rescued from that situation by some antiquary, who probably placed it in its present position; but no tradition has been handed down respecting it. The common people call it "Mother Shipton's tomb." (See vignette at the end of the chapter.)

2. That the Romans occupied the country west of the Quantock hills, at the time when Ostorius led his victorious legion into that district, (which is de-

scribed as "bordering on the sea looking towards Ireland,") there can be no doubt from the numerous coins and other relics discovered in various parts of that portion of the county. The following notice of coins found in this neighbourhood, occurs in a MS. quoted by Hearne: "In the year 1666, two large earthen pitchers full of Roman coins, each weighing 80 lbs. were dug up; one in a ploughed field in the parish of Lawrence Lydiard, and the other in Stogumber." The writer of the MS. supposes that the Roman general Ostorius, after he had subdued the Cangi, on the east of the Quantock hills, pursued his march towards the west, till he was obliged to retrace his steps, to quell an insurrection which broke out among the Silures and Brigantes, who threatened to seize on the country in his rear, which had previously yielded submission to the Roman arms. This sudden retreat of the Roman army, may account for the pots full of money found in the neighbourhood; hid, perhaps, by some Roman officer, expecting to return to this district, in the further prosecution of the war towards the west. The coins found were those of Claudius Cæsar, Nero, Domitian, Trajan, Antoninus, Septimius Severus, Aurelius, &c. in fact, coins of almost all the succeeding Emperors; which also proves that the Romans held dominion in this quarter for a long time.

"In the month of December 1794, a labourer, employed to dig a drain through a marshy piece of ground in the parish of Spaxton, on the north side of the Quantock hills, found, about six feet beneath the surface, two rings, one lying on the other; within each was placed a British celt. The ring proved to be a *Torques.* I think (says the writer), that the remains of those to whom these ornaments belonged, were deposited with them, as it is well known that in ancient times, the custom was at funerals to consign the weapons, dress, and other insignia of the deceased to the flames, or to the grave. The weight of this torques is barely two pounds. The metal of which the celts and torques was composed, is a mixture resembling brass." (Plate XXI. Nos. 1 and 2.)

No ornament was of more early, or of more general use than the *torques.*

3. One of the most remarkable discoveries of Roman remains, was made at Edington on Polden hill, near the road from Bridgwater to Glastonbury. The particulars were communicated to the Society of Antiquaries, by the Reverend John Poole of Enmore, and were published in the Archæologia.[h] They are as follows: "In the month of June 1801, as a farmer's servant was ploughing in a field near the village of Edington, he perceived the furrow became very irregular, and the ploughshare was clogged with several rings, which were the occasion of its being thrown out of its track. These, he very naturally concluded, were the fetters of some prisoners who had escaped from gaol; and on this supposition, he traced back

[h] Vol. xiv. pp. 99—104.

the ground, expecting to find a file or a saw; but was surprised to pick up several scattered pieces of metal, and soon found the spot where he had struck into them, whence he took what remained. He dug about the place (which he described as a round hole about the size of a bushel, the bottom of which was formed of burnt clay or brick reduced to a cinder), but without effect, as they were all deposited in one place. They consisted of ancient rings, resembling bits of bridles, ornamented with engraving; instruments, bracelets, fibulæ, rings, breast-plates or shields, brass hooks, and many other curious articles, which were sold to Mr. Robert Anstice, of Bridgwater, a zealous antiquary and good naturalist, who placed them in his valuable collection of Antiquities and Natural History. (Plate XXII. Nos. 3 and 4.)

Near Edington are evident marks of a Roman settlement, where remains of foundations, coins, and fragments of a tessellated pavement have been found.

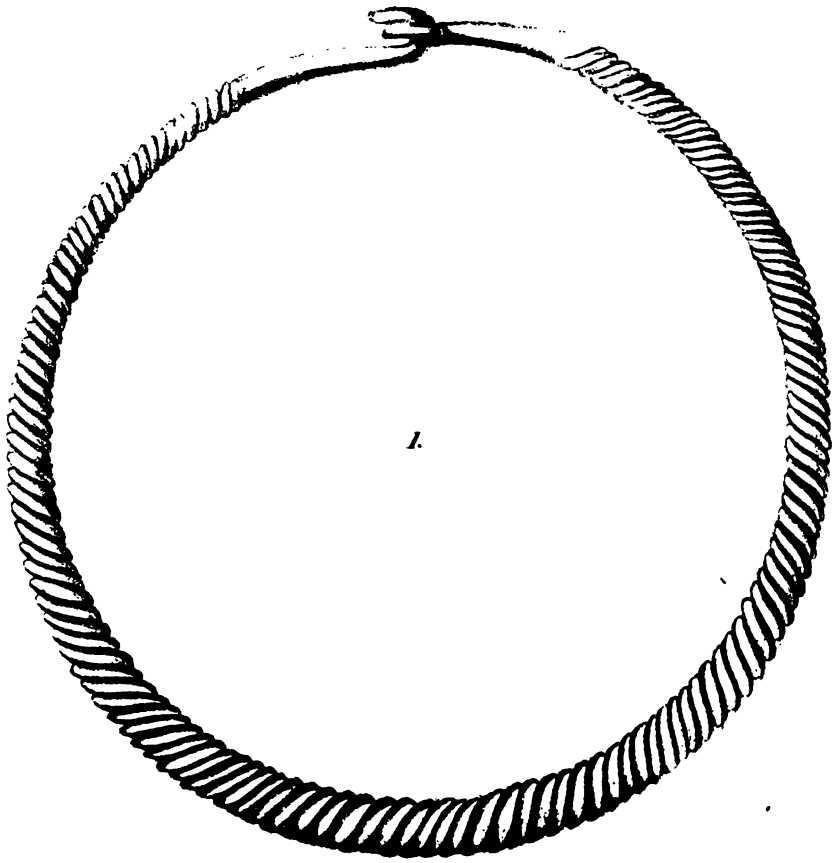
Another discovery of a still more curious nature was made, a short distance from the above, consisting of moulds for casting Roman coins. The same gentleman, mentioned above, communicated the particulars of what was found, in a letter to Charles Harford, Esq. of Bristol; and they were afterwards published in the Archæologia, as follows: "The field, in which these moulds were found, is a meadow that bears no marks of ever having been ploughed; which accounts for the moulds having remained so long undiscovered. It is situated at the edge of Polden hill, at about a quarter of a mile to the north of the village of Chilton. They were lying promiscuously scattered over a space of about four feet square, and six inches or more below the surface of the ground. These moulds were in such perfect preservation, as to admit of good casts being made from them in sulphur. They appeared to be moulds for making casts (or spurious coin) of the Emperor Severus and Julia his wife; Antoninus, Caracalla and Geta, their sons; Macrinus, Elagabalus, Alexander Severus, Maximinian Maximus, Plautilla, Julia Paula, and Julia Mammæa; besides a very considerable number of reverses. A lump of metal was found, and a coin in the mould, both of a white metal resembling silver, but which, upon examination, proves to be principally tin."[i]

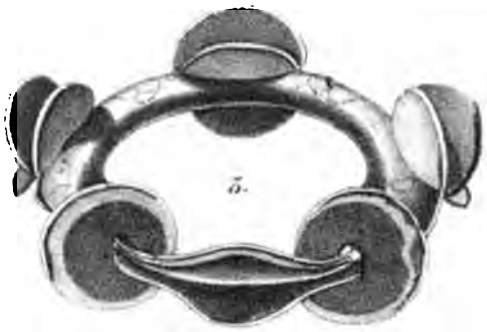
Twenty of these moulds are in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford; many are in the museum of Mr. Anstice at Bridgwater, and worthy of inspection. Near the spot where they were found, a tessellated pavement was also discovered.

In 1835, a considerable quantity of similar moulds were found in a bank of peat in the moor, which was burnt for manure. The action of the fire had not injured them. They are now in the possession of William Stradlyng, Esq. of Chilton.

Moulds of a similar character have been found in the parish of Wakefield, in Yorkshire. These were supposed to have been used by the Roman generals, to coin

[i] Archæologia, vol. xiv. p. 92.





ANTIQUITIES FOUND AT SPAXTON AND ON POLDEN HILL.

1. Torques. 2. Celt. 3 & 4. Rings with singular knobs and very much worn.

R. Warren & Co Lithog 74, St. Martins Lane, & 26, Long Acre.

money to pay their troops; the metal was a mixture of tin and copper. It is to be observed, that a similar discovery is recorded to have taken place about 1675.[k]

4. At Portbury, near Bristol, massy foundations of buildings have been discovered, and numerous Roman coins. Its contiguity to Burwalls camp, which, though of British origin, was subsequently occupied by that military nation, and the abundant traces of the Roman people found in the neighbourhood, all prove some settlement to have been at this place. It is conjectured a military road took a south-western direction from this point (the Nidum of the Itinerary of Antonine), and led to Cross (Bomium) near Axbridge, and from thence across Brent marsh to (Uxella) Bridgwater.[l]

A large quantity of Roman coins was discovered in a tumulus within fifty yards of a small round inclosure, called "Old Fort," on the hill above Ashton water, in the parish of Long Ashton; all of the lower Roman Empire, chiefly copper, with a few gold; one of the latter bearing the inscription CRISPVS. NOB. CÆSAR. and on the reverse, two angels holding up a tablet inscribed VOT. XX. This coin of Crispus, shews that they were used in the time of Constantine.

Another discovery of Roman coins was made on the same hill, and in the same year, a mile westward from the above, on a point overlooking the parsonage house of Wraxall. A gentleman who lives in the neighbourhood, and who possesses the coins, thus writes: "They were all found within a circle of three hundred yards in diameter, scattered near the surface, and mostly in a patch of black earth. Among them were coins of Claudius Aug., Constantine, Crispus, and Constantius."

About a mile and a half further westward, under the same ridge of hill, another discovery was made February 1st, 1821, in a ditch by the side of a wood, belonging to James A. Gordon, Esq. in the parish of Tickenham, about half a mile from Cadbury camp. There were two parcels, one of ninety-six coins; the other of seventy-two, chiefly brass. Among them were those of Gallienus, Caunius, Severina, Victorinus, Claudius, Maximianus, Valens, Dioclesianus, Probus, Tacitus, Quinctilianus, &c. Under Cadbury camp, Roman coins have been dug up, and in Nailsea and Kenn moors, not far from Tickenham, and are in the possession of Sir John Smith, Bart. of Long Ashton Court.

But the largest parcel of Roman coins was found nearer Bristol, on Leigh down, in the parish of Long Ashton, January 17, 1817, lying not more than six inches under the turf. It was on a part of the down, now inclosed. It is impossible to say how many there were, as the workmen seized them all; five hundred were ac-

[k] Magna Brit. vol. iv. p. 817.

[l] Horsley's Brit. Rom. pp. 464, 465.

counted for, and probably as many more were disposed of secretly. They were all of silver (except one of copper), of the size of a denarius. Mr. Seyer, in his "History of Bristol," gives a descriptive list of 242 varieties, among which are several of Nero, Vespasian, Domitian, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus, Septimius Severus, &c. &c.[m]

At Wookey, near the celebrated cavern in the Mendip hills, a plate of lead was found about the year 1550, in the time of Henry VIII. which appeared to have been fixed to a stone; having the following inscription on it:

TI . CLAUDIVS . CÆS-
SAR: AVG . P . M .
TRIB: P VIIII: IMP.
XVI . DE: BRITAN.

"Titus Claudius Cæsar Augustus Pontifex maximus, Tribunus plebis IX. Imperator XVI. de Britanniâ."

A coin was found near, bearing a similar inscription, with the words "*pater patriæ*," instead of "de Britanniâ." This determines the victory to have been obtained A. D. 51, during the Consulship of Antistius and Suillius.

This, no doubt, was one of those two trophies, which were erected by the Emperor Claudius, to commemorate the final defeat of the Cangi, by the Proprætor Ostorius, A. D. 51; and affords a proof, that, if those Belgic-British fugitives were not finally exterminated in these parts, yet at least, the place in question was known to the Romans, and judged of sufficient consequence to perpetuate the memory of such an event to succeeding ages.[n]

At Bruton, during the time Lord Fitzhardinge held that property, an ingot of lead, weighing about fifty pounds, was found, having the following inscription:

IMP. DVOR. AVG. ANTONINI
ET. VERI ARMENIACORVM.[o]

It is preserved in the library of the Marquess of Bath at Longleat.

At North Curry in 1748, an urn filled with Roman coins, in silver, of the reigns of Gratian, Valentinian, Valens, Theodosius, Honorius, Constantine, Constans, Julian, and many others, was found in digging up the site of an old hedge.

At Yatton, near Cadbury, Roman coins were found; also at Honey hall, near Churchill, three miles on the south of Cadbury, on the line of the ancient road;

[m] Seyer's Hist. of Bristol, vol. i. p. 163—173.

[n] Collinson, vol. iii. p. 420, from Musgrave's Antiquities, Belg. Brit. vol. i. page 181.

[o] Stukeley's Iter Curiosum, p. 151.

and in ploughing a field at Cockmill, near Pylle, a large vessel was discovered, containing a peck of coins, of Aurelian, Probus, Tacitus, Gallienus, &c.

At Farley Hungerford, near the castle, the remains of a Roman villa facing the river Frome, close adjoining the road leading from Iford to Farley, were discovered. It seems to have been of considerable extent, but a large portion had been destroyed by the plough. In the year 1822, the Reverend John Skinner examined the site, cleared away a portion of the rubbish, and opened a most perfect Roman bath and other apartments. The outer wall of the bath was composed of well wrought stones; which had been evidently above the surface of the adjoining land originally, though now buried in rubbish ten feet deep. The bath was five feet square, and three feet seven inches deep, and communicated with a room six feet by five. The walls of the apartment were stuccoed, and painted green; a niche in the front wall probably held a statue. The walls and flooring of the bath were entirely covered with stucco, as hard almost, and as smooth, as marble. The whole of this coating was as perfect as when first made, and painted of a light green. There are, no doubt, extensive remains concealed beneath the surrounding soil. A Roman pavement, with coins of Magnentius, Constantinus, and Constans, were found in Temple field near Farley castle.

At Camerton, in one of the fields near the ridgeway leading to Chewton and Wells, three Roman villas were discovered in 1814, together with hypocausts, baths, and fragments of tessellated pavements; as well as a quantity (twenty-six) of silver Roman coins of Honorius, Arcadius, and the later Emperors, concealed between two Roman tiles.

Nineteen Roman houses have been discovered near the Fosse, probably the residences of artificers in metals, from the scoria found near them, and the instruments used in the operation of smelting ore.

ROMAN STONE OF MEMORIAL
in a wood near Orchard Wyndham.

CHAPTER VII.

SAXON, DANISH, AND ANGLO-NORMAN ANTIQUITIES.

1. Castles of the Saxons, Danes, and Normans.—2. Division of the antiquities of this period. Norman and Anglo-Norman style of building.—3. Gothic Architecture; terms used in describing it, and its general character.—4. Progress of the Gothic style to the time of Henry VII.: Tudor style.—5. Parochial church architecture: different forms of churches. Great improvements take place in the reigns of Henry VI. and Edward IV.: churches enlarged and beautified. Somersetshire celebrated for its fine religious edifices: cause assigned for it.—6. Fonts, and monumental effigies sometimes a criterion of the age of a church.—7. Concluding observations.

1. THE traces which remain of the Saxons, who retained possession of England during a period of five hundred years, are few; and the architectural remains of those obscure ages, are with difficulty to be ascertained. The vestiges of their civil regulations are less equivocal, and form a species of moral antiquities highly interesting. Among the principal objects of historical importance, *Castles* attract the attention of the antiquary, and curious traveller. Stone castles were undoubtedly used by the Romans; and, on their departure from England, were occupied by the Romanized Britons, who had been trained under their military discipline. The Saxons, in their gradual conquest of England, obtained possession of these strongholds; and constructed others in various parts of the country, the better to keep in subjection the Britons, whom they had subdued; and afterwards to defend themselves from the attacks of the Danes, who invaded their country.

Few vestiges remain of the military works of the Danes; who, successful in their piratical attacks on Britain, created a new though short-lived dynasty in this country, A. D. 787.

The fortresses of the Danes are described as being "rude castles, situated on the summit of rocks, and rendered inaccessible by thick misshapen walls." Canute is said to have built several castles of large size and great strength, on lofty situations, imitating the example of the people over whom he had triumphed. Their *earth-works* are so similar to the Saxon, that it is difficult to distinguish between them. A few remains of Danish entrenchments are to be found in the neighbourhood of Porlock, Watchet, and Uphill, on the Bristol channel; but in ecclesiastical architecture they were rather destroyers, than protectors or builders of religious edifices.[a]

[a] Mallet's Northern Antiq.

These ancient castles were much dilapidated at the time of the Conquest, and rendered the subjugation of England by William Duke of Normandy less difficult. From the necessity of keeping his newly acquired subjects in proper order, the ancient fortresses were repaired, and new ones erected in different parts of the kingdom; which at length became so numerous, that in little more than a century their number exceeded eleven hundred. Under the dominion of the Normans, these "Baronial castles, with all the pompous glitter of chivalric parade, gave animation to recesses, buried till that time in profound tranquillity. Churches, the work of piety, raised their stately front, in districts then first worthy of architectural ornament; and monasteries spread the influence of splendid superstition over vales the most sequestered and rural."

2. In this county are numerous and splendid remains of Norman and other buildings, which we will class under the following heads:

1. Ecclesiastical. 2. Civil. 3. Domestic.

Few religious edifices, built previous to the Norman Conquest, are to be found in existence in Somersetshire. Some of our churches, however, exhibit remains of an early period intermixed with Norman additions. The Norman or circular arch, which prevailed in the early ages of Ecclesiastical buildings, may be traced to Greece and Egypt. In Cairo are found richly wrought portals, such as in arch and ornament we should meet with, and call in England Norman; and there are some remains, of apparently great antiquity, as decidedly of that style of architecture, as are the ruins of some of our ancient buildings. Dr. Clarke describes a church, built under Justinian in the island of Cyprus, as a most perfect Norman building. The zigzag moulding introduced by the Normans, is purely Etruscan, and is to be met with on ancient Greek vases, as well as on British pottery.

The *lancet* arch is the oldest known in the East; where the *Saracenic* or pointed arch, with convex curvature at the top, is common. "It is in Normandy, that the pages of the architectural annals of this country are to be perused," says an eminent antiquary, and adds, "that according to the opinion of our most judicious antiquaries, *no one structure* now in existence can be referred to the Saxon era; neither can we quote any architectural examples in Normandy, of an earlier period than the eleventh century. The missionaries who taught the faith in Normandy, directed the construction of the fane. Flocking from the adjoining provinces of France, they bore the ground plan of the abbey, in the same chest with the missal and psalter."[b]

Norman churches are of a peculiar shape, having the east end rounded off, forming what is called an *apsis*. This style is to be seen occasionally, in some of our

[b] Dr. Clarke's Travels, vol. vi. c. 7, and Lysons's Mag. Brit. vol. ii. p. 50.

oldest churches and cathedrals, and was the form of building adopted in Normandy, as appears from the cathedral of Caen, built by William Duke of Normandy, commonly called the Conqueror; and also in Belgium. The Normans, in their pious zeal to aggrandize the power of their clergy, studied to produce the finest ecclesiastical buildings of the age; and naturally gave birth to the taste for church architecture, which peculiarly distinguished that era. "It was," says an elegant and modern writer, "connected with the worship of the Gods; with the first scenes of Divine revelations; with the first sanctuaries and places of worship; with all that could produce associations of ideas most interesting and powerful. Religion and worship have in all ages and conditions of human nature exerted a powerful influence on architecture."[c]

NORMAN ARCH, ENTRANCE TO PEN CHURCH.

The Pointed style passed from the East through Italy and France into England, and is said, to have been *first* introduced by Henry of Blois, when he built his church of St. Cross, at Winchester, in 1130; and was afterwards adopted by Bishop Lucy, in the lancet form, supported by clustered columns, with capitals of foliage,

[c] Hope on Architecture, 8vo. p. 25, 1835.

in the cathedral at Winchester, about A. D. 1202. The architecture of the Anglo-Normans increased progressively in ornament and skilfulness of execution; the details becoming less massy, and gradually approximating to the light and airy style, with highly pointed arches, and the delicate and elaborate sculptured ornaments which croud the later examples. In many of our older churches, the circular arch has been altered into a pointed one, which is discoverable by the courses of masonry being deranged. This is to be seen in the fine old church at Milborne Port, and some others; and in the original Anglo-Norman buildings, the pointed arch is found long before that mode of architecture, the Gothic, of which it is the characteristic mark, was methodized into a system.[d]

The great architects of the Anglo-Norman ages were the dignified clergy, who came into this country with William the Conqueror, and in the subsequent reigns. These persons having been educated in the monasteries in Normandy, (then the school of Architectural knowledge, and the refinements of learning and science,) possessed superior taste and judgment in these matters.[e] Among them we find Gundulphus of Rochester (1077 to 1107); Mauritius of London (1086 to 1108); Roger of Sarum (1107 to 1140); Ernulf of Rochester (1115 to 1125); Alexander of Lincoln (1123 to 1147); Henry de Blois, Bishop of Winchester (1129 to 1169), a most celebrated architect: to which we may add Robert Bishop of Wells (1137 to 1166); and Joceline de Welles (1206 to 1272). By these munificent prelates, the Norman and Gothic, or we should say Early-English style was progressively improved, and brought to that perfection, which we now find in our venerable cathedrals. The Norman or Circular style of arch fell into disuse about the time of Henry II. A. D. 1160, when it was superseded by the Gothic style, which was soon generally adopted. This style, the *Gothic* or Early English, at its introduction had not attained that lightness of character, which it afterwards acquired. The simple pointed arch, both in doors and windows, was first made use of. The latter acquired the name of *lancet*, from its resemblance to that instrument.

Towards the end of the twelfth century, the windows became ornamented with a moulding round the arch, as is to be seen in the nave of Wells cathedral.

At the beginning of the thirteenth century, these narrow windows being found to admit too little light, the architects united several lancets (generally three) within one main arch, which gave rise to tracery, in the form of trefoils, quatrefoils, circles, and other fanciful devices, to fill up the openings formed by the intersection of the mullions, as is seen in Salisbury cathedral. The Norman column, which was low and massy, now assumed a more elevated and slender form, and appeared to be a cluster of small shafts united together; the capitals became ornamented with

[d] Architectural Antiq. vol. iii. p. 26.

[e] Dallaway's English Architecture, p. 27.

sculptured foliage, and grotesque figures. The enlargement of the wir dows, weakened the side walls of the building, and was the cause of the introduction of a kind of prop, called a *flying buttress*, which rested on the exterior wall of the aisles, and extended in a curve to the side wall of the nave, between the clerestory windows, being concealed under the roof of the aisle; and thus prevented the spreading of the walls, by the pressure of the vaulting. They were placed afterwards above the roof, and became ornamented with crockets and pinnacles, which added a new and peculiar character to a Gothic building.

3. The phrase *Gothic Architecture*, though originally a term of reproach, has now the sanction of most of our English and all Foreign architects, as being understood to designate a certain style, well marked and defined. From this circumstance all ideas of contempt have long since ceased to attach to so beautiful an effect of human skill. There is something in Gothic architecture irresistibly attractive; the lightness and delicacy of its aspiring columns gratify the eye; the elegance and intricacy of its sculptured details, and its picturesque combinations, awaken the admiration; whilst its narrow lengthened aisles, the elevation of its proportions, and the beautifully softened lights that play from its painted windows, impose upon the mind the deepest sentiments of reverential awe: qualities which combine to furnish the most eloquent reasons for this style being best adapted for sacred edifices, and the solemnity of religious offices.

The terms frequently used, of *early Gothic, ornamented* and *florid Gothic*, differ so much in detail, as to convey little knowledge of its actual character, and require some more specific marks. These may be the distinctions to be observed between them in the tracery of the windows. In the earlier, all this tracery consists of *curved lines;* whilst in the later, it must be remarked, that it is entirely formed of *right lines.* The former will be well understood by the term *curvilinear;* and where vertical mullions, which run in straight lines, intersected by an horizontal transom are found, the word *rectilinear* would be understood both by English and Foreign architects. An elaborate window of this style is a series of pannels, formed by perpendicular and horizontal lines. This may be divided into *early* and *late* rectilinear. The transition from one to the other took place about A.D. 1460.

In the fourteenth century, Gothic architecture attained a high degree of perfection. The reigns of the Edwards became an epoch in ecclesiastical architecture, which, for elegance of design, and symmetry of proportions, acquired the suitable epithet of a *decorated* style. This, though beautiful, became in the following century so enriched by a profusion of delicate ornaments, and its details broken into numberless subdivisions, as to acquire the appellation of the *florid* style, so prevalent in the fifteenth century; and may be distinguished by the emblem of Henry VII.

the Tudor rose and portcullis surmounted by a crown, to be seen on most of the edifices of his reign.

The pointed arch now assumed a different form, becoming depressed, and so flat as scarcely to support itself. The sweeping moulding, which had hitherto followed the line of the arch, took a different form, and became a square architrave, called a tablet, inclosing the head of the arch, and forming two triangular spaces in the angles called spandrils, in which were frequently inserted shields for coats of arms, and foliage. This was called the *Tudor arch*,[f] and has an elegant appearance. The hollow mouldings were also filled with rosettes, and the ends of the square moulding rested on a bracket ornamented with a head, or some fanciful device.

In no country in the world has the *Gothic* style of architecture been carried to a higher degree of perfection than in England. Prelates and princes endeavoured to outvie each other in the magnificence and beauty of their buildings; and such encouragement was held out to architects and artists in this country, that it would appear indeed extraordinary, if this were not productive of new improvements in the various branches of ecclesiastical architecture. At its first appearance, the style was plain, as may be seen in the nave of Wells Cathedral; but it was distinguished by the columns, which were before round and massy, becoming as it were a cluster of small shafts, with a capital enriched with foliage and grotesque figures; and it gathered lightness and profusion of ornament rapidly. In the later style of Gothic, the apertures for the windows were so large and numerous, as to admit too great a glare of light: this gave rise to the general introduction of painted glass, which threw a subdued light over the building.[g]

In the age of Henry VII. it reached its highest perfection, as may be seen in the beautiful specimen of his chapel in Westminster Abbey, and in King's College chapel in Cambridge. Soon after, the arch became wider and less pointed, and gradually tended to a circular form again, though pointed. Towards the close of the sixteenth century, a mixture of Roman, Norman, and Gothic, was introduced, having no particular characteristic of its own.

The venerable ruins of St. Joseph's chapel now remaining at Glastonbury, present a fine specimen of the Anglo-Norman ornamented style. A large portion of the Cathedral at Wells exhibits the period of its transition to a pointed arch, and windows filled with richest tracery; and the Abbey at Bath displays the style in its latest form. The ruins of the numerous monastic edifices in this county all par-

[f] See vignette at the end of this chapter.

[g] It may be difficult to determine when glass first became common in windows. Bede describes Abbot Biscopius as already, in 680, having sent to Gaul, together with missionaries, manufacturers of glass for windows.—Hope on Architecture, p. 111.

take of the same character under various modifications, and will be noticed more in detail in our parochial history.

5. With respect to parochial churches, an opportunity of correctly ascertaining the precise date of their erection is seldom to be met with, except in those connected with some cathedral or monastic institution, in whose annals these particulars are recorded. To fix the date of such buildings, a comparison of the style and details with some other building, whose date can be authenticated, is the surest method to arrive at a correct opinion on the subject.

The form of our parochial churches is some criterion; and as these vary, so they afford distinguishing marks of the time of their erection, which will lead to an almost certain conclusion as to their date.

The earliest churches are of a very simple form, without tower or chancel; the western gable a little elevated above the roof, and perforated by a lancet-shaped opening for hanging a bell therein; the rope descending into the church. The second form has the appendage of a porch and chancel, divided from the nave by a low circular arch.

Cruciform churches next followed, built in a cathedral form, with a tower in the centre, at the intersection of the nave, chancel, and transepts. This form had its origin upon the introduction of large bells into churches for ringing in peal. A fourth class of churches consisted of a nave, a tower at the west end thereof, with a chancel and porch. The tower was sometimes placed on the side of the nave, the space underneath forming a porch. When the tower was at the west end of the building, an arch laid open the belfry to the nave, and frequently exposed a large window filled with tracery, corresponding with a similar one in the chancel.

The parochial churches underwent great alterations in the time of Henry VI. and in the subsequent reign of Edward IV. This may be attributed to the Acts of Parliament passed for regulating and settling the parochial clergy, and appropriating glebes and tithes for the support of a resident body of ministers, who should be canonically instituted and inducted into their respective benefices; to become perpetual pastors, not removable at the will of the impropriator or lay patron.

The enlarging and beautifying the parochial churches became a general fashion soon after that period. The primitive edifice underwent a considerable alteration, from the bounty of the regular clergy and laity. The mode of enlarging an original church was, (according to the extent of the fund appropriated for the purpose,) by taking down the side of the nave, and supporting the wall by clustered columns with pointed arches, and adding an aisle to the building. In some instances the whole of the nave was taken down, leaving the tower and chancel standing, and rebuilding it with two aisles, the roof of the nave being supported by a double row

of columns ; giving a light and handsome appearance to the interior, and an increased accommodation for the congregation. We find most of the churches in Somersetshire have undergone this alteration.

The rebuilding of towers was another elegant mode of beautifying our churches, which is eminently conspicuous in this county. These appendages to our ecclesiastical buildings give so decided a character to the Somersetshire churches, that they are scarcely equalled for architectural elegance in any other part of the kingdom. This may be attributed to the munificence of the bishops, abbots, and priors of the rich monastic institutions and ecclesiastical establishments in this county. Wharton states, that Somersetshire, in the civil wars between the houses of York and Lancaster, was strongly attached to the Lancastrian side. In return for this service, the Duke of Lancaster, when he came to the throne as Henry VII. rebuilt their churches ; and he adds, that most of the churches of this reign are known, besides other distinguishing marks, by latticed battlements and broad open windows ; and he instances the churches and towers of Taunton, Glastonbury, and St. Cuthbert, in Wells, as specimens of the style adopted. In this he falls into error ; for, although the two former answer the description given by Wharton, the latter is evidently of an earlier date. The towers of Chewton, Dundry, Batheaston, Chew-magna, Banwell, Chedder, Winscomb, Backwell, Bruton, North Petherton, Bishop's-Lydiard, Wellington, Martock, Huish-Episcopi, Kingsbury, Glastonbury, with the spires of Bridgwater, East Brent, Doulting and Castle-Carey, are beautiful examples of church architecture.

6. Fonts form another criterion of the age of churches. These are generally to be found in them, except where modern innovation, and a total disregard for so sacred an appendage to a Christian church, have consigned this laver to the most ignoble purposes, or transferred them as an ornament to a flower garden ! The practice of total immersion of the infant about to be received into Christ's Church, gave rise to the capacious size of the font, as we find in most of our churches ; and as the practice continued down to the period of the Reformation, they are found of nearly the same size, yet differing in every variety of ornament, and designating with tolerable precision the time when they were made. The early Norman fonts are of a rude and simple construction, being little more than a circular stone cistern standing on a block of the same material ; sometimes it was square, resting on a dwarf column, ornamented with zigzag and cable mouldings. In process of time the sculpture was more elaborate, and partook of the same style as was introduced into the building itself. The Danish fonts are goblet shaped ; some few of this form are to be found in our oldest churches, and agree in form and detail with those given by Wormius, in his Danish Antiquities.

On the introduction of the Gothic or Pointed arch, they assumed an octagonal form, the basin supported by a pannelled column, having the sides ornamented with trefoils, quatrefoils, shields, and other devices; sometimes groups of figures were introduced, and exhibit exquisite specimens of sculpture.

Of Norman fonts we have many examples in this county; of the early Gothic still more; and in the later style of the ornamented octagonal kind, they are general in almost all the churches which underwent alterations in the time of Henry VI. and Edward IV.

Monumental effigies are another mark to designate the antiquity of ecclesiastical buildings. About the conclusion of the twelfth century, effigies enveloped in chain armour, lying on altar tombs, were introduced. That of Geoffrey de Mandeville, Earl of Essex, in the Temple Church in London, is said to be one of the earliest at present existing; and is attributed to the time of Richard I. between A.D 1189 and 1199. In the beginning of the thirteenth century, flat altar tombs, with inlaid brasses, and Latin inscriptions, came into use. In many churches the altar tomb was placed in a recess in the wall under an arch decorated with sculpture; the moulding bold, and filled with rosettes, and frequently terminated by a Saracenic or ogee arch, with crockets and cusps;[h] but the more common form was a depressed arch, which soon after became encompassed with a square-headed moulding, the spandrils filled with foliage or coats of arms, and the cornice surmounted by the strawberry-leaved ornament, called the Tudor flower, which gave a rich finish to the whole.

About the middle of the fifteenth century, altar tombs surmounted by rich canopies came into fashion, having sculptured effigies of the persons to whom they were raised, lying on the altar table; round the sides are figures of their relatives, standing in niches, or, at a later date, their children, kneeling in prayers. The head-dresses of females at this period were of a singular form, some being *mitred*, and others *horned*, richly decorated with jewels. In the sixteenth century we find these canopies supported by Ionic and Corinthian columns, which were continued down to a late period. They gave scope for the richly decorated monuments we now see raised to the memory of the nobility, dignified clergy, and gentry, in our cathedrals; of which the monument to Bishop Still, in the choir of Wells Cathedral, is a splendid example; with many others in our parochial churches.

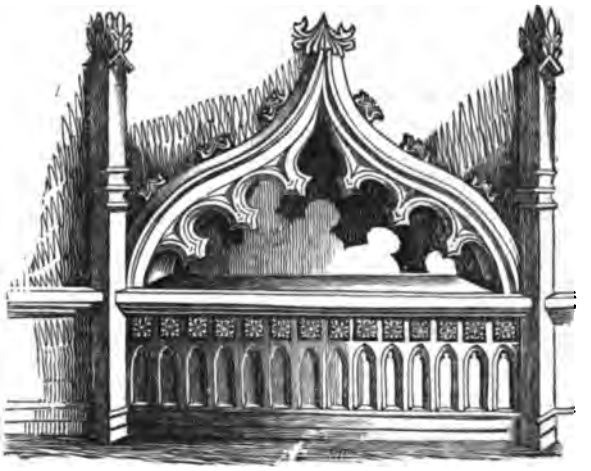
Many of our churches still retain traces of the Roman Catholic mode of worship, in the niches, piscinas, sedilia for the priests near the altar, and sometimes remains of the confessional chair.

[h] See vignette at the end of this chapter.

7. The parish church is now, as it ought always to be, the care of those who worship under its roof; but, unfortunately, from the parsimony of the Vestry, in some cases, and the lamentable ignorance of country builders, the injury done, more or less, to our parochial churches seems almost irreparable. From a neglect of small defects, the churches sink into decay, and at last a considerable expenditure is required, which might have been saved by a timely repair. If the windows are decayed, the whole tracery is swept away, and straight upright mullions introduced, giving the window the appearance of a gridiron. Are the pinnacles in want of repair, instead of restoring them in their original form, they are too frequently pulled down; if the battlements with their richly pierced parapet are decaying by time, the whole is removed, and the capping placed on the cornice; and in many of our finest churches, the coved roof of the chancel has been removed, and a flat ceiling substituted, concealing the elegant tracery of the east window.

Uniformity of design with the original building, ought always to be observed in the necessary repairs, which our parochial churches so constantly require; and we will express a hope, that in all future repairs of our ecclesiastical buildings, the original style of the edifice may be scrupulously attended to. It is, however, much to be regretted, that many of our architects, instead of strictly adhering to the acknowledged forms and principles, as exhibited in all the splendid and imposing models of antiquity, appear too frequently to aim only at immortalizing their names, by transmitting to posterity some shapeless invention of their own, in which they abandon those rules prescribed by classic simplicity, symmetry of proportion, and harmony of design.

GOTHIC OR POINTED WINDOW.



CANOPIED TOMB IN CHELVEY CHURCH.

TUDOR ARCH.

CHAPTER VIII.

1. Castles described; Richmont; Nunney; Farley; Bridgwater; Taunton; Stoke-Courcy; Dunster.—2. Mansions succeeded Castles.—3. Elizabethan style of residence; principal edifices of this kind in Somersetshire; Domestic Architecture.

CASTLES.

1. It has been excellently observed by an anonymous writer on architecture, that "the advances made by mankind, in the progressive march of civilization, will generally speaking be found very distinctly manifested, and perfectly illustrated, by the style of architecture adopted either for the purposes of defence or domestic convenience; every change of successive ages being dictated by improvements, founded on some principle, first of protection and comfort, and lastly of luxury and splendour."[a]

The earliest castles of any importance established in this country are derived from the Romans, who had walled stations of great solidity and extent. These, however, by the lapse of time, are nearly obliterated, either by natural decay, or the destruction pursued by the Saxons. Norman castles were designed for defence; and in the arrangement of their several parts, all were made subservient to this purpose. The gates were strong, and further strengthened by a portcullis and drawbridge. These defences must be forced, to get into the court of the castle. A narrow winding staircase of a size just sufficient to admit a single person, and easily defended, formed the entrance into the apartments. The ground floor had only a few loopholes, so constructed as to admit light, and yet prevent any thing from being thrown into the room. On the second floor, the windows were so high above the floor, as to prevent missiles injuring the inmates. On the third floor were the *State* apartments. In short, the lowest story was for the stores, the second for the military guard, and the third for the family.

Somersetshire contained but few castles; all we have any record of, were Richmont, near West Harptree, Nunney, Farley near Frome, Bridgwater, Stoke-Courcy, Taunton, and Dunster.

In the twelfth century embattled walls surrounded the body of the castle, and thus rendered them more secure; and in the following century, a rampart was

[a] A concise History and Analysis of all the principal styles of Architecture, by an Amateur. London, Cadell, Strand, 12mo, 1829.

added, with towers at intervals; and soon after castles were built of much larger dimensions, having towers commonly at each angle, to command the approach of an enemy, and communicating with each other by lofty walls which surrounded the whole.

3. In the fourteenth century these strong castles seem to have yielded to a more extended kind of building, and more suited to the convenience of domestic residence; and the castellated mansion arose, uniting defence and accommodation for a family residence. In the fifteenth century the residences of the nobility and gentry lost the castellated form, and extended buildings with large walls, high gables, and wide and bay or bow windows[b] became general, affording more convenience to the family, but quite destitute of the means of resisting an attack.

The most perfect specimens of these latter buildings, now known by the name of Elizabethan, in this county, are,

Long Ashton, the seat of - - -	Sir John Smyth, Bart.
Barrow Court, - - - - -	Rev. Charles Gore.
Clevedon Court - - - - -	Rev. Sir Abraham Elton, Bart.
Shapwick - - - - - -	Mrs. Taylor.
Fairfield - - - - - -	Sir P. P. Acland, Bart.
East Quantocks-head and Dunster Castle,	John Fownes Luttrell, Esq.
Montacute - - - - - -	John Phelips, Esq.
Nettlecombe - - - - -	Sir John Trevelyan, Bart.
Hinton St. George - - - -	Earl Poulett.

"Domestic architecture and sculpture, like painting," says a modern writer, "was greatly improved during the reigns of the three first Edwards, and it assumed a considerable degree of splendour in the latter part of the reign of Edward III. But the desolating wars between the houses of York and Lancaster, and again during the time of Cromwell, left us few traces of the habitations of that period, except remains of castles."[c]

The mansions of the Tudor period usually consisted of an inner and base court, between which stood the gatehouse. The principal apartments were the great

[b] Bay or bow windows were introduced by the Normans from Spain, whither they were brought by the Moors. They are of Persian origin, and were adopted for the accommodation of a warm climate, where every air in passing along the walls in an angular direction, was intercepted by their projecting form, and rendered refreshing coolness to the inmates, who sat there protected from the sun by latticed shutters.

[c] The ruins of castles scattered about the different counties of England and Wales, owe their present dilapidated, though picturesque form, to an ordinance of the Long Parliament, who voted all castles should be destroyed; and Cromwell's soldiers were accordingly set to work to pull them down, or render them unfit for future defence.

chamber or saloon, the hall, the chapel, the gallery for amusements, on an upper story, running the whole length of the principal side of the quadrangle, and the summer and winter parlours.

Wainscoting on walls did not come into fashion till the time of Queen Elizabeth, and ornamented chimneys about the same period.

The foregoing observations on the different styles of architecture to be found in our ancient buildings, which will come under review in the course of the subsequent investigations, are introduced merely to direct the attention of persons who wish to enter more fully into the subject, to the various works which are published relating to the study of Antiquities.

PORCH AT CHELVY COURT HOUSE.